WOMEN'S POWER IN MOLDOVA (14TH - 17TH CENTURIES). GENDER STUDIES

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Abstract: The involvement of women in political history is a topic of great interest for our past and it gives us suggestions for a new view over the history. We need to equally mention that the purpose of this essay is to modify the accents of history, which means we tried to present the political history from the through the filter of the "feminine history". Regretfully, the feminine side of Romanian history has been ignored for many years and only in the last decade it is deeply researched by the colleagues from Romania. Without pretending to fully solve the problem, we consider that it is an indisputable fact that studying history without a holistic approach gives just a one-sided view of it. Thus, the presented study tries to approach a very delicate matter – the role of women in determining the ruling dynasties in the Medieval Moldavia, and the Ladies' regency. The documentary material of the time clearly reflects the situation and the statute of women. To a great extent, an important role was played by ladies in continuity of the ruling dynasties. Besides, the historical facts show that some of the Medieval Moldavia's Ladies were true personalities.

*Keywords***:** *Moldova, Ladies, rulers, political power, intrigue, dynasty, gender*

Rezumat: Puterea femeilor în Moldova (secolele XIV-XVII). Studii de gen. *Implicarea femeilor în istoria politică reprezintă un subiect de mare interes pentru cunoașterea trecutului și ne oferă sugestii pentru o nouă viziune asupra istoriei. În egală măsură, trebuie să menționăm că scopul acestui eseu este de a modifica accentele istoriei, ceea ce înseamnă că vom încerca să prezentăm istoria politică prin filtrul „istoriei feminine". Din păcate, mulți ani la rând latura feminină a istoriei românești a fost ignorată și doar în ultimul deceniu a început să fie cercetată în profunzime de colegii din România. Fără a pretinde o rezolvare completă a problemei, considerăm că este incontestabil faptul că studierea istoriei fără o abordare holistică oferă doar o viziune unilaterală a acesteia. Astfel, studiul prezentat încearcă abordarea unei chestiuni foarte delicate - rolul femeilor în stabilirea dinastiilor la conducerea Moldovei medievale și regența doamnelor. Materialul documentar al timpului reflectă, în mod clar, situația și statutul femeilor. Într-o mare măsură, doamnele au jucat un rol important în continuitatea dinastiilor conducătoare. În plus, faptele istorice arată că unele dintre doamnele din Moldova medievală au fost adevărate personalități.*

Résumé : Le pouvoir des femmes en Moldavie (les XIVème – XVIIème siècles). ***Etudes de genre.*** *La participation des femmes dans l'histoire politique représente un sujet intéressant pour notre passé et nous offrent des suggestions pour une nouvelle vision sur l'histoire. De même, on doit mentionner que le but de l'étude ci-jointe est de modifier les accents de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire que nous y essayâmes de présenter l'histoire politique par le filtre de "l'histoire féminine". Malheureusement, pendant plusieurs années, on rejeta la partie féminine de l'histoire roumaine ; seulement la dernière décennie, les chercheurs de Roumanie commencèrent y faire des investigations plus sérieuses. Sans avoir prétendu une résolution complète du problème, on considéra qu'étudier l'histoire sans un abord holistique offre seulement une vision unilatérale de celle-ci. De cette manière, l'étude présentée essaye d'aborder une question extrêmement délicate – le rôle des femmes dans la détermination des dynasties à la direction de la Moldavie médiévale et la régence des princesses régnantes. Le matériel documentaire de l'époque reflète, clairement, la situation et le statut des femmes. En général, les princesses régnantes jouèrent un rôle important dans la continuité des dynasties dirigeantes. De plus, les événements historiques montrèrent que quelques-unes des princesses régnantes de la Moldavie étaient des véritables personnalités.*

INTRODUCTION

The modern historiography is characterized by an innovative concept of power and a more extensive comprehension of the "political influence". An expansive apprehension of the concept of power is central to the study of gender history, as it allows a full grasp of the issue regarding the ability of women to access and influence the institutions of authority and the levels of decision-making, notably during the Middles Ages and the Modern Period, when women legally deprived of any means of entry to influential positions.

The notion of "female power" has been encountered in a variety of works on gender history[1] and for researchers both in western-European[2] and Russian

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[1] П. Репина, *«Приватное/публичное» и «власть женщин»* ["Private/public" and "women's power"], in *Women's factor in history*, Chişinău, 2012, p. 27-38.

[2] René Metz, *Le statut de la femme en droit canonique médiéval*, in "La Femme", Bruxelles, 1962, Vol. II; P. Grimal (coord.), *Histoire mondiale de la femme*, Paris, 1965, Vol. I; M. R. Beard, *Women as a force in history*, New York, 1971; Julia O'Faolain, Lauro Martines, *Not in gods image: women in history*, London, 1973; M. Rosaldo, L. Lamphere (coord.), *Women, culture and society*, Stanford, 1974; M. Piettre, *La condition feminine á travers les âges*, Paris, 1974; Josep Gies, Grances Gies, *Life in a medieval castle*, New York, 1974; J. A. McNamara, S. Wemple, *The power of women through the family in medieval Europe: 500-1100*, in "Clio's consciousness raised", New York, 1974; Eileen Power, *Medieval Women*, Cambridge University Press, 1975; Susan Mosher Stuard (coord.), *Women in Medieval Society*, University Pennsylvania Press, 1976; Merilyn French, *Women in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1978; P. Branca, *Women in Europe since 1750*, New York, 1978;

historiography[3] it is a matter of great interest. The scientific inquiry aims at the influence of women on decision-making policies and political events, as well as their role in the economy and the social area of the community. Enjoying a

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E. Power, *La femme au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1979; Angela M. Lucas, *Women in the Middle Ages: religion, marriage and letters*, London, 1983; Amaury Reincourt, *Women and power in history*, London, 1983; F. Bertini, *Beyong power: men, women and morals*, London, 1985; Rosalind Miles, *Women and power*, London, 1985; E.L Ranelagh, *Men on women*, London, 1985; Margaret Wade Labarge, *Women in medieval life*, London, 1986; Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek myth*, London, 1986; M. Erler, M. Kowaleski (coord.), *Women and power in the Middle Ages*, Athens-London, 1988; Mary C. Erler, Maryanne Kowaleski (coord.), *Gendering the Master Narrative. Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, Cornell University Press, 1988; M. Rouche, J. Heuclin, *La femme au Moyen Âge,* Maubeuge, 1990; F. Bertini, *La mujer medieval,* Madrid, 1991; Joëlle Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme á Byzance (IVe-VIIe siécle)*, Paris, 1992, Vol. II; E. Amt, *Women's Lives în Medieval Europe*, London, 1993; Frauen E. Uitz, *Die Frau in der mittelalterlichen Stadt,* Leipzig, 1993; Nancy F. Cott (coord.), *Historical articles on Women's lives and activities*, München, London, New York, Paris, 1992-1994, Vol. I-XX; Edith Ennen, *Frauen in Mittelalter,* München, 1994; Françoise Thélamon, *Écrire l'histoire des femmes*, Saint Cloud, 1998; Ana Rodriques Oliveira, *As representações da mulher na cronística medieval Portuguesa (sécs. XII a XIV)*, Cascais, 2000; Anna Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: widowhood and family solidarity in the Renaissance*, University of Michigan Press, 2000; Madeleine Lazard, *Les avenues de Fémynie. Les femmes et la Renaissance*, Paris, 2001; Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, *Histoiry des femmes en Occident,* Paris, 2001-2002, Vol. I-V; Dominique Godineau, *Les femmes dans la société française, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 2003; E.C. Goldsmith. C.H. Winn (coord.), *Lettres de femmes*, Paris, 2005; Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages*, Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006; Anita Kay O'Pry-Reynolds, *Men and Women as Represented in Medieval Literature and Society*, in "Saber and Scroll", 2013, Vol. 2, no. 2, p. 37-45 (http://digitalcommons.apus.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1048& context=saberandscroll).

[3] Н. Л. Пушкарева, *Женская история, гендерная история: сходства, отличия, перспективы* [Women's History, Gender History: Similarities, Differences, Prospects], in *Социальная история. Женская и гендерная история*, Москва, 2003, p. 9-45; Idem, *Гендерные исследования: рождение, становление, методы и перспективы в системе исторических наук* [Gender Studies: Birth, Formation, Methods and Perspectives on the System of Historical Sciences], in *Женщина. Гендер. Культура*, Москва, 1999, p. 16-17; Idem, *Гендерная теория и историческое знание* [Gender Theory and Historical Knowledge], Санкт-Петербург, 2007, p. 44-56; Idem (coord.), *Власть, этнос, семья. Гендерные роли в XXI веке* [Power, Ethnos, Family. Gender Roles in the 21st Century], Москва, 2010; Л. П. Репина, *Женщины и мужчины в истории: новая картина европейского прошлого* [Women and Men in History: The New Picture of the European Past]*,* Москва, 2002; Л. П. Репина, В. В. Зверева, М. Ю. Парамонова, *Что такое гендерная история* [What is Gender History?] in *История исторического знания*, Москва, 2004, p. 254-262; Л. П. Репина, "*Новая историческая наука" и социальная история* ["New Historical Science" and Social History], Издание второе, 2009.

conventional type of authority, women retained "offstage" regulatory functions, namely through marital arrangements, prevention of men from accessing to power or ascending in their political careers, helping them to develop their political position, or thwarting the organization or the involvement in conspiracies, political uprisings, and coups. The researchers in the field look at these forms and instruments of dominion within the division of power framework, through both the public and the private ratio[4]. The interdisciplinary approach endorsed a more elucidated lecture of the historical material with regards to certain social and political aspects. The authors repeatedly refer to the subject of female leadership during the medieval era[5]. A number of studies have been devoted to this particular issue, which included inquiries regarding the question of matrilineal succession in Serbia and Bulgaria in the Middle-Age. The primary finding of the study in question was the confirmation of the women's crucial role in securing the hereditary right to throne of a dynasty. Women represented the key vector for attaining powerful positions, albeit not being able to withhold it. The preeminent argument in harnessing the power and presenting a claim to the throne was through affinity unions[6].

The focus of the present analysis is the demonstration of political contrivances Moldovan women possessed in the harnessing of power, during the

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[4] Л. П. Репина, "*Новая историческая наука*", с. 208-211.

[5] L. Zabolotnaia, *Les droits des femmes de Moldovie en Moyen Âge*, in "Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny", Lublin-Radzyń Podlaski-Siedlce, 2005, Vol. II, p. 55-61; Idem, *Елена Волошанка в русской истории. Династический, генетический и политический аспекты* [Elena Voloshanka in Russian History. Dynastic, Genetic and Political Aspects], in *Пол. Политика. Поликультурность: гендерные отношения и гендерные системы в прошлом и настоящем,* Москва, 2014, Т. 2, p. 323-328; Idem, *Власть, конфликт, агрессия: гендерный аспект политической истории Болгарии XIII века* [Power, Conflict, Aggression: The Gender Aspect of the Political History of Bulgaria in the 13th Century], in *Женщины и женское движение за мир без войн и военных конфликтов*, Москва – Старый Оскол, 2015, Vol. III, p. 63-70.

[6] L. Zabolotnaia, *Women and power in the history of the Asan dynasty*, in "Tyragetia", Chişinău, 2012, Vol. VI [XXI], no. 2, p. 53-62; Idem, *The Impact of the Ottoman Factor on the Status of Women in the South-Eastern European Countries in the Middle Ages through Historiography Perspectives*, in "Codrul Cosminului", Suceava, 2013, Vol. XX, no. 1, p. 127-141; Idem, *Женщина и власть в истории господствующих династий средневековой Сербии (Неманичей и Хребеляновичей)* [Women and Power in the History of the Ruling Dynasties of Medieval Serbia), in "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia. Stereotypy Bałkańskie", Instytut Historii UAM, Poznań, 2011, p. 86-98; Idem, *Женщины в истории царских династий средневековой Болгарии (XII–XIII вв.): общее и особенное* [Women in the History of the Royal Dynasties of Medieval Bulgaria (XIIth - XIIIth Centuries): General and Special], in *Relaţiile moldo-bulgare: istorie şi cultură*, Chişinău, 2016, p. 12-30.

Medieval Era. In addition, it attempts to render a historical issue through an anthropological point of view: the women's history. Furthermore, the addressing of the social status of women in Middle aged Moldova represents a scientific novelty. The essential drift of the article derives from the necessity of the women's history betterment for the Middles Ages and the identification of their legal freedoms, through the comparative approach. The perspective that considers the traditional history is made and written by men is not a new one. The narrative and documentary sources, as well as the context of the evolution of the society have encouraged this view[7]. Women have been systematically reduced to a statute defined as inferior, being condemned to an endless unflattering comparison to the male standards, to the perfect, ideal and incomparable image of the most complete man, their god[8].

The life of a woman belonging to the medieval society had three main dimensions: family, marriage and religion. All along the middle ages, the women have abundantly fulfilled their procreating role. They were seen as inferior to men and did not enjoy their affection. The church was teaching them to be docile and obedient to men. We agree to the historians' statements referring to the social and juridical statute of women, in general. However, we may observe that the situation of women in the medieval Moldavia was very similar to that of the women of the rest of the Europe. There is no doubt womankind receded into private space and represented the conservatory side of the society. But research done in the last years brings some clarifications on this multilateral matter. We want to point out that the historical records obviously show that, in Moldavia, women - especially those belonging to the high society - had many more privileges than those of other European countries[9].

Women of medieval Moldavia were enjoying a privileged and independent statute in the society and in the family; their juridical position was similar. The normative documents, the foreign travellers and others sources of the epoch bear witness about it. A confirmation of this fact is represented by the juridical documents stating that, unlike women of the East and West Europe, the women of Moldavia had the right to their own movable and immovable assets; they had also

[7] Sorin Iftimi, *Ipostaze feminine între medieval și modern* [Feminine Hypostases between Medieval and Modern], in "Revista de Istorie Socială", 1999-2002, Vol. IV, p. 37.

[8] Rosalind Miles, *Cine a pregătit Cina cea de taină? Istoria universală a femeilor* [Who Prepared the Last Supper? The Universal History of Women], București, Editura Meteor, 2008, p. 135.

[9] Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Dreptul la proprietate și la moștenire al femeilor din Moldova și țările vecine (secolele XIV-XVII). Studii și documente* [The Right to Property and Inheritance of Women in Moldova and Neighboring Countries. Studies and Documents], Chișinău, Editura Cardidact, 2015, p. 133-135.

the right to divorce, and to dispose of their own dowry, money, etc.

It is surprising that women of the medieval Moldavia had a certain influence on the reigning power. This is motivated by the following facts:

– two reigning dynasties, the Bogdăneşti – Muşatin family and the Movileşti family, were determined on female line;

– the ladies had the right to rule until the minor sons (chosen as voivodes) reached the age that allowed them to reign over the country;

– the ladies held political prerogatives during the power struggles (of their husbands or sons);

– the voivodes' daughters became a „weapon" that could resolve political (international, inter-territorial, etc.) issues by means of internal or external dynastic alliances.

– the Moldavian tradition allowed the legitimate and natural children to get to the throne; in this case, the ladies obtained a special statute and were the ones to protect their children while reigning.

In the medieval Moldavia, the voivodes' succession to the throne was specific. The hereditary-elective rule of throne succession was applied right from the birth of the state. The voivode had to be a man, and to come from "a ruler's bone" (meaning to be the son of a ruler).

THE FEMALE THRONE SUCCESSION PROHIBITION

As Ştefan S. Gorovei states, "the right to reign was never transmitted on female line"[10]. Yet, in Moldavia, two reigning dynasties - Bogdăneşti-Muşatin and Movileşti - were brought about on female line or through the "reigning blood".

The Bogdăneşti-Muşatin Dynasty: The discussions on this matter have been lasting for quite a long time and did not end up to the present time. It is one of the most controversial problems of Romanian historiography. Some researchers support the opinion (rooted in the historical literature) according to which the first reigning dynasty was that of the Muşatins[11], while others consider that the Bogdăneşti-Muşatin dynasty is a more correct name[12].

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[10] Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Muşatinii*, Chişinău, 1991, p. 25.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 7-18; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor. Pentru poporul românesc* [History of Romanians. For the Romanian People], Chişinău, 1992, p. 43-45; Alexandru D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [History of Romanians in Traian Dacia], ed. a IV-a, Bucureşti, 1986, Vol. II, p. 32-40.

[12] Constantin Rezachevici, *Polonia în vremea Jagiellonilor* [Poland in Time of Jagiellonian], in "Studii şi articole de istorie", Vol. XLV-XLII, 1980; Idem, *Cine a fost soţia lui Ilie Voievod, fiul lui Alexandru cel Bun? Un episod dinastic moldo-polono-lituan* [Who was the Wife of Ilie the Voevod, the Son of Alexander the Good?], in "Arhiva genealogică", II

The first opinion is supported by Nicolae Iorga[13], Petre P. Panaitescu[14], A. D. Xenopol[15], Constantin Gane[16], Vlad Georgescu[17], Ştefan S. Gorovei[18] et. al. Referring to this matter, N. Iorga stated: "Petru of Muşata, the wife of Stephen... was a legal ruler, as one who rooted, through his mother, from the founder's blood, from Bogdan's bloodline"[19]. Petre P. Panaitescu brought even more arguments and considered that, along with the death of Laţcu, the reign of the family of Bogdan the founder reaches its end. Laţcu had a sister, Margareta, also a catholic, named Muşata. She was married to a boyar named Costea, and their son, Petre, took over the throne after Laţcu's death: "Petre Muşatin, who is the son of Muşata, had gotten the right to the throne succession from his mother. In Moldavia, Petru Muşatin started a dynasty that lasted till the end of the 16th century and to which belong Alexander the Good, Stephen the Great, Petru Rareş"[20]. C. Gane proposes another explanation of the dynasty's origin: "the well-known Muşata was a Moldavian Lady, the daughter of Bogdan the founder, the sister of Laţco... After the death of Bogdan and of his son, Laţco, Petru, the son of Muşata, has been given the country's throne so that it would not fall into foreign hands. Petru was also a ruler's son. We may regard him as the true founder of Moldavia. For his father, Muşata's husband, Ştefan was the Voivode of Şepeniţa. After Ştefan's death, his son Petru succeeded to the throne and when the Bogdăneşti dynasty ended, the Moldavians asked him to be a ruler for them too, as he was the son of Bogdan's daughter. This way, the Bogdăneşti dynasty has been continued on the female line and the reign of the Muşatins started in Moldavia; therefore, through this election, the true Moldavia was founded. Muşata, a voivode's daughter, was the mother of three rulers - Petru, Roman and Ştefan - and also the grandmother of Alexander the Good, the great-granddaughter of Stephen the Great and the ancestor of all the other voivodes - Petru Rareş, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, etc. This is why her baptismal name remained in our history as a patrimonial name, known by the entire Romanian

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　　(VII), 1995, p. 11-19; Idem, *Cronologia domnilor din Ţara Românească şi Moldova. a. 1324-1881*[Chronology of Rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia. a. 1324-188], Bucureşti, 2001, Vol. I, p. 432-442.

[13] Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor...*, p. 43-45.

[14] Petre P. Panaitescu, *Istoria Românilor* [History of Romanians], Bucureşti, 1990, p. 85-86.

[15] Alexandru D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană...*, p. 32-40.

[16] Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieţi de doamne şi domniţe* [Bygone Lives of Queens and Princesses], Chişinău, 1991, Vol. 1, p. 21-24.

[17] Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria Românilor. De la origini până în zilele noastre* [History of Romanians. From Origins to Our Days], Bucureşti, 1992, pp. 37, 45, 71.

[18] Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Muşatinii...*, p. 7-18.

[19] Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor...*, p. 44.

[20] Petre P. Panaitescu, *Istoria Românilor...*, p. 85.

world for almost 600 years"[21].

It is of great interest to observe the monographic study of Ştefan S. Gorovei in which the author mentions: "The internal conditions in which the reign over Moldavia has been taken over by Petru I, in 1375, are unknown to us. We may only presume that the young prince – born around 1350, according to some simple genealogical and chronological calculations – lived at the court, mastering some of the secrets of government during the eight years of reign of his uncle, Laţcu. It is evident, as Laţcu had an only child – a girl, Anastasia, who could not have inherited the throne. Petru was regarded as the incontestable successor of Laţcu, for he was educated in this regard and the throne was passed from one to another without conflicts or struggles... In the *Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia*, Petru is presented as the son of Muşata. It has been considered for a while that this formula could indicate the origin of the ruling rights of Petru I; in this case, Muşata should have been the daughter of Bogdan I. Yet, our entire history proves that, from the 14th to the 16th century, the right to power was never transmitted through women. Next, a wrong understanding of texts has resulted into the idea that the chronicle's indication should be translated as "the son of Muşat", accepted as a patronymic! In order to put things back to their places, we must state that, in reality, the term of Muşatin – in the above-mentioned context of the *Anonymous Chronicle* – means nothing else than «of Muşata»"[22]. In another study, Ştefan S. Gorovei mentions: "As for the discontinuity of the Bogdăneşti dynasty, there is no question of it. Laţcu did not have male successors (for the Romanians did not allow succession to be transmitted on female line), the throne was naturally taken over by a son of his brother, the nephew of Bogdan's son, ensuring the natural continuity of the dynasty"[23]. In the process of explaining this controversial matter, an essential input of historical literature belongs to Constantin Rezachevici: Laţcu was followed to the throne by the son of his brother, Petru, named in the internal chronicles of the 15th - 16th centuries[24] "the son of Muşata" because his father had died without getting to reign, while his mother (a well-known figure), was probably very involved in the political life of Moldavia during the reign of her both sons (Petru and Roman) who succeeded to the throne, one after the other, during the last quarter of the 14th century.

In the first half of the 17th century, Grigore Ureche wrongly translated from the Slavonic language "the son of Muşata" as "the son of Muşat". During the second

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[21] Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieţi de doamne şi domniţe…*, p. 21-22.

[22] Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Muşatinii…*, p. 25.

[23] Idem, *Întemeirea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* [Founding of Moldova. Controversial Issues], Iaşi, 1997, p. 305-307.

[24] Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor…*, p. 432.

half of the same century, Metropolitan Dosoftei mentions that "Pătru the voivode, named Muşatin, came next to the throne and led the country rightfully", a form that also appears, around 1770, in the translation of the Putna Chronicle by the archimandrite Vartolomei Măzăreanu of the Solca monastery. It is well known that this onomastic name imperceptibly became a last name – Muşatin - and was imposed to a great extent on the literary way, "in the prejudice of the correct form: the family or the dynasty of Bogdăneşti, which I prefer, have used and will continue to use ... in spite of an erroneous tradition!"[25]. In this respect, we bring arguments from the time's documents. *The Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia*, written in the Slavic language and containing the history of this principality from 1359 to 1507, may serve as an example: "and the son of Muşata, Petru the Voivode, ruled for 12 years. And after him, his brother, Roman the Voivode, ruled the country for 3 years"[26]. The *Putna Chronicle* no. 1 or the *Short History on the Rulers of Moldavia*"[27]contains the history of this country from the moment of its founding, 1359, to the year 1526: "Petru the Voivode, the son of Muşata, ruled for 12 years and died. And after him, his brother, Roman the Voivode, ruled the country for 3 years"[28]. The *Putna Chronicle* no. 2[29] presents the period from 1359 to 1518, when "the son of Muşata, Petru, reigned for 16 years. And then his brother, Roman, ruled for 3 years"[30]. The *Russian-Moldavian Chronicle*[31] mentioned: "Petru the Voivode, the son of Muşata" who, reigned for 16 years[32]. The *Polish-Moldavian Chronicle*[33] states: "Peter the son of Mushata ruled eight years. After his reign, his son, Roman, ruled for another eight years. Then Stephan Roman's brother reigned for seven

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[25] *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI* [Slavic-Romanian Chronicles from 15th to the 16th Century], Bucureşti, 1959, pp. 14, 44, 48, 55, 61, 168, 177; Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor…*, p. 446-447.

[26] *Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI…*, pp. 6, 14.

[27] It was discovered in Kiev, by Ion Bogdan, and was published in the volume *Vechile cronici moldoveneşti până la Urechia* [The Old Moldavian Chronicles until Urechia], Bucureşti, 1891.

[28] *The Putna Chronicle no.* 1, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI…*, p. 48.

[29] It was discovered by Ion Bogdan in the public library of Saint Petersburg.

[30] *The Putna Chronicle nr. 2*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI*…, p. 61.

[31] Or *The Chronicle of Moldavia* that forms an appendix to the Russian chronicle *Воскресенская летопись,* a compilation of texts gathered during the 17th century. The *Chronicle of Moldavia* has a separate title: *Povestire pe scurt despre domnii Moldovei, de când s-a început ţara Moldovei* [Short Story about Moldavian Rulers, since the Moldavia was founded].

[32] *The Russian-Moldavian Chronicle*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI…,* p. 157.

[33] *The Polish-Moldavian Chronicle*, written in the Polish, presents the history of Moldavia from 1352 to 1564. It is most probable that the chronicle was written in Moldavia, based on a Slavic manuscript of the time. The author remains unknown, but we presume he was a Pole who lived in Moldavia for a certain period of time.

years ("Potim sin Mussaczinow, Petr, bil hospodarem 8 lat. Potim sin Petrow, Roman bil hospodarem osm liat. Potim Romanow brat, Stephan, bil hospodarem 7 liat")[34]. As this text shows, the fact that Petru Muşatin is named as "the son of Lady Muşata", and not mentions the name of his father, is indisputable. The single discrepancy between these sources is the period of Petru Muşat's reign, but this matter should constitute the subject of a separate research. Into the same train of ideas, we may bring the document of May 1, 1384, issued in the town of Hârlău, indicating that Petru Muşat, the Voivode, gives the earnings of the fair of the Siret town to the "John the Baptizer" church, founded by his mother, Margareta: "We, Petru the Voivode, by God's mercy, duke of the Moldavian country, taking into consideration that our bright and venerable Lady Margarita, our beloved and honourable mother, through her faith in God and out of love for her blessed mother, Maria, started to found and build a church and a sanctum for the preacher monk brothers, in the town of Siret. Written in the fourth Sunday, when Jubilation is sung... in the town of Hârlău, at the court of our beloved mother"[35].

If we put together all the opinions, we may conclude that all the researchers support the idea that Muşata played a special role in the naming of the reigning dynasty that entered history as the "House of Bogdan-Muşat".

ALEXANDRU LĂPUŞNEANU – THE FIRST "BESSARABIAN" RULER OR THE CONTINUER OF THE BOGDAN – MUŞAT DYNASTY ?

We consider it necessary to bring an argument in favour of women in the story of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu's accession to the throne. It is known that "Petrea the Steward..., dubbed Alexandru Lăpuşneanu"[36], „an illegitimate son of Bogdan the Voivode", married the daughter of Petru Rareş, Ruxanda, after getting to the throne. This event is described by Grigore Ureche: "When Alexandru Lăpuşneanu the Voivode came to the country – after cutting the nose of Joldea and sending him to monkhood – married Roxanda, the daughter of Petru the Voivode, who should have married Joldea, to be his lady... So, he and Roxandra wedded and had their wedding ceremony"[37]. This chapter raises a lot of questions; first of all – as C. Rezachevici states - what was pushing the ambitious widow (Elena Ecaterina - L.Z.) to support Joldea, "who did not belong to a ruler's family and was not even

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[34] *The Polish-Moldavian Chronicle*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...,* p. 168-169.

[35] *Documente privind Istoria României* [Documents on the History of Romania], A. Moldova, Bucureşti, 1954, Vol. I (1384-1475), doc. 1, p. 1-2.

[36] Grigore Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* [The Chronicles of the Land of Moldavia], in *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, Chişinău, 1990, p. 86.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

considered a nobleman?"[38]; the second question is: why did Elena Ecaterina not propose her youngest son, Constantin, aged 12 at the time, as a successor to the throne? And one last question: why did Alexandru Lăpuşneanu insist to marry Roxanda, his cousin?

In our opinion, we must look for an explanation while examining the political ambitions of both parts. Elena Ecaterina was desperate after her two sons, Ilie and Ştefan, ended their reign; the first "rejected his faith and converted to Islam, a repudiation that was considered a "shame on the country", and his name has been removed from the churches' diptychs and front porch motives. Ştefan Rareş had a disturbed mind and "therefore the boyars killed him"[39]. It is most probable that, at this time, Elena Ecaterina did not dare to propose her youngest son as a successor to the throne, and therefore, to get to be a regent. She wanted the reign to be obtained by a person who would have been able to administer and manage the power, and later on (after Constantin would have reached an age that would have allowed him to reign) to be able to remove him from the throne. Roxanda was her only possibility to keep the power in her hands.

As for Alexandru Lăpuşneanu's purpose, we consider that he also wanted to put forth his right to throne succession, through marriage. It is surprising that, even if he had already obtained the power through the political-military support from the Poles, he also needed additional guarantees that would have been able to offer him a bit of "a ruler's blood".

While analysing this matter, it is necessary to get a closer view of a few episodes of the ruler's life. Since he was the illegitimate son of Bogdan III, he was younger than Ştefăniţă (1517-1527)[40], „the first son of Bogdan III, born of an illegitimate relationship with a certain Stana"[41]; therefore, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu was born approximately between the years 1509-1517. At the beginning of the '50s of the 16th century, he was around 40 years old. It was a considerable age, quite advanced for the time, and it is strange that no mention can be found in any document of the period about his life before his reign, excepting the mentions about his mother. It might be that he had no family or children, especially since he had been a steward at the court, before getting to the throne, and it is exactly at this age that he had decided to fight for power. These facts make us believe that he led quite an active political life. The information about his wedding to Ruxanda is quite controversial. While Grigore Ureche writes that the wedding took place

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[38] Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor...*, p. 613.
[39] Petre P. Panaitescu, *Istoria Românilor*..., p. 155.
[40] His date of birth was not mentioned in the chronicles, as the contemporaries' opinions about his age are approximate: 1503, 1506, 1508, or 1509.
[41] Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor...*, p. 553.

exactly at the beginning of his reign, the *Chronicle of Azarie*[42] states that the event happened two years later: "After the second year of his reign, he married the orthodox lady (*Tsaritsa*! – the princess) Roxanda, the daughter of Petru the Old, the Voivode"[43]. We think that the wedding might have been delayed because Lady Elena Ecaterina refused the marriage between the cousins. The *Chronicle of Eftimie*[44] gives us more details about the wedding, at Alexandru Lăpușneanu's bidding: "... the great ruler, Alexandru the Voivode, after naming all the governing boyars under his power... the Voivode set up a brilliant feast and was rejoicing from all his heart... together with his beloved mother, Anastasia, the orthodox lady, and with all his boyars and all his people from the palace"[45]. As the source shows, speaking about Alexandru Lăpușneanu's enthronement ceremony, his mother Anastasia is described through the most beautiful words of love and called "*gospodja*" or "the Lady" (sic! – L.Z.)[46]; yet, nothing is mentioned about Ruxandra and her mother, Elena Ecaterina.

Another document of the time - the *Polish-Moldavian Chronicle*[47]- is of special interest in order to clarify the events. It mentioned that in 1552 "Sigismund August, the king of Poland, enthroned Alexandru, of Moldavian blood, as the Voivode of Moldavia. As for Joldea, he has been caught by the Moldavians who cut his nose and sent him to the monastery. This Alexandru, after getting to the throne, strangled the old wife of Petru the Voivode, and married her daughter, who had been engaged to Joldea"[48]. It is also intriguing that the author names Alexandru Lăpușneanu as "Moldavian blood" (*Tesz narodu voloskiego*)[49], without any mention of some noble/ruler's blood. It is possible that this document inspired Nicolae Iorga to name Alexandru Lăpușneanu as "the first Bessarabian Voivode (by his mother)"[50]. Aside from this opinion, the historiography also presents the view that, together with the death of Ștefan Rareș, the House of Mușat also died,

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[42] The *Chronicle of Azarie*, written in Medio-Bulgarian, comprises the history of Moldavia from 1551 to 1574. It continues the *Chronicle of Macarie* in a complete form that goes up to year 1551. We know nothing about the author of the chronicle except for what he himself writes in his chronicle, that "he was the youngest apprentice" of Macarie, the bishop of Roman. Azarie, as his monastic name shows, was a monk.

[43] *The Chronicle of Azarie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, pp. 126, 130.

[44] Eftimie was an official annalist of the Voivode Alexandru Lăpușneanu. The chronicle is written in the Slavic language and presents the events of the history of Moldavia taking place from 1541 to 1554.

[45] *The Chronicle of Eftimie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, p. 124.

[46] *Ibid.*, p.124.

[47] *The Polish-Moldavian Chronicle*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, pp. 164.-167.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Nicolae Iorga, *Opere economice* [Economic Works], București, 1982, p. 611.

and Alexandru Lăpuşneanu "began a new Moldavian reign"[51].

These opinions might be wrong, as Alexandru Lăpuşneanu sprang from two reigning bloodlines: the Bogdăneşti-Muşatini bloodline, through his father (he was the nephew of Ştefan cel Mare/Stephen the Great) and the Drăculeşti line, through his paternal grandmother, Maria Voichiţa, the daughter of Radu the Fair[52]. It is possible that his mother belonged to a boyar bloodline, as he was recognized and supported by a certain group of boyars from Moldavia and Poland. In the *Word about the Foundation of the Pângăraţi Monastery* it is shown that Alexandru Lăpuşneanu had been chosen to be a ruler "from his mother's womb, to be the *hospodar* of the Moldavian land"[53]. Alexandru the Voivode (or former Petru the Steward) was the natural son of Bogdan III and Anastasia of Lăpuşna[54]. He had therefore a "ruler's blood", and it was not necessary to mention his maternal origin while acceding to the throne[55]. A confirmation of this has been revealed by Constantin Rezachevici. Even before his arrival in Moldavia, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu took an oath of fidelity to the Polish king. In the text of the homage and of the oath of fidelity, written on September 5, 1552, in Bakota, Alexandru named himself "I, Petru Alexandru, Voivode of the Moldavian and Wallachian Principalities"[56]. More than 60 Moldavian boyars and 23 Polish noblemen attended the oath ceremony. Among the nobles, there was Stanisław Zamoyski, the hunter of Helm (the father of the well-known Jan Zamoyski)[57]. As representatives

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[51] Idem, *Alexandru Lăpuşneanu – primul domn basarabean (după mamă)* [Alexandru Lăpuşneanu - the First Bessarabian Prince (After his Mother)], in "Revista Istorică", 1918, Vol. IV, no. 1-3, p. 3; Idem, *Istoria Românilor...*, p. 102.

[52] G. Pungă, *Ţara Moldovei în vremea lui Alexandru Lăpuşneanu* [The Land of Moldavia in the Time of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu], Iaşi, 1994, p. 37-39.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp.198-199, 306; P.Ş. Năsturel, *Cuvântul pentru zidirea mănăstirii Pângăraţi* [The Word for Building the Pângăraţi Monastery], in "Buletinul Bibliotecii Române", Freiburg, 1983, p. 392-399.

[54] Sorin Iftimi, *Un model cultural oriental: soţiile ale domnilor români (secolele XVI-XVII),* [An Oriental Cultural Model: The Wives of the Romanian Rulers (16th-17th Centuries)], in *De Potestate. Semne şi expresii în Evul Mediu românesc* [De Potestate. Signs and Expressions in the Romanian Middle Ages], Iaşi, 2006, p. 324-325; Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Muşatinii...*, p. 98.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 98-106.

[56] Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor...*, p. 617-619.

[57] The oath ceremony was attended by the Polish noblemen Matias Włodek, the Captain of Caminitsa, Bernard Prethfici, starosta of Trębowla, Ioan Kamieniecki, the Voivode of Podolia, N. Sieniawski, the Voivode of Bełz, Stanisław Tarło, Cristofor Widoglowski, the Commander of the pedestrian army, and others. Among the Moldavian boyars we may mention: "Negrilă, the great hetman, Dan the treasurer, Mogâldea the steward, Ion Moţoc, the eqquery, Neagu, starosta of Soroca, Toader, starosta of Hotin, Spancioc, the

of the Moldavian boyars we may mention Ion Movilă, Lord Steward of Suceava, married to Maria, the daughter of Petru Rareş and the (paternal) sister of Ruxanda, the wife of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu. The newly enthroned ruler of the Moldavian Principality, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, was the brother-in-law of Ion Movilă (the father of Ieremia Movilă)[58] Erasm Otwinowski, who passed through Moldavia as an emissary, wrote in his work *The relation of the travel through Moldavia and Dobruja* (1557) about the brother of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu: "I spent the night on the hills in front of Lăpuşna, the town of the Voivode's brother, a turnpike man"[59].

As the documentary sources of the time shows, it is most probable that Alexandru Lăpuşneanu came from a boyar's family and had close relatives, a mother and a brother. Nothing is known about his personal life before his marriage to Ruxandra, the daughter of Petru Rareş. But we may state, this marriage was performed out of political interest. As Sorin Eftimi wrote: "Ruxanda, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu's wife, was a lady by birth, not only by marriage"[60], and she specified in the description on the tombstone (that she built for her brother, Ştefan the Voivode, at the Probota monastery, in 1552) that she is "the daughter of Petru Rareş the Voivode, and the lady of Alexandru the Voivode"[61].

The marriage to the ruler's daughter doubled the reigning chances of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, as well as their descendants'. It is possible that the wedding did not take place initially because of Elena Ecaterina, firstly, because she hoped that her youngest son, Constantin, would come to the throne, and secondly, because she was against a marriage between close relatives. It is intriguing that this fact is not mentioned in any document of the time, even though marriage between cousins was prohibited by Church in the Medieval Moldavia, and no other similar case is known. Constantin Gane wrote about this marriage: "willy-nilly, she was to be his wife, even though they were cousins-german. But the metropolitan saw fit to state that, according to the dogmas, they were not related, as Rareş şi

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bailiff of the Iaşi district, etc.", according to Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia domnilor*..., p. 620; G. Pungă, *Ţara Moldovei...,* p. 197-199.

[58] Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents on the History of Romanians], Bucureşti, 1897, Vol. I, p. 185-186.

[59] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române* [Foreign Travelers about the Romanian Countries], Bucureşti, 1970, Vol. II, p. 120.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 324-325; Idem, *Doamnele şi puterea. Statutul doamnei in Ţările Române* [Women and Power. Status of Lady in the Romanian Principalities], in *De Potestate. Semne şi expresii*..., p. 298.

[61] *Ibid.,* p. 303; Nicolae Iorga, *Studii si documente* [Studies and Documents], Bucureşti, 1903, Vol. V, p. 652.

Lăpușneanu were only natural children"[62]. We do not agree with these mismatched statements that do not seem convincing enough. Moldavia was the only country in Europe where natural children had the same rights to reign as the legitimate sons. The case of Petru Rareș and Alexandru Lăpușneanu serves as a confirmation, while they were the rulers' children, born by their legitimate wives and not by concubines. They both got to the throne at an advanced age and were able to fight for power thanks to their descent that could be even exclusively confirmed through their mothers and then recognized by the society.

As a conclusion, we presume that women (mother and wife) played a crucial part in the political career of Alexandru Lăpușneanu. His mother was a "lady" who gave birth to a "ruler's son", and this statute allowed Petru the Steward to claim the throne and become a ruler - „Alexandru the Voivode, dubbed Lăpușneanu"[63]. His marriage to Ruxanda was also a political instrument of affirmation as a Voivode, on *"a ruler's bloodline"*. As he was born from *"a ruler's bone"* and related to a lady having "royal blood", Alexandru Lăpușneanu was, in all certainty, the successor of the house of Bogdan-Mușat.

THE MOVILEȘTI DYNASTY

One of the most pointy and controversial matters of the historical literature is the origin of Ieremia Movilă and his right to reign. Historians have dedicated a series of scientific articles to the given matter, but, regretfully, up to this time there is no such thing as a synthesis work on the topic. Historiography records various opinions, and one of them is based on Ion Neculce's statement that the Movilești family roots come from the Purice Usher, the saviour of Stephen the Great in the battle of Șcheia (1486)[64]. Ștefan S. Gorovei, in a special study *From "Purice-Movilă" and "Barnovschi-Moghilă. Two (not only) genealogical explanations"*, brings convincing arguments that the Movilă family was not related to the Purice family and that "in the *word* of Neculce we can find a reflection of the tradition of the Movilă family, and not of the Purice family"[65]. According to his statement, the

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[62] Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe...*, p. 63.

[63] Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei...*, p. 86.

[64] Matei Cazacu, *A existat aprodul Purice?* [Did the Purice Usher exist?], in "Magazin Istoric", 1970, Vol. IV, no. 4, p. 69; Idem, *Pierre Mohyla (Petru Movilă) et la Roumanie: essai historique et bibliographique*, in "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", 1984, Vol. VIII, 1, no. 1-2, p. 193-195; Idem, *La famille et le statut de la femme en Moldavie (XIV-XIX siècles)*, in "Revista de Istorie Socială", 1999, Vol. II-III, p. 1-16; M. Ciubotaru, *De la Vilnești la Movilă lui Burcel. Observații onomastice și istorice* [From Vilnești to Burcel's Movilă. Onomastic and Historical Remarks], in "Arhiva Genealogică", 1994, Vol. VI, no. 1-2, p. 143-149.

[65] Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, *„Din Purice-Movilă" și „Barnovschi-Moghilă". Două explicații (nu*

origin of the Movilă family – that roots "in the bloodline of the old times' Voivodes" – must be looked up for in the ascent on the female line of the Movilă family[66].

In a special study, Gorovei analyses the genealogy of Ieremia Movilă's mother and confirms that Maria, the wife of the great Chancellor Ion Movilă and the mother of the three sons: Ieremia – the ruler of Moldavia, Simion – a "passenger" on the throne of both Principalities, and Gheorghe, the Metropolitan of Moldavia, was the daughter of Petru Rareş, probably the eldest, born of a previous marriage to Maria (†1529)"[67]. Dumitru Nastase shares the same opinion, that confirms, in one of his articles: *"… the definitive conclusion is that the father of Maria Movilă is the "despot"* (according to Ştefan Bogdan) Petru Rareş"[68].

There are several hypotheses on the origin of Maria[69] but all the scientific debates lead to the only and indisputable conclusion that the determining part in choosing the Movileşti dynasty as the ruling family was played by the maternal line, as Maria belonged to an authentic ruler's bloodline[70].

The opinion of the renowned researcher I. C. Miclescu-Prajescu is also intriguing. He led a profound analysis on the documents related to the enthronement of Ieremia Movilă and noticed a very interesting detail: "a significant detail must be

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numai) genealogice [From "Purice-Movilă" and "Barnovschi-Moghilă". Two (not only) Genealogical Explanations], in "Arhiva Genealogică", 1996, Vol. III (VIII), no. 3-4, p. 329.

[66] Idem, *Pe marginea unei filiaţii incerte: Maria Movilă – fiica lui Petru Rareş* [An Uncertain Descendant: Maria Movila – Petru Rares's Daughter], in "Cercetări istorice", 1980, Vol. XI, p. 325-330; Nicolae Iorga, *Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă* [Wife of Jeremiah Voda], in "A.R.M.S.I.", 1910, Vol. XXXII, p. 2.

[67] Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Pe marginea unei filiaţii incerte…*, p. 326.

[68] Dumitru Nastase, *Maria, mama lui Ieremia Movilă, fiică a „despotului" Petru Rareş* [Maria, the Mother of Jeremia Movila, the Daughter of the "Despot" Petru Rares], in "Arhiva Genealogică", 1996, Vol. III (VIII), p. 303-306.

[69] C. Gane considered that the mother of Maria, "Ruxanda, was the daughter of Brâncovici, the king of the Serbs, the sister of Lady Elena of Petru Rareş. Therefore, Ruxanda, Lăpuşneanu's Lady (the daughter of Petru Rareş and Elena Brâncovici) was the cousin of this Maria Movilă. It is easy to understand that the children of Ion and Maria, nephews of the cousins of Lăpuşneanu, quickly switched up their statute – especially on the time of a reign that had cut down all the old boyars, in order to bring up new ones" (Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieţi de doamne şi domniţe*…, p. 124). The Polish historian Zd. Spieralski, based on unmentioned sources, writes that Maria was a younger sister of Ruxanda Lăpuşneanu, so she was another daughter of Elena Brâncovici and she had been first married to Ion Joldea and then (in 1555, at the latest) got married, again, to Ion Movilă (Zdisław Spieralski, *Awantury moldawskie* [Moldavian Adventures], Warszawa, 1964, p. 116-117). The Polish historian Wl. Dworzaczek, in his study *The Genealogy* mentions that Ion Movilă had gotten married in 1553/1555 to Maria„ "a possible daughter of Rareş, the widow of an unknown man" (Władisław Dworzaczek, *Genealogia* [Genealogy], 1959, Warszawa, p. 89).

[70] Ştefan Sorin Gorovei, *Pe marginea unei filiaţii incerte: Maria Movilă*…, p. 330.

revealed: it is no longer spoken of "*descending from a ruler's bone*" but from "*ruler's blood*" ... for the first time in the Moldavian history, not only paternal descent is taken into consideration but also the maternal one"[71].

No matter the political, social, moral prestige of Ieremia Movilă, it would not have been sufficient in order to ensure the enthronement of the Movileşti family as a dynasty, at a time we know there were other descendants from „*a ruler's bone*" who were also striving for getting the throne in Iaşi, for example: Ion Bogdan, the son of Ştefăniţă; Bogdan, the son of Iancu Sasul (*Sas = Transylvanian Saxon T/N);* Wolfgang, the son of Rareş. I. C. Miclescu-Prăjescu highlights the fact that most of the rulers of the Moldavian country were descendants born from extramarital relationships. "If we were to look into the Voivode line, from Stephen the Great to the enthronement of Ieremia Movilă in 1595, we find that, among the 21 rulers that succeeded each other on the throne of Moldavia for 90 years, there are only 4 legitimate sons that follow their father's reign. In more than 75% of the other cases, the throne goes to sons born out of wedlock, brothers or sons of the predecessors"[72]. The father of the Voivodes Ieremia and Simion was the Great Steward Ion Movilă from Hudeşti, on the river Başău, in the Dorohoi region. The Hudici boyar bloodline had no relation to the "*ruler's bone*" and the reigning origin of the Movilă family "must not be searched for in this direction, but rather exclusively on the line of their mother, Maria", the Princess of the Great Steward Ion Movilă who was the daughter of Petru Rareş[73]. The author confirms that the political prestige of Ieremia Movilă was not sufficient in order to bring him to his enthronement, in 1595. It is clear that the naming of Aron the Voivode as the throne successor took place due to the tradition of a "ruler's bone", or at least, of a "ruler's bloodline" descent, and we can reason that by the following facts: 1. "I did not name a no account, imaginary offspring as your ruler, but rather a pure blood Moldavian boyar" (*The proclamation of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski*); 2) Ieremia... "from the blood of the old voivodes" (*The French report of March 4, 1596*); 3) "Ieremia is born in that country from the oldest and the most noble family" (*King Zygmunt III Waza's Diploma, March 25, 1597*); 4) "Ieremia di casa reale" (*The Holy See instructions of 1596*)[74].

Out of all the scientific debates, we may conclude that the female line played the decisive part in the accession to the throne of the Movileşti dynasty. Maria, the

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[71] I.C. Miclescu-Prajescu, *Noi date privind înscăunarea Movileştilor* [New Data on the Enthronement of the Movila Family], in "Arhiva Genealogică", Iaşi, 1997, Vol. IV(IX), no. 1-2, p. 166.

[72] *Ibid.*, p.160.

[73] *Ibid.*, p.167*; Documente privind Istoria României* [Documents on the History of Romania], Bucureşti, 1953, A. Moldavia, Vol. II (1606-1610), pp. 41, 100.

[74] I.C. Miclescu-Prăjescu, *Noi date privind înscăunarea Movileştilor...*, p. 173.

wife of the Great Steward, Ion Movilă, and the mother of the three sons – Ieremia, Simion and Gheorghe – had a pure ruler's blood. The members of the Movileşti family came into prominence as a reigning dynasty on female line, and the dynasty kept its continuity on the same way. The male line of Ieremia Movilă died out after the first generation; none of Ieremia Movilă's sons was married or left any heirs. And it is only through his daughters, married to Polish dignitaries, that Ieremia Movilă's descendants – the nephews, nieces, grandsons – became kings of Poland, politicians, poets, militaries in the royal suite, etc., being related to notorious royal families of Europe[75].

THE LADIES' REGENCY

From the Medieval documents, we may observe that the wives of the Voivodes of Moldavia and of Wallachia exerted their power almost constantly, and, according to the customs, either by replacing their husbands in their absence or by fostering their minor sons. This Romanian custom gives the lady the right to rule the public affairs. The Lady made resolutions and shared the justice, advising with the high dignitaries, when the ruler was at war or went on a distant travel. The Lady exerted the expected obligations when the ruler did not leave a regent in his place; but, even when a regent was appointed, the Lady was still the one to hold the ruling power. This was the public custom that gave women public right duties, quite largely[76]. In critical situations, when it was needed, the reigning ladies were determined and decisive and they actively participated to the political life, supporting their husbands and children.

As I have mentioned above, no case of ladies' succession to the throne is known, but the ladies were able to be regent while their sons, chosen to be rulers, were still minor. The regent Lady had the right to participate to the country's council and to make decisions referring to matters of major importance, related to internal or external politics. The Lady had the right to sign internal or external documents, to be involved in the country's management and was responsible for governing and administrating the country.

According to the opinion of Şarlota Solcan, "once involved in the power struggle for the right to succession of their sons or sons-in-law, the Ladies tried to

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[75]Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Movilencile şi descendenţii. Pagini necunoscute. Unele contribuţii la genealogia descendenţilor lui Ieremia Movilă* [Movilences and Descendants. Unknown Pages. Some Contributions to the Genealogy of the Descendants of Jeremiah Movila], in "Tyragetia", 2008, Vol. II (XVII), 2008.

[76] George Fotino, *Pagini din istoria dreptului românesc. Antologie, introducere, note şi bibliogarfie* [Pages in the History of Romanian Law. Anthology, Introduction, Notes and Bibliography], Bucureşti, 1972, p. 59.

both orientate in the internal political thicket in order to insure the support of a certain group of boyars, as well as to get external support. Generally, they demonstrated a lot of political realism... The widow ladies' activity, dedicated to ensuring the reign of their sons was rarely mentioned in the chronicles. Their attention was rather held by the role of these ladies after their sons got to be rulers, and they got to be regent. The measures taken during the regencies of these ladies, as well as personal relations of the relaters with the ladies in question strongly influenced their image that the relaters created and left to posterity"[77].

The case of Elena Ecaterina and of his daughter, Ruxandra, may serve as an example, especially since they are worth to be compared, being in contradiction. Both ladies, the mother and the daughter, got manifestly involved in the country's governing process in order to ensure the succession of their descendants to the throne. The contemporaries give a fair image of Elena Ecaterina, while writing about the education of their sons and describing it as rather negative, and accusing her of ruling "*without any council and any rules*"[78].

In *The Chronicle of Azarie*, comprising the period starting from the beginning of the reign of Ştefan Rareş (1551), there is an unfavourable description about the reign of the eldest son of Petru Rareş. The author was contemporary to the events narrated in the *Chronicle* and his name is Macarie, Bishop of Roman. He was the apprentice of Teoctist II, the Metropolitan of Moldavia (1508-1528), for whose teachings and character he gives out words of praise in his chronicle. "And, according to the advice of the bishops and of the entire council, he was raised to reign, on the throne of his father, Iliaş (1546-1551), a man of soft heart and weak soul; he was in no way similar to his father, as if he would not have been his son, but he affected and changed everything, that is the holy churches' institution and the ruling laws, and he had no mercy on the poor, accounting himself for a very wise man and boasting about his bird-hunting skills. And occupying himself with all these vanities, this conceited man listened to Agar's sons during the day, and during the night he gave his ears and heart to the unclean Turkish girls, until the devil got a definitive dwelling in him; for he never wanted to see in front of his eyes people of good thought...

But I will tell you about lord Iliaş, about the way he left everything, his sceptre and his mother, together with his brothers and, attracted by the desire for the Turkish vanities he left... and the throne did not remain without a master, for they at once... gave the sceptre to Ştefan (1551-1552) the brave-hearted one, that

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[77] Şarolta Solcan, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania şi Ţara Românească în Evul Mediu* [Women from Moldova, Transylvania and the Romanian Country in the Middle Ages], Bucureşti, 2005, p. 227.

[78] *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, p. 120.

had earlier been destined to reign, of the same blood as Iliaş, but having very different habits... and proved himself to be a bright-souled ruler, and had a good and beautiful face"[79].

The *Chronicle of Eftimie* also speaks about these facts: "In May 1544, Petru sent his eldest son, Iliaş, to Ţarigrad (Constantinople, T/N) to the great emperor and the only ruler, at the imperial Gate and he was accompanied by Petru the Voivode himself and by Lady Elena and all the great boyars and all the bishops and all the Moldavian abbots, to the Danube river.

For in his childhood he had been taught the Christian sacraments, but, later on, he liked the Arabian and Muslim law of Muhammad better, so he abandoned the right faith... and chose some Agarians (Turks. The legend says that the Turks are the descendants of Agar, mentioned in the Bible) as his counsellors... he sent his servants to buy some unclean Turkish whores, with a lot of thousands of aspres and golden ducats and brought them to him, and he, the unclean, started, to keep himself from wine and pork... On Wednesdays and Fridays and during the 40 days lent he eat meat, just like during the other holy Lents.

After all these, at the urge of his mother, Lady Elena, he became a torturer and a people murderer... So, the boyars, seeing it is so bad... started to run away from the country.

And they have also chased the most holy and the bright father of the priests and the teacher of Moldavia, Macarie, the bishop of Roman (1531-1558), away from his throne, unfairly and without any council or rule, following the advice and urge of his mother (*gospodja* – L.Z.), Lady Elena, and of Nour, and of Mitrofan[80], who had been a bishop"[81].

Besides the insults and the accusations against Lady Elena, regarding the bad governing of the country by her son, the author writes that the latter also "shed badness" around him: "11 of July, 1551, Ştefan the Young, the Voivode, got the sceptre of Moldavia's reign. He was the second son of Petru the Voivode. And in the beginning, he appeared to be good and a God loving man, and he was comforting everyone and made gifts to churches and acted in a very Christian manner...

But it was not long before he unexpectedly changed, and the evil started to flow out... And he started to think and to do everything like his brother, and to even go ahead of him sometimes. For he also brought Turkish sloths and mullahs... this filthy, blood drinker murderer was full of rage against women and men equally and dirtied himself with all impious acts, he was debauched and lustful and he was robbing and killing... he was killed by the boyars' council, and

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[79] *The Chronicle of Azarie,* in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, pp. 100, 102, 104-105.
[80] Bishop of Roman around 1550, and bishop of Rădăuţi since 1551.
[81] The *Chronicle of Eftimie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, p. 119-120.

he got the rightful punishment for his meanness, as he ended his unclean and debauched life with a bad death"[82].

Between the chronicler's lines, full of hatred and contempt for Elena and her sons, the question appears: how could a lady, who was so attached to her husband, to faith, and to her country, raised such "debauched sons... lustful and dirty murderers" (?- L.Z.). In exchange, the daughter of Elena and Petru Rareş, Ruxandra, proved herself to be an independent, strong and creditable woman. She was a faithful partner and a good support for her husband, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, and that is why, after his death, it is to her that the boyars consigned the country's throne, until her sons had reached the coming of age.

The original texts of the time expressively illustrate the life and the political activity of Ruxandra. In *The Chronicle of Azarie*, we find the most beautiful words about the political abilities of Ruxanda: "When Bogdan received the sceptre of power, because he was still young, Ruxanda, his mother, came to rule the country. Her counselors were Gavriil the Great Steward (Great Steward of Moldavia between 1568 and 1571) and Dumitru the Hetman (back then he was ex-hetman and magistrate (pârcălab) of Suceava, function held by him between 1557-1561) and the Lady (the tsarevna!) <u>was reigning over everyone</u>. For she had a man's mind, a great soul and she was gilded with wisdom and a living heaven who fed her garden with blessings. And this most generous "Lady" (*tsarevna!* - empress, t/n) honoured the princes beneath her with thousands of charities and was comforting them with very rich gifts and great honour and saw everything around her, without sparing the gold and without keeping an account, she was a nourishing rain who comforted the those who laboured under diseases, gave blessings to the helpless and poor and filled the hands of those tormented by their old age, full of pain, and urged the priests to pray by giving them comforting charities and cooled down the heart of the God-loving monks of the monasteries, who led a clean life, and of those who spent a life full of passions in seclusion and often checked up on them. And, everywhere, the holy Churches were nurtured for she was like a golden river with silver waves, and the poor took water and drank from it, till they were satiated. But she had a very weak body and always rested it on soft bedding. Together, the mother and the son, ruled for two years and nine months. And, day by day, as her sickness grew, it asked for the clay of the human being. And she has paid her duty, that is, she passed away in the year of 1571, in November, and was buried in honour in the praying house that they had founded, Slatina"[83]. The *Chronicle* of Grigore Ureche mentions, in the same manner, the special features of Ruxandra's character:

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[82] *Ibid.*, p. 121-122.
[83] *The Chronicle of Azarie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI...*, pp. 135, 148.

"After the death of Alexandru the Voivode, as the good son of Bogdan the Voivode was 15, they all put him on the throne, but the country's affairs were ruled by his mother, Ruxanda, for she was a smart, worthy woman, led by God, full of mercy and a lover of all good things"[84]. This description of Lady Ruxanda deeply reflects the time's view on women, the opinion that the woman as a queen, as an empress, was the regent of her children. European history knows many situations of this kind. In Ruxanda's case, the fact that she was "smart, worthy and full of mercy" was acknowledged by the boyars, by men, who would have loved to lead the country on their own (under any guise – as regents or as lovers). Grigore Ureche speaks about Ruxanda's wisdom and describes it resulting from the others' sayings, and this only makes her merits greater.

One of the most persuasive examples is Elisabeta Movilă. After the death of Ieremia Movilă, she fought in order to get the throne for her sons. Miron Costin writes about her that "she was a wicked... and rapacious woman"[85], who "poisoned her brother-in-law, Simion the Voivode"[86]. After the death of Simion, Elisabeta started an atrocious struggle with her sister-in-law, the wife of Simion Movilă, who had presented her son, Mihăilaş, as a candidate for the throne. Finally, the struggle was won by Constantin, the son of Ieremia, helped by his brothers-in-law from Poland. Constantin was a child, and, as a ruler, he was fostered by her mother, Elisabeta, an energetic and daring woman (1608-1611)[87].

At the battle at Cornul lui Sas, on the Prut River, Constantin was beaten by Ştefan Tomşa and the Turks. Constantin Movilă died in retreat, but Elisabeta did not lose hope and started to prepare a new campaign; Ştefan Tomşa had no support from the boyars and "when the lady of Ieremia Movilă heard about these misunderstandings of Ştefan the Voivode, and having a son who was still little – Bogdan, the Voivode – urged her sons-in-law, Vişnioviețchi, and prince Coreţki of Poland, and also called upon the support of Nistor Ureche. The Lady came on her own, together with her sons-in-law and with the army, against Ştefan the Voivode and having an army ahead, at the Tătăreni village... That war happened in 1615... After the army of Ştefan the Voivode was defeated, he left for Wallahia... And the lady of Ieremia the Voivode was in Iaşi, with her son, Bogdan the Voivode, but all the councils were led by Nistor Ureche"[88].

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[84] Grigore Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*..., p. 86.
[85] Nicolae Iorga, *Viaţa femeilor în trecutul românesc* [The Life of Women in the Romanian History], Vălenii de Munte, 1910, p. 24.
[86] Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* [Chronicle of Moldavia], Chişinău, Editura Hyperion, 1990, p. 151.
[87] Petre P. Panaitescu, *Istoria Românilor*..., p. 191.
[88] Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei..*, p. 151-152.

The document says that Alexandru Movilă, the brother of Constantin, was acclaimed ruler of Moldavia, but in reality, the country was ruled by Lady Elisabeta and the High Steward Nistor Ureche, a faithful friend of the Movilă family. This reign was short, because after a year the Turks removed Alexandru Movilă from the throne and enslaved Lady Elisabeta and her children. Before leaving, "the lady came to great dishonour, and she wrote about it to the boyars... boyars, the pagan humiliated me"[89]. Lady Elisabeta unthreaded her hair and cut it, as a sign of mourning, and put it in a round, silvered box, which is kept to the present time at the Sucevița Monastery.

The end of the "beautiful, ambitious and proud" Lady Elisabeta was tragic. She did not get the throne for her sons, was forced to became a Turk, but she remained in history as being "the only Lady of the Moldavian Country, twice"[90], and the mother of the four daughters who, "through their marriages with Polish dignitaries, have kept the genetic heritage of the Movilă family, and their descendants became relatives to notorious royal families of Europe"[91].

CONCLUSIONS

As final considerations, we would like to emphasize that the case of women in the view of the political history is of great interest for our past as well as gives us suggestions for a new view of history. In addition, we need to mention that this paper tries to present the political history through the filter of the "feminine history". Regretfully, the feminine side of Romanian history has been ignored for many years and it is only in the last decade that it is deeply researched by the colleagues from Romania[92]. Without pretending to fully solve the problem, we

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[89] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[90] Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe...*, p. 148.
[91] Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Movilencile și descendenții...*, p. 37.
[92] M.M. Székely, *Pentru o istorie a vieții zilnice* [For a History of Daily Life], in "Magazin istoric", 1997, Vol. XXXI, no. 5 (362), p. 57-59; Idem, *Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească* [Family Structures in the Moldavian Medieval Society], in "Arhiva Genealogică", 1997, Vol. IV (IX), no. 1-2, p. 74-76; Idem, *Viața de familie în Moldova Medievală* [Family Life in Medieval Moldova], in "Magazin istoric", 1999, Vol. XXXI, no. 10 (367), p. 75-77; M. Cazacu, *La famille et le statut de la femme en Moldavie (XIV-XIX siècles)*, in "Revista de Istorie Socială", Iași, 1999, Vol. II-III, p. 1-16; C. Ghițulescu, *Zestre între normă și practică. Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea* (I-II) [Dowry between Norm and Practice. Wallachia in the 17th century], in "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie", 2000, Vol. XVII, p. 213-222; 2001, Vol. XVIII, p. 255-263; Idem, *În șalvari și cu ișlic* [In the Baggy Trousers and with a Tall Hat], București, 2004; S. Iftimi, *Un model cultural oriental: soțiile ale domnilor români (secolele XVI-XVII)* [An

consider that it is an indisputable fact that studying history without a holistic view gives a unilateral result. Thus, the presented study is only an essay to approach a very delicate matter – the role of women in determining the ruling dynasties in the Medieval Moldavia and the Ladies' regency. The documentary material of the time clearly reflects the situation and the statute of women. To a great extent, an important role was played by ladies in the continuity of the ruling dynasties, that is, the throne was inherited on the female line, "blood out of blood" of the reigning bloodline. Besides, the historical facts show that some of the Medieval Moldavia's ladies were true historical characters.

Oriental Cultural Model: the wives of the Romanian Rulers (16th-17th Centuries)], in *De Potestate. Semne şi expresii*…; Idem *Doamnele şi puterea…*; A. Ciupală, *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea* [The Woman in the Romanian Society of the 19th Century], Bucureşti, 2003; D.H. Mazilu, *Văduvele sau despre istorie la feminin* [Widows or History from a Feminine Perspective], Bucureşti, 2008.

POVERTY OR IGNORANCE?
THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIAL DISEASES IN BUKOVINA
AROUND 1900

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Abstract: One of the great challenges of the transition to the 1900s was the state of health of the inhabitants of Bukovina. Facing with all sorts of clinical cases, the physicians have tried to understand their mechanisms, identifying at the same time the biological and social dysfunctions or the cultural patterns that generated them. Some of these physicians would reveal to people that food is not just a blessing and that, under certain conditions, it can become the enemy of health, bringing with it misery and death. From 1880 to 1910, a large number of people, mostly adults, fell victim to pellagra, tuberculosis, and alcoholism. The campaigns to combat social diseases initiated by the personalities of the epoch, the press involvement, and the politicians' interrogations have become increasingly common. Equally, a different kind of medicine was called to affirm its ability to heal the illnesses caused by poverty and ignorance, helping and teaching the sick to avoid the adverse effects of their excesses.

Keywords: Bukovina, social diseases, pellagra, tuberculosis, alcoholism, social behaviour

Rezumat: Sărăcie sau ignoranță? Provocările bolilor sociale în Bucovina în jurul anului 1900. Una dintre marile provocări ale trecerii către anii 1900 a reprezentat-o starea de sănătate a locuitorilor Bucovinei. Confruntându-se cu tot felul de cazuri clinice, medicii au încercat să le deslușească mecanismele, identificând totodată disfuncțiile biologice și sociale ori tiparele culturale care le generau. Unii dintre acești doctori aveau să le descopere oamenilor că mâncarea nu înseamnă doar binecuvântare și că, în anumite condiții, ea poate deveni inamicul sănătății, aducând cu sine mizeria și moartea. În intervalul 1880-1910, un mare număr de persoane, în majoritate adulți, au căzut victime pelagrei, tuberculozei și alcoolismului. Campaniile de luptă împotriva bolilor sociale inițiate de personalitățile vremii, implicarea presei și interpelările politicienilor au devenit din ce în ce mai frecvente. De asemenea, o altfel de medicină era chemată să-și afirme capacitatea de a trata boala adusă de sărăcie și ignoranță, ajutându-l și învățându-i pe bolnav să evite consecințele nefaste ale exceselor lor.

Résumé : Pauvreté ou ignorance ? Les défis des maladies sociales en Bucovine aux alentours des années 1900. L'état de santé des habitants de la Bucovine représenta un des grands défis du passage vers les années 1900. Confrontés avec toutes sortes de cas cliniques, les médecins essayèrent de démêler leurs mécanismes, identifiant en même temps les dysfonctionnements biologiques et sociaux ou les modèles culturels qui les générèrent. Quelques-uns de ces docteurs montreront aux gens que la nourriture ne signifie seulement bénédiction et que, en certaines conditions, elle peut devenir l'ennemi de la santé, apportant avec soi la misère et la mort. Dans l'intervalle 1880-1920, un grand nombre de personnes, en majorité des adultes, tombèrent victimes à la pellagre, à la tuberculose et à l'alcoolisme. Les campagnes de lutte contre les maladies sociales initiées par les personnalités de l'époque, l'implication de la presse et les interpellations des hommes politiques devinrent de plus en plus fréquentes. Une telle médecine était appelée, aussi, à affirmer sa capacité de traiter la maladie causée par la pauvreté et l'ignorance, aidant et enseignant le malade à éviter les conséquences néfastes de ses excès.

INTRODUCTION

Perceived acutely, distinctly or in relation to other factors, the diseases dictated significant changes in the rhythm of Bukovina's modernization. Their manifestations led to measures in order to reduce their impact on the province's population, favouring, to a certain extent, the medicalization, sanitation and the abandonment of some harmful behaviours and practices. In fact, since the mid-nineteenth century, the physician Carl Hampeis observed that most of the "gastro-nerve" disorders were caused by the air temperature variations (especially in spring and autumn) and by the living spaces ("miserable", "overpopulated" and "polluted")[1]; to all this, the unbalanced diet and excessive consumption of alcohol were added. Under such circumstances, the occurrence of the disease was a matter of time, a fact confirmed by pellagra and tuberculosis, whose presence in Bukovina was generally linked to poverty, misery and ignorance. Unfortunately, such social infirmities did not only affect those living in the rural areas and in the outskirts of the cities, or the villains, but they touched the whole society as a degenerative phenomenon. But what were and how evolved these "abominable diseases"[2], as they were called, in the early 1900s, by the periodicals of Czernowitz. For a long time, the physicians have endeavoured to understand their pathological and social mechanisms, seeking their causes and trying to prevent them.

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[1] Carl Hampeis, *Medicinisch–topographische Skizze der Bukowina*, in "Medicinische Jahr-bücher des kaiserl.-königl. österreichischen Staate", Wien, 1846, Vol. 57, p. 110-112.

[2] Gheorghe Manolescu, *Pelagra,* in "Deșteptarea", Cernăuți, 1904, no. 61, 5/18 August, p. 2.

FOOD THAT BRINGS DISEASE: PELLAGRA

Due to the "transmission of a microbe" from man to animal, to the "inoculation" of dust in the skin, to the sunlight or the contaminated water[3], the pellagra sparked heated discussions among physicians, the most veritable opinions linking the affection to an almost "exclusive" and "abusive" consumption of maize flower and corn meal[4]. Accordingly, there were *two major* theories developed*: the zeist*[5] *and the toxic-zeist*[6]. *T*he supporters of the first mentioned theory believed that the pellagra was caused by a "monotonous" diet based on corn, a food that could not be "assimilated by the digestive organs of man as well as the other cereals"[7]. The discovery of vitamins, in 1922, and then of the role of niacin (known as vitamin B3 or PP, for *pellagra preventis*) was to confirm some of the assumptions circumscribed to this theory, defining the pellagra as a nutritional or a "social disease prototype" generated by the deficiency of vital nutrients for the body[8]. In turn, the partisans of toxic theory said the disease was due to the consumption of corn contaminated with mushrooms and molds such as *Penicillium glaucum*, *Aspergillus niger*[9] or *Aspergillus glaucus*[10]. In agreement with Cesare Lombroso's statement, the pellagra would not have been caused by poverty (which explains the predilection for the handy corn), but rather by a specific virus that infected the corn; obviously, this virus would have had a devastating action in an exhausted and neglected body, hence the link between pellagra and poverty (without, however, creating a causal relationship). Eliminating moldy corn from food would have led to a reduction in the number of patients and, subsequently, to the extinction of the disease[11].

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[3] Monica Ginnaio, *Pellagra in Late Nineteenth Century Italy: Effects of a Deficiency Disease*, in "Population", 2011, Vol. 66, no. 3-4, p. 586.

[4] Iacob Felix, *Istoria igienei în România în secolul al XIX-lea şi starea ei la începutul secolului al XX-lea* [The History of Hygiene in Romania in the 19th Century and its State at the beginning of the 20th Century], Bucureşti, 1901, Vol. I, p. 195.

[5] According to it, the ingestion of corn (which is poor in nutrients, especially in nitrate), whether healthy or altered, would cause pellagra; cf. *Enciclopedia medica italiana*, Firenze, 1984, Vol. 11, p. 1379.

[6] The pellagra theory of mycotoxins (molds) from spoiled corn, cf. *Ibid.*

[7] Iacob Felix, *Istoria igienei…*, p. 196.

[8] Savvoula Savvidou, *Pellagra: A Non-Eradicated Old Disease*, in "Clinics and Practice", 2014, no. 4, p. 637.

[9] *Mamaliga — eine Kranlcheitsursache*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1893, no. 5, 23 November, p. 4.

[10] Iacob Felix, *Istoria igienei…*, p. 197.

[11] Monica Ginnaio, *Pellagra…*

Catching up the information from the European medical field, Gheorghe Manolescu described, in the Czernowitz newspaper "Deşteptarea", the symptoms specific to the disease's "stages": "Pellagra is manifesting in the beginning - in the intermittent stage - by the general weakening of the body, with a start of redness on all parts of the body exposed to the sun; the weakening is always accompanied by: headaches, dizziness, continuous fatigue, disgust, and social reserve. These symptoms disappear in the fall, but return again in the spring, more and more accentuated. After a few years of suffering, the patient enters the second stage - the remittance - which begins with the perfect redness of all parts seen by the sun, and a tingling all over the body, accompanied by cold; the skin starts to peel in scales - hence the peasants call it desquamation/ *jupuială* - then it becomes red, brown, thin and very painful. When the illness takes hold of the unhappy suffering, the third stage starts - continuously - with general brutalization, diarrhea, cramps, delirium, melancholy and finally mania that determines the patient to commit suicide by drowning or hanging"[12]. Although, at that time, the "weapons of science" could not unravel the mystery of the disease, for the author it was certain that "the pellagra makes victims only in the masses of the labourer, which are inadequate and badly fed … so the chronic hunger is the direct cause of the pellagra, which goes along with the alcohol"[13].

Making an insight into the history of the pellagra in Bukovina, Dr. Ioan Volcinschi believed that the disease was almost unknown before the second half of the 19th century, even though, according to Iacob Felix, the corn would have entered here in culture in 1786[14]. It is assured that, at the end of the nineteenth century, Dimitrie Dan recognized that the basic food for the peasants of Straja was the corn meal named *mămăliga*[15]. Unfortunately, the poor nutrition and excessive corn consumption (combined with other favorable factors) led to contract a serious disease "as if it was created for the peasant, in his miserable life similitude"[16]. Dr. Volcinschi stated that the first cases of pellagra were reported around 1884, sporadically, in the districts of Suceava, Gura Humorului, Rădăuţi,

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[12] Gheorghe Manolescu, *Pelagra...*

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] Iacob Felix, *Istoria igienei...*, p. 185.

[15] Dimitrie Dan, *Comuna Straja şi locuitorii ei. Studiu istoric, topografic şi folkloric. Cu 9 ilustraţiuni, portretul autorului şi o hartă a comunei,* [The Village of Straja and its Inhabitants. Historical, Topographic and Folklore Study. With 9 illustrations, the portrait of the author and a map of the village], Cernăuţi, 1897, p. 58.

[16] Constantin Bărbulescu, *România medicilor. Medici, ţărani şi igienă rurală în România de la 1860 la 1910* [Physicians' Romania. Doctors, Peasants and Rural Hygiene in Romania from 1860 until 1910], Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, 2015, p. 192.

Siret, Czernowitz and Kotzman[17]. Quoting the Presl's statistics, Friedrich Prinzing wrote that in Bukovina, in 1887, there were 8 cases of pellagra, in 1900-27 cases, and in 1903 over 400 cases "merely in the district of Suceava"[18]. Having access to information on the state of health of the inhabitants, the provincial health inspector, Dr. Basil Kluczenko noted that, comparing to 1899, the number of patients with pellagra increased from 1900 to 1903 by 275%[19]. In 1905 there were 1,056 cases, meaning 479 more than in the previous year[20], or 1% of the population of Bukovina, as Dr. Ştefanovici affirmed at the Congress of Physicians and Naturalists held in Meran[21]. In 1906 the number of patients reached 2,266, and in 1909 Kluczenko recalled 1,250 persons affected by this disease. Altogether, the situation became extremely serious, Jászi noting that most of the villages were "infected with pellagra"[22]; in turn, George M. Niles placed Bukovina on the second place in the Austrian empire, after Tyrol, with 2.9% of the population suffering from it[23]. Not by accident, in 1910, Dr. O.G. (probably Octavian Gheorghian) wrote the following as an ultimatum: "The greatest enemies of our people are brandy - *rachiu* - and pellagra. They decimate whole villages, and if it goes on like that, then it will not take long, when hospitals can no longer count the number of sick"[24].

    The prevalence of pellagra was higher in the districts of Suceava, Gura Humorului, and Czernowitz and less in Wiznitz, Siret, and Câmpulung. As the distribution was relatively uniform, the hypothesis of the vulnerability of inhabitants of the mountainous areas - as a result of the purchase of cheap and poor-quality corn or of its improper storage conditions - was invalidated by numbers. According to the journal "Die Wahrheit", the incidence of the disease in mountain communities was lower, as a result of their "prosperity"; several cases

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[17] Octavian Lupu, *Sozialmedizin im alten Österreich. Die Bekämpfung der Pellagra in der Bukowina zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts*, in "Österreichische Osthefte", Wien, 1971, Vol. 13, no. 4, p. 343-348.

[18] Friedrich Prinzing, *Handbuch der medizinischen Statistik*, Jena, 1906, p. 396.

[19] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii în Bucovina sub dominaţia habsburgică* [Aspects of the History of Medicine in Bukovina under Habsburg Domination], ms., Biblioteca Bucovinei "I.G. Sbiera", fond *Bucovina*, inv. 253.528, f. 110.

[20] *Die Pellagra in der Bukowina*, in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", Czernowitz, 1906, no. 5165, 23 August, p. 3.

[21] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii…*

[22] Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, Chicago, 1929, p. 232.

[23] George M. Niles, *Pellagra*, Philadelphia & London, 1916, p. 20.

[24] *Curăţenia casei şi a trupului omenesc – poveţe pentru popor date de Dr. O. G.* [House and Human Body Cleaning – Advice for People given by Dr. O. G.], in "Calendar pe 1911", Cernăuţi, 1910, p. 54.

originated from the "extremely precarious environments", an exception being a few "rich compatriots"[25]. Even so, the drama consumed in August 1907 in the small town of Câmpulung opened an inquiry and a long series of questions about those 33 patients with pellagra, "officially declared" by Dr. Kubrynski[26]. The identification of the residence of 374 patients diagnosed with pellagra (who were admitted to the Mental Hospital in Czernowitz, during 1894-1907) showed that 143 came from the district of Czernowitz, between 30 and 35 from the district of Siret, Kotzman, Storozynetz, and Rădăuţi, and 23 from Zastawna; the number of those from the districts of Gura Humorului, Suceava, Waschkoutz and Wiznitz ranged between 15 and 17; 8 were from the suburbs of Czernowitz (Horecea and Roşa), and only 5 from the district of Câmpulung[27].

By the first decade of the twentieth century, it became certain that the disease affected the rural population, especially "the working class of peasants who are eternally overworked and under hygienic consumption"[28]. As a result, the physicians were called to find the most effective remedies, alerting the local authorities along with their regular visits, and planning, as much as possible, the prophylaxis of pellagra. The surveys conducted by the Dr. Philipowicz, Dr. Kluczenko, and Dr. Volcinschi highlighted the link between poverty, "under-nourishment of villages population feeding, especially with proteins and fats", the alcohol consumption and the restrictions imposed during religious fasting days[29]. Analysing the peculiar situation of patients with pellagra, Dr. Kluczenko discovered that of a total of 1,250 persons, 21% did not possess land of one are (100 square meters), 47% had up to 100 ares, and only 2% had more than 200 ares[30]. Another analysis carried out by the same doctor showed that most of the victims were women; thus, out of a total of 2,266 patients registered in 1906, 866 (38.8%) were men, and 1,361 (61.2%) were women[31]. The reason for this differrence could have been the cultural and biological particularities of the province's

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[25] *Der Erbfeind der Bukowiner Bauern*, in "Die Wahrheit", Czernowitz, 1908, no. 7-8, 8 Februar, p. 26.

[26] *Pellagraenquette,* in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1907, no. 2104, 1 August, p. 2; *Pellagraenquette*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1907, no. 2106, 6 August, p. 3.

[27] *Pellagröse Geisteskranke*, in "Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung", Czernowitz, 1908, no. 1324, 10 Juni, p. 4.

[28] Gheorghe Manolescu, *Pelagra...*

[29] Dr. W. Philipowicz, *Beobachtungen über das Vorkommen von Pellagra in der Bukowina*, in "Wiener medicinischen Blättern", Wien, 1885, no. 14-15; B. Kluczenko, *Pellagra in der Bukowina*, in "Das österreichische Sanitätswesen", Wien, 1898; Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 111.

[30] Basil Klunczenko, *Die Bekämpfung der Pellagra in der Bukowina im Jahre 1909 (III)*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1911, no. 2638, 15 Januar, p. 4.

[31] *Der Erbfeind der Bukowiner Bauern...*, p. 25.

population, where the women were not only wives and mothers, but also active workers of the land; they were, as a rule, less trained than men, and their role in the community (and often in the family) was a secondary one. Working during their pregnancy and even when they were breastfeeding, they could not provide for themselves the nutritional needs (niacin or tryptophan); so, the high level of estrogen in the body had favoured the development of pellagra[32].

Concerning the impact of the disease on the age groups, the most vulnerable were persons aged 21-60, while the number of sick children was rather low[33]. In a note inserted in the newspaper "Bukowinaer Post" of the 15th April 1906, it was estimated that in 1903 of the 6,685 deaths among children aged 0-1, only 12 were the consequence of the pellagra (as opposed to 612 caused by tuberculosis)[34]. Beyond this information, it is almost impossible to find the real number of patients with pellagra in Bukovina, the disease having a long development, sometimes more than a decade, with fatal evolution in 3-4 years[35].

CONSUMING THE PATIENT: TUBERCULOSIS

As severe as pellagra, but claiming its victims throughout much of known human history[36], tuberculosis was caused by *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* which, probably, may have killed more persons than any other microbial pathogen[37]. Beside scrofula or tuberculous infection of the cervical lymph nodes that affected especially the children, phthisis (or pulmonary consumption, lung ulceration or *oftica*) was the most important manifestation of tuberculosis[38], the most widespread, and also the most aggressive. Dr. Denarowski, the health advisor of Bukovina, described it as having a quick and tragic ending[39]. Until the epochal discovery of the tuberculosis bacillus and, implicitly, of its treatment, the illness had acquired the dark celebrity, making a physician from the beginning of the nineteenth century declare: "Of all hectic affections, by far the most important is pulmonary consumption, a disease so frequent as to carry off prematurely about one-fourth part of the inhabitants of Europe, and so fatal as often to deter the

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[32] Monica Ginnaio, *Pellagra ...*, p. 590.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 594-595.

[34] *Eine Landesgefahr*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1906, no. 1904, 15 April, p. 2.

[35] Basil Kluczenko, *Die Bekämpfung der Pellagra...*, p. 5.

[36] Thomas M. Daniel, *The History of Tuberculosis*, in "Respiratory Medicine", 2006, No. 100, p. 1862.

[37] *Ibid*.

[38] Lester Snow King, *Medical Thinking. A Historical Preface*, Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 47.

[39] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 75.

practitioner even from attempting a cure"[40]. In Bukovina, the traditional healers tried to ameliorate the "long-lasting chest pain", by cleansing out the mucus from the body and applying the therapeutic properties of badger's liver[41], cabbage leaf, mallow, horseradish or acacia; even Dr. Carl Stransky, the Protomedicus of Bukovina had tried to treat a patient with *Ihtisia confirmata* using a weed called the "deer tongue" (*Seclopendrium Asplenium*)[42]. Unfortunately, only a few treatments had a long-term effect, knowing that in some cases, from the onset of tuberculosis to death, the estimates of survival range from days or months (as Denarowski had said) to several years.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, in Bukovina, Dr. Hampeis defined tuberculosis (or *ftizia*) as a chronic affection that was so common that it would cause the deaths of a quarter of the population[43]. One of the most popular hypotheses of its causes was heredity, according to which "the children from parents with tuberculosis can inherit the predisposition to suffer from the same disease"[44]. A favourable factor of the sickness was the unfavourable climate or especially the harsh winter weather. In a special lecture, the ethnographer, naturalist, priest and teacher Simion Florea Marian told his students that, "along with diphtheria, tuberculosis was raging among the youth"; for this reason, the pupils had to "be attentive in all respects and not go anywhere in the evenings and nights"[45]. In addition, the living conditions could contribute to the spread of airborne diseases such as tuberculosis and respiratory infections like pneumonia. In his report on the residence of the Golembiowski family, Dr. Exelbirth noted that: "the above-mentioned dwelling does not cope with human comfort, and hygienically, it must be regarded as harmful to the health of its inhabitants, because the bare walls, blunted from rudimentary tree trunks, are not at all suitable to provide sufficient defence against the harsh and stormy atmospheric conditions that haunts up the mountain, all year round, as well as the air of the interior scattered with the emanations of the devious insects and the humidity of cold floors, must have very adverse consequences for the sanitation of the inhabitants". Under such circumstances, it was not surprising that the "older

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[40] René Dubos, Jean Dubos, *The white plague: Tuberculosis, Man, and Society*, Rutgers University Press, 1996, p. 9.

[41] Dr. Ionică Nandriş, *Din arhiva Familiei Nandriş. Satul nostru Mahala din Bucovina. Însemnări pentru mai târziu* [From Nandriş Family Archive. Our Village Mahala in Bukovina. Notes for Later], in "Glasul Bucovinei", Cernăuţi-Bucureşti, 1995, no. 6, p. 138.

[42] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii…*, f. 68.

[43] Carl Hampeis, *Medicinisch–topographische Skizze der Bukowina…*, p. 108.

[44] Iacob Felix, *Istoria igienei…*, p. 149.

[45] Paul Leu, *Iraclie Porumbescu*, Suceava, Editura Euroland, 2000, p. 220.

members of this family" were often the subjects of "pectoral disorders"[46]. Hampeis also invoked "the life of the villagers in their miserable, over-saturated housing with the polluted air"[47]. Wilt and syphilis were seen as "forces" that "favoured the excessive tuberculosis mortality, still being common among the population and less treated; this lack of attention was followed by the inevitable occurrence of pulmonary metastases"[48].

Another hypothesis, more and more widely accepted by doctors around 1900, was that tuberculosis is transmitted by persons who release large numbers of organisms (bacteria) in their sputum. In 1910, in his "Advice for People", Dr. O. G. revealed how the disease could be contracted: "I saw many young girls dying of ruthless *oftica* (tuberculosis), which was brought by the poor themselves from the village's dance party… You just observe the handkerchiefs, when a dancer or a girl blows his or her nose after the dance; the dust and the blackness do not only remain in the nose, but go down to the gentlest parts of the lungs, passing through a long incubation into the limbs of a person"[49]. Trying to be fully understood, the physician summarized the stages of the disease in the following terms: "it (tuberculosis) slips into the body, for initially it does not cause special pain, but erodes slowly and surely; at the outset, the patient does not notice it, coughs a little, sweats sometimes at night, and after several weeks, the sick realizes that he/she is weakening and drying out day by day; later, is spitting yellowish, greenish phlegm, mixed with blood particles, until finally is struggling with sweat, losing sleep, losing all appetite, losing weight, and only death takes him/her away from these torments"[50].

Bratassevič's statistics indicate in 1895 tuberculosis as the cause of death in the case of 9.07% of the inhabitants of Bukovina and in 1896 – 9.06%. Regarding the civil status of the victims of the disease, in 1895, 465 men and 420 women were single, 477 men and 418 women were married, 61 men and 130 women were widows, and 5 men and 2 women had no a defined marital status. Despite a relative balance, these numbers show that women under the age of 40 were less resistant to the disease; the proportion has been definitively modified for men over 40. It was also detected a relationship between tuberculosis and the patients' profession, the physicians explaining the lower mortality rate due to the lower degree of industrialization and urbanization; in comparison with other provinces of the Austrian Empire, most of Bukovina's population was engaged in agriculture,

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 174-175

[47] Carl Hampeis, *Medicinisch–topographische…*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Curăţenia casei…*, p. 52.

[50] *Ibid.,* p. 49.

with a substantial majority of them living in rural areas. For example, of a total of 100 deaths due to tuberculosis, 36.80 males and 38.07 females were employed in agriculture and forestry, 6.33 males and 2.68 females in industry, 1.87 males and 1.21 females in trade and transports, 0.34 males and 0.31 females in services (or as servants), 2.18 males and 0.55 females in army and liberal professions, and 3.44 males and 5.82 females workless[51]. Such figures demonstrate the explicit contrast between agriculture and the rest of the occupations; furthermore, the women engaged in agriculture or unemployed were at risk, as well as the men employed in urban activities.

Even so, unlike other imperial provinces where the difference between urban and rural areas was significant (tuberculosis being an illness specific to the urban environment), there was a certain degree of uniformity of the figures for Bukovina of the last decade of the 19th century, as a result of association of the disease with poor living conditions, poverty, and untreated lung diseases, etc. As an illustration, from 1887 to 1890, in Horodnicul de Jos it was estimated that 9.16% of the deaths were directly attributed to tuberculosis[52]; in Czernowitz, in 1895, 9.28% of the inhabitants died from TB, and in 1896, 12.36%[53].

According to the data presented at the Congress in Berlin (1899), for the year 1895/1896 there were disclosed in Bukovina 1,934 deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis, to which were added another 1,182 due to the tuberculosis in other organs[54]; it was a relative increase compared to 1879, when there were announced 1,908 deaths (940 males and 968 females)[55]. The data provided by the health inspector of Bukovina indicated, in 1896, 1,899 deceased persons who died from tuberculosis; in 1897 there were 1,725, in 1898 - 1,970, in 1900 - 1,711, in 1902 - 1,816, and in 1903 - 1,652[56]. Despite this figure, in 1896 Dr. Köhler ranked Bukovina on the last places in the Austrian Empire, indicating 2.75 deaths per 1,000 patients, after Carniola (4.32), Vorarlberg (3.99), Dalmatia (2.96), and Upper Austria (2.77)[57]; a few years later, the number of TB deaths reported

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[51] Eduard Bratassevič, *Die Sterbefälle an Tuberculose während der letzten 27 Jahre (1870—1896)*, in "Statistische Monatsschrift", Wien, 1899, p. 347.

[52] Ecaterina Negruți, Ion Prelipcean, *Date cu privire la evoluția demografică a satului Horodnicul de Jos* [Data on the Demographic Evolution of the Village Horodnicul de Jos], in "Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean", 1979-1980, no. 6-7, p. 261.

[53] Eduard Bratassevič, *Die Sterbefälle...*

[54] *Bericht über dem Kongress zur Bekämpfung der Tuberkulose als Volkskrankheit*, Berlin, 1899, p. 63.

[55] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1879*, K.K. Statistischen Central Commission, Wien, 1882, Vol. X, p. 28-29.

[56] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 12.

[57] *Bericht über dem Kongress...*, p. 50.

annually has decreased, so in 1900-1901 Dr. Teleky estimating it at 2.33[58].

However, in this picture somewhat optimistic, there are two variables to be taken into account: the first is linked to the name of the sickness, the diagnosis being a flexible one (often, the population was tempted to define as tuberculosis any disease manifested by cough accompanied by purulent sputum and lack of appetite)[59], and the second refers to the persons who recorded the death (as long as in Bukovina only a maximum of 25% of deaths were medically certified)[60]. For example, the incorrect or incomplete information has led to an ambiguous situation: out of 100 TB deaths, 68.2 being questioned in 1895, and 65.7 in 1900[61].

At the beginning of the 20th century, one eighth of deaths were attributable to tuberculosis: 194 in 1901, 242 in 1902, 192 in 1903, 229 in 1904, and 235 in 1905[62]. Dr. Teleky's statistics indicated for 1900, 168 deaths from TB (generally, not only pulmonary); in 1901 were communicated 194 deaths, in 1902 - 242, in 1903 - 192, and in 1904 - 229[63]. Another statistic about the number of patients admitted to the "Hospital of Country" in Czernowitz showed for the period 1907-1909 the presence of 941 people diagnosed with tuberculosis[64]. In the conditions in which the hospitals and the doctors were still few, it was clear that the fight had to be taken on the field of prevention.

ALCOHOLISM – THE PLAGUE OF ADDICTION

Seen as a contributing factor to pellagra and tuberculosis, alcoholism has become in the last two decades of the nineteenth century a social and medical issue that concerned both doctors and politicians. Nevertheless, the high rate of alcohol consumption was no unfamiliar to Bukovina, as long as from the beginning of the Austrian administration some measures were taken in order to combat the excessive use of alcoholic beverages. At that time, the sale on credit was also stopped, recommending the "orientation" of tavern keepers to the agricultural works and the "change of their profession" named by General Enzenberg as

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[58] Ludwig Teleky, *Sterblichkeit an Tuberkulose in Österreich 1873–1904*, in "Statistische Monatsschrift", Wien, 1906, p. 198.

[59] Elisabeth Dietrich-Daum*, "Reporting Death". The Case of Austrian Tuberculosis Mortality Registration-Critique and Consequences for Historical Epidemiology*, in "Prague Medical Report", 2009, no. 2, p. 153.

[60] *Ibid*., p. 154-155.

[61] Ludwig Teleky, *Sterblichkeit…*

[62] *Zur Wasserteilungsfrage*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1906, no. 1959, 23 August, p. 3.

[63] Ludwig Teleky, *Sterblichkeit…*, p. 199.

[64] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii…*, p. 91.

"antisocial". Throughout the 19th century, the issue of excessive alcohol consumption has been recalled and even debated in medical circles, especially during and immediately after the outbreak of devastating epidemics such as cholera. On several occasions, the terms of a law on the alcohol sale monopoly were discussed, and the document of the 19th July 1877 criminalized drunkenness, establishing the penalties related to this delinquency[65]. For example, the link between alcohol consumption and crime was illustrated in the statistics quoted by the physicians A. Baer and B. Laquer; thus, from 1876 to 1880, in Bukovina, as a result of excessive alcohol consumption, 247 people were sentenced to imprisonment for murder, and 132 for drunkenness[66]. Another statistic indicated that for drunkenness were punished 353 people in 1877, 1,077 in 1878, 935 in 1879, 1,798 in 1880, 2,000 in 1881, and 1,567 in 1882; due to drunkenness 65 people were fired in 1878, 5 in 1879, 34 in 1880, 1 in 1881, and 7 in 1882; because they offered alcoholic beverages to minors, 7 persons were charged in 1877, 35 in 1878, 50 in 1879, 1,144 in 1880, 124 in 1881, 96 in 1882, 1,867 in 1883, 2,043 in 1884, and 2,273 in 1885[67]. At the end of 1887, "Revista Politică" – a newspaper from Suceava – stated that: "Those who shall be found drunk in the inns and taverns, in places where spirituous beverages are sold in detail and in small quantities or where such beverages are marketed, like those who are found drunk on the streets or in other public places, as well as those who intentionally instigate someone in such places will be prosecuted under arrest for up to one month, or with a fine of up to 50 florins. Likewise, the waiters or tavern keepers will be punished as well as the owners of places where the burnt spirit drinks are sold in detail or in small quantities, like the representatives, the leaseholders or their tenants who give or allow consummation to drinkers or to children who are not accompanied by older people"[68].

At the end of the 19th century, everyone seemed convinced of the danger of spreading alcoholism in Bukovina. In the absence of data demonstrating the magnitude of the phenomenon, the physicians and fiscal authorities had begun to monitor the amount of alcohol consumed at the provincial level. Compared to other territories in the Austrian Empire, for the period 1896-1899, the absolute alcohol consumption in Bukovina was average: 33,895 hectolitres (or 4 to 4 ½

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[65] Friedrich Presl, *Production, Ausschank alkoholhältiger Getränke und die Trunkenheits-gesetzgebung in Oesterreich*, in "Statistische Monatsschrift", Wien, 1896, p. 610.

[66] Abraham Baer, Benno Laquer, *Die Trunksucht und Ihre Abwehr*, Berlin-Wien, 1907, p. 117.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[68] *Proiectul de lege în contra beției* [Draft Law against Drunkenness], in "Revista Politică", Suceava, 1887, no. 12, 1 November, p. 5.

litres per inhabitant, which means 3 litres less than in 1880)[69]. Yet, the Bukovinians were not great wine or beer lovers, but spirits (brandy); in addition, out of 100 stores that were selling alcohol, 93 were pubs[70]. Consequently, the issue of alcohol consumption had to be re-engaged, since the prospects were not soothing. Still, in the fight against alcoholism, Dr. Lupu identified a paradox: "the support for alcohol consumption was officially directed by the supreme authorities of the empire"[71]. Generally, the alcohol industry represented a cost-effective market for agricultural products, and the alcohol production always found a similar retail outlet. In addition, the budgets of rural or urban communities depended to some extent on the marketing of alcoholic products, making the alcohol production an attractive source for the local officials. According to a draft law on the sale of spirits, in the localities of less than 500 inhabitants, an alehouse could be open "for sale in detail of burnt spirits"; however, in those communes "that are often visited by strangers", such a rule was no longer valid[72]. Hence, Dr. Lupu's conclusion: "tavern owners were factors of the political power in Bukovina; their value weighed more than that of community doctors", because "behind them was the most powerful industry in Bukovina: the distilleries - the so-called *velniţe* - which were 44. The owners and their beneficiaries were the new agrarians recruited from the underworld of usurers (Dr. I. Platten), bargain makers, and taverners who had invested over 2,000,000 florins in that industry"[73]. As the taverns could not be closed (although the stereotype of the Jewish innkeeper will be invoked, more or less openly in Bukovina), the alcoholism had to be prevented through education, and this fell under the responsibility of the state, through its administrative bodies, teachers, priests, doctors, etc. In a certain circumstance, because of its degraded appearance, a school was confused with a tavern: "I was delighted by the beauty of the Ceahor Church and I could not take my eyes off it; I also enjoyed the priest's house, which does not seem to have been done for a long time; but across the road from the priest's mansion, my eyes saw a fenceless and desolate building and believing that it is a rural booze, I was very much surprised how the parson suffers to seat it so hard in his ribs and so close to the beautiful church. Enfolded by this surprise I went downwards; but I did not go too far, and my eyes saw another

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[69] Abraham Baer, Benno Laquer, *Die Trunksucht...*, p. 67-68.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[71] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 120.

[72] *Proiectul de lege în contra beţiei...*, p. 4.

[73] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*

desolate house. Here I commanded the hackney coachman to stop because I saw the door open and some people inside". Asking one of them how many pubs are in the village, the visitor found out that there were four, but the one next to the church was the school[74]. A similar situation was in 1908 in Vicov, a village with 7,000 inhabitants, one school and 40 pubs[75].

Trying to identify the occasions when the alcohol consumption became a problem, the physicians were surprised to discover an anthropological truth: alcohol was "the liquid of socialization, by excellence"[76]. In 1910, the newspaper "Patria" recorded the consequences of the excess of alcohol consumed on the feast day (as the patron saint's or locality's feast) in the following terms: "The whole village resounds with music, everybody is cheerful and merry because of the feast, and the feast is celebrated in Calafindeşti more intense than a jubilee. The poorest mower, who can't afford to buy a slate for his child, organizes an exceedingly feast. The little shanty barely gathers the crowd of guests; tables bend under the weight of dishes, bottles go empty and fill up like in a charming palace, music band plays on the porch and, as under the spell of a curse, the whole house is shrouded in a heavy smell of brandy. Drink, get drunk, but if they would sleep after they got drunk! No way! They rejoice at the beginning of their meeting, take counsel together, and then get into an altercation, they fight, and kill"[77]. In Cajvana village, "the day after a great feast, wedding, etc." almost all the children came to school with "a bottle of brandy in their bosom or knapsacks. And do not think they took it without their parents' assent. On the contrary, mothers took care of it. Naturally, at school the bottles were confiscated and the parents called for clarification. Of course, often at such occasions, children get drunk, but with the knowledge of their parents and at the instigation of their guests"[78].

The same issue of degeneration due to alcoholism was presented by the priest T. B. who described the negative influence of parents who shape their children's attitude to alcohol and future drinking behaviour: "Young children do not like spirits such as wine, beer, brandy, and others. But not just once I saw the parents consuming brandy, the father calling his little boy to himself and urges him to drink, saying: «Take it, sweetheart, take it, taste only one drop, this will keep you going strong, the spirits are healthy, take it, taste it!» The child – what

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[74] *Starea şcoalei din Ceahor* [Ceahor School's Condition], in "Revista Politică", Suceava, 1889, no. 5, 1 Martie, p. 4.

[75] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii…*, f. 121.

[76] Constantin Bărbulescu, *România medicilor…*, p. 177.

[77] "Patria", Cernăuţi, 1910, vol. IV, no. 75, Septemvrie.

[78] Filimon Rusu, *Amintiri. Oameni şi locuri din Ţara Fagilor* [Memories. People and Places of the Land of Beech], Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 2009, p. 73-74.

does he know - hears right from his father's or mother's mouth that the spirits are good, they are healthy; they make him vigorous and strong, so he grasps and tastes it. The child tastes, but his eyes are full of tears, he croaks to cry, knocks his little hands over his chest, jumps up; the brandy burns him, and he starts to roar. Now, what is father doing? Recalling that he also experienced it when he tasted the brandy for the first time, he begins to comfort his son by telling him: «Be silent, be silent, don't cry, and drink a little bit of water. Brandy is healthy, so shut up!» The boy drinks quickly a little water. The water relieves the burning of the mouth and throat, the boy begins to laugh, and the father rejoices. Now, the boy feels he's vigorous, very strong, for he has overcome the power of the damned brandy. On another occasion, having a glass of brandy on the table, the boy takes it by himself or asks for some drink and tastes it several times, until he habituates to brandy as the duck to water, and then ... there is the drunkard"[79]. From the priest's perspective, the drinker is a sinner, because "if he poisons himself by his will, then he is unworthy of mercy, unworthy of others' help, but all should send him there, where he has earned his sufferings, leaving behind a home with ragged and unhappy children[80]. A rural solution (perfectly integrated into the social environment in which it had appeared) was the oath of solemn abstinence made in front of a priest[81]; the bottles of brandy were symbolically buried, and these places were marked by stone crosses, but this ritual was disliked by the Austrian officials[82].

The alcoholism was prevalent among the poor population of Bucovina as a result of the massive consumption of distilled spirits, insufficient food and considerable effort. Thus, the working-class "which is inadequate and badly fed", consumed, through work, "a lot of dynamic power"; this is "unconsciously, substituted by alcohol that, for the moment, truly stimulates the body and bends the muscles"[83]. While, year after year, the increase in the number of victims of alcoholism among the rural population was no longer a novelty[84], Dr. Zurkan drew attention to the townspeople's "unhealthy predilection" for beer, wine and other sweetened drinks "that put their health in danger"[85]. If for a juvenile in high

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[79] T. B., *Îndegetări la creşterea copiilor* [Advice on Raising Children], in "Călindariul poporului pe 1910", Cernăuţi, 1909, p. 57.

[80] *Curăţenia casei...*, p. 55.

[81] Constantin Bărbulescu, *România medicilor...*, p. 183.

[82] Ernest B. Gordon, *The anti-alcohol movement in Europe*, 1913, New York, p. 163.

[83] Gheorghe Manolescu, *Pelagra...*

[84] *Gegen den Alkoholismus*, in "Genossenschafts-und Vereins-Zeitung", Czernowitz, 1900, no. 267, 1 Februar, p. 3.

[85] *Gegen den Trunkenheit*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1894, no. 160, 29 November, p. 1.

school, "the most enjoyable delight" was smoking, for an "academician", the drink was added to the smoking[86].

As for the effects that alcohol could have on the human body and its systems, Dr. Manolescu believed that "always the potation destroys the cellular tissues, predisposing the abusive person to various illnesses and making the stomach inactive by the lack of appetite and indigestion – disorders that all alcoholics complain about"[87]. Comparing pellagra with alcoholism, Dr. O. G. concluded: "Pellagra is a disease that encompasses the innocent man, while only by a man's free will the brandy enters the body"[88]. Besides poverty, "ruined households, beatings, wrongdoings, thefts and murders", alcoholism generated "serious maladies of the body," the drunkard having a "dark mind" and, eventually, reaching "the house of madmen or the prison"; one inebriate "was swelled, another had a soft and fluffy face, dying by suffocating, and another got a disease of black lungs, having a yellow and black face, then dying as a result of that poison"[89]. As reported by Presl's statistics, from 1883 to 1892, 11.7% of the patients from the insane asylum in Czernowitz were victims of alcohol abuse[90]; in 1888, out of 111 mentally ill patients, 17 have acquired the illness due to excessive alcohol consumption (15,3%), this number rising to 23 (14.5%) in 1893[91]. The same author indicated that in 1884, of all patients hospitalized for chronic alcoholism, 2 were cured and one died; in 1885, 3 were treated and one died, in 1886 - 9 were treated and 3 died, in 1887 and 1888 - 2 were treated and 1 died, in 1892 - 4 were healed, but one died, and in 1893, fortunately, 6 were saved and no one lost his life[92]. The only hospital of mental illness in Bukovina announced that from 1907 to 1908, 48 patients were diagnosed with "alcoholism", representing 3.2% of all inmates[93].

STRATEGIES FOR COMBATING SOCIAL DISEASES

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the next one, at least at the declarative level, pellagra, tuberculosis, and alcoholism

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[86] *Corespondențe particulare* [Private Letters], in "Revista Politică", Suceava, 1887, no. 11, 15 Octomvrie, p. 10.

[87] Gheorghe Manolescu, *Pelagra...*

[88] *Curățenia casei...*

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] Friedrich Presl, *Production, Ausschank alkoholhältiger Getränke...*, p. 602.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 603.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 609.

[93] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 94.

turned into an "issue" to which the state (through its representatives) had to find a solution. Therefore, from a legislative perspective, had to be regulated on the one hand the alcohol consumption - "the cause of all illnesses" - and on the other hand the education that could "improve the life of the rural population"[94]. Around 1900, after long and stormy debates, in some of the cities and villages in Bukovina, it was decided to close the taverns from 5 P.M. on Saturday until Sunday at 12 A.M.; the same rule was applied to public or legal holidays[95]. In November 1903, the "Government of Country" regulated the import of maize from Romania and Russia, and a few months later; likewise, the authorities demanded a stricter surveillance of its marketing, disallowing the sale of "broken corn or corrupt and harmful foods". Any contravention should have been brought "immediately to the attention of the competent court, in order to punish the offenders"[96]. In 1904, the measures taken by authorities in their "fight against the social diseases" included the rural development and enhancement by improving people's behaviour. The domestic industry had to be promoted, as it could provide some incomes to the villagers, especially during the long winter months; additionally, the women and girls had to be taught how to cook more meals and especially to prepare bread; the small households (unable to keep cows) were encouraged to consider raising goats and pigs. The corn import was severely controlled, and the altered maize had to be replaced in special areas such as driers and warehouses[97]. A draft law advocated by Dr. Erlich aimed at rigorous control of the alcohol monopoly and alcoholic beverages[98]. On various occasions, the Bukovina doctors warned about the transmission of tuberculosis, insisting on the links between illness, heredity, living conditions, occupation, and nutrition; for instance, the consumption of raw milk from unfamiliar and unhygienic sources had to be avoided. There were certain restrictions on the contact or marriage with a chronically sick person[99].

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[94] *Ibid.*, f. 113.

[95] *Gegen* den Alkoholismus, in "(Neue)Freie Lehrer-Zeitung", Czernowitz, 1903, no. 19, 22 Mai, p. 5.

[96] *Contra pelagrei* [Against Pellagra], in "Deşteptarea", Cernăuţi, 1904, no. 71, 9 Septemvrie, p. 3.

[97] *Sanitätsrat Prof. Dr. I. Ritter von Volcinschi über Ursachen und Massnahnen gegen Pellagra in der Bukowina. Aus einem Gutachen des k.k. Landessanitätsrates für die Bukowina*, "Das oesterreichische Sanitätwesen", Wien, 1904, apud Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii...*, f. 112-113.

[98] *Universitat und Alkoholismus*, in "Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung", Czernowitz, 1907, no. 1187, 24 Dezember, p. 3-4.

[99] *Zur Bekämpfung der Tuberkulose,* in "Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung", Czernowitz, 1914, no. 3496, 15 Juli, p. 4-5.

Equally, the preventive measures had to be accompanied by curative decisions. In other words, the efforts to prevent the spread of the disease had to be combined with those of detecting and treating the sick. The physicians knew that the best remedy against social illness was food and its therapeutic role as important as medication. In the early 1900's, Dr. Phillippowicz, the director of Czernowitz State Hospital, called for support for his patients by adopting models that proved their effectiveness in other provinces of the empire[100]. Not only the hospitals could offer a solution (there were, however, only a few hospitals), but also the curative and preventive institutions where the sick could be treated, and the peasants, in particular, fed and taught how to change their bad eating habits. In the first months of 1905, a special committee was set up with the objective to identify the most vulnerable communities and to estimate the amount which could be allocated for concrete actions for helping the sick[101]. With the money received from the Austrian Empire's Interior Ministry (15,000 crowns from the Fund to fight epidemics and social diseases), and from the Country Diet (5,000 crowns), 4 canteens have been opened; there, for almost 5 months, 186 pellagra patients were served[102]. The daily meal program started in the morning, from 5.00 to 7.00, and continued at noon from 12.00 to 14.00. Excepting the fasting days, meat was on the menu at least five times a week; the corn was completely excluded from nourishment, as well as smoking and alcohol consumption which were forbidden. Breakfast consisted of half a litre of warm milk and 250 gr. of bread, while at the lunch, the patients received 500 gr. soup, 200 gr. meat with 300 gr. vegetables, 400 gr. bread and a dessert of 350 gr. Beef, pork and sheep, and rarely chicken, along with rice, potatoes, peas, cabbage and pickles and onion sauce, garlic or plum jam were consumed[103]. In addition to food, the canteens distributed quinine tinctures, Amara and Ferrata (based on iron sulphate). The medical check-up was done every 14 days, being mandatory for those who had entered the canteen. Following this program, it was found that in 38% of cases, the health improvement was "remarkable"; likewise, 58% of the patients who attended the canteens had "ameliorated their health", "increasing their weight by up to 19 kilograms"[104].

In turn, the teachers and priests were encouraged to educate the community members how and what to cook, which foods were healthy, and what

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[100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Eine Mahnung…*, in "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1905, no. 1727, 19 Februar, p. 1.

[102] *Bekampfung der Pellagra in der Bukowina*, in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", Czernowitz, 1906, no. 5077, 6 Mai, p. 4.

[103] *Die Speiseanstalt für Pellagröse in Raraneze,* in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", Czernowitz, 1906, no. 5008, 11 Februar, p. 2.

[104] Octavian Lupu, *Aspecte din istoria medicinii…*, f. 115.

the body needed to function at its best[105]. As with pellagra, the danger of tuberculosis could be overcome by compliance with the food and hygiene rules; the patient care required a "timely and appropriate food", "bedding and clothes always clean" and a room "well ventilated and free of any smell"[106]. Obviously, it was the duty of the authorities to sanitize the localities and to gather public funds in order to help the tuberculosis patients, as long as the access of persons in advanced stage of the disease was restricted to the public hospitals[107]. The school education also had to provide the proper environment to children and young people who represented the future[108]; the health impairment and degeneration due to their social illness could become the darkest nightmare for Bukovina authorities and medical reformers; and that is why their education remained the solution to the province's prosperity.

CONCLUSIONS

Favoured by precarious socio-economic conditions, social behaviour, lack of education and hygiene, precarious eating and even by their own will, the social diseases have found in Bukovina, in the 1900s, a conducive environment for spreading. The statistical knowledge of social issues brought the doctors and provincial officials closer to reality, revealing it in all its complexity. The medical discourse directed attention to a less pleasant picture, showing the reforms that needed to be done; the transition from "misery, poverty, and carelessness that causes one person's illness" to "the danger of ignorance that causes the sickness of many persons" also indicated the authorities' obligation to oversee the health of the province's population. In this way, the campaigns to fight pellagra, tuberculosis, and alcoholism were born, and their subject matter became of particular interest both to press and to interpellation in the legislative and administrative forums; treating them superficially would have affected the vitality of the province's inhabitants. Unfortunately, in the years leading up to the First

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[105] *Auszug aus dem Protokolle der Sitzung des ständigen Ausschusses des Landeskulturrates vom 21 Oktober 1907*, in "Bukowinaer Landwirtschaftliche Blätter", Czernowitz, 1907, no. 23, 1 Dezember, p. 2.

[106] *Curăţenia casei…*, p. 54.

[107] For example, in Dr. Poras' sanatorium in Solca, the tuberculosis sick in advanced state or the insane were not allowed; cf. "Bukowinaer Post", Czernowitz, 1905, no. 1778, 22 Juni, p. 6.

[108] *An sämmtliche k k. Bezirksschulräthe, den k. k. Stadtschulrath und die Direction der Lehrer- u. Lehrerinnenbildungs-Anstalt*, in "Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1902, Vol. VII, no. 7, p. 98.

World War, many of these medical and administrative projects could not be applied because of the insufficient budget. The number of pellagra and tuberculosis patients remained high, the disease decreasing or disappearing from the province's nosological system along with the intervention on the hotbed of poverty, rife with illness, misery, prejudice, and ignorance.

IMPLEMENTATION OF PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN GALICIA AND BUKOVINA IN 1892: POLITICAL, LEGAL AND NATIONAL ASPECTS

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Abstract. The article presents an analysis of the Austrian politics regarding the problem of standardization of the Ukrainian language, based on the materials of Austrian State Archives in Vienna and the legal acts of central ministries. We have described the process of introduction of the phonetic spelling in all spheres of life in Galicia and Bukovina, and revealed its geopolitical and nation-oriented meaning. This process was objective and legal; it was based on the principles of the Austro-Slavism and the spirit of modernization.

Keywords: phonetic spelling, Ukrainian language, Galicia, Bukovina, Austro-Hungary

Rezumat: Introducerea ortografiei fonetice a limbii ucrainene în Galiția și Bucovina în 1892: aspecte politice, juridice și naționale. Articolul analizează politica austriacă privind problema standardizării limbii ucrainene, pe baza materialelor din Arhivele Austriece de Stat din Viena și a actelor juridice din ministerele centrale. Studiul evidențiază procesul de introducere a scrierii fonetice în toate sferele vieții în Galiția și Bucovina și dezvăluie semnificația sa geopolitică și națională. Acest proces a fost obiectiv și legal; el a avut la bază principiile austro-slavismului și spiritul modernizării.

Résumé: Introduction phonétique orthographe Ukrainien langue en Galice et en Bucovine 1892: politiques, juridiques et nation aspects. Dans l'article, analyse la politique autrichienne sur le problème de la normalisation de la langue ukrainienne, basé sur les matériaux des Archives d'Etat d'Autriche à Vienne et règlements du ministères central. L'étude décrite le processus d'introduction de l'orthographe phonétique dans toutes les sphères de la Galice et de la Bucovine, et révèle-t-elle importance géopolitique et nationale. Ce processus a été objectif et juridique ; il a eu lieu sur la base de l'idéologie de la austroslavism et dans l'esprit de modernisation.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem of language standardization in the context of Ukrainian nation formation has never been merely linguistic or cultural; it has always had

geopolitical determination. This problem was characterized by several constituents: proving not only independence of the Ukrainian language, but also, in general – proving distinct character of Ukrainian culture; creating single norms of literary language and its correlation with local dialects; development of stable orthography and grammar. The standard Ukrainian phonetic orthography was established under the influence of modern and worldview changes in the mid-1890s in Galicia and Bukovina, which happened here faster than in the rest of Ukraine.

Traditionally, the history of orthography remains the subject of language studies. However, the "humanitarians" (or the mainly scholars of language and culture experts) have revealed the problems of standardization of the Ukrainian language on the background and in conjunction of socio-political, communicative and sociocultural processes. These studies include works of Ukrainian scholars Lev Poliuha[1], Iryna Farion[2], Mykola Lesiuk[3], Vasyl Burdulaniuk[4] etc., and Austrian researchers Michael Moser[5] and Herman Bieder[6]. However, political, legal, and nation-formational aspects of Ukrainian history of orthography were outside of their attention, which can be a separate subject for research in the general studies.

The aim of this article is to analyze the Austrian policy in relation to the Ukrainian language's standards, to clarify the process of phonetic orthography implementation into all the aspects of life in Galicia and Bukovina, and to reveal its nation-formational meaning based on Austrian state archive in Vienna and

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[1] Л. Полюга, *Львівські видання "Просвіти" і проблема нормативності української літературної мови (1868–1939)* [The Lviv editions of "Prosvita" and the problem of normativity of the Ukrainian literary language (1868–1939)], in: "Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність" [The Ukraine: cultural heritage, national consciousness, statehood], Львів, 2010, Вип. 19, С. 196–200.

[2] І. Фаріон, *Правопис – корсет мови? Український правопис як культурно-політичний вибір* [The spelling – the corset of the language? The Ukrainian spelling as the cultural and political choice], Львів, 2009, С. 28–30.

[3] М. Лесюк, *Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови в Галичині: монографія* [The formation and development of the Ukrainian literary language in Galicia: Monograph], Івано-Франківськ, 2014, 732 с.

[4] В. Бурдуланюк, *Українське мовознавство Галичини другої половини ХІХ – першої третини ХХ століття* [The Ukrainian linguistics of Galicia of the second half of the ХІХ[th] – the first third of the ХХ[th] century], in: "Галичина: науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис" [The Galicia: scientific and cultural linguistic journal], Івано-Франківськ, 2013, № 22–23, С. 370–383.

[5] М. Мозер, *Причинки до історії української мови* [Advances in the history of the Ukrainian language], Харків, 2008, 832 с.

[6] Г. Бідер, *Українська мова в Габсбурзькій монархії* [The Ukrainian language in the Habsburg monarchy], in: "Мовознавство" [The Linguistics], 1997, № 1, С. 25–29.

normative acts of central ministries.

PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINIAN AND POLISH LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

In 1860–80′s the process of the Ukrainian and Polish language standardi-zation intensified greatly, which was on the one hand, the result of Slavic linguistics development in Austrian Empire, and on the other – dictated by the nation-formational processes based on Austrian and Slavic studies. The official grammar book for schools in Galicia was for a long time the book by a professor of the department of Polish language and literature from the Lviv University, Antonij Małecki[7], which up to 1911 was reviewed and edited 12 times. The Grammar was compiled in a year by the order of Austrian Ministry of Religion and Education, and in 1863 was approved by the School Board in Vienna. In 1864 A. Małecki became a member of School Council for his merits in educational sphere and in 1868 he took part in formation of the Regional School Council in Galicia. After his retirement from the position of rector of the Lviv University (1872–1873) in 1879 he reviewed and edited his book again, this was expanded to two volumes. The scientist critically revised his previously used dogmatic and grammatical, historical, and literal principles of spelling and partly considered the foundations of Slavic comparative linguistics, which were mainly preached by Polish linguists from the universities of the Kingdom of Poland.

In 1890, the Austrian government initiated the elimination of contradictions in versions of Polish orthography and thus the beginning of the spelling reform in Galicia. The Ministry of Religion and Education instructed the Academy of Knowledge in Krakow to create an Orthographical Commission, which included not only Polish philologists, but also representatives of various fields of science and scientific publications. In May 1892, the new concept of spelling was agreed with the Regional School Council in Lviv. On the 31st of October 1892, the Orthographical Commission prepared a conclusion[8], based on which the first attempt was made to unify the Polish spelling. A few days later, on the 25th of November 1892, the phonetic spelling of the Polish language was officially introduced by the Ministry of Religion and Education in the schools and

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[7] A. Małecki, *Gramatyka języka polskiego. Większa* [The Grammar of the Polish language. The Bigger], Lwów, 1863, 417 s.

[8] *Uchwały Akademii z dnia 31 października 1891 w sprawie pisowni polskiej. Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie* [Resolutions of the Academy of 31 October 1891 on Polish spelling. The Academy of Skills in Krakow], Kraków, 1892, 39 s.

administrative bodies of Galicia[9]. The new rules were published in the brochure *Prawidła pisowni przyjęte przez Akademię Umiejętności w Krakowie*[10], that however did not stop orthographical arguments in scientific environment. Leading Polish philologist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, Aleksander Brückner, Antonij Kalyna, Jan Karłowicz and Adam Kryński opposed to this decision and demanded the use incomplete at that time basics of analogy in linguistics as *expressis verbis*, in result of which in 1894, in the framework of the Regional Exhibition in Lviv, they announced their Protest to the new spelling[11].

Unlike the scientific discussions in the Polish linguistic environment, the controversial situation around the new spelling of the Ukrainian language unfolded mainly in the political arena. The literary battles in Galicia intensified attempts by politicians of the Ukrainophile direction to put an end to the "alphabet war", because of which, in 1859, the Latin letters for the application of documents in the Ukrainian language were implemented in the sphere of office work of the regional authorities. First, it was about the affairs of the Galician courts and the transcripts of the Seimas meetings. At the same time, the Galician Russophiles rushed to the other extreme: to confirm linguistic unity with Russia they invented the artificial language *iazychie*, which the well-known scholar and church figure Ivan Ohienko called "a true disgrace in our history"[12].

Supporting the orthographic reform, Austrian government has a big aim to bring norms to orthography of Ukrainian language, to finally separate Galician Ukrainians from the influence of "Russian world", which still traditionally kept using etymological spelling. Thanks to the introduction of the key idea of the phonetic-morphological principle: "write, as you hear, and read, as you can see", the process of standardizing the Ukrainian language occurred in the Western European cultural dimension. This key approach of the Serbian Slavic scholar Vuk

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[9] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Justizministerium (JM) I–HI/4, Karton (K.) 907, Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 28. Juni 1894 (Abschrift einer Erlass des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht vom 25. November 1892 Z. 23.231 an den k. k. Landesschulrat für Galizien).

[10] *Prawidła pisowni przyjęte przez Akademię Umiejętności w Krakowie* [The Spelling regulations, adopted by the Academy of Arts in Krakow], Warszawa, 1893, 16 s.

[11] J. B. de Courtenay, A. Brückner, A. Kalina, J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, *Sprawa przyjęcia jednolitej pisowni przez Akademję umiejętności w Krakowie* [The issue of adopting uniform spelling by the Academy of Skills in Krakow], Warszawa, 1895, 27 s.

[12] І. Огієнко (Митрополит Іларіон), *Історія української літературної мови* [The History of the Ukrainian literary language], Київ, 2001, С. 110.

Stefanović Karadžić was first used by the member of the Ruska Trinity[13], Markiyan Shashkevych, in the almanac *Rusalka Dnistrovaya*; it was also defended by the progressive Galician linguists Iosif Lozinskyi, Theodore Lysyak, Theofan Glinsky and others[14].

PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

In the 1860–80′s two orthographies of the Ukrainian language were simultaneously used in Galicia: the historical and etymological – *maximovichivka* (1827), which was used mainly by Russophiles, and the phonetic – *kuleshivka* (1856), popularized by Ukrainophiles. Confrontation of hostile political camps also occurred in the field of competition between "etymology" and "phonetics". In Galicia of the late 1870's, the *dragomanivka* (1877) was also partially spread. However, the positions of the "Phonetists" were considerably strengthened only after the publication of the *Malorussian-German Dictionary* by Eugene Zhelekhivskyi, in 1886. As I. Ohienko noted, "the innovation of this spelling, called *zhelekhivka* was the consistent use of **ї**... *zhelekhivka* was not something new, because we could see it before in the writings of Om. Ohonovskyi"[15]. In 1889, professor of the Department of Ruthenian Literature from Lviv University, Omelyan Ohonovskyi published *Grammar of the Ruthenian language for secondary schools* with a combined phonetic and etymological spelling, which, in fact, created the ground for spelling reform[16]. As it was noted by modern researchers, the dictionary of E. Zhelehivskyi contributed significantly to the convergence of Galician and Nadneprovskii spelling[17], which turned out to be a positive phenomenon in the formation of Ukrainian nation.

In the mid-1880′s, the linguists from Bukovina joined to find a solution to the problem of phonetic spelling. In particular, Stephan Smal-Stotskyi (after defending his doctoral thesis at the University of Vienna on *The process of analogy*

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[13] Note. The outdated term "Ruthenian" or "Rusenian" (German Ruthenisch) must be understood in its modern meaning as "Ukrainian"; it has nothing in common with term "Russian".

[14] М. Лесюк, *Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови*..., С. 508.

[15] І. Огієнко, *Історія української літературної мови*, С. 151.

[16] М. Лесюк, *Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови*..., С. 211.

[17] С. Бевзенко, *Історія українського мовознавства* [The History of Ukrainian Linguistics], Київ, 1991, С. 50.

in the inflection of the Ruthenian language, under the direction of the Slavic professor Franc Miklošič, in the fall of 1885) took the post of professor at Czernowitz University. This year, the position of professor of Romance philology was also given to a native resident of Innsbruck - Theodore Gartner - who expressed an unusual interest in linguistic research, including phonetics, vocabulary and grammar of the Ukrainian language[18].

In the autumn of 1886, some scientists from the Czernowitz university responded positively to the initiative of the Ministry of Religions and Education to introduce the phonetic spelling into Ukrainian schools of Galicia and Bukovina. The Ministry ordered to set up (under the relevant Regional School Councils) specialized commissions to study the issue of reorganizing spelling. Recognizing the progressive nature of "phonetics", the Lviv commission still decided that its implementation is considered premature. The Czernowitz Commission also voted against changing the spelling with a majority vote[19]. In 1887-1888, the discussions of this problem did not lead to the long-awaited agreement. The Russophile majority was not inferior from their positions and persistently insisted on "etymology", which temporarily conserved the situation[20].

This situation lasted until the beginning of the "new era" policy in Galicia (1890–1894), because of which the Austrian government actively supported the Ukrainophile direction. In autumn 1891, the Ministry of Religions and Education established specialized commissions at the Regional School Councils in Lviv and Czernowitz, which had to resolve the issue of spelling. Based on the order of the Ministry, the Regional school council conducted a survey in Galicia, in the result

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[18] O. M. Horda, *Theodore Gartner's contribution to the development of ukrainian language, in:* "Humanitarian and social sciences in Eastern Europe: achievements and prospects. Book of abstracts of the Science Symposium", May 31, 2017, Minsk, P. 14–19.

[19] В. Даниленко, О. Добржанський, *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький: Життя і діяльність (1859–1938)* [The Academician Stephan Smal-Stotskyi: Life and Activities (1859–1938)], Київ–Чернівці, 1996, C. 52–54.

[20] К. Киселівський, *Українознавчі праці академіка Степана Смаль-Стоцького* [Ukrainian Studies of Academician Stephan Smal-Stotskyi], in: "Записки НТШ. На пошану сторіччя народин Степана Смаль-Стоцького: зб. філолог. секції" [Notes of the Taras Shevchenko–Scientific Society. In honor the centennial of the birth of Stephan Smal-Stotskyi: a collection of the philological section], Т. 172, Нью-Йорк–Париж–Сідней–Торонто, 1960, C. 28–66.; В Бузинська, Г. Максимчук, *Професор С. Смаль-Стоцький і розвиток літературної мови у Галичині та Буковині* [The Professor S. Smal-Stotskyi and the development of the literary language in Galicia and Bukovina], in: "Українська філологія: школи, постаті, проблеми" [The Ukrainian philology: schools, figures, problems], Львів, 1999, Ч. 2, C. 7–9.

of which the corresponding Ukrainian scientific centers prepared their proposals. In December 1891, the "Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society" (TSSS) in Lviv appealed to the Regional School Council with a statement on the need to introduce phonetic spelling. The results of the survey of the Ukrainian language showed that out of 84 teachers, 63 supported the phonetic spelling. During the special meeting of Regional School Board in Lviv, visited by professors O. Ohonovskyi, S. Smal-Stotskyi, father Oleksii Tronskyi, Anatol Vakhnianyn, Konstiantyn Luchakivskyi, Ivan Verkhratskyi, Illarii Ohonovskyi, father Onufrii Lepkyi, Theophil Hrushkevych, Omellian Partytskyi and regional school inspectors Ivan Levytskyi, Boleslav Baranovskyi, Severyn Dnestrovskyi, a decision has been made for schools to change the phonetical spelling based on the orthography of Panteleimon Kulish and E. Zhelekhivskyi[21] (out of the 9 questions prepared for voting active discussions arose around the introduction of a new letter **ï** ("for" voted 9 members, and "against" – 3)). At the same time such Old Slavonic letters: **yor** – **ъ**, **yat** – **ѣ**, **us small** – **ѧ**, **yer – ы**, also **ô**, **ê**, **û** with apron disappeared from Ukrainian orthography.

On the result of the discussion, the Regional School Board completed the coordination of a new orthography for educational institutions, on which in August 24, 1892, they successfully reported to Vienna. The revision of the spelling was assigned to S. Smal-Stotskyi, who in 1891–1893 co-authored by T. Gartner compiled the *Ruthenian spelling*. In addition, in 1893, the consolidated school textbook *Ruthenian Grammar*[22] came out and survived, being edited 13 times. Linguist Vasilii Symovych noted that this textbook introduced many new terms into the morphology of the Ukrainian language. Part of the terms (s.a. noun, adjective, number, adverb, etc.) were introduced by S. Smal-Stotskyi and T. Gartner, and some were borrowed from other languages or formed as initials from German grammatical terms (verb, participle, gerund)[23]. I. Ohienko wrote:

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[21] Phonetic spelling based on *zhelehivka* in 1892–1922 was considered the official spelling of the Ukrainian language on the territory of Galicia and Bukovina. Up to 1940 some works had been published using this spelling in Transkarpatia, until the 1920–40's the etymological spelling was preserved, but later the *pankevychivka* was used, as a combined phonetic etymological spelling, established for schools in 1922 by Ivan Pankevich on the basis of *maxymovychivka*.

[22] Ф. Ґартнер, С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Руська граматика* [The Grammar of the Ruthenian], Львів, 1893, 175 с. Its complete and modified version: S. Smal-Stockyj, T. Gartner, *Grammatik der ruthenischen (ukrainischen) Sprache*, Wien, 1913, 550 s.

[23] В. Сімович, *Степан Смаль-Стоцький як шкільний діяч і педагог* [Stephan Smal-Stotskyi as a school worker and teacher], Львів, 1939, С. 10.

"What concerns the terminology of Smal-Stotskyi, one must say that this is one of the best attempts to give scientific terminology derived from the national language"[24]. At the same time, the philological department of TSSS prepared a multi-volume *Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary*[25], which additionally demonstrated the independence of the Ukrainian language. The active support of the spelling reform in Vienna led to the fact that the Russian government expressed its protest by opposing to the rejection of the etymological letter by Ukrainians[26]. However, the spelling reform nevertheless accelerated the development of the Ukrainian literary language as a single language of the Ukrainian people, divided by the border between Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire.

PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE JURIDICAL SYSTEM

In addition to introducing phonetic spelling in schools, the Galician Ukrainians often raised the issue of the Ukrainian language rights in legal proceedings. July 30, 1892, the Ukrainophile political society "Narodna Rada" (People's Council) in Lviv asked the Austrian Ministry of Justice to introduce phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in all structures subordinate to it. The formal reason for such treatment was the systematic complaints of Ukrainian Seim and Parliamentary deputies about the violation by the Galician courts of the existing general orders of the ministries and instructions of the Ministry of Justice regarding the norms of using the Ukrainian language. They referred to the decision of the Imperial Court in Vienna as for April 25, 1882, according to which they wrote a complaint of the Russophile society "Narodnyi Dim" (The People's House) in Lviv about the violation of the national rights of the Ruthenians[27] as for March 16–17, 1882, Z. 23-24 / R. G. This complaint was initiated by the decision of the Galician vice-regency of September 5, 1881 Z. 38.343, confirmed by the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of February 12, 1882 Z. 17.683. The above-mentioned decisions were based on § 1 of the joint ministerial order of June 5, 1869 Z. 2354. This provision presupposed the

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[24] Даниленко В, Добржанський О., *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький…*, С. 131.

[25] М. Уманець, А. Спілко, *Словарь російсько-український: у 4-х томах* [The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary: in 4 volumes], Львів, 1893–1896.

[26] В. Старик, *Буковина на фронтах правописних* [The Bukovina on the fronts of the spelling], in: *Між націоналізмом і толерантністю* [Between nationalism and tolerance], Чернівці, 2009, С. 153–157.

[27] "Ruthenians" (German. Ruthenen) – the old fashioned name for Ukrainians.

introduction of the Polish language "into internal business management, authorities, services, to the Regional School Board, and to the language circulation between the regional non-military authorities, services and courts"[28] in Galicia. At the same time, the Galician vice-regency and the courts ignored § 5 of the above-mentioned order, which confirmed the already existing linguistic rights of national minorities: "Regulations on the language circulation between authorities, services and courts with parties …, corporations and communities remain according to this Order unchanged"[29].

According to the announcement of the Presidium of the Court of Appeal of January 16, 1849, in fulfilment of the order of the Ministry of Justice of January 8, 1849, employees of the Galicia courts were obliged to freely master three regional languages – Polish, Ukrainian and German, and in Bukovina – four, including Romanian. Thus, it was ensured that officials communicated "with the local population in their native language"[30]. In the end, p. 2 § 3 of the order of the Presidium of the High Regional Court (HRC) in Lviv as for August 19, 1869, Z. 8222 did not meet § 3 of the joint ministerial order of June 5, 1869. It presupposed the implementation of transcripts in court hearings, statements not only in Polish, but also in the language that one of the parties would note to produce their copy of court decision. Because of the intervention of the Ministry of Justice on October 8, 1869 the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv had to cancel this inadequate order[31]. However, in the future the already created set of all possible contradictory regulations were used by the courts to preserve confusion and carry out manipulations that were aimed at the realization of the exclusive status of the Polish language in government bodies and courts ignoring the linguistic rights of the Ukrainian and German national minorities in Galicia.

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[28] This order came into action on October 1, 1869, and the use of Polish instead of the German language was introduced over the next three years.

[29] Verordnung vom 5. Juni 1869 der Minister des Innern, des Cultus und Unterrichts, der Justiz, der Finanzen, des Handels und Ackerbaues, dann der Landes-Vertheidigung und öffentlichen Sicherheit, betreffend die Amtssprache der Behörden, Aemter und Gerichte im inneren Dienste und im Verkehre mit anderen Behörden, in: "Landesgesetz und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau", Jahrgang 1869, Stück IX, Nr. 24, S. 69–70.

[30] Kundmachung vom 16. Jänner 1849 des Appellazionsgerichts-Präsidiums, womit alle Gerichtsbeamten aufgefordert werden, sich die vollkommene Kenntniß der landesüblichen Sprachen in möglichst kürzester Frist zu erwerben, in: Ibid., Jahrgang 1849, Nr. 188, S. 50.

[31] ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 15.373/1976 vom 3. Oktober 1882.

The explanatory decision of the Imperial Court stated that according to the order of the State Ministry as for April 10, 1861, Z. 2025 all authorities in Galicia are obliged to adhere to the Cyrillic alphabet. The point was that: |…Cyrillic letters can be used in the conduct of Ruthenian protocols in court proceedings or when issuing Ruthenian decisions, in general – to use Cyrillic letters and make records; employees assume the obligation to freely use the knowledge of Cyrillic written characters within the limits that they can read"[32]. This statement could not be interpreted otherwise referring to § 1 of the general ministerial order of June 5, 1869. In general, the explanatory decision also concerned the use of a Cyrillic letter in Bukovina.

Considering all this, the Minister of Justice, based on repeated appeals of Ukrainian politicians, sent a note to the office of the Austrian minister-president in early August 1892 about the need to introduce a phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. On the instructions of the head of government, the spelling was settled in a separate abstract of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and simultaneously studied in the Ministry of Religions and Education. According to the order of the Ministry of Religions and Education as for November 25, 1892, Z. 23.131, the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language was officially introduced in the schools of Galicia and Bukovina. The relevant orders were promulgated for Galicia on January 5, 1893, Z. 25.266 (ex. 1892), and for Bukovina – on May 11, 1894, Z. 9780. It was noted that "these provisions are valid for educational institutions, Subordinate to the educational ministry", that is, for all educational institutions in Galicia and Bukovina, including universities in Lviv and Czernowitz, as well as for the relevant Regional School Councils. At the same time, the new spelling was immediately implemented by the editors of the *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt* (The Letter of Imperial Laws), which, based on the imperial rescript as for December 7, 1849, was published in ten regional languages, including Ruthenian[33]. Published in the pamphlet *Ruthenian spelling*, the new spelling rules were introduced in the educational process of secondary schools in Galicia, with the Ukrainian language of instruction according to its order as for January 30, 1894 Z. 28.971 (ex. 1893). During 1893–1894, the phonetic spelling was introduced to the public schools of Bukovina, and from 1895–1896 academic year, after repeated appeals of the Ukrainian society to "Ruska shkola" (Ruthenian

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[32] Ibid., Ordner Nr. 568/2093 vom 7./10. Oktober 1869.

[33] Ibid., Ordner Nr.13.095 vom 28. Juni 1894 (Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, vom 13. Juni 1894, Z. 669).

School) in Czernowitz and in the secondary schools of the region[34].

After the report of Galician deputy governor Kazimierz Badeni to Vienna on the successful introduction of phonetic spelling in schools and regional authorities, Austrian officials got the false impression that the issue has been finally solved. In fact, innovations were ignored by the Polish bureaucracy and the Russophile environment. In this regard, on June 16, 1894, the Ministry of Religions and Education recommended that the Regional School Council once again explain to the Galician teachers the new spelling of the Ukrainian language. However, the situation in the Galician justice bodies – the courts and the prosecutor's office – was unfavourable. Also new spelling rules did not expand to records in metric and soil books. Due to repeated complaints of the Ukrainophile direction of Kost Levitskyi on the limited scope of new spelling, the Ministry of Religions and Education initiated an appeal to the Ministry of Justice to introduce innovations according to the principle of analogy into the structures subordinate to it – the HRC and the prosecutor's office in Lviv. On April 23, 1894, the Ministry of Justice demanded immediate reports from the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv and the Galician deputy, on the real condition of this matter.

Demonstrating the policy of the Polish administrative elite loyal to Vienna, K. Badeni informed on May 1, 1894 about the unconditional fulfilment of the requirements of the central ministries in Galicia, and noted that he had already addressed to the justice bodies with such instruction. However, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv, for its justification, put forward the statement that not all Galician Ukrainians are positive about the new spelling. The Ukrainian-speaking personnel of the Galician courts refused to use the rules of the "Ruthenian spelling", since the chairmen of the courts, Polish by nationality, selected only Old Ruthenians for employment, who maintained the etymological spelling existing in the Russian language. Based on this, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv put forward a demand for additional consideration of this issue in the Ministry of Justice and on its adoption of a separate individual decision, which was also supported by the Ministry of Religions and Education[35].

Based on the adoption of the new spelling of the Ukrainian language in schools of Galicia and Bukovina, the Ministry of Justice decided on June 28, 1894, to introduce innovations separately into the courts of Eastern Galicia, that is, in

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[34] В. Бурдуланюк, *Українське мовознавство…*, С. 370–383.

[35] ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 9.780/546 vom 1/7. Mai 1894 (Einführung der phonetischen Schrift der ruthenischen Sprache in der Geschäftsführung der galizischen Gerichte).

the territory of the HRC authority in Lviv with the entire system of district and county courts subordinate to it. According to the instruction of the above-mentioned ministry as for June 9, 1891, Z. 6.033 only here the rules of the Ukrainian language in communication (input correspondence, keeping records of statements on criminal cases, receiving applications, explanations, etc.) were used and on compulsory transfer of a court decision, which was supposed to take place in the request of the representative party of the national minority[36].

At the same time, to eliminate misunderstandings during technical translations of court decisions in the Ministry of Justice, the question of introducing a new German-Ukrainian vocabulary of state and legal terminology into the work of the HRC in Lviv, with the phonetic spelling of K. Levytskyi was considered. In the end, a well-known Lviv lawyer addressed the central ministries to support this publication financially so that every court in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina received a copy of it. However, the Ministry of Religions and Education provided information to the Ministry of Justice that the board of professors of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Lviv University in their conclusion as for July 21, 1893 Z. 1.117 negatively assessed the lexicographical work of K. Levytskyi[37].

The formal basis for this decision was the address to the abovementioned commission of the relative of K. Levytskyi, the well-known Russophile publicist Orest Avdikovskii, accusing that he (K. Levytskyi) embezzled the unfinished work of the late doctor of law Alexander Ohonovskyi[*], who worked in the Ukrainian department of Austrian civil law at the University of Lviv and in the late 1880's and headed the Faculty of Law. A. Ohonovsky decided to compile a new dictionary based on phonetic spelling after the publication in 1887 of a similar Czech lexicographic work[38]. At the same time, K. Levytskyi claimed that he had worked

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[36] Ibid., Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 13/18. Juni 1894 (Einführung der neuen Schriftregeln im Oberlandesgericht (OLG) in Lemberg).

[37] Ibid., Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

[*] His brother, the famous philologist Omelyan Ohonovskyi in the 1870's headed the chair of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) literature in Lviv University.

[38] I. Даценко, *Дві пам'ятки української юридичної лексикографії – словник „Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische Separat-Ausgabe" та „Німецко-руский словар висловів правничих і адміністрацийних" К. Левицького* [Two sights of Ukrainian legal lexicography – a dictionary *Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische Separat-Ausgabe* and *The German-Ruthenian dictionary of expressions of legal and administrative* by K. Levytskyi], in: "Лексикографічний

independently on the publication for about ten years and completed it in 1892[39]. In the end, the officials of the Ministry of Religions and Education estimated the conclusion of Lviv professors as tendentious, and K. Levytskyi managed to avoid an official charge of plagiarism.

Supporting the demands of Ukrainophiles, the Ministry of Justice sent an order to the HRC in Lviv on November 13, 1892, to publish the dictionary of K. Levytskyi. The document stated that the first German-Ukrainian dictionary of legal terminology[40], which in 1851 was published in Vienna at the state expense according to the order of the state ministry as for July 10, 1849, Z. 5.266, was now considered obsolete and incomplete. Due to the development of the legal science, the old dictionary no longer met the "scientific and practical requirements", because the German-language *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt* used new legal concepts and terms that did not have Ukrainian equivalents. On this basis, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv sent to the subordinate courts about 30 questionnaires in 1892 to question the opinion of experts on the appropriateness of using the dictionary of K. Levytskyi. Based on the collected information, the ministry's referee concluded: "The dictionary seems to me worthy of recommendation, since the chosen technical statements could correspond to the spirit of the Ruthenian language and at the same time very attractive borrowings from the Russian language, in my estimation, are carefully eliminated... However, in accordance with the circumstances, the dictionary could be recommended to the justice authorities in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina; temporarily its purchase is done for stationary means"[41].The total cost of publishing a full-circulation dictionary in the Ministry was estimated at 1,500 gold guilders of Austrian currency, which was to be covered by the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv at their own expense.

Using the conditions of the Galician autonomy, the chauvinistically disposed Presidium of the HRC in Lviv implicitly supported the resistance of the Russophiles concerning the question of introducing phonetic spelling. On

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бюлетень: зб. наук. пр." [The Lexicographic bulletin: a collection of scientific papers], Київ, 2009, Вип. 18, С. 62–73.

[39] ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

[40] On the initiative of the government on August 1, 1849, a commission was set up in Vienna to develop the legal terminology of the Slavic languages for the translation of imperial laws, headed by Professor Pavel Josef Šafařík. Yakiv Golovatskyi, Grigory Shashkevich and Julian Vislobotskyi worked separately for the Ruthenian language of the V th Section, who prepared the publication *Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische Separat-Ausgabe.*

[41] Ibid, Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

December 15, 1892, he answered the abovementioned instruction of the ministry: "The letter and the question of language divided the national Ruthenians into two groups: The Old and the Young Ruthenians, who are fighting on this ground. Moreover, the Old Ruthenians firmly hold the position that the Ruthenian language should develop based on old written monuments, while the young wives in this speech see the shell for the further formation of the Ruthenian idiom"[42]. Old Ruthenians use etymological spelling, and Young Ruthenians – phonetic, which they try to introduce and distribute stating the victory of phonetic spelling, "especially among the young generation". The Presidium of the HRC in Lviv nevertheless recognized the dictionary of K. Levytskyi as necessary: "The appearance of this dictionary will not lose relevance for the Old Ruthenian circles when they prefer phonetics, especially if this book is recommended for service use and this language innovation will almost officially be authorized... Judging by the pilot notebook, the dictionary intended for publication could have been used for a long time"[43]. Since of the HRC in Lviv budget did not provide a separate article on the cost of lexicographical work, and the publication was intended to be distributed only to the territory of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina, the Polish authorities offered only 300–400 guilders to the author as if he gives a ready-made dictionary. Obviously, the difference should have been covered by the Ukrainian community or the author himself.

Taking its time to follow the instructions of the Ministry of Justice, on Jan. 5, 1893, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv sent its arguments to Vienna, which only seemed logical at first glance, but in fact they aggravated the situation. The argument was in the following: 1) The regional school board introduced the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language only for schools, and not for courts in Galicia; 2) Since the Ministry of Religions and Education did not provide the HRC with a brochure with new spelling rules, it is impossible to assess the Levytskyi's dictionary for consistency; 3) In addition, the Ministry of Justice should clarify such questions: what legislative norms does the Ministry of Religions and Enlightenment refer to by introducing a phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language; Has the Ministry of Internal Affairs already applied new rules to the publication of the *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt* in Ukrainian, taking into account that the Ministry of Justice's directive on the spelling of the Ruthenian letter as for 10 July 1849 for use in legislative collections was not separately cancelled[44]? Presidium

[42] Ibid, Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 15–21. Dezember 1892 / 18012.
[43] Ibid. Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 24. Dezember 1892 / 1892.
[44] Ibid. Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 15–21. Dezember 1892 / 18012.

HRC in Lviv was clearly lying, because in the continental system of law a new rule on this subject automatically cancels the previous one.

After a long correspondence with the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv, the central ministries on June 28, 1894 finally accepted that they would not force to finance the publication of a new terminological dictionary as an official publication, and the Galician court bodies would not be obliged to use it[45]. Despite this, during 1892–1894 central ministries still managed to introduce phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in all Galician and Bukovinian regional authorities and institutions, as mandatory for use.

ORTHOGRAPHIC QUESTION AND UKRAINIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH (UGCC)

It should be noted that the new orthography was adopted by the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia rather slowly. The analysis of correspondence of church institutions in Lviv, Przemysl and Stanislaviv with the Ministry of Religions and Education shows, that this process lasted about ten years. These circumstances could be explained by the autonomous status of the UGCC, the traditional conservatism of the clergy and the considerable prevalence of Russophile ideas in its surrounding. The question of spelling had turned into one of the main "stumbling blocks" between the clergy of the Ukrainophile and Russophile directions in Galicia. The Russophiles considered the phonetic spelling reform as an attack on the traditional, sanctified by God "church language", as a way to the inevitable latinization of the ritual and polonization of the Ruthenians[46]. In the result of protest actions, some Greek Catholic parishes had turned into centres of signatures collection under the petitions of Russophile political society "Ruthenian Rada" (Ruthenian Council) in Lviv against the introduction of phonetic spelling in the Galician schools, which were massively sent to the Ministry of Religions and Education[47]. As a rule, the names of the priests and their families

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[45] Ibid. Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 13/18. Juni 1894 (Einführung der neuen Schriftregeln im Oberlandesgericht in Lemberg).

[46] *Зборы общества им. Качковского* [The Meeting of the Kachkovsky-Society], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 194.; [Г.И.Т.], *Старая исторія въ новомъ изданіи* [The old story in the new edition], in: "Галицкая Русь" [The Galician Rus], 1892, № 215; Лемко изъ Завадки. *Въ дѣлѣ фонетическихъ затѣй* [In the case of phonetic ideas], in: Ibid., 1891, № 208; *Мужаймося!* [Let's be cheerful!], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1894, Ч. 137.

[47] *Протесты противъ введенія фонетики* [Protests against the introduction of phonetics], in: "Галицкая Русь" [The Galician Rus], 1892, № 47; *Победа недругови Руси* [The

headed these lists[48]. Also, the Russophile priests initiated extra-curricular activities in schools, where they were taught to read church books with etymological spelling[49], conducted anti-phonetic agitation among the junior clergy[50], accused the Ukrainophile priests of not being dedicated pastors[51]. This behaviour of the Old Ruthenians was contrary to the order of the Regional School Council to introduce the phonetic spelling in the schools of Galicia. The emerging of conflict situations was perceived by the clergy as sufferance for the Church. In parishioner chancery was the Old Ruthenians to fill out state forms in Polish or German, ignoring those in Ukrainian with a new phonetic spelling[52]. Also, there were cases when individual priests in protest against spelling innovations sent their children to study in Polish gymnasiums[53].

Preserving church autonomy, the hierarchs of the UGCC reacted to the spelling initiatives of the Ministry of Religions and Education very carefully at first. Archbishops refused the Russophiles in episcopate interference into spelling battles, this was explained by saying that this issue does not belong to the competence of the religious authority. At the same time, they assured, that etymological spelling will continue to be used in church records management[54]. However, the modernization processes nevertheless encouraged the clergy to switch to "phonetics", because it was considered compulsory in school and in communication with authorities. The new orthography gradually was introduced into the parable office, as the priests also performed certain state functions. They

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Victory of the enemy of Rus], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1893, Ч. 161; *Эпилогъ протеста противъ фонетики* [The Epilogue of protest against phonetics] , in: Ibid., Ч. 101; *Дописи „Дѣла"* [The correspondence of „The Business"], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 151.

[48] A. Zayarnyuk, *Mapping Identities: Popular Base of the Galician Russophilism in the 1890 s.*, in: "Austrian History Yearbook", Minnesota, 2010, Vol. 41, P. 130–131.

[49] *Дописи* [The correspondence], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1899., Ч. 41.

[50] [Г.И.Т.], *Старая исторія...,* № 215.

[51] [В.С.К.], *Audiatur et altera pars*, in: "Душпастырь" [The Confessor], 1893, Ч. 23, С. 537–539; *Паденіе нашего церковного обряда* [The fall of our church rite] , in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1896, Ч. 120.

[52] *Дописи "Дѣла"* [The correspondence of "The Business"], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1896, Ч. 151; *Наши ренеґати* [Our renegades], in: "Русланъ" [The Ruslan], 1899, Ч. 8.

[53] *Виннû – "обставины"* [The circumstances" – are guilty], in: "Прапоръ" [The Flag], 1899, Ч. 8, С. 254.

[54] *Въ справѣ правописи въ народныхъ школахъ* [In the case of spelling in public schools], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 32; *Зъ Станиславова пишутъ намъ* [We write from Stanislavov to us], Ibid., Ч. 181.

kept the metric books and certificates of birth, marriage or death in the Ukrainian language[55]. They were also required to assimilate the new spelling as teachers of the religion fundamentals in schools[56]. As a result, all this led to the fact in the late 1890's, there were the calls in their surrounding about the need for the UGCC to refuse the etymological spelling and to give each priest the right to use the spelling, which was acceptable to him[57].

CONCLUSION

The process of introducing the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina was objective, legitimate, and consistent. It was determined by the need of the Ukrainian society to adapt the native language to the new requirements of life, which meant its free use in all spheres – in education and science, management, religion, culture. Leading Ukrainian linguists joined to solve this problem who worked on developing grammatical and spelling norms, on validating professional and technical terminology. In the 1860's, the Polish autonomy in Galicia significantly limited the scope of the Ukrainian language and by the beginning of the 1890's accumulated problems that hampered the development of the Ukrainian community. First, it was necessary to immediately eliminate the *latynka* and *iazychie* from the official language translation, and introduce "live" Ukrainian language with phonetic spelling.

The discussions of the problems of the Polish language standardization in Galicia pushed Ukrainian politicians to dynamic actions in the language field. They appealed for help to the Austrian government, which, based on scientific strength and public support, using the state apparatus, power mechanisms and the legal system, introduced phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. Despite the resistance of the Polish administration in Galicia and Russophiles, the innovation assimilated in the XIXth – XXth centuries and brought its positive results: for younger generation – the process of education simplified,

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[55] Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові (ЦДІАЛ) [The Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv], ф. 201 (Греко-католицька митрополича консисторія, м. Львів [The Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, Lviv]), оп. 1, спр. 4618, арк. 1–3.

[56] [Д-ръ І. Б.], *О теперѣшнôй школѣ народнôй, еи хибахъ и способахъ направы* [But the present of folk school, its disadvantages and ways of correction], in: "Душпастырь" [The Confessor], 1893, Ч. 17, С. 385–392.

[57] Сьвященик, *Ще про фонетику в станиславівскій епархіи* [More about phonetics in the Stanislaviv diocese], in: "Руслан" [The Ruslan], 1898, Ч. 128.

as it was in their native language, scientific researches – became more popular, the results of which became public for the Ukrainian society. The official introduction of phonetic spelling positively affected the communicative and socio-cultural spheres, contributed to the developing of the nation-oriented processes on the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Owing to all this, the innovation had a progressive and modernizing character, and the standardization of the Ukrainian language took place in the Western European cultural dimension.

THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH OF DIMITRIE DAN AS A NEW STAGE
IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE
OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN BUKOVINA

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Abstract: In the proposed investigation, readers can consider the life path and working activity of the Dimitrie Dan – Romanian priest, public figure, historian, ethnographer and academician. In 2017 the 90th anniversary of his death was commemorated. Traditional culture of Bukovinian ethnic groups, folk beliefs of the Romanians from this region, history of churches and localities were topics under his scientific interest. In his investigations, the researcher followed the principle of authenticity; he used the method of comparative analysis, and he was admiring the ideas of the European ethno-psychological school. In his working method, it is felt the influence of the eminent Romanian ethnographer Simeon Florea Marian.

Keywords: Bukovina, traditional culture, ethnography, ethnic groups, Romanians, Ukrainians, Jews, Armenians, Gypsies

*Rezumat: **Creația științifică a lui Dimitrie Dan, o nouă etapă în investigarea culturii tradiționale a grupurilor etnice din Bucovina.** În studiul propus atenției cititorului este prezentată viața și opera științifică a lui Dimitrie Dan, preot român, militant public, istoric, etnograf, academician, comemorându-se și prin acest gest împlinirea a 90 de ani de la decesul cărturarului. În câmpul cercetărilor acestui cărturar s-au aflat cultura tradițională a grupurilor etnice din Bucovina, credințele populare ale românilor din ținut, istoria bisericilor și localităților. În demersurile sale, Dimitrie Dan a rămas devotat principiului autenticității, a folosit sistematic metoda analizei comparative, fiind influențat de ideile reprezentanților școlii etnopsihologice europene. Abordările sale au stat sub înrâurirea eminentului etnograf român Simeon Florea Marian.*

*Résumé : **Activité scientifique de Dimitrie Dan – une nouvelle étape des recherches sur la culture traditionnelle des groupes ethniques de Bucovine**. L'étude en question présente l'analyse de la carrière ainsi que l'œuvre de Dimitrie Dan à l'occasion du 90 anniversaire de sa mort. Il s'agit d'un prêtre roumain, militant, historien, ethnographe et académicien dont les intérêts scientifiques étaient ciblés sur la culture traditionnelle des groupes ethniques de Bucovine, les croyances populaires des roumains de la région, l'histoire*

des églises et des localités. Passionné par les idées de l'école ethno-psychologique européenne, le savant suivait le principe de l'authenticité en faisant recours à l'analyse de comparaison. La méthode de son travail fait ressentir l'influence de Simeon Florea Marian, un ethnographe roumain renommé.

INTRODUCTION

The appearance of complex monographic investigation of Bukovina's population marked itself as a qualitatively new stage in the Bukovinian ethnology development in the second part of the 19th century – the beginning of the 20st century; there are studies of Romanian ethnologists such as I. G. Sbiera, S.F. Marian, E. Niculiță-Voronca, L. Bodnărescu, A. Gorovei, T. Pamfile. In the Dimitrie Dan scientific research there is a selected complex investigation of culture and everyday life of the ethnic groups of the region; his monographic investigation is dedicated to the historical folk believes, rituals of some Romanian and Ukrainian villages (Luzhany, Straja, Putna); more attention is paid to the description of material culture of Romanians in Bukovina. The scientific work of D. Dan also allows the tracing of common and distinctive features, the process of borrowing and inter-enrichment between different ethnic groups of Bukovina; even more, his work has not lost significance by the unicity and newness of the theme nowadays.

Scientific heritage of the Bukovinian ethnographer D. Dan was not enough projected in both Romanian and Ukrainian historiographies; he was a priest and a correspondent member of the Romanian Academy. Studies dedicated to him consisted only from his short biography data and list of works. The volume of Leonida Bodnărescu *Romanian authors in Bukovina*[1] (1903) is one of the first books where information about D. Dan's heritage has appeared. There is an article written by the same author, but signed with the pseudonym Leo Binder[2]; there are new biographical facts, fixed in service movements in Bukovina's parishes, participation in the activity of various cultural campaigns, also there is a list of the most important scientific studies. In the scientific life, only short biographical facts were placed, the most important works were enumerated in the article of

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[1] Bodnărescu L. *Autorii români bucovineni* [Romanian authors of Bukovina], Cernăuţi: Societatea tipografică bucovineană, 1903, 90 p.

[2] Leo Binder, *Bukovinaer romanen in der literature. Pharer Demeter Dan*, "Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung", 1905, № 60, 12 Mart, p. 4.

I. Chendi[3], in two anthologies of C. Loghin[4], dedicated to the history of Bukovina's literature. We can also find short statements about D. Dan's life in *Contribution to Romanian bibliography. History of the Romanian literature. Texts and authors of 1500–1925* (1928), written by G. Adămescu, the second volume of *Anthology of Bukovinian literature* (1938) by C. Loghin, the second volume of *Literary documents. Studies and documents*»[5] (1973) by G. Cardaş, the articles of M. Boca[6], O. Gherasim[7], etc.

Some information about the biography and work of D. Dan dedicated to the traditional culture of Romanians from Bukovina was published earlier in the journal «Glasul Bucovinei» (2005).[8]

The source basis. We make an attempt to investigate the questions based on the materials of National archive of Chernivtsi Region, taking into account the fact that historiographical literature contains few data about life, scientific and public activities of D. Dan. For example, the important information about D. Dan's life and activities in the spheres of education, economy, science and culture is contained in the appeal of Rădăuţi's county chairman to the Chernivtsi provincial presidium with the purpose of awarding him for his merits with the Golden cross and the crown (F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523). Up to 1906, there are 45 pages with about 30 documents that prove all the information about D. Dan's scientific activity as a priest. There are documents about his honours, awards, election as member of communities and organizations, promotion in work and etc.[9] A lot of materials

[3] Chendi I. *Doi membri corespondenţi ai Academiei, E. Hodoş şi D. Dan* [Two members-correspondents of the Academy: E. Hodoş and D. Dan], "Semănătorul", 1904, A. III, p. 14.

[4] Loghin C. *Scriitori bucovineni* [Bukovinian writers], Bucureşti: Reforma socială, 1924, p. 209–215; Loghin C. *Istoria literaturii române din Bucovina 1775–1918* [The history of Romanian literature in Bukovina], Cernăuţi, Tipografia Mitropolitului Silvestru, 1926, p. 258–259.

[5] Cardaş G. *Documente literare. Studii şi documente* [Literary documents. Studies and documents], Bucureşti: Minerva, 1973, Vol. II, 408 p.

[6] Boca M. *Preotul Dimitrie Dan* [The priest Dimitrie Dan], "Mitropolia Moldovei", Iaşi, 1963, № 9–10, pp. 610–613.

[7] Gherasim O. *Preotul Dimitrie Dan, istoric şi folclorist. 40 de ani de la moartea sa* [The priest Dimitrie Dan. Historian and folklorist. 40 years from his death], "Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei", 1967, № 11–12, p. 699–701.

[8] Moisei A.E., Moisei A.A., *Dimitrie Dan – valorificator al culturii tradiţionale a românilor din Bucovina* [D. Dan – researcher of traditional culture of Romanians of Bukovina], "Glasul Bucovinei. Revistă trimestrială de istorie şi cultură", Cernăuţi-Bucureşti, XII, 2005, nr. I (45), pp. 23–29.

[9] *National archive of Chernivtsi region* (infra - *NACR*), F. 3, O. 2, D. 16254.

about the literary and publishing activities of D. Dan are stored in the Bukovinian metropolis fund; folders about edition and distribution of his books[10]; reports about receiving money and their spreading; documents about his assignment as priest in a Bukovinian parish[11]; applications about vacations for participating in works of the Romanian Academy[12]; request for giving him money as help (subsidy)[13]. These materials help to trace his literary, scientific and academic evolution and also his participation in the Romanian Academy activities.

We can mark as a positive fact the range edition of his papers dedicated to the ethnic groups in Bukovina named *Dimitrie Dan. Bukovinian ethnos: Jewish, Armenians, Lupovans, Ruthenians, Gypsies* (Suceava, 2012), published with the help of the cultural association "Future Bukovina".[14]

BIOGRAPHICAL FACTS

Dimitrie Dan (1856–1927) was a priest, public figure, historian and ethnographer; he was born in October 8th, 1856, in a family of craftsmen (shoemaker) in the city of Suceava. He gained elementary education in trivial school and secondary education in Suceava gymnasium (1868–1876). He entered the theological faculty in Chernivtsi University and he graduated in 1880. In August 27th, 1880, he was ordained as deacon; in August 29th he has become a priest and intended to become parochial administrator in Mahala. He was a priest in villages such as Mahala (1880–1881), Yuzhynets (1881–1990), Luzhany (1890–1896)[15], Straja (1896–1916)[16], and in Rosha[17]. He was awarded with the exarch dignity and the red waist for his honest ministration to the Orthodox Church in 1897, also he was appointed to be a vicar in Vicov protopresbytery[18] in 1905. Later he was an archpriest (1908), in 1919 he was Stavrophore and in 1923 he become Archpriest Mitrophorus. Since 1920 he was an advisor[19].

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[10] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2279; *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2282; NACR, F. 320, O. 1, D. 2174.

[11] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 1, D. 3814, p. 195; *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2896, pp. 61-62, 66, 78.

[12] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 1, D. 3814, pp. 20-177.

[13] *NACR*, F. 319, O. 3, D. 13.

[14] Dimitrie Dan, *Etnii bucovinene. Armenii, Evreii, Lipovenii, Rutenii, Ţiganii* [Bukovina ethnos. Armenians, Jewish, Rutenians, Lipovans, Gypsy], red. de carte: Drăguşanul I., Suceava: Muşatinii, 2012, 350 p.

[15] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2896, pp. 61–62, 66, 78.

[16] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 15899; *NACR*, F. 320, O. 3, D. 3003.

[17] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 1, D. 3814, pp. 195.

[18] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, pp. 30, 52.

[19] *NACR*, F. 319, O. 3, D. 13.

He actively participated in the work of "The Society for Romanian culture and literature in Bukovina"[20], in "Arboroasa" association[21], "Orthodox Academy"[22], "Society of Austrian ethnology" from Vienne[23], committee for collecting Romanian national songs from Vienne [24]. He taught religion lessons in rural schools, donated money for buying books and school equipment for poor pupils, created a charity fund in Prague (1898) where he was appointed to be inspector of elementary school (1896), later he became the chairman of the local school council.[25]

He was awarded repeatedly with prizes of Romania (Romanian royal medal "Bene Merenti" I category, in 1904)[26] and Austria – Hungary.[27] The editorial activity of D. Dan received wide support from the public. The range of his researches was published with the help of the Romanian Academy, and the others[28] with the support of the Bukovinian metropolis.

In 1904, he was elected to be a correspondent member of the Romanian Academy for his priestly, public and scientific activity; in 1908, he was awarded with the imperial Golden cross and crown.

The interest to study folklore and ethnography appeared during the gymnasium years. His first article *A reading room from Suceava* was published in 1875 in a newspaper from Budapest called "Albina". He published: *Doine şi hore din Bucovina* (1877), *Izvorul şi cataractul Sucevei* (1879), the translation of the short story *The Singer* by W. Hauff (1880), etc.

The ethnographic theme occupied a prominent place in his activity, he was inspired by S. F. Marian[29]. Dimitrie Dan listed 135 of his papers printed

[20] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 6576, p. 6.

[21] Ştefanelli T.V. *Societatea academică „Arboroasa"* [Academic society „Arboroasa"], "Calendarul pe anul 1877", pp. 112–113.

[22] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, p. 42.

[23] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, p. 53.

[24] *Vom Arbeitsausschus für die Sammlung und Herausgabe des rumänischen Volkslieder der Bukowina „Das Volkslied in Österreich" (Rumänisches Volkslied in der Bukowina)*. Anleitung zur Sammlung und Aufzeichnung. Fragebogen. Druch von Schneider & Lux, Wien, 1906, 28 p.

[25] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, pp. 27–29.

[26] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 1, D. 3814, p. 44.

[27] *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 6576, pp. 8, 10, 15-23; *NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, p. 31.

[28] *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2279, pp. 78, 80-80; *NACR*, F. 320, O. 2, D. 2282*; NACR*, F. 320, O. 1, D. 2174*; NACR*, F. 3, O. 1, D. 9523, p. 34.

[29] Moysey A.A. *Simion Florea Marian – ethnoraf Bukovyny* [Simion Florea Marian – Bukovinian ethnographer], Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2003, pp. 134–135.

until 1918[30] in the study *Rolul preoţimei bucovinene în menţinerea românismului* (1925). Over 35 scientific studies cover the ethnology thematic. He paid the biggest attention to studying oral national art, culture and everyday life of Romanians[31] from Bukovina. Dimitrie Dan also investigated the history of villages such as Luzhany[32], Straja[33], Putna[34]. He approached very attentively the investigation of traditions, rituals and believes of the other ethnic groups that inhabited the area, he also discovered their material culture.

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[30] Dan D. *Rolul preoţimei bucovinene în menţinerea românismului de la robirea (1775) – la desrobirea Bucovinei (15.XI.1918)* [*The role of Bukovinian priesthod in maintaining Romanianism from the robbery (1775) - at the manumission of Bucovina (15.XI.1918)*], Cernăuţi: Tipografia Mitropolitului Silvestru, 1925, pp. 47–52.

[31] Dan D. *Doine din Bucovina* [Bukovina's Doinas], "Şezătoarea", Budapest, 1878, A. IV, p. 22; Dan D. *Poezii poporale adunate în comuna Bilca* [Popular poems gathered in Bilca village], "Aurora română", Cernăuţi, 1881, A. I, p. 14–16; Dan D. *Credinţe poporale bucovinene* [Bukovinian popular believes], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, A. 4, № 30, pp. 1–2; № 63, pp. 1–2; № 67, pp. 1–2; № 70, pp. 1–2; № 74, pp. 1–2; № 79, pp. 1–2; № 84, pp. 1–2; № 97, pp. 1–2; № 99, pp. 1–2; 1895, A. 5, № 2, pp. 1–2; № 5, pp. 1–2; № 12, pp. 1–2; № 17, pp. 1–2; № 19, pp. 1–2; № 23, pp. 1–2; № 30–31, p. 2; № 32, pp. 1–2; № 37, pp. 1–2; № 40, pp. 1–2; № 43, pp. 1–2; Dan D. *Două legende poporale religioase. Legenda vameşului. Legenda broaştei* [Two religious national legends. Legend of the custom house officer. Legend of the frog], "Patria", 1898, № 130, A. 2, p. 132; Dan D. *Legende populare din Bucovina. XII. Preminte Solomon şi şarpele* [Folk legends of Bukovina. XII. Solomon and snake], "Şezătoarea", 1898–1899, A. 5, p. 49–51; Dan D. *Tradiţii populare din Bucovina* [Folk traditions from Bukovina], "Şezătoarea", 1901, A. 6, p. 130–139; Dan D. *Din scrierile lui Dimitrie Dan* [From D. Dan's writings], Cernăuţi: Societatea Tipografică Bucovineană, 1902, 89 p.; Dan D. *Legenda pământului şi a muncii* [The legend of the Earth and Labour], "Foaia poporului", 1902, A. 10, p. 65–66; Dan D. *Muntele Cucu* [The Cucu mountain], "Foaia poporului", 1903, A. 11, p. 329–330; Dan D. *Cu ce-i mai bună mămăliga?* [How is polenta better?], "Şezătoarea", 1904, A. 8, p. 68–70; Dan D. *Stâna la românii din Bucovina* [Sheepfold at the Romanians from Bukovina], Cernăuţi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1923, 38 p.

[32] Dan D. *Lujenii. Biserica, proprietarii moşiei, satul şi locuitorii lui (schiţă istorică, topografică şi etnografică)* [Luzhany. The church, landowners, village and its inhabitants (historical, topographical and ethnographical essay)], Cernăuţi: Tipo-Litografia concesionată Arch. Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, 1893, 34 p.

[33] Dan D. *Comuna Straja şi locuitorii ei (studiu istoric, topografic şi folcloric)* [Straja commune and its inhabitants (historical, topographical and folklore study], Cernăuţi: Societatea tipografică bucovineană, 1897, 112 p.

[34] Dan D. *Mănăstirea şi comuna Putna, cu două apendice* [Monastery and commune of Putna village, with two annexes], Bucureşti: Institutul de arte grafice "Carol Gobl", 1905, 262 p.

He was the founder of ethnographic exploration of spiritual and material cultures of Bukovinian Armenians[35], Gypsies[36], Russians (of old rituals – Lipovans)[37], Jewish[38], and Ruthenians[39].

TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN BUKOVINA

Considering all studies of D. Dan dedicated to ethnic groups of Bukovina from the point of view of the methodology investigation it is possible to distinguish some typical features: the author's examination of the resettlement of these nations in Bukovina's history, etymology of names, analysis of anthropological data with emphasis of the ethno-psychological specific features, mandatory presentation of terminology on the language of the nation that is studied, striving to classification of ethnographical and social facts, comparison of different nations' traditions, displaying of their relationships, partial usage of illustrative material in the form of pictures and photos. His studies change in size and thematic depending on availability of the material.

D. Dan started his investigation regarding the ethnic groups in Bukovina from Ukrainians (1885). Gathering material about traditional culture of Bukovinian Ukrainians has opened the way to investigate another ethnic groups in Bukovina. In 1891, he published the ethnographic study dedicated to Armenians, in 1892 to Gypsies, in 1894 to Lipovans, and in 1913 to Ukrainians. In these publications, he emphasized the scientific motivation of the investigations. The history and religious peculiarities of the Lipovans were well known in scientific circles of that time, but the ethnographic features were poorly known

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[35] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina* [Eastern Armenians from Bukovina], Cernăuţi: Tipografia şi Litografia concesionată Arch. Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, 1891, 45 p.; Dan D. *Die Verfolgung der Armenier in der Moldau im 1551*, Cernăuţi, 1894, 18 p.; Dan D. *Obiceiuri şi credinţe armene la naştere, nuntă şi înmormântare* [Armenian rituals and believes connected with birth, wedding and funerals], Cernăuţi: Societatea tipografică bucovineană, 1904, 20 p.

[36] Dan D. *Ţiganii din Bucovina* [Gypsies from Bukovina], Cernăuţi: Tipografia şi Litografia concesionată Arch. Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, 1892, 32 p.

[37] Dan D. *Lipovenii din Bucovina* [The Lypovans from Bukovina], Cernăuţi: Tipo-Litografia concesionată Arch. Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, 1894, 43 p.

[38] Dan D. *Evreii din Bucovina. Studiu istoric, cultural, etnografic şi folcloric* [The Jews from Bukovina. Historical, cultural, ethnographic and folkloric study], Cernăuţi: Societatea tipografică bucovineană, 1899, 37 p.

[39] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina (schiţă etnografică)* [The Ruthenians from Bukovina. Ethnographic sketch], Cernăuţi, 1913, 44 p.

and their investigation was the main aim of his work. In general, pure scientific interest generated his ethnographic investigations. However, in 1912, under the pressure of inter-ethnical and inter-confessional tensions, he pointed to a political motive of the publication of *Ruthenians from Bukovina* (he was blamed in lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language and traditions as he was priest in a Ukrainian parish).[40]

In these studies, he pointed the motifs and reflected the history of settlement of ethnic minority groups in Bukovina. In his opinion, one of the first national community was the Eastern Armenian one[41]. Also, the author analysed the motifs of the Jewish immigration to Bukovina; presented the history of their resettlement, describing in detail the conflict from 1579, which has resulted in their expulsion from Moldova; offered the demographic statistics about Jews in Bukovina (1787–1899)[42]. In his papers about Lipovans, Dimitrie Dan investigated the problem of settling the Russian dissenters around the world and their immigration to Bukovina.

One more characteristic feature of D. Dan's ethnographic investigations is examination of the etymology of ethnic groups names in Bukovina. While investigating the etymology of the Gypsies ethnic group, he suggests that it derives from the name of the people "chenhar"/ "chinhar"; it was a tribe of a lower social status than "untouchables" in India. The most common name of this nation is "rom" that means a man or a gypsy[43]. The name etymology of the "Lipovans" has many variants. In one case, the old Lipovans explain the origin of their name from Apostle Philip, whose supporters were called philippovans, in the other case, from the everyday peculiarity to make most of the wooden things out of lime trees[44].

Another particular feature of his ethnographic exploring is describing anthropological characteristics of the representatives from each ethnic group. In our opinion, in this case we can see the impact of prominent French anthropologists of that time (Manouvrier, Topinard, Hervé, Hamy, Letourneau). Frequently, the anthropology features serve as an objective and tolerant basis for ethno-psychology investigations. For example, in describing the anthropological features of the Armenians D. Dan noted the psychological aspect of the problem – the Armenians are very kind in interacting with representatives of the other

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[40] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina*, pp. 4–5.

[41] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina*, pp. 1–6.

[42] Dan D. *Evreii din Bucovina*, pp. 5–6.

[43] Dan D. *Ţiganii din Bucovina*, pp. 1–5.

[44] Dan D. *Lipovenii din Bucovina*, p. 12.

nationalities and confessions. They frequently joined mixed marriages[45]. The charity is also a noticeable feature in the Jewish description. The Ukrainians are characterized as people with soft temperament, of middle height, hair and with a bright face, brown, grey or blue eyes. Their health and being hard-working are some psychological peculiarities, and as they are fatalists, they rely on the will of God[46]. Considering the analysis of the anthropology data of different nations' representatives, who live in Bukovina, and the output to ethno-psychological peculiarities, Dimitrie Dan, as a representative of ethno-psychological school, took his ideas from S. F. Marian.

A wide spectrum of special terminology used in his ethnographic studies represented a scientific value for ethnographers and linguists interested in dialects, being applied to the investigated subject in all its complexity. In the named papers, more than 1000 specific technique terms and national sayings are used: i. e. in the volume *Ruthenians from Bukovina* about 250 of them are used, and in *Sheepfold at the Romanians from Bukovina* – about 300 terms (the general number of pages in the study is 37). Some publications are well illustrated with pictures and photos: *Rusins of Bukovina* (9 photos), *Sheepfold at the Romanians* (1 photo and 13 pictures).

The D. Dan predilection for classification of the ethnographic and social events, under the impact of S. F. Marian, it is traced in all his studies. The example can be the social stratification of gypsies which are separated, by the scientist, on state, monastic and landowner's. State gypsies were divided into masters who created wooden spoons (lingurari), eyed bears (ursari), goldsmiths (aurari), migrated (lăieşi), fools (netoţi). According to his research, monastic and landowner ones were migrants and sedentary (vătraşi)[47]. A similar approach in studying the Bukovinian ethnic groups is traced in all his ethnographic researches.

The scientific interest is on D. Dan's investigation of relationships and mutual impacts of nations which lived in Bukovina. It is necessary to point out the researcher's observations about the Armenian susceptibility to mixed marriages[48]. He noted the same approach to marriages among the Lipovans (with Romanians, Germans, and the most often with Ukrainians)[49]; it means that ethnic affiliation didn't play a significant role between orthodox nations. However, there

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[45] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina*, p. 41.

[46] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina*, p. 16.

[47] Dan D. *Ţiganii din Bucovina*, pp. 18–19.

[48] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina*, p. 41.

[49] Dan D. *Lipovenii din Bucovina*, p. 41.

were overpowering obstacles or taboos, in his opinion. For example, Bukovinian Ukrainians thought that non-orthodox nations are not Christians, that's why Germans, Polish and Gypsies were strangers for them; sexual connection with the Jewish people was regarded as a big sin, and to kill the Jewish was not regarded as serious offence[50]. But despite it, in his opinion, Ukrainians suffered from the "disease of a too big trust in the Jews"[51]. The taboo was spreading among the gypsies who belonged to slaves for their social status and who were buried only in separate cemeteries[52]. Therefore, the main criteria of relationship regularity between the main ethnic groups of Bukovina was the confessional affiliation.

In many cases D. Dan as supporter of evolutionary theories drilled in roots explanation of ancient customs. There is an Armenian practice to kill the animals on some holidays during the year and to give the meat to the poor people; he compared this custom with the Turkish one on the Muslim holidays, which was an ancient pagan custom of immolation. He believed that this custom was typical for the Armenians before Christianity and it was based on bringing the victim to the goddess Anahit[53]. There was also the ritual of offering while moving to new house in Ukrainians from Bukovina[54].

In can be stated that the biggest number of common features between Ukrainians and Romanians is traced in material culture. Common elements are seen in planning, furnishing, and inner design of peasants' houses. Elements of house interior indicate it: a pole attached to the ceiling, chest, wardrobe, linen products (carpets, towels) which were common things in peasants' houses of both Ukrainian and Romanian. It is necessary to note that mutual borrowing is traced in the other ethnic groups in Bukovina. For example, the Armenians built or reconstructed their houses' verandas with stone or wooden columns by the model of Romanian houses[55].

The Dimitrie Dan investigation methodology of ethnic groups in Bukovina can be traced by the example of separate monography. In our opinion, the most significant one by the size and by the level of circumstantiality of ethnology investigation is the volume of D. Dan *Ruthenians of Bukovina*. The history of the writing *Ruthenians of Bukovina* testifies the constant and regular scientific

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[50] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina*, pp. 15–16, 36.

[51] *Ibidem*, p. 40.

[52] Dan D. *Ţiganii din Bucovina*, p. 17.

[53] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina*, p. 36.

[54] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina*, p. 4.

[55] Dan D. *Armenii orientali din Bucovina*, pp. 42–43.

interest of the researcher to neighbours-Ukrainians. The D. Dan volume has a monographic character that profitably differentiates the book from various papers of Romanian ethnographers whose material is more collective although it covers almost all the spectrum of ethnographic investigative ways. It is valuable not only as a section in a particular stage of investigation of spiritual and material culture, but as material for comparison process.

The structure of this paper is quite complicated (19 chapters and 44 printed pages), however, four blocks of subjects can be distinguished: material culture (household, building, food, clothes, units of measurement); rituals of transition (birth and death, wedding traditions, family relationships, crusade fraternization, godfatherhood), calendar rituals (national traditions, believes), customary law (different ranges of law), and three out-of-block problems: attitude toward Judaism, traditional medicine, proverbs.

The areal of this investigation includes Ukrainian villages of Bukovina with prevalence of concrete examples from villages of Prut-Dniester watershed. For 15 years he was a priest in some Ukrainian villages of Bukovina (Yuzhynets, Luzhany) and as he said, he perfectly mastered oral Ukrainian language and writing[56]. It helped him to gather various and informatively saturated material from many neighbour villages.

Wide spectrum of Ukrainian terminology accounts more than 230 terms, it applies to the whole complex of investigated themes. The proverbs from the last chapter of the book look especially original. Dimitrie Dan paid a significant attention to the material culture of the Ukrainians. For example, the homestead of poor peasants described by him with free placement of buildings was widespread in all areas of Bukovina, however, it prevailed in mountain zones. It concerned practical buildings in the farmstead of a rich peasant[57].

The author analysed such types of law as family, wedding, commercial, criminal, customary ones, customary legal relationships between landlord and servant, practiced customs of justice implementation.

The subject of traditional medicine is also under investigation. It interested him from the side of struggle against epidemic diseases among Bukovinian Ukrainians. Having analysed the condition of epidemic diseases, he stated the most widespread diseases of the Ukrainians that resulted in significant mortality percent. Nevertheless, despite frequent illnesses, peasants did not apply to professional doctors, unless in the cases of mass spreading of epidemic. Peasants

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[56] Dan D. *Rutenii din Bucovina*, pp. 1–2.

[57] *Ibidem*, pp. 4, 12.

used to refuse taking medicine prescribed by doctors, most often because of their belief. Almost each village had its own doctor-charmer („descântător"), who was very authoritative in his own village and in neighbour ones. The researcher noted the most widespread methods of traditional medicine: spells, bathing, coal extinction or smoking with fume from medicinal plants, treatment with *horilka* [vodka] steeped in medicinal herbs[58].

D. Dan dedicated to Bukovinian population one more paper: *Luzhany. The church, landowners, the village and its inhabitants* (Chernivtsi 1893). The author also analysed traditional clothes of the youth, traditions, occupation of tenants from Luzhany from an ethnographic point of view. Special attention was paid to lingual interferences of Romanian and Ukrainian cultures, in particular loans of surnames and daily phrases. He also gave examples of loans of traditional clothing names[59].

TRADITIONAL BELIEVES OF ROMANIANS FROM BUKOVINA

A special place belongs to the series of articles of D. Dan with the general name *Credinţe poporale bucovinene* [Bukovinian folk beliefs] in context of studying traditional culture of ethnic groups of Bukovina which was published in the newspaper "Gazeta Bucovinei" during 1894-1895. This paper was gradually published by the author in 21 newspaper editions and included about 1000 folk believes, but unfortunately, it was not published separately.

In this study, Dimitrie Dan covered the whole complex of traditional culture of bukovinian Romanians: calendar and family rites, traditional medicine, magic, meteorology, dreams interpretation. There are also believes connected with labour activity of peasants; for example: entry to new house, conduction of the first furrow, for providing cattle's offspring and crop capacity of garden cultures.

The calendar ritualism of the Bukovinians occupies an important place in this research. Dimitrie Dan described the believes connected with the most important holidays: Easter, St. George, St. Foca, Water christening, St. Andrei, Christmas, New Year, St. Basil. Such rituals involve a complex of girls' witchcraft, rituals connected with loving magic, protective magical actions against wolves' attacks, weather predictions, etc. There are also believes connected with prohibition of some actions connected with calendar holidays: prohibition to

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[58] *Ibidem*, p. 40–42.
[59] Dan D. *Lujenii*, pp. 31–33.

work in St. Foca day[60], to weave and leave sourdough for the night during the first week of the Lent[61], to cultivate hemps during nine Thursdays after Easter holiday, to visit guests on Easter[62], etc. Pre-New Year rite of guessing the weather for the next year with the help of a "calendar" made of onion[63] is also a very popular one. Also, we can find here the believes about "rohmani" existences[64].

Dimitrie Dan cited the examples of individual girls' witchcraft who aimed to charm the desired boy. One of the most popular example of this is magic with the help of a bat. The cached bat is put in a new pot with three tears. The pot is turned over and is placed on an anthill. The girl must go quickly in order not to hear dying cries of the bat. Exactly on the third day after it, bones of the bat eaten by ants can be divided on those which have the form of "hook" and "rakes". It is enough to place unnoticed this "hook" to the boy and he will immediately fall in love with that girl, and if she pushes him with "rakes", he will never disturb her[65].

The Dimitrie Dan research presented, among other believes, rituals, and magic actions, the protective actions of Bukovinian Romanians connected with the cycle of "wolves" holidays. People burn rags during water dedication on Water christening day; they believed that the person who holds this rag in hands will be protected from wolves[66].

Dimitrie Dan didn't miss family rites. Believes connected with weddings play a dominant position in this complex of rituals. Specifically, he analysed the wedding rites in the church. A lot of believes are connected with "rodina" [when guests are visiting newborn child], various prejudices for pregnant women, post-giving birth traditions and believes, motivation of behaviour for young mothers after giving birth. There are some rituals not outspread enough which are connected with the act of childbirth, socializing rituals and traditions connected with the name of a child. Some rituals concern funerals and the notion of soul, commemoration of a dead person, and maintenance of a dead body before the funeral.

A distinct feature of this study is given by the attention paid to the subject related to traditional meteorology. By summarizing this part of material it can be said that simple Romanian peasants forecasted weather for the near future as well

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[60] Dan D. *Credințe poporale bucovinene*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 67, p. 2.

[61] Dan D. *Credințe poporale bucovinene*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 74, p. 2.

[62] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 43, p. 2.

[63] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 99, p. 1.

[64] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 97, p. 2.

[65] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 2, p. 2.

[66] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 5, p. 1.

as for longer periods using these signs: 1) pets and birds' behaviour (sheep, cats, cows, dogs, dugs, cocks); 2) wild animals and birds' behaviour (bear, wolf, cuckoo, swallow, stork); 3) insects' behaviour (bats, chafers, crickets); 4) creepers and amphibians' behaviour (snakes, frogs); 5) trees and plants (parsley, rose, mushrooms, spruce, poppy); 6) atmosphere phenomena (rain, lightning, hail, dew, wind); 7) heaven signs (sky colour, the moon, stars). Weather prognostication described by D. Dan has certain scientific interest as it has pre-Christian origin; this forecast was made with the help of spleen of dead pig. If the spleen has long form the winter will be long, if it is short – the winter will be short[67].

Credințe poporale bucovinene is distinguished by the fact that there is a big amount of believes connected with dreams interpretation. According to this group of believes, dreams help to predict someone's destiny and/or weather. For example, a Bukovinian Romanian believed that if he dreams he's swimming in clear water he will be healthy for the next few days[68]; swimming in dirty water means disease[69]. If you see yourself flying[70] or rising the mountain[71] it means general respect. Dreaming about a person shooting[72] or hitting a bad person[73] means good news. To hold a babe[74] in your dream means disease, and to see cows[75], to eat fresh baked bread[76] or to fall in gulf[77] means disaster or even death.

Dimitrie Dan described in detail believes connected with traditional medicine. He depicted traditional means of treatment from such diseases as: fever, headache and toothache, inflammation of lymph nodes, dyspnoea, cough, diphtheria, yellows, tonsils inflammation, burns, colic, as well as from fright or witchery.

This study describes D. Dan as a very meticulous and diligent investigator of popular old traditions; he succeeded to write the true encyclopaedia of traditional Bukovinian culture with the help of parishioners, friends and colleagues-ethnographers.

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[67] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 74, p. 2.
[68] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 84, p. 1.
[69] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 43, p. 1.
[70] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 40, p. 1.
[71] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 84, p. 1.
[72] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 43, p. 1.
[73] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 40, p. 2.
[74] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 40, p. 1.
[75] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, № 32, p. 1.
[76] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 99, p. 2.
[77] Dan D. *Op. cit.*, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, № 89, p. 1.

DIMITRIE DAN' METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

I can't say that D. Dan ignored the necessity of a scientific approach in his ethnological researches. For example, in his study *Sheepfold at the Romanians from Bukovina* (1923) the author clearly followed authenticity principles: links to specific informants, the specification of the places of information gathering, the use of various base of writing sources from Bukovina, Romania and Occident. Besides, this paper held many pictures and photos; the author used the comparison method, conducting parallels with ethnographic materials from the other Romanian provinces (Banat, Wallachia). The researcher tried to find the roots of some rituals and traditions during their description. Therefore, he approached very patiently to terminology coverage of a branch of agriculture such as sheep breeding. We can find about 300 specific technical terms and phrases on 37 pages of this publication.

The areal of D. Dan's investigation looks considerable enough. He used information from 10 localities of northern part of Bukovina (Bila Krynytsya, Verenchanka, Luzhany, Mahala, Nepolokivtsi, Nizhni Shyrivtsi, Repuzhyntsi, Rosha, Shypyntsi, Yuzhynets) and 10 localities of its south part (Bilca, Vicovu de Sus, Climăuți, Mitocul Dragomirnei, Pătrăuți, Putna, Straja, Suceava, Sucevița).

D. Dan was influenced by S. F. Marian who made him to promise, in a friendly way, that "he will not leave feather to be rusty, while it has already been soaked"[78]. Later, D. Dan remembered: "And if I worked in thorny field of literature till today, if I have not lost precious time because of laziness and feasts, but I constantly worked on my table, I owe it to the motivation of S. F. Marian"[79].

CONCLUSION

Based on our analysis, we can say that the versatility is distinct feature of the scientific activity of Dimitrie Dan. The interest in the Bukovinian ethnography played one of the leading roles in his scientific activity. Studying the main ethnic

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[78] Dan D. *În amintirea lui S. F. Marian* [In memory of S. F. Marian], "Junimea literară", Suceava, 1907, № 6, 7, A. IV, pp. 156–157.

[79] Popescu-Sireteanu I. *Simion Florea Marian în amintirile contemporanilor. Studiu introductiv* [S.F. Marian in memoirs of contemporaries. Introductory word], in *Simion Florea Marian în amintiri, mărturii, evocări* [Simion Florea Marian in memories, testimonies, evocations], Suceava: Suceava, 1997, pp. 7–8.

groups of Bukovina (Romanians, Ruthenians, Armenians, Russians of old traditions /Lipovans/, Gypsies, Jews) became a noticeable feature of his investigative work. This working direction was based on scientific principles; facts of investigation conducted in the spirit of European ethno-psychological school, adherence to historical method of investigation, his penetration with evolutionism ideas, tolerance and objectivity, mutual respect during presentation of different part of ethnic Bukovinian groups' life. These investigations became a significant contribution in studying the material and spiritual culture of nations who lived in Bukovina. This fact place Dimitrie Dan in an important range of scientists of the traditional culture of Bukovina's population in the second part of the 19th century – the beginning of the 21st century.

HABSBURG BUKOVINA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT WAR. LOYALISM OR IRREDENTISM?

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Abstract. *Modern historiography often presents Austrian Bukovina (1775-1918) as a model for the management of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional territory. Many researchers have noted that, due to the policies promoted by the House of Habsburg, this province of the empire did not record religious and ethnic conflicts between national communities. On the other hand, at the end of World War I, all ethnic groups, except the German and Jews, adopted hostile positions against maintaining the integrity of Austria-Hungary. This has also been noticed by other historians to highlight the irredentism of non-German nationalities in Bukovina. This study attempts to analyse whether the dominant mood in the province at the end of the Great War was specific to non-German elites around and in the beginning of World War I, or it is the result of population adapting to the aftereffects of the world conflagration. The analysis is based on unpublished archival sources, testimonies of contemporaries and 1913-1914 local press articles.*

Keywords: *Ethnic groups, Bukovina, First World War, loyalism, administration, war, irredentism, Germans, Jews, Poles, Romanians, Ukrainians*

Rezumat. *Bucovina habsburgică la începutul Marelui Război. Loialism sau irredentism?* *Istoriografia modernă adeseori prezintă Bucovina austriacă (1775-1918) drept model de gestionare a unui teritoriu multietnic şi multiconfesional. Numeroşi cercetători au remarcat că, graţie politicilor promovate de Casa de Habsburg, în această provincie a imperiului nu s-au înregistrat conflicte cu substrat etnic sau religios între comunităţile naţionale. Pe de altă parte, la sfârşitul Primului Război Mondial, toate grupurile etnice, cu excepţia celui german şi celui evreiesc, s-au situat pe poziţii ostile menţinerii integrităţii Austro-Ungariei. Acest aspect a fost scos în evidenţă de alţi cercetători pentru a sublinia iredentismul înrădăcinat al grupurilor etnice negermane din Bucovina. Studiul îşi propune să analizeze în ce măsură comportamentele dominante în provincie la finele Marelui Război au fost specifice elitelor negermane în preajma şi la începutul Primului Război Mondial. Studiul se întemeiază preponderent pe izvoare de arhivă inedite, mărturii ale contemporanilor şi articole din presa vremii.*

Résumé : La Bucovine habsbourgeoise au début de la Grande Guerre. Loyalisme ou irrédentisme ? L'historiographie moderne présente assez souvent la Bucovine autrichienne (1755-1918) comme modèle de gérer un territoire multiethnique et multiconfessionnel. De nombreux chercheurs remarquèrent que, grâce aux politiques promues par la Maison de Habsbourg, on n'enregistra pas dans cette province de l'empire de conflits à nuance ethnique ou religieux entre les communautés nationales. De l'autre partie, à la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale, tous les groupes ethniques, à l'exception de celui allemand et juif, se situèrent sur des postions hostiles au maintien de l'intégrité de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Des autres chercheurs mirent en évidence cet aspect afin de souligner l'irrédentisme enraciné des groupes ethniques pas allemands de la Bucovine. L'étude ci-jointe se proposa d'analyser en quelle mesure les comportements dominants en province à la fin de la Grande Guerre ont été spécifiques aux élites pas allemandes autour et au début de la Première Guerre Mondiale. L'étude est fondée surtout sur des sources d'archives inédites, des témoignages des contemporains et des articles de la presse contemporaine.

INTRODUCTION

In approaching the problems of the past there is a temptation to interpret events in terms of accomplished facts, while data and tendencies that do not fit into this vision are likely to be ignored or presented superficially. Regarding Bukovina, a territory separated from Moldavia that came into the possession of the House of Habsburg in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the past is usually analysed by focusing on the moments that decisively marked the destiny of this region: the year 1775, when the north-west of Moldova became Austrian province; 1918, when Bukovina was united with the Kingdom of Romania; 1940 (1944), when the province was divided and the north was included in the (Soviet) Ukraine. In this regard, the course of Bukovina was, during the First World War, embedded in the November 1918 moment, when ethnic groups in this province have become extremely vocal, claiming the separation from Austria-Hungary (except for the Germans and the Jews) and advocating for a future of ethno-national orientation, while the Peace Conference in Paris (by the Treaty of Saint Germain, November 1919) committed the transfer of the province from the dualistic empire to the Kingdom of Romania. To this point, Romanian historiography emphasizes the facts and processes that led to the unification, the Ukrainian historiography highlights the failed efforts of the Ruthenian Bukovinians to include the whole province or a part of it in a Ukrainian state, while German historiography focused on aspects which ensured the progress of society and the Austrian administration efforts to ensure the

balance of interests between the centre and the province and between different ethnic communities or political groups.

Starting with the year 1775, once with the incorporation of the north-western Moldova to the Austrian Empire, the smallest country of the Habsburg Monarchy – Bukovina – experienced a sinuous but continuous evolution of integration in Central European patterns. After the 1848-1849 revolution, modernization effects could be seen in all fields, without exception. From a community organized according to medieval patterns, with loyalties structured on a few hierarchical levels, with only a few literates, with time Bukovina's society turned into a modern one, with multiple loyalties, with a significant number of literates. The progressive democratization of the Austrian society, mass literacy, the formation of national elites and their involvement in the political and administrative life of the empire were among the internal factors that led, however, to the manifestation of irredentist tendencies that marked the collapse of the Dualist Empire, in the autumn of 1918.

The conclusion according to which rejecting the authority of the House of Habsburg by non-German nationalities was a natural and continuous process can be easily detached from some works dedicated to the history of the province[1]. The study of archive documents, media of the time and testimonies of contemporaries leads us to a more complex picture of trends and attitudes, of historical alternatives which, at times, became stronger or less obvious. Despite some separatist political aspirations cherished by some Bukovinians, during the year 1915 the inhabitants of the province had to cope with extremely violent events and identify survival solutions during war and change of administration.

Traditionally for the Romanian historiography, Bukovina is seen as a territory where the Austrian government has pursued denationalization of the local Romanian population, and the other ethnic groups were instruments of this policy. The focus was on the downward demographic evolution of the Romanian community and spectacular growth of the other ethnic groups, which made Romanians represent around 1/3 of the total population of the province in the first decade of the twentieth century. On the other hand, the Ukrainian historiography sustained that the 38% Ruthenian population of the province in the year 1910 has virtually always been there, and the demographic evolution during the Austrian administration was characterized by a Romanianization of

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[1] Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina], Bucharest: Humanitas, 1990; Аркадій Жуковський, *Історія Буковини. Частина друга після 1774 р.* [History of Bukovina. Part II (after 1774)] Чернівці: Видавнича спілка «Час», 1993; etc.

the land population. Habsburg administration was aware of the fact that the absence of a non-majority ethnic group simplified the management matter of non-German population, and the ethnic mosaic of Bukovina in which people attached to either the Romanian, Ukrainian or German third, made impossible the presence of a hegemony leadership to generate an irredentist trend. In this context, the Austrian authorities assumed their moderator position on the political scene of Bukovina, putting pressure on the more active factions and supporting the manifestations of the passive groups. In these circumstances, the ethnic communities in the province saw the Habsburg administration as either a protector of their own interests, or an advocate of the interests of other groups, either way the local elites shared a joint interest in obtaining a favourable attitude from the imperial structures.

In the present paper, we aim at presenting the responses of Bukovina's ethnic groups in the context of World War I outbreak and identifying to what extent the 1918's fall centrifuges options could have been observed or predicted in the first months of the Great War. Also, we will try to determine whether the volunteers' mobilization was due to aware and assumed civic obligations, was one generated and directed by the authorities or was the result of local leaders' manoeuvres, in order to gain political capital?

ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PICTURE
OF AUSTRIAN BUKOVINA

For the general public, the Habsburg Empire - which on the eve of WWI came third in Europe by demographic potential after the Russian and the German[2] Empire – is synonymous for a "German" state. Statistics shows, however, that out of the almost 52 million inhabitants of Austria-Hungary, nearly 50% were Slavs, about 23% were Germans, and the rest were Hungarians, Romanians and Italians[3]. The Vienna Court was aware of this ethnic mosaic and knew how to face pressure from nations either by force (in the first half of the nineteenth century) or by means of political compromise and democratic society.

Before drafting the general image of the Bukovinians' reactions when the outbreak of war was announced and the population was mobilized, we must describe the political and economic situation and the ethno-demographic profile

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[2] Geoffrey Wawro, *A Mad Catastrophe. The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire,* New York: Basic Books, 2014, p. 23.

[3] A. J. P. Taylor, *Monarhia Habsburgică, 1809-1918. O istorie a Imperiului austriac şi a Austro-Ungariei* [The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and of Austria-Hungary], Bucureşti: ALLFA, 2000, p. 225.

of the province on the eve of the Great War. It should be noted that after 1860 all areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, including Bukovina, experienced an intense process of modernization in all fields. The socio-economic and political transformations from the second half of the nineteenth century significantly changed the ethno-demographic structure of Bukovina's population. In terms of ethnic structure, in 1875 the Austrian researcher V. F. Klun mentioned: "When the land was occupied by Austria, 100 years before, in Bukovina there were approx. 50 000 Romanians and approx. 20 000 Ruthenians. The 50 years exemption from military service and the official colonization contributed to the immigration of Ruthenians from Galicia and Maramures, of the Lipovans, Armenians, Jews, Hungarians and Germans to the land. Gradually, Romanians' preponderance disappeared in favour of the Ruthenians"[4]. The 1910 Austrian census recorded a population of 794 945 people. Of these, 273 216 (34.4%) were Romanians, 305 222 (38.4%) Ukrainians, 95 706 Hebrews (12%), 73 073 (9.2%) Germans and 47 728 (6%) of other ethnicities.[5] The population was also very diverse in terms of religion: 547 603 Bukovinians declared themselves to be Orthodox, 102 919 Mosaics, 98 565 Roman Catholics, 26 182 Greek Catholics, 20 029 Lutherans, 3 232 Lipovans, 657 Armenian Catholic, 341 Orthodox Armenian, 484 Reformed etc.[6]

Nationalities had their own cultural institutions (associations, reading houses, etc.), that along with schools, where the study was done in the mother language, contributed to the preservation and development of group identity. Simultaneous with increasing literacy (the Czernowitz University was founded in 1875 and Bukovinians acceptance to study had a special contribution to this plan) it developed a viable media with news magazines and newspapers in many languages: Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, German and relative to the total population of the province, it ranked among the most developed in South Eastern Europe.[7] The policy of mass literacy, together with that of modernization of society and the economy, resulted in the crystallization of the national identities.

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[4] V. F. Klun, *Statistik von Oesterreich-Ungarn,* Wien, 1876, p. 333.

[5] Rudolf Wagner, *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina,* Augsburg: Hofmann-Verlag, 1991, p. 4.

[6] See: Ганна Скорейко, *Поліконфесійність як складова толерантності буковинського суспільства* [Multiconfessional as a component of the tolerance in the bukovinian society], in Zbigniew Kowalski et al. (ed.), *Bukowina. Tradycje i współczesność*, Pila-Czerniowce-Suczawa: 2006, p. 137-140.

[7] Sophie A. Welisch, *The History of Bukovina*, Posted on the World-Wide Web March 2002. Accessed August 17, 2016. url: http://www.bukovinasociety.org/Welisch-2002-1.html

Therefore, in the two decades preceding the Great War, Bukovina's ethnic groups gained distinct and robust political and cultural individualities.

One of the most important changes achieved during the Austrian administration was the urbanization of the province. If in 1775 the three urban settlements totalled 3 200 inhabitants (less than 5% of the total population), in 1910 in the 10 cities and 6 towns lived 23.9% of the Bukovinians.[8] The urban development and the intensive immigration and colonization processes have transformed the cities of Bukovina in ethno-cultural and religious conglomerates. The last Austrian census (1910) recorded in urban areas a great ethnic diversity and the absence of a majority both in habitation environments and in the total of Bukovina's population. Therefore, of all the inhabitants of towns and cities, Germans represented 15%, Jews 32.7%, Romanians 22.9% Ukrainians 17.9%, Poles 11%, others 0.4%.[9]

Bukovina's economy experienced rapid growth and diversification, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1912, in Bukovina were operating 112 factories, half of these in the forestry industry. The industrialization accomplished throughout the entire Austro-Hungary was successful in Bukovina as well, because in 1895-1896 the first electric power station was built (Czernowitz). On February 5th, 1896, in the province's capital, the first light bulb lit and on July 18th, 1897 the first tram line was inaugurated. In 1908, in Bukovina four electric power stations operated; 45 companies were supplied with electricity. In 1911, there were seven processing plants for the oil brought from Galicia and Romania, three sugar factories, more than 70 bakeries, brick and glass factories etc. The number of industrial workers increased from over 8 000 in 1851 to about 32 000 in 1910, of which approx. 8 000 worked in large industrial enterprises. 48% of the workers were Hebrews and Germans, followed by Ukrainians (18%), Romanians (16%), Poles (15%) etc. Most industrial enterprises were settled in Chernivsti, where there were one third of the total number of workers.[10]

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[8] Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774 – 1918). Aspecte etnodemografice şi confesionale* [Bukovina during Austrian dominion (1774-1918). Ethno-demographic and religious issues], Chişinău, Editura „Civitas", 2003, p. 255.

[9] *Die Ergebnisse der Volks- und Viehzahlung vom 31 Dezember 1910 im Herzogtume Bukowina nach dem Angaben der k. k. statistischen Zentral-Kommission in Wien,"* in *Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogtums Bukowina*, Czernowitz, Heft XVII, 1913, p. 54-95.

[10] See: *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: A Historical Essay], Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, p. 111-142.

The expansion of the communication routes was blooming. In 1864-1866, the railway Lemberg-Czernowitz was built, and by 1869 it was also built the route Czernowitz-Hliboka-Suceava that made the junction with the Romanian railway network. In 1884, the Czernowitz-Sadagora-Bojan-Nowosielitza railway was completed and it made the junction with the railway network of Bessarabia (1893).[11]

Despite the industry boom, the agriculture remained the strong point of Bukovina's economy. Moreover, the same phenomenon characterized the economic operation of the dualist monarchy. Thus, in 1910, 56.5% of the total Austria-Hungary labour force was engaged in agriculture.[12] Due to the agrarian reform carried out in the 1850s, the number of property owners increased from 64 900 in the mid-nineteenth century, to 219 500 in 1905, while the number of households grew from 38 100 in 1847 to 109 200 in 1902. The Fund of the Orthodox Church and big landowners had 520 400 hectares of land (49.8%), the farms possessed 484 500 hectares (46.4%) and the remaining land of 39 400 hectares (3.8%) belonged to the state, to communes and cities.[13]

In terms of participation to the creation of material assets and population welfare, most Romanians and Ukrainians worked in agriculture, while Jews, Germans and Poles were involved in commercial-industrial, administrative and financial activities:

Table no. 1, **The percentage of Bukovina's ethnic groups in the province's economy (1910)**[14]

Nationality (persons)	Agriculture and forestry	Industry and crafts	Commerce and transportation	Public and military service, professions (law, medicine, etc.)
Romanians (155 879)	89,7	2,8	1,5	6,0

[11] Paul Braşcanu, *Emanuel A. Ziffer – „părintele căilor ferate din Bucovina"* [Emanuel A. Ziffer – "Father of Bukovina's railways"], p. 6-7. Accessed August 19, 2016, http://hauster.de/data/Ziffer.pdf

[12] Hew Strachan, *The First World War*, Vol. I, *To Arms,* New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 37.

[13] Demir Dragnev et al., *Din istoria ținutului natal (regiunea Cernăuți)* [From the History of Homeland (Chernivtsi region)], Cernăuți, Editura „Alexandru cel Bun", 2003, p. 115.

[14] Albert Lichtblau and Michael John, *Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz: Two Divergent Examples of Jewish Communities in the Far East of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1997, p. 49.

Ukrainians (175 840)	89,6	3,0	2,3	5,4
Germans (30 319)	48,2	24,2	6,5	21,1
Jews (40 366)	13,3	24,3	41,7	20,7
Poles (15 788)	35,5	29,7	13,1	21,7

Through the administrative and economic policy, the imperial authorities have created social-national faults in Bukovina. Although interfering economically, spiritually or intellectually, Bukovina continued to be a multipolar world: *the cities* being dominated by elements of German-Jewish-Polish ethnicity; *the villages* were Romanian-Ukrainian and German-Romanian, in various proportions to total homogeneity; *the institutions* (church, school) characterized by an interfaith and / or ethnicity competition (in the Orthodox Church) – were dominated by the Hebrews, Germans and Poles.[15] These worlds evolved alongside, their representatives interacting occasionally and with interest (in the market, stores, courts, public institutions, etc.).

BUKOVINIANS' STATE OF MIND
ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The decade preceding the outbreak of the Great War was one in which the European countries invested heavily in armies' development, new weapons' invention and in the articulation of strategies for waging modern military conflicts etc. By 1914, the feeling that the war is a biological necessity of first importance, "as a racial and social cathartic" through which the health of nations was ensured, was one that caught all the European peoples.[16] In Austro-Hungary, the public opinion was fed with news about: the increase of nationalism in the Balkans, the need to maintain the influence of the Court of Habsburg on the course of European policy, the endowment of the continental powers with new weapons, the external menaces and the sustainability of the imperial structure over which the king and the government watched over.

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[15] Marian Olaru, Ştefan Purici, *Bucovina – mirajul identitar supranaţional* [Bukovina – the supranational identitary mirage], „Analele Bucovinei", VI, 1999, no. 2, p. 260.

[16] H. P. Willmott, *When Men lost Faith in Raison. Reflections on War and Society in the Twentieth Century,* Westport – Connecticut – London, Praeger Publishers, 2002, p. 55.

With the hostilities' outbreak and with the successive engaging of the European powers at war, in all the countries of the continent, the peoples were captured by a particular enthusiasm, openly supporting the governments as they felt that history was being made.[17] At the end of July 1914, patriotic events took place in most European cities starting with Berlin, Paris[18], London or Vienna. This reaction of the population can be explained by the very small number of "pure pacifists" in the early twentieth century in Europe, while the number of different associations and political groups that did not always openly supported the war, but did not excluded violence as a solution for the international conflicts and militated for war preparation, was rather high.[19] On the other hand, people judged the future war based on past experience of war. Both the 1870-1871 Franco-German war and the Balkan wars, as well as the military propaganda supported the public confidence in the victorious conclusion of the conflict until Christmas[20], therefore the bellicose euphoria of the first period was justifiable. The existence of compulsory military service and the previous experience of those mobilized in 1914 are a good explanation for the prevailing of recruitment acceptance at the time, all over Europe.[21] The sincere enthusiasm was much more common in urban areas (among literate population) than in rural areas, but the differences should not be exaggerated.[22]

An important role in cultivating a patriotic (nationalistic) attitude among the people was played by the media, especially by the tabloid press. Distributed among a semiliterate population, this type of publications contributed to the crystallization of a "xenophobic paranoia" atmosphere that characterized the crisis atmosphere in the decade preceding the First World War.[23] However, if in Germany and France in the month of August the enthusiasm of the masses deepened, in Austria-Hungary it began to decline.[24]

In Bukovina, the modernization accomplished in the decades preceding the war generated on the one hand, satisfaction due to the access to central European civilization material and cultural benefits and on the other hand, it contributed to

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[17] Strachan, *First World War*, p. 104.

[18] *Ibid.*, 150-151.

[19] Volker R. Berghahn, *Europe in the era of two World Wars: from militarism and genocide to civil society, 1900–1950,* Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 26.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[21] Strachan, *First World War*, p. 149.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[23] Willmott, *When Men lost Faith*, p. 52.

[24] Strachan, *First World War*, p. 157.

the affirmation of the national cultural identity consciousness, both phenomena contributing to the achievement of increased levels of civic involvement and population politicization. In this context, the mass attitudes fluidization level, but also the manipulation ability of the governmental or political actors were the factors that influenced the public opinion's reaction to the major events.

At the end of First World War, Bukovina's society resembled a fragmented glass picture: each ethnic group displayed their political demands and their vision of the Province's future, none of these visions being identical or similar to the others. Basically, all had one common element: the destiny of the land and of their own ethnic group being no longer tied to Austria or to the emperor. Since Austria-Hungary ended up dismembering into several national states, there is the temptation to conclude that this tendency existed long before hostilities' outbreak. But one must keep in mind that for decades most ethnic groups shared the benefits and disadvantages of belonging to the dualist empire, so before 1914 most hoped for a federate status quo and not for independence.[25]

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE ETHNO-CULTURAL MOSAIC AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE BUKOVINIAN ETHNIC GROUPS

The ethnic mosaic and the absence of a majority nation in Bukovina, the legal framework and the political and national-cultural expression opportunities led to the configuration of a system for interests' balancing and for the defusing of potential ethnic tensions[26]. This fact did not exclude the crystallization phenomenon of separate ethnic identities, but neither the affirmation of a regional appurtenance. To highlight the role of local identities in the process of mobilization, it would be wrong to limit ourselves to only two levels: the nation and the town, therefore a study of all the intermediate groups is necessary.[27] This endeavour is essential for a province with a complex national and social structure such as Bukovina in 1914. Even if the example of the neighbour (another ethnic group) was of particular importance, the nationalities of the land had singularized reactions to the news related to the war and, subsequently, to the mobilization.

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 40-41.

[26] See Börries Kuzmany, *Habsburg Austria: Experiments in Non-Territorial Autonomy*, „Ethnopolitics", 15, 2016, no. 1, pp. 52-55, 59-61.

[27] Pierre Purseigle, *Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War,* in Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (eds.), *Uncovered fields: perspectives in First World War studies* (*History of Warfare*, Volume 20), Leiden – Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004, p. 105.

Of Bukovina's communities, the Poles had a special place, after the consecration of the province's autonomy in 1861, they managed to achieve a constructive dialogue with the representatives of the other ethnic groups and participated in a unitive manner to the implementation of the broad interests of Bukovinians. Concerned to preserve their national identity, nourishing the dream of the national state's revival, Bukovina's Poles[28], often seen by the Austrian authorities as a revolutionary factor (even if of anti-Russian orientation, during the 1830-1831, 1863-1864 events, anti-Prussian in 1848, as well as anti-Habsburg in 1846, in Kraków) was the ballast in the province, showing respect for the interests and rights of the other ethnic groups. There were situations when the Poles in Bukovina had to face the pressure from radical compatriots from Galicia, having to notify the public opinion of the actuality in the province.[29] The ethnic Hebrews were an active element in the economic and public life of the land. Not being recognized as a nationality in Austria-Hungary, in Bukovina, Jews were identified and identified themselves as "German-speaking", thus contributing to the consolidation of the Habsburg administration in the region. The ethnic distinction could be established only on religious criterion, the mosaic cult being recognized by the Austrian authorities. However, the Austrian government refused to recognize Hebrews as a nation. Legally, it was argued that the recognition of political rights based on religious affiliation was contrary to the Constitution. Also, there was the governmental concern that this acknowledgement could lead to demands for the establishment of publicly funded Hebrew schools.[30] In the twentieth century, the Hebrew students at the University of Chernivsti protested against this situation, actions

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[28] See: Kazimierz Feleszko, *O Bukowinie. Razem czy oddzielnie?* [About Bukovina. Together or separately?], Warszawa, 2000; Florin Pintescu, Daniel Hrenciuc, *Din istoria polonezilor în Bucovina (1774-2002)* [From the History of Poles in Bukovina (1774-2002)], Suceava, Uniunea Polonezilor din România, 2002; Андрій Горук, *Національно-культурний рух поляків на Буковині (друга половина XIX ст. – 1914 р.)* [The National-Cultural Movement of Bukovina's Poles (the second half of the 19th Century – 1914)], Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 2005.

[29] See: *„Polskość i katolicyzm na Bukowinie". Odpowiedź „Gazety Polskiej" w Czerniowcach na artykuł „Bukowiner Nachrichten" z d. 25 sierpnia 1901* ["Polishness and Catholicism in Bukovina". The Answer of the "Polish Gazette" in Czernowitz on the article „Bukowiner Nachrichten" of Aug. 25th, 1901.], Czerniowche, 1901.

[30] Fred Stambrook, *The Golden Age of the Jews of Bukovina, 1880-1914*, Center for Austrian Studies Working Papers 03-2 University of Minnesota, October 2003, 10. Accessed October 11, 2016, http://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/90464/1/WP032B.pdf

that forced the university administration to include in the annual report for 1912-1913, for the first time, and the number of Hebrew ethnicity students.[31]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Hebrew community aimed at ensuring a stable and secure place at Bukovina's population level, among Jews being manifested the tendency to "settle down" and – from the early twentieth century – the resettlement in Palestine. It should be noted that the goals of the Jewish nationalists and of the Zionists were to a great extent congruent, despite sharp disputes between the two sides, especially among Benno Straucher and the Zionist leaders Mayer Ebner, lawyer, and Leon Kellner, professor. Both movements aimed at promoting Hebrew identity, dignity and confidence in own forces. Zionists, of course, were concerned with encouraging the return of Jews to Jerusalem, although only small groups were resettled from Bukovina to Palestine, before 1914. On the other hand, National Hebrew were seeking for a Jewish future in the Habsburg Monarchy and in particular, in Bukovina, Jews wished to gain recognition as one of the Austrian nationalities and not just as a separate religious community. In the Bukovinian society existed the conditions needed to strengthen the sense of identity among Jews, especially because anti-Semitism was not openly manifested. One might speak about passivity as a specific feature of the rural population in the province, but Bukovina was noticed even since the nineteenth century for the tolerant and adapting spirit. The Orthodox did business with the Jews, and the latter greeted with pomp any bishop who arrived in Czernowitz and the Romanian Metropolitan Vladimir de Repta was the one that saved the Torah and other holy scriptures from the Czernowitz synagogue during the first Russian occupation (1914).

The Romanian Bukovinian leaders – a community that dominated the villages of the south and centre of the province – considered that the Habsburg authorities do not pay due consideration to the requests of this ethnic group, favouring the development of other nationalities in Bukovina. For example, the Romanian Bukovinians were anxious because of the society's Teutonization tendencies[32], in terms of the proclaimed equality among nations[33] without

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[32] *Ministrul de justiţie germanizează Bucovina* [The Minister of Justice Teutonizes Bukovina], „Gazeta Română. Foaie politică naţională", Gura Humorului, February 1914, p. 3.

[33] Therefore, after the publication of the "Bukowiner Nachrichten" in the journal of the German Union from Bukovina, of a poem in which Czernowitz was called "German city on the Prut", the magazine "The Romanian Gazette" (issuing once a month at Gura Humor, under the guidance of Ambros Comoroşan) wrote the following: "It is rather daring to call Bukovina's capital a German city, the capital where are located the

spreading irredentist projects. Within the limits accepted by the political regime, the Romanian nationalism could be manifested only in a dual form: the militant had to be simultaneously a "good Romanian" and an "Austrian patriot".[34] However, the political elite did not forget to emphasize loyalty for the dynasty and empire. For example, at a political assembly organized by the Romanian National Party leaders in the Rosa suburb of Bukovina's capital, after the speech given by Eusebius Popovici, chairman of the party, the participants cheered the final words of the speaker "with a blizzard of shouting "long live the Emperor!"[35]

Given that the Austrian authorities were watching closely the occurrence of any separatist feelings and tried to suppress them from the very beginning, on the eve of World War I, "for Bukovinian Romanians the annexation of Bukovina to their homeland was more a vague desire, a resigned expectation of a distant ideal, than a strong belief in a certain and close achievement…".[36] However, among the intellectual elite there was the wide spread opinion that the imperial dualist structure is obsolete: "In our monarchy, for some time past terribly scandalous and shameful things happen and signs of a dissolution process arise. (…) Catastrophe approaches and collapse threatens."[37]Another ethnic group related more to the rural world than to the urban one, with close connections to the compatriots of neighbouring Galicia, was the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) one. The Austrian Constitution recognized Ukrainians the right of existing and developing on equal terms with all the other peoples of the empire[38], but the precarious economic and political potential of the Ukrainian Bukovinians did not allowed them to capitalize all the rights and freedoms

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institutes and cultural centres of Romanians and Ruthenians, the capital with the Romanian Mitropoly, the theological faculty partly teaching in Romanian, with the Jewish crowd that tends to get their national individuality recognized. (…) Then, how can Czernowitz be called a German city, it's beyond our understanding. (…) We reject these attempts to Teutonize this ancestral land". (See: *Din Cernăuți* [From Czernowitz], „Gazeta Română. Foaie politică națională", February 1914, p. 4).

[34] *Orațiuniea d-lui deputat Dr. Isopescul-Grecul în parlament* [The oration of the deputy Isopescul-Grecul in the Parliament], „Gazeta Răzeşilor şi Mazililor", June 21, 1913, p. 31.

[35] *Mare adunare politică a «Partidului naţional»* [The big political gathering of the "National Party"], „Viaţa Nouă", December 21, 1913, January 03, 1914, p. 3.

[36] Nicolae Coman, *Martiriul Bucovinei, 1914-1915* [Bukovina's Martyr, 1914-1915], Bucureşti, Editura Librăriei Pavel Suru, 1915, p. 32-33.

[37] *Semne rele* [Bad signs], „Viaţa Nouă", December 21, 1913, January 03, 1914, p. 2-3.

[38] В. Левицький, *Як живеться українському народові в Австрії* [The way of life of the Ukrainian people in Austria], Відень, Союз визволення України, 1915, с. 9.

guaranteed by the Austrian legislation of that era.[39] On the eve of World War I, among Ukrainians three distinct currents were being manifested: Moscowphile (which appreciated that that only with the Russian support could be salvaged the national identity against the Austrian state's pressure and against the Polish and Romanian domineering tendencies); Austrophile (which advocated the division of Galicia between Ukrainian and Poles and the establishing of an Ukrainian province within the monarchy) and Radical (separatist, who promoted the idea of reuniting all Ukrainians in an independent state).[40] Despite the mistrust expressed by the Austrian political leaders in the Ruthenians from the Empire, despite the display – not very obvious – of the Ukrainian irredentism, the Ruthenian community considered itself loyal to the House of Habsburg. This loyalty was confirmed publicly during the political gatherings held in Lemberg and Chernivsti (December 1912, December 1913 and March 1914).[41]

The Bukovinian Germans were obviously the cornerstone of the Habsburg regime in Bukovina. Artisans, farmers, practitioners of liberal professions, but especially officials, the representatives of this community were considered "culture carriers" and promoters of the German language at the border of the empire. Even if within the German ethnic group there wasn't a politics and projects unity, in its relation to the other nationalities it played the role of mediator or model and to a lesser extent that of a dominant nation. Without a doubt, the future of this community was inextricably linked to the maintenance of the Austrian administration in Bukovina. Nevertheless, in 1913-1914 in Bukovina there were rumours about the potential loss of the province. According to the confidential report drawn up in April 1914 by Alexander Dolivo-Dobrovolski, the Russian consul in Czernowitz, in the cafes of province's capital there were open discussions about the fact that: "In a few years Bukovina can become Russian or Romanian."[42]

The interethnic conflicts that were so visible in other parts of Austria-Hungary were virtually non-existent in the easternmost country of the Monarchy.

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[39] Сергій Попик, *Українці в Австрії 1914-1918. Австрійська політика в українському питанні періоду Великої війни* [Ukrainians in Austria, 1914-1918. The Austrian policy in the Ukrainian issue during the Great War], Київ-Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999, c. 26.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 33-36.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[42] Ion Varta, *Bătălia pentru Bucovina în ajunul Unirii cu România (1913-1917)* [The battle for Bukovina on the eve of the unification with Romania (1913-1917)], Chişinău, Cartdidact, 2008, p. 20.

After 1848 none of the ethnic groups had numerical majority so as to impose in the detriment of other nationalities; most of the inhabitants of the province settled in the land after 1775, as colonists; none could have advanced irredentist claims for the union with another state, except Romanians. Living on a relatively small territory, along with other nationalities, the Bukovinian was had to be acquisitive to the Eastern and Western Europe traditions and cultures. Without receding from their ethnic identity, the Bukovinian rejected chauvinism and promoted tolerance. Religiously, it was a similar situation.

If the Roman Catholic Church and, implicitly, the Greek Catholic one enjoyed privileged positions in Austria, the Orthodox church supported their authority and influence on the prosperous Bukovina's Orthodox Religionist Fund, the aggressive proselytism being absent in the province. The nationalities managed to maintain *pax bucoviniensis* until the eve of the Dualist Empire's dissolution[43], living together rather harmoniously from a cultural and social perspective.

BUKOVINA BETWEEN ENTHUSIASM OF PEOPLE AND LOYALIZATION ACTIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES

In spite of the many social, economic or political problems, visible and less visible, the society in Bukovina evolved confidently and safely on the path of progress, relying on the stability and adaptability of Dualist Empire. The British historian A. J. P. Taylor observed: "People have never had more confidence in the future of the Habsburg Monarchy than in the years preceding the end."[44] However, nobody expected things to precipitate. A few months after the outbreak of the Great War, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, the Transylvanian journalist and fighter for national rights of Romanians in Transylvania, noted the following: "the revolver of young Gavro Princip killed along with the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, the only hope for a better future of the dualist kingdom's peoples. That is why the death of this sphinx of the future stirred waves of deep pain in the souls of those loyal to the House of Habsburg. They grieved a disaster, the collapse of an illusion that promised to many a better fate. (...) Most of the tears were sincere, springing from the hearts, for they were selfish. These weren't mourning the misfortune of

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[43] Sophie A. Welsch, *The Bukovina-Germans During the Habsburg Period: Settlement, Ethnic Interaction, Contributions*, „FEEFHS Journal", 2002, no. 10, p. 94, http://feefhs.org/journal/10/bukovina.pdf

[44] Taylor, *Monarhia Habsburgică,* p. 191.

the monarchy, but their own fate, about the future reign."[45]

Among the first communities that openly and massively expressed the support of Vienna's government policy was the Hebrew one. Therefore, the publication of the July 25th, 1914, notice on the partial mobilization, hundreds and thousands of Hebrews took to the streets in Czernowitz and in other cities of Bukovina. The Hebrew population was overwhelmed by war fever and bellicose shouting and military songs were heard in many places. This patriotism was inspired by two generations of imperial government during which Jews obtained equal rights with other ethnicity and occupied high positions in public service. Their loyalty was based on absolute confidence in the Austrian armed forces who have impressed rather through the brilliantly executed manoeuvres and parades[46] than on the battlefield.

On July 28th, 1914, Emperor Franz Joseph, launched the manifesto '*To My Peoples!*' announcing the decision to initiate war against Serbia and expressed trust "in my peoples, who, throughout every storm, have always rallied in unity and loyalty around my throne, and have always been prepared for the severest sacrifices for the honour, the greatness, and the might of the Fatherland"[47]. Immediately, loyalty and the assurance for the necessary support for waging war began to be made public by various institutions and organizations, as well as political parties. The day the Emperor published the manifesto, in front of the governor's palace in Czernowitz took place a great "patriotic demonstration", and the next day a meeting with an even greater participation was organized in front of City Hall and of the governor's palace.[48] The attachment to the emperor and adherence to the war initiated by Austro-Hungary was acclaimed by the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina, but also by the other churches.

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[45] Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, *Trei luni pe câmpul de răsboiu. Ziarul unui român, ofiţer în armata austro-ungară, care a luat parte, cu glotaşii români din Ardeal, la luptele din Galiţia* [Three months on the battlefield. The newspaper of a Romanian, an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army, who took part, with the Romanian soldiers from Transylvania region, in the battles in Galicia], Ediţia a II-a revăzută şi întregită, Bucureşti, Editura Librăriei Şcoalelor V. Sfetea, 1915, p. 9-10.

[46] Arie Leon Schmelzer, *The Jews in Bukowina (1914-1919). World War and Russian Occupation*, in Hugo Gold (ed.), *History of the Jews in the Bukovina*, Originally published as *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina,* Tel Aviv, Olamenu, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 67, http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukowinabook/buk1_067.html

[47] Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale [Suceava County Department of National Archives], Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei [Mayoralty of Vatra Dornei], Record 37/1914.

[48] Teodor Bălan, *Bucovina în războiul mondial* [Bukovina in First World War], Cernăuţi, Institutul de Arte Grafice şi Editură „Glasul Bucovinei", 1929, p. 13.

Besides Hebrews, the Bukovinian Romanians through the two political organisms – The Democratic Peasants' Party and The National Romanian Party – were placed in a loyalty position to the House of Habsburg.[49] On August 3rd, 1914, "The Union of Bukovina's Ukrainian deputies in the parliament and diet" released the manifesto *To the Ukrainian people from Bukovina*, where it was specified that "together with all the peoples of this beautiful new state we will gladly make any sacrifice for our emperor, for the proud Habsburg Monarchy."[50]

The general mobilization order, issued on July 30th, 1914[51], had immediate consequences in Bukovina. Aurel Morariu, a lawyer and politician, related: "Through heralds and messengers sent at a rate of knots, through trumpets and drums sounds, by ringing the church bells, it was spread in all corners of the country the dread of the news that the Muscovite has raised more than ever and the country is in danger. Immediately the emperor's for most peoples has been heard and all those who had served in the imperial armies under the royal flags, from age 21 to 42 years, entered in this army. (...) Cheerfully and willingly, nearly 20 000 Romanians, boys and grizzled men, belonging to the mentioned regiments [41 and 22 – St. P.], departed to defend their country and those left behind, for the liberation of their Bessarabian brothers".[52]

The Poles – a nation seeking revival among the European states – considered Russia to be the biggest enemy of their dream. From the second half of August 1914, Bukovinian Poles were enrolled as volunteers in the Polish Legions coordinated by Józef Piłsudski. In the Eastern Carpathians area, against Tsarist armies acted the Polish Legion in the East, led by Colonel Józef Haller.[53]

Authorities could not rely solely on the sincere enthusiasm or on the awareness of a part of the population. Whether in times of peace or in war, the loyalty and fidelity of the subjects, the social discipline, the economic, politic and

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[49] Anghel Popa, *Între fronturi. Bucovineni în România primului război mondial* [Between fronts. Bucovinians in Romania during World War I], Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Fundaţia culturală „Alexandru Bogza", 1998, p. 20.

[50] Попик, *Українці в Австрії*, с. 48.

[51] Aurel Morariu, *Bucovina: 1774 – 1914* [Bukovina: 1774 – 1914], Ediţie şi notaţii biobibliografice de Nicolae Cârlan, Suceava, Lidana, 2012, p. 148. In Province's localities, the general mobilization order, printed in German, Romanian and Ukrainian, was made public on July 31st (See Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei, Record 37/1914).

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[53] See Daniel Hrenciuc, *Un destin pentru istorie: polonezii în Bucovina (1774-2008)* [A destiny for history: The Poles in Bukovina (1774-2008)], Iaşi, Princeps Edit, 2008, p. 214-217.

fiscal order were ensured both through incentives and punitive means. In early August, the governor of Bukovina published an appeal to the banks and Austrian savings banks depositors not to withdraw the savings and deposits that are not needed urgently, justifying through the restrictions imposed on the citizens and relying on their civic consciousness: "In these difficult days surely it will be a display of patriotism and sense of solidarity of our monarchy's population through the renouncing to a hasty mobilization of money just right now. (...) So, it would be an unpatriotic act if someone would draw the money without needing them..."[54].

Another call addressed young people in schools and gymnasiums, which were invited to replace the parents and siblings from the front "Whether you will be applied to work the land, or for other activities in offices, various institutes and credit unions each of you must do with joy and heartfelt the work attributed to him."[55] On the other hand, Bukovinians were reminded the potential crimes for which in the given state of war, were subject to military criminal jurisdiction.[56] Also in various urban localities it was ordered the establishment of citizen safety patrols to provide the necessary support to public safety services. Thus, Ştefan Forfotă the mayor of Vatra Dornei (1910-1918), "summoned" his fellow citizens, on August 10th, 1914, "to voluntarily express their will to be in the service" (!) by immediate presence to the town hall.[57]

A true test for Bukovinians loyalty was the Tsarist occupation of a significant part of the province. We should mention that the Austro-Hungarian government treated differently the component nations of the dualist empire, some peoples being considered less determined to defend the dynasty than others. For example, according to the imperial authorities, among the "unreliable elements" of the Austro-Hungarian army there were the ethnic Serbs, Czech, Romanian and Ruthenian.[58] The behaviour of the population during the withdrawal of the

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[54] Meran, *Avertisment serios cătră depunători* [Serious warning for depositors], Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

[55] Meran, *Apel către tineretul dela şcolile primare şi secundare ale ducatului Bucovina* [Appeal to the youth from the primary and secondary schools of the Duchy of Bukovina], Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

[56] Meran, *Publicaţiune* [Notice], Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

[57] Forfotă, *Apel* [Appeal], Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

[58] Mark Cornwall, *Morale and patriotism in the Austro-Hungarian army, 1914-1918*, in John

imperial troops and entering of tsarist ones brought arguments for future attitudes of the Austrians towards the ethnic groups in Bukovina. The offensive of the Russian armies led to the occupation of region's capital on September 2nd, 1914, and of the city of Storojineţ on September 15th, the tsarist troops stopping at the river Siret, which formed the border with Romania. Meanwhile, Count Meran, the Austrian Governor of Bukovina, moved his residence from Czernowitz to Vatra Dornei[59] and the gendarmerie's headquarters was established at Rădăuţi, where the Military tribunal functioned.

The attitude of some of the Romanian leaders towards Russia's arrival was full of expectations and based on the idea that Bukovina could get out from under the Austrian administration. After the tsarist authorities removed Czernowitz's City Council led by Mayor Salomon Weisselberger, city's leadership was appointed an interim committee which included a majority of ethnic Romanians: (Maximilian) Hacman, (Titus) Onciul, Modest Scalat, Themistocles Bocancea[60], the latter occupying the position of mayor. Other Romanians, as well as Ukrainians collaborated with the occupying military authorities, causing subsequent reprisals from the Austrian administration. Many, however, took refuge together with the imperial troops from the Russian army. Noteworthy is that the Orthodox Metropolitan Vladimir de Repta refused to officiate the divine service for the Russian Tsar.[61]

Most of the Ukrainian leaders, sensing that once with the return of the Austrian government they might be charged with treason and being aware that Russia was not going to satisfy their national aspirations, they avoided manifesting openly for or against the new administration. The Jews, however, being aware of the status of their countrymen from the Russian Empire, did not rushed to cooperate with the new authorities. On September 21st, 1914, V. N. Muraviov, superior secretary of the diplomatic chancellery attached to the tsarist Russian Army Headquarters, located in the city of Czernowitz, wrote: "...the local Hebrew population has a hostile attitude towards us."[62]

Horne (ed.), *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 178.

[59] Bălan, *Bucovina*, p. 19.

[60] Nicolae Iorga, *Cei ce au îndrăznit...* [Those who have dared ...], in N. Iorga, *Războiul nostru în note zilnice 1914-1916* [Our War in daily notes 1914-1916], Craiova, Ramuri, n. d., Vol. 1, p. 43.

[61] Romulus Deladorna, *Bucovina în 1914-1915* [Bukovina in 1914-1915], Suceava, Tipografia Societății „Şcoala Română", 1915, p. 54.

[62] Varta, *Bătălia*, p. 33.

The first months of the war, the conducted mobilization, the tsarist military occupation proved that the overwhelming majority of Bukovinians was and has remained loyal to the Court of Vienna. In October 1914, when 5 of the 7 battalions of Bukovinian volunteers that were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel (which became Colonel on October 23rd) Eduard Fischer entered the city of Czernowitz banishing the Russian armies, the locals set on the Transylvania street two rows of tables with food and drinks, the tables being arranged on a distance of about 2.5 km, between the city customs and the Cathedral The Descending of the Holy Ghost.[63] "There was great joy in Czernowitz. The Austro-Hungarian troops had returned – even if without the glory of a victory – to the capital of Bukovina. And everyone he came out to greet them (...),"[64] noted N. Iorga on October 19th, 1914.

The initiative of establishing Bukovinian volunteer troops is on the same direction with the rejection of the "Russian" liberation. After the November 13th, 1914, Colonel Eduard Fischer obtained the General Karl von Pflanzer-Baltin approval to recruit volunteers, the achievement of the mission was assumed by the Bukovinian deputies in the Parliament from Vienna, Nikolaus Wassilko (among Hutsuls) and Aurel Onciul (among Romanians).[65] Thus, on November 22nd, 1914, in Suceava, a large peasant gathering was organized and it was decided to create a Legionary Corps, for which to recruit 50 volunteers from each commune, and to write a telegram addressed to King Ferdinand I, in which the authors were asking the monarch to join the war alongside Austria-Hungary.[66] The massive participation of the villagers (over 3 000 people) was due, among other reasons, to the fact that participants were promised meals and transportation on the organizers' account ("mayors and Diet deputies"). Nicolae Iorga pessimistically commented: "All Bukovina's countrymen came to Suceava. There's no doubt about the sincerity of the resolutions. And we know one thing. We don't belong in Bukovina. They don't want us – the Romanian peasants there."[67] Despite the intense display of group identity in the decades prior to the

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[63] Володимир Заполовський, Сергій Осачук, *Слідами забутої війни в Буковині* [On the track of a forgotten war in Bukovina], Чернівці, 1998, с. 10.

[64] Nicolae Iorga, *Bucuria din Cernăuți* [The joy in Czernowitz], in Iorga, *Războiul*, Vol. 1, p. 94.

[65] Володимир Заполовський, *Буковина в останній війні Австро-Угорщини 1914-1918* [Bukovina in the last War of Austria-Hungary, 1914-1918], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 2003, с. 38-39.

[66] Popa, *Între fronturi*, p. 28-31.

[67] Nicolae Iorga, *Întrunirea din Suceava* [The assembly in Suceava], in N. Iorga, *Războiul nostru*, Vol. 1, p. 114-115.

war, during the four years of war, the Romanian nationalist activity was modest.[68] The most active leaders of the community emigrated to Romania or to other European countries or they were under close supervision by the Austrian authorities.[69] Until the Kingdom of Romania joined in the war (August 1916), the Romanian soldiers from Bukovina, the civilian population, especially the peasantry, remained loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy.[70]

On November 19th, 1914 the Hutsul volunteers Corps was established (1 351 soldiers), and in December it was established in Câmpulung the Romanian Battalion (1 500 soldiers).[71] The local authorities were instructed to provide financial support to these paramilitary formations.[72] The success of the prompt organisation of these formations parties was explained by the fact that the peasants were promised that if they voluntarly join to fight against the Russian troops they will remain to defend their own villages, otherwise will be recruited for Landsturm* and sent to fight in Hungary.[73]

CONCLUSION

From all the above it results that most of the population of Bukovina was really loyal to the Emperor in Vienna and the mobilizations that were carried out, especially in the first weeks of the war had the people's support. Despite this evidence of loyalty, after recovering the territories occupied by the Russian troops, the Austrian military authorities proceeded to repressions against the Bukovinians, the main suspects that were accused of collaboration with the enemy were among the Romanians and Ukrainians. The abuses committed then had shaken little by little Bukovinian's confidence in the faultlessness of the Habsburg administration, in the infallibility of the Court of Vienna, in the

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[68] Keith Hitchins, *România 1866 – 1947* [Rumania 1866 – 1947], Bucureşti, Humanitas, 1996, 301.

[69] See Constantin Ungureanu, *Memoriul lui Iancu Flondor, din anul 1915, despre hotarele Bucovinei*, [The 1915 Memoir of Iancu Flondor on the boundaries of Bukovina], „Analele Bucovinei", X, 2003, no. 2, p. 493-508.

[70] Keith Hitchins, *România.*

[71] Володимир Заполовський, Сергій Осачук, *Слідами*, p. 12; Fischer, *Abgeordneter von Wassilko und das Bukowinaer Huzulenkorps*, „Bukowinaer Post", 20 Dezember, 1914, S. 1.

[72] Direcţia Judeţeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naţionale, Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei, Record 60/1914, document dated 06.12.1914.

* Reserve forces formed to provide soldiers for the front-line troops.

[73] Попик, *Українці в Австрії*, с. 63.

impartiality of the government. This seed of distrust found fertile soil in the World War's conditions, being fed by the nationalism cultivated by local elites in previous decades and by the dualist empire's dissolution perspectives. Therefore, after four years of war, the majority of Bukovina's population stopped hoping in the perpetuation of the pre-war situation, the ethnic groups (except the Germans and Jews) were seeking – through their political representatives – political solutions outside the Austrian state.

ESTABLISHING THE REGIONAL IDENTITY IN NORTHERN RUSSIA. HISTORY AND MODERNITY[1]

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Abstract: It seems a paradox but the regional identity has never been an issue in the light of possible causes of the state collapse, except for periods of national crisis. Comprehension of the regional identity in Russia is based on archival sources and results of the fieldwork and data collection made by the authors of the article in remote areas of the Arkhangelsk region of the Russian Federation. The article also presents its history of exploration and settlement. The specificity of the area is its cultural fragmentation. The government made an effort to create economic ties between localities and contributed to the setup of national Russian identity, rather than the regional one.

Keywords: territorial identity, regional identity, the Arkhangelsk Region of Russia, "we – the other", locality

Rezumat: Construirea identității regionale în nordul Rusiei: istorie și modernitate. Pare paradoxal, dar identitatea regională nu a fost niciodată o problemă în ceea ce privește posibilele cauze ale colapsului statal, cu excepția perioadelor de criză națională. Înțelegerea identității regionale în Rusia se bazează pe sursele de arhivă și pe rezultatele muncii pe teren și de colectare a datelor realizate de autorii articolului în zone îndepărtate ale regiunii Arkhangelsk din Federația Rusă. Articolul prezintă, de asemenea, istoricul explorării și colonizării zonei respective. Specificul regiunii este dat de fragmentarea sa culturală. Guvernul a făcut eforturi pentru a crea legături economice între localități și a contribuit la configurarea identității naționale rusești, mai degrabă decât a unei regionale.

Résumé : La construction de l'identité régionale au nord de la Russie histoire et modernité. Il semble paradoxal, mais l'identité régionale n'a jamais été un problème en ce qui concerne les possibles causes du collapse étatique, sauf les périodes de crise nationale.

Comprendre l'identité régionale en Russie signifie se baser sur les sources des archives et sur les résultats du travail sur le terrain, ainsi que sur la collection des données réalisés par les auteurs de l'article dans les régions lointaines de la région Arkhangelsk de la Fédération Russe. L'article ci-joint présente, de plus, l'histoire de l'exploitation et de la colonisation de la zone respective. La fragmentation culturelle donne le spécifique de la région. Le gouvernement fit des efforts pour créer des liaisons économiques entre les localités et contribua à la configuration de l'identité nationale russe, plutôt que d'une régionale.

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE REGIONAL IDENTITY STUDY

In this article, it is proposed to consider local (regional or territorial) identity as a special form of collective identity. Such an approach allows determining the conditions for the regional identity transformation in a cultural and historical context. Based on the notions of collective identity that have been developed in the scientific literature, it is possible to identify several aspects of the study. First, the conditionality of territorial, historical, and cultural factors. Secondly, the influence of the home policy of the state. Third, the dependence on the socio-cultural characteristics of the population. The authors of the article argue that constructivist and instrumentalist approaches to the interpretation of identity are not always true and believe that local identity does not always initially represent an achieved socio-cultural construction. Under certain conditions, local identity is formed under the influence of external factors and it is determined by the dichotomy "we - they".

Local (regional, territorial) identity is usually a result of cohabitation of people. Identity shows a common value system, similar reactions to social processes and social (collective) actions. A complex concept of "the other" accompanies the process of establishing such an identity. Inclusion of local social organisms in a complex "advanced society" makes the regional identity to dissolve in more common cultural forms. However, this does not happen.

Regional identity always has a geographical location, and its carriers are capable of spatial and temporal identification and self-correlation with the outside world. In our case, the location of the study is the Arkhangelsk region, one of the northwest areas of the Russian Federation. The image of the region appears as a collection of symbols associated with a certain territory, accumulated over time and represented in culture. On the other hand, regional identity will be a product of the regional culture perception made by a collective consciousness reflecting the result of social integration in a given region. Thus, it is important to study the

cultural objects, written or verbal creativity of the region, etc.

One significant difference between Russia and other European countries is that local differences in the more densely populated European countries are more frequent and expressive than in Russia. At the same time, the inhabitants of an area support *these differences*. Differences are reflected in common conditions of economy, social and political spheres. They are demonstrated in clothes preferences or language, etc.

Many scholars admit "obvious cultural homogeneity of Russia, certain interpretations of the nature of the Russian plain, the historically established and more developed Russian (all-Russian) identity than the identity of Russian "historical provinces"', the idea of the Russian people as a nation of nomads who have a penchant for permanent colonization". All these points are in use to explain the fact that regional identity is not always obvious in Russia[2].

Huge and poorly populated Russia has always confused researchers. Even in the most difficult periods of the history, Russia did not experience a territorial breakdown. If a threat of territorial disintegration emerged, for political reasons mostly, Russia was able to overcome it quickly.

Two explanations of territorial identity of Russians are popular among the Russian historiographers. S. M. Solovyev, V. O. Klyuchevsky, advocated the first one. They based their point of view on the awareness of the geographical uniformity of Russia and believed that the resettlement of Russians had no conditions that could affect the formation of sharp regional differences. N. I. Kostomarov first introduced the second explanation of Russian identity and marked the beginning of the local history movement. N. I. Kostomarov believed that the specific features of Russian history affected the regional originality but it could not lead to the establishment of a corresponding identity.

When we study the regional identity establishment in the regions of Russia, it is necessary to pay attention to the following features: the presence of a huge territory and relatively low population density, which complicates the construction of any infrastructure, as well as the historically developed cultural homogeneity of territories where regional differences are not always notable. An important factor in the formation of regional identity was the historical path of our country, the peculiarities of its colonization, as well as the milestones of the home policy of the state.

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[2]М.П. Крылов, *Региональная идентичность в Европейской России* [Regional identity in Russia]: диссертация ... доктора географических наук: 25.00.24 / Ин-т географии РАН. Москва, 2007. С. 3

ESTABLISHING REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Historians get troubles, while examining and evaluating such processes. It happens due to the aspiration to rely on facts. Therefore, the study of regional identity should be based on the data representing concrete situation in a concrete area. We have chosen the Arkhangelsk region – a subject of the Russian Federation. It occupies a vast and poor populated (because of the climate conditions) area in the North of Russia. In the beginning of the 20th century the population density there was just at the level of 0,4 people per sq.km. Huge northern and northeast territories of Russia remained almost deserted[3].

The population of the Arkhangelsk region – mostly Russians involved in exploration of this area for centuries. The lands of the Arkhangelsk region, like the other territories of the European north of Russia, were among the first to become a part of the Russian state through colonization. As S. M. Solovyov wrote: "How did the Dvinskaya Oblast receive the Russian population and become the possession of Great Novgorod – all this happened quietly, imperceptibly for the historian"[4]. Initially, this land was almost deserted. A few Finno-Ugric peoples lived and fished there. The new population assimilated some of them and other migrated to neighbouring territories.

The colonization of the northern territories was of great economic importance. Initially, most of the colonialists did not seek to establish permanent settlements and develop the infrastructure. They were mainly interested in seasonal economic activity. Probably, therefore, the territory of the Arkhangelsk region remained sparsely populated for a long time. Nevertheless, the situation changed due to the intensity of the economic development over the centuries.

Ethnographers, who studied the population of the Arkhangelsk region, wrote about cultural similarities of people despite of the rare contacts between them. On the other hand, scholars admitted disunity of settlements and at the same time, they marked strong community cohesion that was not possible to destroy during the first years of Bolsheviks ruling.

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[3]*Россия. 1913 г.: Статистико-документальный справочник* [Russia 1913. Statistics and Docs directory]. С.-Петербург, 1995. С. 11, 18-21, 23

[4]С. М. Соловьев, *История России с древнейших времен* [History of Russia from ancient times]. Москва, 1988, кн.1, т.1, с. 58

COLONIZATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION

Significant socio-cultural differences of the northern territories arose under the influence of a number of factors: the history of settlement and the consequences of economic development.

Colonization of the Arkhangelsk region occurred over a long period; it was unevenly distributed over time and it depended on home politics of the government. As a result, people with different cultural background could live next door. In this regard, huge distances, low population density and impassability facilitated the localization of the population. Alienation could be caused by the preserved collective memory based on memories of old conflicts or due to cultural differences and the reasons for migration.

Until the end of the 17th century before the official "attachment" of the population to places of residence, there were almost no permanent settlements observed. The Arkhangelsk region is a "risky farming zone". Commercial and agricultural occupations require frequent changes of residence. Between the 9th and the 17th centuries, Russians engaged in fishing settled in the northern areas of the Arkhangelsk region. Later these people moved to Siberia. Peasants who burned the forest in order to clear the land and to start farming populated the southern areas of the region. Thus, an unstable population emerged and moved further - to the north and northeast (*to expand the fishing areas and to search for new lands for agriculture*). The royal edicts of the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century "attached" people to their places of residence. Therefore, permanent population appeared in the area. These people were mostly Russians, but culturally heterogeneous due to different places of origin.

Throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries, old believers engaged in agriculture voluntarily or compulsorily resettled in remote northern regions. They were forced to pay high taxes, began to develop industry and moved to uninhabited territories rich with the necessary resources.

Therefore, the population of the Arkhangelsk region came from different parts of the country and it is hardly possible to speak about its cultural unity. Even increasing in numbers, the population of the region did not seek to establish economic, cultural or social connections.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GROUNDS FOR DISUNITY

Local population explained differences between neighbouring villages using the history of the settlements. For example, Timoshenskaya parish in the Pinega district of the Arkhangelsk region consisted of two villages facing each other across the narrow and shallow river called Nyukhcha and a village Kuchkas located 7 km in the forest. According to legends, the first Russians there were descendants of the Novgorod fishers, who defeated local people. The surviving natives hid in the forest and founded the village Kuchkas. People from this village continued traditional occupations (hunting, forestry and fishing), did not communicate with the aliens, who were also hunters. People, who settled on the other side of the river to do farming, came later. They brought Christianity and built a church. "This settling system was the origin of disputes between villages. It came to fisticuffs. For a long time Christianity <...> coexisted with pagan believes of descendants of the Novgorodians. As a result, a part of the local population was more religious and others were superstitious. In Kuchkas people did not believe in anything. Everybody lived in isolation". Thus, the parish had a peculiar division of economic activities (some were engaged in handicrafts and others – in agriculture) and management functions. The representatives of one village put forward a church elder and the others – members of rural administration[5].

Similar semi-legendary stories were available in each locality and explained the relationships between neighbouring villages. Collective memory reflected in such stories was creating a sense of threat posed by neighbours and contributed to the cohesion of the villagers. During the revolution of 1917 and the civil war from 1917 to 1922, it was usual for the entire village to support one side or the other ("reds" or "whites"). According to memoir, if the villagers had to decide

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[5] Государственный архив Архангельской области, Отдел документов социально-политической истории (ГААО. Отдел ДСПИ). Ф. 8660 Оп. 3 Д.201. Л. 148-152, 188. See: Т.И. Трошина, *Документы личного происхождения, собранные в 1920-30-е годы «Комиссиями по истории партии и революции» как источник этнографической и историко-культурной информации (на материалах Вологодского и Архангельского архивов)* [The collection of ego-documents (personal memoirs), collected by the Commissions on the History of the Communist Party and the Revolution in the 1920s and 1930s, as a source of ethnographic, historical and cultural information (on material from the Vologda and Arkhangelsk archives)], "Антропологический форум", 2011, № 15, с. 421-440.

whom to send to the partisan detachment (to support one or another opposing party), they decided based on the principle: "if one goes, all go!"[6] Every local society had mechanisms to use against hesitant people and to make them join the majority: threats to destroy and burn property, not to give a piece of land in case of (land) division and to exclude from the community.

We should keep in mind that the settlement of the Arkhangelsk region was caused by different reasons and migration flows arose from different areas. Neighbouring villages could experience some tension caused by a natural distrust of the "others", and conserved due to the absence of roads and regular contacts between the settlements. The state attempted to consolidate the population; it created territorial units (counties; parishes united people who lived on a considerable space for tax collection and assignment of various duties (*public duties such as military service, the provision of accommodation and transport for officials and soldiers, construction and repair work for government purposes*)). However, the huge roadless space was the reason for surrounding areas, even as part of a single administrative entity (county or parish), to have little contact with each other and did not maintain any special connections. As a result, people able to observe the life of the northern villages (officials, clergy, and travellers), recorded noticeable differences of the settlements included, for example, in one county.

Therefore, it was difficult to overcome the fragmentation of the population due to the huge size of the territory and absence of roads. It led to conflicts between villages. The conflicts had economic nature. The peasants used to consider not only land, but also forests, water surrounding of their settlements as their ownership. Inconsistency of such views and state laws often led to disputes with the state authorities.

REGIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE DICHOTOMY "WE – THE OTHER"

In the Arkhangelsk region the division of territories into "own" and "their" has a very ancient origin but with no problems on this ground. The Arkhangelsk region was a sparsely populated area and all its residents existed safely among the others. It was enough space for everyone. Therefore, the idea of "own" and "their" territory existed rather on a subconscious level then in reality. Perhaps, villagers used force in order not to let the "outsiders" in. Some legends contain doubtable evidence. For example, in old days people used to say that remote Glotovo village

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[6] ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф. 8660, Оп. 3, Д. 156.

(located in the Komi Republic) was impossible to reach because all the people would be "swallowed" by the water monster "GLOT"[7].

Of course, in the late 19th century, the locals did not kill the "outsiders" of the communities. On the contrary, "outsiders" were allowed to use the community-owned natural resources, but for a fee. It was decided to impose the natural duties or other responsibilities on the "outsiders" in exchange for permission to use the land and other resources. Farmers from the coast of the White Sea traditionally claimed "the rights of the community for the coastal waters near their village", so they took away all harvested fish from the "outsiders" by force[8]. Colonists of the Murman coast "initiated conflicts with the Pomor-fishermen and harassed them", "forbade to repair the fisherman's hut, threatened to destroy them", demanded the others to "search for the other crafts areas"[9].

The government tried to consolidate the neighbouring population, by organizing a joint "official" work (e. g., maintenance of roads, bridges and crossings) imposed to residents of a particular territory in the form of public services. This work aimed at forcing the population to establish contractual relationships. However, the artificiality of the consolidation manifested itself fully in the era of revolutionary anarchy: territorial entities began to disintegrate and the joint maintenance of roads was neglected and it led to greater fragmentation of individual societies.

REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION
IN THE EARLY 20ᵀᴴ CENTURY

In the first decades of the 20th century, the population was seemingly convinced of the benefits they have brought through a better communication with other territories (commodity exchange and additional earnings). The events of the Civil War created new fears and motivated people to privacy in order not to let the "outsiders" come to their places of residence. In conditions of political "turmoil", armed groups from neighbouring territories (rural communities, townships, counties) were used to serve this purpose.

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[7] В.П. Шляпин, *Удора* [Udora], "За работу!", 1921, № 1, с. 76

[8] *Сельская поземельная община в Архангельской губернии, по описаниям, представленным в статистический комитет: Вып.II. Кандалакская община Ковдской волости Кемского уезда* [Rural community of the Arkhangelsk Region, based on descriptions presented to the statistical committee: Issue 2. Kandalaksha community, Kovdoy parish, Kemsky district], Архангельск, 1884, с. 26

[9] ГААО, Ф. 352, О. 1, Д. 576, Л. 445,

The weakening of the central power contributed to the situation when the population began to implement their "rights", idea which was preserved in the collective memory. Therefore, inhabitants of villages along the rivers demanded payment for the use of the rivers[10] from those who used to carry timber to the factories. The State imposed burdensome taxes on local businesses regarding the use of local resources (e.g., tar and salt production), despite the fact that the local business gave farmers an extra income.

An important outcome of social development is the integration of single local communities in a "wider" society. Actually, this process accompanies the further establishment of the state: development of general laws, norms and political history. Thus, any local society tends towards isolation, towards the return of archaic forms of sociality[11]. Government forced such communities to engage in intense communications with neighbouring ones by creating relevant economic and political circumstances.

Specific for the social life in the North of the European Russia was the damage caused by the climate that complicated the possibility of territorial division of labour and economic exchange. A more important factor of integration was the state and its actions. The government used paternalistic approaches in the "dialogue" with the local population and worked through its cultural operators and social mediators – the clergy, the bureaucracy, and the intelligentsia. Such social ties were less strong than the economic interdependence of territories among themselves and with the urban centres. However, the paternalistic efforts of the state and the overall economic development of the country led to the stronger economic determination of social life in the Northern provinces in the early 20th century.

OVERCOMING THE LOCALITY

Industrialization, urbanization, social and cultural modernization help to overcome the locality and move towards greater regional identity. They exclude a person from the usual, local connections and force contacts with the others. In order to understand these processes one should refer to E. Durkheim and his types of social solidarity. Traditional society is common for the mechanical type

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[10] ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф 8660, Оп. 4, Д. 81; ГААО, Ф.1, Оп.4, т.3, Д.1222, Л.90.

[11]See: А.С. Ахиезер, *Архаизация как категория общественных наук: на опыте России* [Archaization as a category of social sciences: Russian experience], "Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии", 2001, Т. 4, № 1, С. 89-90.

of solidarity or interconnection under the fear of the group protection loss and strict repressive measures that punish the slightest deviation from the norms of the collective behaviour. In the early 20th century, Russian society experienced an active transition from mechanical type of solidarity to organic solidarity. It was a move towards solidarity grounded not on similarity but on the difference between people and rooted in division of social labour, which, according to E. Durkheim, contributed to the development of the individualized personality and to the separation of the primary social structures.

Due to the nature of historical processes in a country with a huge territory, the transition from one type of solidarity to another often occurred through the geographical movement of people: a person moves from the village dominated by traditional and social relations and subordination, to the city with the elements of a civil society. As a geographical move, especially with the development of the transport network, it was carried out easily enough, people did not have time to adapt to the new conditions.

The "regional identity" was formed first among the young men who were forced to live in a foreign country or in an unfamiliar environment (military service, seasonal work, etc.). Compatriotic associations were consistent with those forms of cohabitation people were accustomed to: if you are dissolved in the society of "countrymen", the adaptation period in the new conditions passes easier. Military service, for instance, was a real "melting pot" where all the local differences disappeared after the adaptation period.

At the factories and plants, the "fraternities" appeared by the county principle. In the Northern provinces in the second half of the 19th century, significant number of sawmills employed migrant seasonal workers. First, these factories and plants employed migrant workers from the communities where the tradition of factory work had existed. For example, "migrant workers from Vaga ("vagane") worked as finishers and sawyers at the sawmills and were engaged in laying planks on the exchange. Workers from Onega ("onegane") were traditionally engaged in the rollout of the woods. Onegane and vagane lived in separate barracks. During the holiday period or after the salary they fought and sometimes created a vast carnage from killing and maiming"[12].

Enterprises with permanent ("factory") workers and temporary (seasonal) workers had a tradition to offend and humiliate "the rednecks". On one metallurgical plant located over the Ural Mountains, "in the evening during the holiday time factory people were very violent. The young ones went with flails,

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[12] ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф. 8660, Оп. 3, Д.34, Л. 40

knives, axes, fights and murders were very frequent if strangers [from Vologda counties], walked along the bustling streets in the evening"[13]. This danger made the newcomers to unite by the principle of the territory. Moreover, the traditional way of hiring the migrants meant arity, when the people from the same village headed by an experienced elder went to look for a job in a town. Such an *artel* had rules and regulations adopted at home, which protected workers, and at the same time, it gave the employer the guarantee of an honest and high quality assigned work. The statistics of the earnings of the migrant workers shows that the *artel* workers had a much higher income than those who looked for a job independently[14]. These people had no protection from their compatriots and could be robbed. Seasonal workers without an elder control could be subjected to urban temptation and squander all earnings.

Conditions for erosion of community solidarity in northern villages revealed themselves. However, even by the early 20th century property differentiation did not turn into a social one. Those members of the local society who had been (in the city, in the army, or at school) subjected to integration into a different social context, arriving temporarily or permanently to their villages, experienced "group pressure" and "switched" to existing rules and regulations. According to (*Russian historian and philosopher, 1886-1951*) G. P. Fedotov, the Russian North had "ethnographic resistance to the corrupting modes of urban civilization"[15].

Unstable times give examples of the severance of ties between territories, administrative units, and villages. Economic problems were not the main cause of this process. The weakening of the state actualized the desire for protection and the absolutism of their local interests was kept by the population in the form of legends and obscure representations.

The years 1917 and 1918 had been a period of active territorial and political "division": Russian state collapsed and its provinces were divided. A change in the boundaries of counties, townships, and rural societies occurred most often in the form of new territorial formations. The desire for territorial division within the administrative units had been observed before, in relatively stable times. It

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[13] К. Жаков, *Очерки из жизни рабочих и крестьян на Севере* [Essays about the life of workers and peasants in the North], С-Петербург, 1906, с. 48.

[14] See: *Отчеты Архангельского статистического комитета за 1899-1905 гг.* [Arkhangelsk Statistics Committee reports 1899-1905]

[15] Г.П. Федотов, *Будет ли существовать Россия?* [Will Russia exist?] [1929], in Г. П. Федотов, *Судьба и грехи России: Избранные статьи по философии русской истории и культуры*, Т. 1, С-Петербург, «София», 1991, с. 176.

actualized in the revolutionary era, when the mood of people was generally directed to all sorts of changes. The analysis of petitions of northern farmers during the period 1880-1917[16] reveals main problems between the neighbouring communities: unwillingness to pay for the maintenance of the church building and for clergy together with the neighbours; the desire to have a parish board in their village; conflicts caused by the duties associated with the repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and crossings. The common reason for these conflicts was the roads and the huge distances that separated the settlements included in a single county, township, or parish.

The establishment of the Soviet power on the territory of the former Russian Empire radically changed the regional identity. In the 1920s, ethnic identity came to the forefront. The task of the authorities was to maintain indigenous people because they lack their own written language, and some components of national culture (for example, modern education, literature, etc.). The reason for that was the opinion of the authorities that it would be impossible to build a communist society without certain cultural elements. Establishment of new territorial units during 1920s largely contributed to the instability of regional identity in the Arkhangelsk region, as well as in other regions of the country. Between 1920 and 1937, the Arkhangelsk region changed not only its administrative territorial structure and names but also the territorial composition.

In 1930s, the need to unite the nation in the face of an external threat caused the replacement of the proletarian internationalism by unification policy[17]. This is how a supra-ethnic identity emerges, which manifests itself in the concept of a "Soviet citizen".

"Soviet citizen" – a person of any nationality, who lived on the territory of the USSR, honoured not only his "small homeland", but also the Soviet ideology and all Soviet country. A Soviet person knew the history and culture of his or her "small homeland" as well as the nation-wide, etc. Thus, the Soviet period was a time of flourishing regional and ethnic identity that fit into the overall concept of "Soviet identity". The result of this process was twofold: on the one hand, the government welcomed regional differences, and on the other hand, a supra-ethnic

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[16] Российский государственный исторический архив. Ф. 1412. Оп. 241.

[17] Е. Г. Чумак, *Основные мероприятия государственной образовательной политики в отношении коренного населения севера в 20-50-е гг XX века* [Main activities in the state education policy towards indigenous people of the North in 1920s- 1950s], "Вестник археологии, антропологии и этнографии", № 8, 2008, с. 113.

and nation-wide identity dominated.

Similar processes were observed in the Arkhangelsk region. The construction of the territorial identity of the inhabitants became more complicated. Self-identification was established on three levels: local, regional and national. For example, I am a person from the village of Karpogory of the Pinezhsky district (local level) of the Arkhangelsk region (regional level), citizen of the USSR (national level). In addition, as economic growth, in the Arkhangelsk region, internal migration had intensified. A large number of immigrants from other regions of the country appeared on its territory, and their identification kept in touch with their "small homeland".

The post-Soviet period and the disintegration of the state identity led to the actualization of regional identity. However, regional identities in post-Soviet Russia were stronger on the territories with an increase in ethnic identity. The Arkhangelsk region was not affected by these processes. Today, regional identity there is inferior to the all-Russia national identity. However, at the local level, as some scholars note, territorial identity remains strong enough[18].

Modern regional identity is created through speech, as globalization has already fascinated private life of people and they search for a certain local cultural consolidation. Modern Russia has examples of consolidation through speech, cultural speech, first. As a rule, cultural speech exists in the areas with a high migration balance in order to form "local patriotism". Sociological studies and various analytic reports prove the idea that Russian citizens consider all-country identity more important than the regional or local one (here the term "local identity" means cultural connection with the place of birth).

CONCLUSION

In "troubled" times and in the context of political instability, radical political forces tried to mobilize regional identity in order to find the solution for certain problems. Such a regional identity was absent among the Russian population of the North (Arkhangelsk) province due to a complex of reasons. Local interests of

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[18]Н. В. Дранникова, *«Капитанская деревня»: К вопросу о локальной идентичности жителей села Патракеевки Приморского района Архангельской области* ["Captain's village": towards a question of the local identity of the people of Patrakeevka village, Primorsky districs of the Arkhangelsk Region], "Ученые записки Петрозаводского государственного университета. Общественные и гуманитарные науки", №5 (158), 2016, с. 92-93.

each small settlement were embedded in the national ones, because only the state could guarantee the necessary protection. In addition, this is a possible cause of the prevalence of public (national) interests of the Russian individuals and society over the regional ones. Over time, this tendency only increased, despite the home political changes in the country. Imperial territorial identity was replaced by the identity of the "Soviet citizen", which emphasized and generalized all regional identities. In post-Soviet time, citizens of the Arkhangelsk region did not establish strong territorial identity, but it was possible to keep the local identity. Such a trend is still observed nowadays.

EUROPEAN REFORMATION AND DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN OF THE EARLY PROTESTANT CURRENTS IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS

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Abstract: *The article analyses the socio-historical background of the European Reformation ideas development and dissemination, which influenced the institutional design of the Evangelical-Protestant communities in Ukrainian lands in the late 16th – early 17th centuries. Social and religious determinants of the Reformation-Protestant theological thought development, as well as the reaction of the Orthodox Church to the Protestant religious and theological system formation are analysed. The authors had outlined the consequences of the Reformation movement for the Ukrainian society.*

Keywords: *European Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Rome Catholic Church, Calvinism, Antitrinitarianism, Kyiv Metropolis*

Rezumat: Reforma europeană şi caracteristicile distinctive ale designului instituţional al curentelor protestante timpurii în teritoriile ucrainene. *Articolul analizează contextul socio-istoric al dezvoltării şi diseminării ideilor europene de reformă, care au influenţat designul instituţional al comunităţilor evanghelic-protestante din regiunile ucrainene la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea – începutul secolului al XVII-lea. Sunt analizaţi factorii determinanţi sociali şi religioşi ai dezvoltării gândirii teologice reformato-protestante, precum şi reacţia Bisericii Ortodoxe la formarea sistemului religios şi teologic protestant. Autorii au subliniat consecinţele mişcării Reformei pentru societatea ucraineană.*

Résumé: Réforme européenne et caractéristiques distinctives de la design institutionnel des premiers courants protestants dans les terres ukrainiennes. *L'article analyse le contexte socio-historique du développement et de la diffusion des idées de la Réforme européenne, qui a influencé la conception institutionnelle des communautés évangélique-protestantes dans les pays ukrainiens à la fin du 16e au début du XVIIe siècle. Les déterminants sociaux et religieux de la Réformation – Protestant développement de la pensée théologique, ainsi que la réaction de l'Église orthodoxe à la formation du système religieux et théologique protestant. Les auteurs ont souligné les conséquences du mouvement de Réforme pour la société ukrainienne.*

INTRODUCTION

The early modern era was a special period in the life of many peoples of Europe, as well as of the people of Ukraine. That was the time of radical changes almost in all spheres of their life, and most importantly – in the socio-political and spiritual-religious spheres. The starting point of new history of Europe was the Reformation as a broad social and church movement, culminating in the split of the Roman Catholic Church, when the independent line called Protestantism, appeared, and which soon dissolved into separate directions that differed ideologically, socially and doctrinally.

Meanwhile, it should be kept in mind that neither the Reformation nor "Protestantism" did not challenge the Ukrainian people in the way, that it challenged Czechs, Germans or French. Reformation and Protestant ideas also did not find support among the Romanian people. Despite a little distribution of early Protestant currents (Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism in Transylvania), the Romanians remained faithful to Orthodox Church and were least attracted to inter-church polemical discourse.

Emphasizing this, researchers rightly argue that "the Reformation in Ukraine has not turned into open forms. Protestant communities in the Ukrainian lands were in fact a marginal phenomenon."[1] The same situation was in the territory of modern Romania. Then as now both peoples looked at Protestantism as something poor, alien and in a spiritual and liturgical sense, atrophied. The final decline of Protestantism in the Ukrainian lands took place during the times of Petro Mohyla, a true reformer of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Metropolis), Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia and All Rus. Protestantism could be not established in Romania due to an active social, religious and political position of the spiritual leadership of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite the fact that the process of penetration and institutional framework of Protestantism in the ethnic territories of modern Ukraine and Romania have much in common, in this article the authors consider these controversies in the context of the historical existence of the first nation. The topic of the study is the growth of Protestant influence in the social, religious, spiritual and cultural life of modern Ukrainian society. And it exacerbates the need for broad scientific

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[1] *Історія релігії в Україні*: у 10-ти т. [History of Religion in Ukraine]. Т. 5. *Протестантизм в Україні* [за ред. П. Яроцького], Київ, Світ знань, 2002, с. 8.

discourse on historical roots, especially, the institutional framework, structural and functional nature of Protestantism, which has its own specific forms and manifestations, including Ukraine. Modern transformations that we observe in a church and the religious sphere necessitate a new reading of the Protestant movement history and its perception taking into consideration not only historiography but also religious and theological, ecclesiological content.

Study of the European Reformation specific perception in "Ukrainian" Protestantism and peculiarities of Protestant denomination influence on social processes are important due to the fact that modern Protestantism, despite its structural diversity and ideological fragmentation remains a dynamic mainstream of Christianity not only in Western Europe and America, but in most former communist states. However, Protestantism is a quite heterogeneous phenomenon: as of today, there are 869 Protestant religious organizations in Ukraine, representing 24.3% of the entire religious community[2]. And although this is only the amount of religious communities this situation allows the Protestant associations to successfully compete with traditional Ukrainian churches and have a radical influence on socio-cultural, socio-political and church-religious processes. And they, as a result of the dynamic development of Protestant ideology, undergo significant deformation. This and many other things determine not only the topicality of research but also its praxeological significance.

In this regard, there is a need for historical and religious-theological objectification of the Protestantism institutional design issue off in the Ukrainian lands in its early forms, and hence the nation and state development role of the Protestant denominations of this formation. In this context, the research is relevant and has important theoretical and practical significance.

The main purpose of the study is the comprehensive historiosophical and religious-theological objectification of the European Reformation ideas as the main driving force of the Evangelical-Protestant movement during the early modernism period (the 16th through early 17th century).

The following tasks come through the **study aims**: to interpret the main factors of the European Reformation; to explain the influence of the reformation slogans on the appearance and institutionalization of Protestant religious movements in the Ukrainian lands in the early modern period; to characterize socio-political and socio-religious determinants of the reformation-Protestant

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[2] Докаш В. *Плюралізм, поліконфесійнійсть та розвинута релігійна мережа – фактори попередження міжконфесійних конфліктів (за результатами соціологічних досліджень)* [Pluralism, polyconfessionalism and developed religious network – factors of prevention of inter-confessional conflicts (based on sociological research)] "Релігія та Соціум. Міжнародний часопис", №3-4 (23-24), Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2016, с. 135.

theological thought development in Europe and in the Ukrainian lands; to find out the reaction of the Orthodox Church to the formation of the Protestant religious-theological system and the institutional appearance of the Protestant communities; to interpret the consequences of the Reformation in the context of contemporary secularization tendencies and destruction of historical national and church achievements of the Ukrainian people.

The object of the study are ideological and worldview foundations and the socio- political and social and cultural transformations that took place in modern Europe with all positive and negative consequences, and their theological reflection in the context of the Church of Christ historical existence and modern church and religious processes.

Evangelical and Protestant movement in Western Europe and in the Ukrainian lands is the **subject of research**.

The academic novelty of the article is a comprehensive historical and theological analysis of the causes and consequences of the European Reformation in their relationship with the Evangelical and Protestant movement and the institutional design of Protestantism as a separate mainstream of Christianity in Western Europe and in the Ukrainian lands in its early historical forms.

THE STATE OF THE TOPIC DEVELOPMENT

The methodological framework of the study was formed on the basis of many well-known Ukrainian and foreign scholars works and, in particular, Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko)[3], E. Winter[4], M. Hrushevskyi[5], S. Yelenskyi[6], V. Yosypenko[7],

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[3] Filaret (Denysenko), Patriarch. *Доповідь Святійшого Патріарха Київського і всієї Руси-України Філарета на Всеукраїнській церковно-громадській конференції "Об'єднання Українського Православ'я"* [Report of the Most Holy Patriarch of Kyiv and All-Rus-Ukraine Filaret at the All-Ukrainian Church-Public Conference "Association of Ukrainian Orthodoxy"], in Патріарх Філарет. *Доповіді*, Т. 5, Київ, Вид. відділ Української православної Церкви Київського Патріархату, 2003, с. 429 – 443.

[4] Вінтер Е. *Візантія та Рим у боротьбі за Україну (955 – 1939 рр.)* [Byzantium and Rome in the struggle for Ukraine (955 - 1939)]. Прага, 1944, 137 с.

[5] Грушевський М. С. *Історія України-Руси*: В 11-ти т., 12-ти кн. [History of Ukraine-Rus.]. Київ, Наук. думка, 1991; Грушевський М. *З історії релігійної думки на Україні* [From the history of religious thought in Ukraine]. Львів, Друкарня НТШ, 1925, 192 с.

[6] Єленський В. *Велике повернення: релігія у глобальній політиці та міжнародних відносинах кінця ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.* [Great return: religion in global politics and international relations late 20th - early 21st century.]. Львів, Вид-во Українського католицького університету, 2013, 504 с.

[7] Йосипенко С. *До витоків української модерності: українська ранньомодерна духовна культура в європейському контексті* [The origins of Ukrainian modernity:

P. Kraliuk[8], M. Kostomarov[9], V. Lypynskyi[10], V. Lytvynov[11], V. Liubashchenko[12], N. Petruk[13], A. Richynskyi[14], Metropolitan Dymytriy (Rudiuk)[15], D. Stepovyk[16], P. Yarotskyi[17], V. Shevchenko[18], M. Shkribliak[19] and others.

Ukrainian early modern spiritual culture in the European context]. – Київ, Український центр духовної культури, 2008, 392 с.

[8] Кралюк П. *Мелетій Смотрицький і українське духовно-культурне відродження кінця XVI – початку XVII ст.* [Melety Smotrytsky and Ukrainian spiritual and cultural revival of the late 16th - early 17th century]. Острог, Вид-во Національного університету "Острозька академія", 2007, 208 с.

[9] Костомаров Н. И. *Исторические произведения: Автобиография* [Historical works: Autobiography]. Київ, Изд-во при Киев. гос. ун-те, 1989, 736 с.

[10] Липинський В. К. *Україна на переломі 1657 – 1659 рр. Замітки до історії українського державного будівництва в XVII-ім столітті* [Ukraine at the turn of the 1657 - 1659. Notes on the history of Ukrainian state construction in the 17th century]. Відень – Нью-Йорк, Накладом Видавничої корпорації "Булава", 1920, 304 с.

[11] Литвинов В. "*Католицька Русь*": *Історико-філософський нарис* ["Catholic Rus": Historical and philosophical essay]. Київ, Укр. центр дух. к-ри, 2002, 276 с.

[12] Любащенко В. *Пошуки альтернативної унії: православні та протестанти у контексті Берестя (Кирило Лукаріс і Україна)* [The search for an alternative union: Orthodox and Protestants in the context of Brest (Kyrilo Lukaris and Ukraine)]. "Берестейська унія (1596) в історії та історіографії: спроба підсумку", Львів, 2008, с. 277 – 296; Любащенко В. *Історія протестантизму в Україні* [History of Protestantism in Ukraine]. Київ, Поліс, 1996, 350 с.

[13] Петрук Н. *Українська духовна культура XVI – XVII ст.: соціальна організація і формування простору національного буття* [Ukrainian spiritual culture of the 16th – 17th centuries: social organization and formation of the space of national existence], Хмельницький, 2007, 288 с.

[14] Річинський А. *Проблеми української релігійної свідомості* [Problems of Ukrainian Religious Consciousness], Тернопіль, [б. в.], 2002, 448 с.

[15] Рудюк Димитрій. *Українське Православ'я і наша національна самоідентичність* [Ukrainian Orthodoxy and our national identity]. access mode**:** http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/rudyuk/4a05532004f69/

[16] Степовик Д. *Берестейська унія і розвиток українського іконовшанування у XVI – XVII століттях* [The Union of Brest and the development of Ukrainian icon of honor in the 16th – 17th centuries] "Geneza, dziejei konsekwencj ew kulturze narodow slojwianskich. Pracazbiorova", Krakow, 1994, s. 465 – 473.

[17] *Історія релігії в Україні*: у 10-ти т. [History of Religion in Ukraine]. Т. 5. Протестантизм в Україні [за ред. П. Яроцького], Київ, Світ знань, 2002, 426 с.

[18] Шевченко В. *Православно-католицька полеміка та проблеми унійності в житті Руси-України доберестейського періоду* [Orthodox-Catholic polemics and problems of unity in the life of Rus-Ukraine to the berestye period]. Київ, Преса України, 2002, 416 с.

[19] Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного світогляду українців в умовах*

At the same time, we do not analyse the classical works of modern scholars of Protestantism, which substantiate the latest concepts and approaches to the interpretation of the Protestantism role and place in the spiritual, cultural and social life of the Ukrainian people in full, since they, in the majority of cases, express specific features of Modern Protestant denominations functioning and the leading ideas of religious doctrines. But it does not mean that the works by V. Dokash[20], A. Kolodnyi[21], L. Fylypovych[22] and others are not considered. On the contrary, in order to confirm the author's conclusions, we refer specifically to them, but not to emphasize once more the development of Protestantism in Ukraine and the extremely positive influences of the European Reformation, as can be seen from their often-tendentious generalizations.

бездержавності та піднесення ідей "*польського сарматизму*" [Formation of the Renaissance worldview of Ukrainians in the conditions of statelessness and the rise of the ideas of "Polish sarmatism"] "Мандрівець", №3 (111), Тернопіль, Вид. Національного ун-ту "Києво-Могилянська академія", 2014, с. 71-74; Шкрібляк М. В. "*Церковний Переяслав*" *на тлі унійних колізій і політико-ідеологічних стратегій ранньомодерної України-Руси* ["Church Pereyaslav" on the background of one-to-one conflicts and politic-ideological strategies of early modern Ukraine-Rus], Чернівці, Наші книги, 2015, 400 с.

[20] See also.: Dokash V. *Плюралізм, поліконфесійнійсть* …, с. 130 – 138; Dokash V. *Реформація як соціокультурний феномен: уроки історії для українського соціуму* [Reformation as a socio-cultural phenomenon: history lessons for Ukrainian society], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 107 – 112.

[21] Kolodnyi A. *Релігійне сьогодення України: роздуми, оцінки і прогнози* [The Religious Present of Ukraine: Reflections, Assessments and Forecasts], Київ, 2009, 450 с.; Колодний А. Протестантизм в контексті релігійного життя України [Protestantism in the context of the religious life of Ukraine], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 112-117.

[22] Fylypovych L. *Культура релігійного життя. Вибрані праці* [Culture of religious life. Selected Works], Київ, УАР, 2011, 387 с.; Филипович Л. *Етнорелігійна ідентичність в сучасному світі: проблеми визначення і умови збереження* [Ethno-religious identity in the modern world: problems of definition and conditions of preservation], in "Релігія і Соціум. Міжнародний часопис", Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2010, № 1 (3), с. 61 – 66; Филипович Л. *Реформація і принцип свободи* [Reformation and the principle of freedom], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 217 – 223.

Within the limits of the outlined methodology, the research also pays attention to work of many faith-oriented scholars who are called to popularize the ideas of the European Reformation, and thus the Protestant movement itself in Ukraine. But we do not make it from a critical point of view, or in order to more clearly justify our own discourse conception, or to refute some obviously tendentious, in our opinion, statements that representatives of some Protestant communities cultivate.

PRESENTATION OF BASIC MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION

Thanks to the persistent creative and search work of many intellectuals, the reader is acquainted with increasingly complex and controversial in terms of its own achievements, and at the same time a lost hope, the early modern era - the time that was filled with so promising, as unrealized opportunities. First of all, it refers to the late 16th and early 17th centuries, that is, the period characterized by the course of the most dynamic processes objectively endowed with broad historiosophical-religious semantics with a pronounced continual potential. After all, they can and should be considered as a kind of "stretched" time bifurcation point, when the civilization choice of Ukraine was carried out and had to choose between the "old" Rus-Ukraine, represented by a Polish or cloned magnates and local gentry that was orientated towards the European West, and new-born Cossack Ukraine, whose representatives preferred Eastern (Byzantine) landmarks in their own civilization choices.

At the same time, it is known that the European Reformation has undergone several important stages: from origin and local influence to the implementation of their basic ideas and institutionalization of Protestant communities in most European countries. The first stage was the Lutheran Reformation, which had almost the largest historiography and source base; the second – continuation of the reformist protests following the Wormser Edict (Seim) when the Protestant masses were led by Thomas Münzer. That period includes the Peasant War in Germany, the Augsburg Reichstag and the burgher movement; the third stage was the release of the reformist protest outside the German lands and it's spreading in Denmark and Norway, and later in Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Scotland, the Netherlands and other West European countries. At about the same time, Protestantism began to develop in the Baltic lands, Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, whose ethnic lands were then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Hence, we conclude that the Ukrainian premodern had a pronounced "Rzeczpospolita" colour and taste, while Reformation Protestantism was of West European origin. And despite the presence (mainly in the popular discourse) of those who "had not forgotten nothing, they had not learned anything", and therefore they still cultivated propaganda stamps about "foreign invaders",

"religious expansion" of the patriarchal, that is, counter-Reformation Catholicism and "Latin yoke", realization that they were deliberately imposed in the interests of the Russian-Soviet imperial project, which continued its initiation under the chauvinistic ideologues of the "Russian world", gradually overcomes the boundary defined by the then historians and philosophers, including developing new alternative in its ideological orientation and educational direction projects. The example is formation of relevant to modern civilization and intellectual inquiries visions of encyclopaedic reference of the national biographical literature corpus where Reformation and Protestant movement inspirers would take their deserved place[23].

Having recognized that Rzeczpospolita was neither the first nor the only geographical Renaissance-Reformation centre in Europe, the ideas of this intellectual social-religious movement found their good support there from the Polish kings themselves[24]. Reformation-humanist trends came here mainly from the Czech Republic and Hungary, and the first centres of the Pre-Renaissance era in the Commonwealth were founded by the Italians (F. Buonaccorsi), Germans (K. Celtis), Swiss (P. Agricola)[25] and others. In this context, we would like to emphasize that the sons of Polish king Kazimierz IV (1447-1492) - Alexander I and Zygmunt I, who replaced each other on the royal throne, were F. Kallimach's students, became zealous Renaissance and reformist ideas supporters[26]. There were quite favourable conditions for constituting Renaissance ideas and providing them with an all-inclusive influence on the whole Rzeczpospolita populated society and representatives of Ukrainian intellectual circles. It must be remembered that Rzeczpospolita, unlike many other Western Europe countries, and, in particular, neighbouring Germany and the Czech Republic, was not exhausted by the religious struggle and confessional confrontation. The Polish church greatly benefited it make that possible.

According to our observations, the Roman Catholic Church played a decisive role in shaping the Renaissance paradigm of the Polish national culture development. Flowering of humanism ideas in Rzeczpospolita began when the representatives of clergy became the ideological inspirers and theoreticians of the Polish rebirth, which provided it with rapid spread among various strata of society. The church elite succeeded in directing the ideological and educational

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[23] Балух В. О. *Реформаційні ідеї на українських землях XVI – XVII ст. (100 протестантських діячів): Словник* [Reformation ideas on the Ukrainian lands of the 16th – 17th centuries. (100 Protestant figures): Dictionary], Чернівці, Чернівецький нац. ун-т, 2017, 200 с.

[24] Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного* …, с. 71.

[25] Дворнік Ф. *Слов'яни в Європейській історії та цивілізації* [Slavs in European history and civilization], Київб Дух і Літера, 2005, с. 262.

[26] *Ibid.*, с. 263.

potential of the Renaissance, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the desired direction as well as the Polish statehood on the whole, and thus ensured the universal character of their ideological and social influence. Hierarchs were the founders of humanistic studies, founded collegia, and so on. According to researchers, "the feature of Polish humanism is that it is deprived of secularization dictate, secularism and pagan impulses"[27], which can easily be detected in the Italian Renaissance. For this purpose, the Polish humanists wrote works exclusively in Latin, which expanded not only the theoretical and cognitive capabilities of national humanitarian studies, but also the spiritual and educational and religious-identification significance, since Latin was still the language of the Divine Liturgy, and therefore the sacred, and the one that performed consolidating and nation-building function, which, unfortunately, cannot be said about the Ukrainian spiritual and political elite.

We are deeply convinced that the rapid spread of the Renaissance and Reformation ideas of humanity in Rzeczpospolita was promoted by the then Polish democracy, religious tolerance and worldview pluralism, which is especially emphasized by modern researchers of the early modernism period. "In the world where religious intolerance grew," English scholar and publicist N. Davis puts, "The Polish-Lithuanian state occupied a separate place. On its vast territory with a vibrant population, there was a palette of Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Muslim communities before Lutheranism spread in the cities of Polish Prussia, and much of the nobility was seduced by Calvinism <...>. That day, Poland was fairly proud of both its role as a bastion of the Christian world against the Turks and Tatars, and the creation of the first asylum of tolerance in Europe."[28] By agreeing with this statement, we note, however, that the aspiration of Warsaw to be the "bastion" of the Christian Catholic world in Europe has led to the fact that the religious policy of the Rzeczpospolita Government evolved from religious tolerance to the systematic conversion of all its subjects in the womb of the Catholic Church[29]. Finally, this became a kind of reflection of the Reformation-Protestant principle: whose authority is, is the faith *(Cujus regio, ejus religio).* And, of course, this religious-political plan could not but exacerbate the issue of national-cultural and spiritual self-determination of Ukrainians, which became especially urgent after the Union of Lublin of 1569, when the Ukrainian lands became part of Rzeczpospolita, and after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), when the Roman Catholic Church resolutely appealed to a systematic counter-reformation movement. Without a doubt, these events marked a new stage in the socio-political and religious-church development of the Ukrainian people, since it never

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[27] Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного* …, с. 72.

[28] Дейвіс Н. *Європа : Історія* [Europe: History], Київ, Основи, 2008, с. 250-251.

[29] Шкрібляк М. *Формування ренесансного* …, с. 72.

remained on the margins of the spiritual and cultural life of the European society.

The intellectual elite at that time perceived socio-political, spiritual and cultural transformations as an opportunity to reform all spheres of the social life. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the lands that were part of Rzeczpospolita, the theorists of different philosophical and theological ideologies and practices launched broad religious propaganda and ideological and educational activity. Those were ethnic Germans, Italians, and Lithuanians, and, of course, Ukrainians themselves, although the primacy in that movement still did not belong to them. Having united around the common ideas that Orthodox Christians viewed as mere heresies, they cultivated both secular humanist Renaissance worldview concepts and religious-theological ideas that aimed not only to popularize the Lutheran and Calvinist social and religious paradigms, but also spread of Antitrinitarian (unitary) theological idioms among Orthodox Ukrainians[30].

However, the reformist Protestant influence in the Ukrainian lands was uneven. Calvinism was the most widespread trend but it occupied only West Ukrainian lands. Calvinists, as other early Protestant assemblies, had their own school and printing houses, which promoted their religious ideology and practice. But a new countdown of that movement began in the late 17th century: Calvinists entered the stage of stagnation and after collaborative work with the Swedes during the Swedish-Polish war (1600-1629) their final decline took place. The Calvinists received somewhat different perspectives were in Transcarpathia. They had had a privileged position and support of the Hungarian feudal lords for half a century, but their institutional functioning ceased with the proclamation of Uzhhorod Union in 1646.

Particularly noticeable was the movement of Antitrinitarians represented by Unitarianism and Socinianism. The Italian immigrants, Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, Giorgio Blandrat, and others, remained their ideological inspiration and propagandists among the Polish gentry. The Unitarians began their activities in Podillia, but soon they moved to Volyn, which became the major area of the Unitarianism in in the early 17th century. That very period can be regarded as the period of an independent flow design of Antitrinitarian origin – Unitarianism or Socinianism. The ideologists of Socinianism were among the first to revise one of the main achievements of the German Reformation – implementation of the principle – whose authority is that is the faith. They spread the principle of separation of state from church, since they believed that the authorities could not interfere with the religious affairs of their loyal subjects[31].

To strengthen their influence, Protestants founded schools and printing houses. Therefore, many researchers of the reformist Protestant movement

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[30] Балух В. О. *Реформаційні ідеї* …, с. 92

[31] Петрук Н. *Українська духовна* ..., с. 109.

emphasize their significant contribution to the educational development of the Ukrainian people. Indeed, almost all Protestant denominations had the network of their schools but most of them belong to Calvinists and Socinianists, where, along with the propaganda of new faith, new patterns of school education organization and upbringing were formed.

But their publishing activity was the most extensive. The Protestants founded the printing houses in almost every city where they had denominations, but most of the printing shops operated in Vilno. The city of Ostroh became a powerful place of Protestant literature duplication. At the same time, we cannot speak about fateful significance in the development of schooling and printing under the care of Protestants, since the main purpose of their school education, publishing and translation activities was to establish Renaissance and Reformation ideas and to create favourable conditions for introducing Protestantism in the church-religious environment in Rzeczpospolita, which could not occur due to a number of objective reasons.

The European Reformation in the Ukrainian lands was a *de facto* marginal phenomenon, but its ideas were of utter importance to the cultural development of the Ukrainian society. Admiration of Protestant ideas after concluding the Union of Brest began to decline. That was due to both decline of Protestantism in Rzeczpospolita and strengthening of conservative tendencies in the Orthodox Church that underwent changes as a result of the Petro Mohyla reforms, although that was a transformation not directed at the Reformation, but it was in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation of the Post-Trinitarian era It is true that the grains sown by Protestant figures gave results and contributed to the internal reform of Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

The joint activity of Orthodox and Protestants believers in the Ukrainian lands acquired various forms of joint councils, unions, confederations, joint demonstrations, organisation of petitions and lawsuits to local Diet, deserves deeper analysis and synthesis. And in this regard, it is worth outlining the specifics of the Orthodox-Lutheran rapprochement at the early stage of the Reformation in Germany. On the one hand, it helped define the basic forms, specifics of carrying out and consequences of that dialogue, and on the other one - it would shed light on the key factors interpretation that contributed to the legalization of Lutheranism in the Ukrainian lands in its most famous figures, manifestations and leading trends.

The sources testify that Luther himself had never had and could not have had any good feeling tor Greek Orthodoxy. He considered the Eastern Church "idolatrous", but now, the main enemy was Rome. This could explain his promising messages addressed to the Greeks, who better "preserved the

traditions of the early Church of Christ than the Roman theologians"[32]. But whether Luther did not dare to personally ask Constantinople for support, or he did not certify his openness to dialogue, it's difficult to say. In any case, there are no sources that would even indirectly confirm such attempts.

The first documented attempts to establish contacts between the Lutherans and the higher Orthodox Hierarchs of the East date back to 1559. Then the theologian and reformer P. Melanchthon wrote a letter to Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II (1555-1565), in which he sought to convince him of the Orthodoxy of Luther's teaching. He emphasized the respect of Protestants to theological heritage of the Church Fathers and the decisions of the seven Ecumenical Councils. Having met Melanchthon's message without much enthusiasm Patriarch Joasaph II sent Deacon Dmytro Myziy to Wittenberg "to study accurate and reliable data about the new doctrine"[33]. But the ambassador seemed to fail convincing the patriarch that Lutheranism worth attention of Eastern Hierarchs. And even when P. Melanchthon gave Deacon Dmytro the next letter, full of praise for the Orthodox and assurances that "Protestants remained faithful to Scripture, the tenets of the holy Councils and the teaching of the Church Fathers," and just turned away "from misconceptions heretics, as well as superstition and worship of Latin ignorant monks"[34], but Patriarch Joasaph did not hurry up with his answer. When he met the Augsburg Confession of Faith (made by P. Melanchthon in 1530), he ceased the dialogue with the German reformers.

After P. Melanchthon's death, the Lutherans made some unsuccessful attempts to bring the Orthodox Hierarchs of the East to their side. The interconfessional dialogue was renewed in the mid-1570s, when Jeremias II Tranos became Patriarch of Constantinople (he occupied this post three times (1572 - 1579, 1580 - 1584, 1589 - 1595). Then the followers of the Lutheran-Melanchthon protest decided to send the full text of the Augsburg Confession of Faith, and also, it's Apology (1531) to Constantinople.

Seeing the tension of the German Lutherans, Patriarch Jeremias II gave a detailed answer to all questions and proposals addressed to him in a letter dated May 15, 1576[35]. Researchers emphasize that the patriarch had analysed section by

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[32] Козак В. *Протестантський чинник у процесах, пов'язаних з підготовкою та укладенням Берестейського церковного з'єднання 1596 року* [The Protestant Factor in the Processes Concerning the Preparation and Conclusion of the Brest Church Connection of 1596], in *Протестантські церкви у контексті вітчизняної історії та суспільних трансформацій: Матеріали IV Всеукраїнської конференції* (м. Тернопіль, 27-28 квітня 2017 р.), Тернопіль-Київ, ФОП Осадца Ю. В., с. 13.

[33] Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви* [], Чернівці, Книги – XXI, 2007, с. 258.

[34] *Ibid.*, с. 258.

[35] *Acta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce* [Acta synods ruling in Poland], Warszawa, Wydawnictwa uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1972, T. 2: (1560-1570), s. 25-27.

section all 21 articles of the Confession, defining in it "all the errors and deviations from the universal truth"[36] The Constantinople First Hierarch and the theologian, in particular, drew attention of the Lutherans to the fact that they: 1) supported the *filioque;* 2) proclaimed five *sola;* 3) approved of only two Sacraments instead of seven; 4) abandoned iconoclasm, thus consolidating the principle and practice of iconoclasm; 5) neglected the experience of honouring the saints.

The initiators of the dialogue hoped that the lack of success in it would manage to catch up with persistence. It even came to the charge the Patriarch of Constantinople of bribing. The longer correspondence and visits continued, the more interpersonal hostility was shown and the denominational difference was revealed, which concerned not only the dogmas of faith, but also the Liturgy, which still remains the language of the Church, and "the liturgical life was the most sophisticated and most complete manifestation of Eastern theology"[37]. Finally, in 1579, the patriarch sent a strict tone condemnation of the Lutheran heresy. Consequently, the Protestants did not achieve their goal. But the Orthodox-Protestant dialogue received its more prolonged continuation in the Ukrainian lands. The Wittenberg-Constantinople missions laid the foundations for a certain mutual Protestant-Orthodox perception not only at the European level, but within specific national churches and communities.

However, the mass consciousness of then Ukrainians, which remained inextricably linked with the Orthodox Church-liturgical tradition, all that was happening around their religious and spiritual identity was always perceived as encroachment not only on their territories (land or estate), but in the inner spiritual world too.

It is important to remember that "invasion" was presented in, at least, three vector-oriented directions: Orthodox-Conservative, Unitarian, and Renaissance-Humanist[38]. The brightest representative of the first one was Ivan Vyshensky. However, he and those who supported his ideas did not always play a positive role in the formation of the modern-day type Ukrainian Christianity, because they by their messages "driven" the Ukrainian Orthodox believers in

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[36] Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви* ..., с. 258; Черкасов С. *Європейська Реформація та Православна Церква у Речі Посполитій XVI ст.: специфіка започаткування міжкон-фесійних відносин* [European Reformation and Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth of the 16th century: the specificity of the establishment of inter-confessional relations], in *Європейська Реформація XVI ст.: історико-антропологічний вимір (До 500-річчя Реформації в Європі): Матеріали міжнародн. наук.-практ. конф.* (м. Запоріжжя, 8 лютого 2017 р.), Запоріжжя, АА Тандем, 2017, с. 75.

[37] Шкрібляк М. В. *«Церковний Переяслав»* …, с. 104.

[38] Литвинов В. *Україна в пошуках духовних пріоритетів (XVI ст.)* [Ukraine in search of spiritual priorities (16th century.)] in "Україна і Ватикан в контексті культурно-цивілізаційного діалогу: історія та сучасність", Київ, 2009, № 3, с. 183.

the so-called "the bed of Procrustes" of the Eastern Byzantine "piety". Therefore, some modern scholars emphasize the negative component of his educational activity, since it "posed a threat of spiritual isolation, the acquisition of a stable culture of provincialism"[39].

The Orthodox Christians feeling the lack of well-educated theologians who could conduct polemics on a par with Protestants and Jesuits willingly accepted "humanitarian aid" from Protestants in the form treatises far from high-probing for theological content but sharp in emotional perceptions and filled with sarcasm and offences of their recipients. Another important part of the Reformation and counter-Reformation movements and struggle between the Uniate and Orthodox Churches became declaring, and partial realization of Polish social rights and freedoms: privileges, interdenominational tolerance programme, long-standing customary rights, social equality of Sarmatian nobles and others[40].

The pro-Uniate religious and ideological direction was represented by the Jesuits, among whom the brightest representatives were B. Herbest, P. Skarga A. Possevino, H. Pociej, M, Smotrytskyi (he also once belonged to anti-Uniate flow), L. Kreuza and others. However, they were not only ideological encouragers of the Union but also brilliant polemists, enlighteners, fighters for the purity of faith and the unity of the Church of Christ. And if the primary task for the Polish Jesuits was to turn all faithful into the womb of the Catholic Church, then for the Kyiv Metropolis Hierarchs - raising it to the level of the Patriarchate but with nominal dependence on Rome.

As for the Reformation-Protestant wing, it was actually represented by a large number of names that left the most noticeable trace in the history of this movement in the Ukrainian lands, influenced the process of institutional design and the prospects for the development of Protestantism in Ukraine up to the present day.

Recognizing the important role of Reformation-Protestant figures, we would like to emphasize that the following representatives of political elite played the most important role in the development of Renaissance ideas and innovation, and hence the denomination division of the church and religious life of Ukrainian society: the first was Vasyl-Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi who manoeuvred between Uniate doctrine, Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and his family members belonged to different churches and it was difficult to find someone like him among noble and monarchic families of Europe, and later – Ukrainian hetmans who while

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[39] *Ibid.*, с. 183.

[40] Вирський Д. *Стріла «натягнутого лука» : Україна в Речі Посполитій (1505 – 1795)* [Ukraine in the Commonwealth (1505 - 1795)] in "День", № 21 (21 квітня 2017), [Electronic resource], access mode: http://www.pressreader.com/ukraine/den-ukrainian/20170421/281681139757053

choosing their own political and ideological strategies settled between Moscow and Warsaw, and finally rejected the Reformation and Protestant factor as a deconsolidating one and devoid of the national unity idea.

Before the Union of Brest period, the main merit in the process of rapprochement between Orthodox and Protestants had belonged to C. Lucaris, who was a personal buddy of above mentioned K. Ostrozkyi and the rector of the same school (academy). Living in Ostroh, the future patriarch took an active part in the church-religious controversy and the Orthodox-Catholic dialogue of the late 16th century, as well as in the anti-Uniate convocation in Brest in 1596. At the same time, C. Lucaris supported the Calvinist movement in Rzeczpospolita. Having earned a lot of money he returned to his homeland in 1600, where he was first elected the Patriarch of Alexandria, and when (in 1613) the Constantinople episcopal see was freed – the Patriarch of Constantinople.

But Patriarch Cyril did not become history because he was the head of the Alexandria and Constantinople patriarchal cathedra's, and because he was elected to that post several times, even because he was killed by janissaries. The reason was because he had written his Confession of Faith (although there is no unanimity about his authorship), which was filled with Protestant character and Calvinist spirit[41]. Unfortunately, or fortunately, Lukaris's Confession caused a lively theological discussion, which resulted in his conviction of anti-Orthodoxy, deception and harm. The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church or the famous Catechism of Petro Mohyla righteously occupied its place. Catechism essentially denied the Lukaris's confession of faith articles and therefore had a pronounced anti-protestant character[42].

In general, the European Reformation in the Ukrainian lands had its ambiguous response. Therefore, it is not worth exaggerating its influence in anything. First, it was present there for quite a while, and secondly, it did not manage to penetrate deeply into the domestic life of the society, because it was interesting only for elite oriented at economic, and administrative and managerial benefits. The Roman Catholic Church of Poland firmly stood against the Reformation, and it could not but respond to the Protestant-Orthodox conver-gence, especially in the Ukrainian lands, where, due to the rise of the Uniate doctrine and the proclamation of the Union of Brest, a new ecclesiastical reality favourable to Rome was formed, and in the struggle against it the General Confederation of Vilna was established in 1599 headed by K. Ostrozkyi's son-in-law Krzysztof Radziwiłł (who was Calvinist)[43]. It appeared that one influential

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[41] Бурмило І. *Історія Церкви* …, с. 259.

[42] *Ibid.*, с 260.

[43] *Історія православної Церкви в Україні. Зб. наук. статей* [History of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine.], Київ, Четверта хвиля, 1997, с. 89.

tycoon proclaimed himself a defender of Orthodoxy, and the other one – Protestantism. In fact, the matter was about consolidating the spheres of influence on the church and religious life of Ukrainians and Lithuanians between the father-in-law and the son-in-law. But that was an artificial "combination of wool and polyester"[44], and therefore the results of its activities were quite modest.

In the course of the intensive expansion of the Reformation and counter-reformation ideas the consciousness of the Ukrainian faithful suffered from understanding of what would happen with their "fatherly" faith and the native church, that is, Orthodox Church if "a secular element" would finally win. And the "secular element" had already been known for incarnating itself in the "secular patronage" principle. Securing the institution of "secular patronage" served as a canonical justification of the Orthodox Church subordination to secular individuals, which was far from perception of the ordinary people. It can be assumed that both reflected the history and general features of the Orthodox Ukrainians struggle against Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism that spread in the late 16th century. It took place against the backdrop of the sharp Orthodox-Catholic controversy, which was also filled with interesting names and related events and phenomena in the church-religious life of the Orthodox faithful and supporters of the union with Rome. It is noteworthy that the Orthodox polemists did not waste either time or intellect on the delineation of the East European and West European heretical movements, or as some called it "the classical lines of Protestantism." For them, they are all heretical in essence.

Meanwhile, "new faith, as noted by I. Ohienko, spread only among intellectuals and ordinary Ukrainians were rather indifferent to the "new science"[45]. Hoping for the local Protestants success in the struggle against Catholicism in Rzeczpospolita, the local magnates and gentry supported them in every possible way, joining new religious-theological teachings (Calvinism), and, inclining their subjects either voluntarily or according to the principle – whose land is that is the faith. However, having gained some success in the church lands secularization the nobles immediately showed cool attitude towards Protestantism. Its ideological polyphony and institutional fragmentation, coupled with the radicalization of the social, legal and religious-theological discourse between Antitrinitarians rejected the Reformation-Protestant movement to the margins of spiritual, cultural and political life of the Ukrainian people and especially the intellectual sphere that rapidly reoriented to Orthodox-Catholic dialogue that initially aimed to Kyiv Metropolis union with Rome, and later - the fight against it as the particular project of the alone spiritual group.

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[44] Костомаров Н. И. *Исторические произведения* …, с. 184.

[45] Митрополит Іларіон. *Українська Церква*: у 2-х т. [Ukrainian Church], Вінніпег, 1956, Т. 1, 242 с.

CONCLUSIONS

Both in Europe and Ukraine, the Reformation had roughly the same consequences albeit with a certain delay in time. Renaissance-humanist trends having embraced Western Europe quickly reached the southern lands of Germany and led Luther's protest and establishment of Lutheranism as an alternative to Catholicism, and then - Calvinism as the alternative to both. Furthermore – Theology of Huldrych Zwingli, Anabaptism, and so on up to the modern, colourful and contradictory, ideological and theological palette of Protestant denominations.

Something similar things were observed in Ukraine. Although there were no wars here and so rigid confrontations as in Germany, Switzerland or France. On this background, the Uniate Church (now called the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) was established. It successfully overcame the Protestant and Catholic, and Moscow-Orthodox religious and political expansion and played an important role in the history of the socio-political, spiritual and cultural development of the Ukrainian people. It was also possible to revive its long-standing traditions and that part of the Kyiv Metropolis that did not support the union with Rome.

The European Reformation and the spread of early Protestant flows strengthened the traditional feature of the Ukrainian Church - its constituent power, which was especially evident in the activity of church brotherhoods (16th - 17th centuries). This in fact led to the collapse of the Reformation and Protestant ideas that lay movement based on the principle of "secular apostolate" or "secular priesthood" relied largely on magnates and gentry to whom there was no special trust as German reformers and religious brothers hoped.

Development of Kyiv Metropolis church life in the Reformation era was not separated from the civilization, social and religious European context. Its state and dynamics were conditioned firstly by the Renaissance-Reformation, and somewhat later, by the Counter-Reformation influences that led to intensification of unanimous encouragement and spread of Protestantism and the Orthodox hoped to use its potential to strengthen their own positions in the struggle against the "Polish-Jesuit" intrigue and the Moscow religious and political expansion. The result of this transformation was deepening of domination division of church and religious life of Rzeczpospolita, social, religious and political tensions at the confessional level, and what was the most important – deconsolidation and atomization of the Ukrainian society when a spiritual unity was needed for designing the Ukrainian people as a titular political nation.

At the same time, the practice of Protestant-Orthodox rapprochement, which Ukrainians observed on the example of the German ideological inspirations of the protest and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as well as

representatives of the Ostroh group, marked the beginning of gradual departure from the Eastern Byzantine collectivism and friendship with anyone - but the most important against Rome. Separation of the Kyiv Metropolis from the historical centre of Orthodoxy also took place due to the fact that Constantinople was rapidly losing its original position, since it was in the spiritual captivity of the Islamic state power.

However, the real tragedy of the Ukrainian people and its church and political elites was that there were few among them who understood that neither Rome nor Moscow, nor Constantinople, were Mother or Father to them. In their ignorance, instead of restoring the historic mission of Kyiv, they lived narrow-minded life creating their own "Ukraine" with centres in different cities: Brest, Vilno, Lviv, Ostroh, Przemysl and others. And only a small part decided to master the cultural and spiritual-religious achievements of the Catholic West that crystallized in the struggle against the Protestant ideology.

DID LARGE CITIES EXIST IN THE 17TH CENTURY POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH? A DEFINITION ATTEMPT

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Abstract: In this study I have analysed five towns: Poznań, Kraków, Warsaw, Lublin, and Lviv. I aimed to determine whether towns treated as provincial in the Crown would also be characterised by lower economic diversity. The primary question is whether one can talk about large cities in the 17th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at all? And if so, what factors determined the status of a metropolis?

Keywords: Cities, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 17th century, the Gini coefficient, tenants

Rezumat: Au existat oraşe mari în secolul al XVII-lea în cadrul Uniunii Polono-Lituaniene? O tentativă de definire. Studiul analizează cinci oraşe - Poznań, Cracovia, Varşovia, Lublin şi Lviv – pentru a determina dacă oraşele tratate ca provinciale în cadrul Regatului au fost caracterizate şi de o diversitate economică scăzută. Chestiunea de bază este dacă se poate în general vorbi depsre oraşe mari în cadrul Uniunii Polono-Lituaniene în secolul al XVII-lea? Şi dacă da, ce factori au determinat statutul de metropolă?

Résumé: Est-ce que de grandes villes ont été au XVII siècle en Union polonais-lithuanien? Essayer de définir. Dans cette étude, j'ai analysé cinq villes : Poznan, Cracovie, Varsovie, Lublin et Lviv. J'ai voulu déterminer si, sous la Couronne, des villes alors considérées comme provinciales pouvaient aussi être caractérisées par une plus faible diversité économique. La question de base est de savoir si de manière générale, on peut parler de grandes villes au 17ème siècle sous la République des Deux Nations ? Si oui, quels facteurs déterminaient le statut d'une métropole ?

INTRODUCTION

In the post-industrial times, we tend to use the terms „metropolitan" and „big-city" interchangeably, without pondering on their true meaning. Indeed,

there are numerous definitions coined by scholars of contemporary cities, approached from various perspectives, including geography and sociology[1]. The elements that are of utmost importance to a historian of the pre-industrial era are those that may help establish whether in case of the 17th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth one should indeed talk about big cities. These are as follows: big cities are visible within the international space; they boast economic, cultural and academic potential[2]. These last traits can surely be applied to defining 17th-century big cities, next to a number of additional factors, typical of the historical epoch in question.

In the mid-1990s, Dutch historian Jan Luiten van Zanden pointed out that the best economically developed regions of Europe had already been more economically diverse even before the Industrial Revolution. The observation was made on the basis of the analysis of a number of Dutch towns and Augsburg. Van Zanden also noted that rural areas were much more homogeneous than towns. He proposed to analyse economic inequalities as a somewhat positive factor foreboding imminent economic development of a given region. The path set out by van Zanden was later followed by, among others, Carole Shammas[3] and Guido Alfani[4].

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[1] Stanisław Liszewski indicates that a basic trait of a metropolis is a central urban unit or several units, and a developing external area (region). Bohdan Jałowiecki proves, on the other hand, that the central city is emancipated from the region: „the role of a region is limited to residential and recreational functions […] „neighbour" […] is another metropolis, often hundreds if not thousands of kilometres away." He lists four characteristics of modern-day metropolises, namely: population count (minimum half of million inhabitants), high standard of services and institutions, innovative potential and uniqueness of the place. See: S. Liszewski, *Formy i struktury przestrzenne wielkich skupisk miejskich* [Spatial forms and structures of large agglomerations], in: S. Liszewski (ed.), Geografia urbanistyczna, Łódź, 2008, pp. 215-216; B. Jałowiecki, *Metropolie* [Metropolises], Białystok, 1999, p. 29; Idem, *Fragmentacja i prywatyzacja przestrzeni* [Fragmentation and privatisation of space], in: B. Jałowiecki, W. Łukowski (ed.), Gettoizacja polskiej przestrzeni miejskiej [Ghettoization of Polish urban space], Warszawa, 2007, p. 64.

[2] Tadeusz Markowski, Tadeusz Marszał, *Metropolie, obszary metropolitarne, metropolizacja. Problemy i pojęcia podstawowe* [Metropolises, metropolitan areas, metropolization. Problems and basic notions], Warsaw, 2006, pp. 12-13.

[3] Carole Shammas, *Constructing a Wealth Distribution from Probate Records*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History", 1978, vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 297-307; Idem, *A New Look at Long-Term Trends in Wealth Inequality in the United States*, "The American Historical Review", 1993, vol. 98, No. 2, pp. 412-431.

[4] Guido Alfani, *Economic Inequality in Northwestern Italy: A Long-Term View (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Century)*, "The Journal of Economic History", 2015, vol. 75, No. 4, pp.

Van Zanden's observations prompted me to reflect on the definition of a large town in the context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Naturally, cities such as Warsaw, Kraków, or Poznań – due to their nature and size – cannot be compared to such towns as Amsterdam; nonetheless, van Zanden's research makes it possible to corroborate certain theoretical theses.

We also know that modern legal acts issued by the Polish *Sejm* divided the towns within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into two categories. In the second half of the 17th century the first category of more sizeable cities comprised, among others, Poznań, Krakow, Lublin, Warsaw and Zamość. The second category included smaller towns. The classification was changing over time and already in the first half of the 18th century only Warsaw was deemed a large city. The basic criterion taken into consideration was the number of inhabitants, however there must have been other factors which determined the classification of a city in the modern era as large, big or small. The primary question is whether one can talk about large cities in the 17th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at all? And if so, what factors determined the status of a metropolis?

Contemporary scholars have used the term 'metropolis' without making an attempt at a definition of what it really means. Andrzej Klonder[5] indicated several factors which could be used while assessing the size of cities, amongst them the legal status, occupational structure of the inhabitants (the prevalence of merchants over artisans), as well as urban appearance, type of housing and landscape. The factors proposed by Klonder refer to the difference between small and big cities, but they do not define the characteristic of a large city. Some factors are difficult to assess from the perspective of several centuries, e.g. a city landscape. Therefore,

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1058-1096; Idem, *Wealth Inequalities and Population Dynamics in Early Modern Northern Italy*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History", 2010, vol. XL, No. 4, pp. 513-549; Idem, *The effects of plague on the distribution of property: Ivrea, Northern Italy 1630*, "Population Studies", 2010, vol. 64, No. 1, pp. 61-75.

[5] Andrzej Klonder, *Quasi civitas. Europejskie kryteria miejskości a rzeczywistość małych miast Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVII wieku* [Quasi-civitas. European Criteria of urban space versus the reality of small towns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th-17th cc.], in: Aleksander Jankowski, Jacek Maciejewski (ed.), *Interpretatio rerum gestarum. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Ostoja-Zagórskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [Interpretation rerum gestarum. Studies on the Occasion of Professor Janusz Ostoja-Zagórski's 70th Birthday], Bydgoszcz, 2013.

it is crucial to analyse solely these elements which can be described and interpreted on the basis of source material.

In my study, I have analysed five towns: Poznań, Kraków, Warsaw, Lublin, and Lviv. I aimed to determine whether towns treated as provincial in the Crown would also be characterised by lower economic diversity. For this reason, I did not include Gdańsk in my study – it constituted a part of the network formed by Western European cities and was the most European town of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

With prior knowledge of the works of van Zanden, Alfani, and Shammas, I decided to go a step further and analyse whether any town of the 17th century Commonwealth could be considered a metropolis; in view of the fact that no definition of a metropolis in the context of Old Poland has been developed, I decided to form my own. In this paper, I will analyse: wealth concentration index, type of buildings, and number and flux of tenants.

SOURCES

Two types of documents are particularly useful for the purpose of determining whether an Early Modern town can be called a metropolis: municipal tax and Swedish contribution registers[6]. Both types of tax were imposed in a similar manner, with higher-level powers determining a lump sum to be paid by the entire town and municipal authorities deciding on tax rates. This meant that municipal authorities had a final say on the amounts to be paid by each taxpayer. Even though these decisions were not always just – suffice to mention that members of the authorities would often exempt themselves from taxes – they nonetheless were a reflection of inequalities existing in the town.

The taxes mentioned above were urban in nature, meaning that they were only imposed on burghers. This group encompassed both real estate owners and their tenants. Occasionally, the registers also incorporated nobility and clergy. These groups were excluded from municipal jurisdiction and thus exempt from paying taxes to the town. In some cities, for instance Kraków or Warsaw, tax

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[6] Warsaw – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Warszawa Ekonomiczne (AGAD, WE), no. 832, 1431; Kraków – Archiwum Narodowe [National Archives in Kraków], Akta miasta Krakowa [Municipal Records of Kraków], no. 2607, 2623, 2717, 2649; Poznań – Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [National Archives in Poznań], Akta miasta Poznania [Municipal Records of Poznań], I 1759, I 1765, I 1844, I 1851; Lviv – National Archives of Municipal and Rural Records in Lviv, Municipal Records of Lviv [CDIAUL, AmLw], f. 52, op. 2, nr. 777, 782, 795.

collectors would list all real estate owners in tax registers, including the nobility exempt from taxes, while others, for example in Lviv, registered only burghers in their documents. This state of affairs was also true for clergy, which was also excluded from municipal jurisdiction. Only individual examples of priests paying taxes can be found in source materials, in which cases the clergymen paid for their property as private parties and not as representatives of the Church.

It is possible to compare the registers of the two types of taxes even though they were not drawn up for such a purpose. In both cases, tax collectors sorted data according to individual streets or bigger parts of towns (e.g. quarters in Kraków). The street or quarter name was followed by the first name and surname (or only surname) of the taxpayer and, in some cases, also some additional data, for example the profession of the owner or tenant of a given property. The last information to be included was tax rate.

Works written on the subject of German towns indicate that war damages led to a decrease in the level of wealth inequalities due to the fact that the affluent part of the urban population fell victim to the greed of the occupants. Taking this into account, I could not limit myself to carrying out an analysis based only on the overview of a time frame. This is why my study encompasses the analysis of at least three periods:

1) the situation in the second half of the 1620s or in early 1630s, that is in a peaceful period of the towns' existence, devoid of any turbulent events;

2) the period of the 1650s, before the Swedish "Deluge" (or other events connected to the crisis of mid-17th century, for example the Khmelnytsky Uprising), in order to present the situation of towns on the eve of war, after several dozen years of development;

3) the last point in chronology was a register drawn up in late 17th century. I usually aimed to analyse the latest possible period of time, for instance the last decade of a century.

Wherever possible, registers dating to 1702 were added to the analysis in order to close off the period of the 17th century with a register drawn up before the Great Northern War.

METROPOLISES IN THE 17THCENTURY COMMONWEALTH?

In the Early Modern Period, a town could be considered a metropolis if it was characterised by the following features:

- a narrow financial elite (high Gini coefficient)
- prevalence of brick buildings

- presence of tenants who leave towns in periods of temporary economic stagnation and return after its end.

First, it needs to be emphasised that the Gini coefficient is a measure of the concentration (disparity) of a random variable. In statistics, the aim of analysing concentration is to determine whether the sum of values is spread evenly between observations in the analysed set of data[7]. Income or movable or immovable property of taxpayers should be used as the analysed variable, but in case of tax registers (for example contribution registers), such information is not available. Nonetheless, it is possible to indirectly obtain information on the concentration of wealth in a given town, since municipal authorities used their own assessment of wealth of individual taxpayers to determine rates of both types of tax.

There are two ways in which the calculations can be carried out. In their simplified version, we can calculate the sum paid by the wealthiest 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the town's inhabitants and assume that the remaining amount should be distributed among the other 90-95 per cent of the population. A more advanced option is to calculate the Gini coefficient, whose graphical representation is the so-called Lorenz curve. The Gini coefficient represents the distribution on the entire scale, and not only among the wealthiest or poorest 5-10 per cent.

The value of the Gini coefficient can range from 0 to 1. Both extreme values cannot be reached in a real set of data, since 0 expresses completely even distribution of the sum of values among individual observations, which means that all members of a given community have the same income or wealth. The value of 1, on the other hand, expresses completely uneven distribution, where one person accumulates the entire income (wealth). In practice, values below 0.2 are treated as lack of concentration, 0.2-0.4 as weak concentration, 0.4-0.6 as medium concentration, 0.6-0.8 as strong concentration, and above 0.8 as very strong concentration[8]. In 2013, Bulgaria had the highest Gini coefficient among all member states of the EU – 0.354; the country with the lowest value of the measure was Iceland – 0.242. At that time, Denmark had the coefficient of 0.275, and Sweden –

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[7] Michał Kopczyński, *Podstawy statystyki. Podręcznik dla humanistów* [Introduction to Statistics. Manual for Non-Scientific Minds], Warszawa, 2005, pp. 55-59.

[8] M. Kopczyński, *Podstawy statystyki*, p. 58.

0.249. The value of the coefficient for Poland was 0.307, which placed it slightly above the average value in the entire EU (0.305)[9].

Table 1. The Gini coefficient in 17th-century Polish cities

Warszawa		Kraków		Lwów		Poznań		Lublin	
Year	Gini	Year	Gini	Year	Gini	Year	Gini	Year	Gini
1655	0.642	1635	0.717	1636	0.286	1626	0.378	1627	0.379
1656	0.575	1653	0.676	1665	0.418	1651	0.367	1654	0.382
-	-	1692	0.580	-	-	1675	0.387	1670	0.397
1702	0.662	-	-	1702	0.604	1702	0.358	-	-
1703	0.664	-	-	-	-			-	-
1704	0.573	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: *own elaboration based on Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Warszawa Ekonomiczne (AGAD, WE), no. 832, 1431; Kraków – Archiwum Narodowe [National Archives in Kraków], Akta miasta Krakowa [Municipal Records of Kraków], no. 2607, 2623, 2717, 2649; Poznań – Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [National Archives in Poznań], Akta miasta Poznania [Municipal Records of Poznań], I 1759, I 1765, I 1844, I 1851; Lviv – National Archives of Municipal and Rural Records in Lviv, Municipal Records of Lviv [CDIAUL, AmLw], f. 52, op. 2, nr 777, 782, 795*

High Gini coefficients could only be observed in case of Kraków and Warsaw (0.6-0.7). Another feature characteristic for metropolitan centres, connected to wealth concentration index, is a brief decrease of Gini coefficient in times of crisis, with the coefficient growing back following stabilisation, when most of the wealth is once again concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest townsmen. Such an observation can be made in case of Warsaw. Thanks to its systematic development, the residential town of the king was better suited to deal with transient problems than, for example, Kraków whose predicament changed after the departure of the royal court (which served as a consumer of various goods) to Warsaw.

Another important factor in the search for metropolises was the type of buildings prevalent in the town. The Swedish "Deluge" is usually treated

[9] EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) in 2013. Note for the press conference on 23 December 2014], GUS http://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5486/7/5/1/euro_badanie_dochodow_i_warunkow_zycia_-eu-silc-_w_2013.pdf [accessed: 14 III 2016]

as a turning point, separating the 17th century into pre-crisis and post-crisis periods, but in case of the analysed towns – as far as the area within the city walls is concerned – the negative influence of the occupation is not reflected in tax registers. The tendency to replace wooden buildings with brick constructions can be observed in all the towns in question.

The analysis of the property count in selected towns (considering the same area in specific points of time) suggests that Lublin was most stable – the number of properties there remained within the range of 251-256. In Krakow and Poznań, the number of properties fell by 19% and 11% respectively, while in Warsaw a slight rise of 6% was noted. In Lvov, a fall by 9% was followed by a rise of 31% in relation to the previous census. Reduction of the number of properties in censuses resulted in smaller number of properties falling under the urban jurisdiction (the nobility and the clergy buying off or taking over plots of land; in Krakow, the property belonging to the Krakow Academy), that is those from which the *schoss* was collected[10]. In Warsaw, a building boom of sorts was noted following the Swedish Deluge, whereas Lvov – following the mid-century crisis – was recovering from the period of stagnation within the building industry.

The scale of the phenomenon was smallest in Poznań (where it emerged as early as first half of the 17th century) and Lublin (second half of the 17th century). Warsaw experienced a period of dynamic urban development caused, among others, by political factors, while Lviv had to be rebuilt.

Chart no. 1 (see next page) depicts disparities in the cost of brick and daily income of bricklayers in selected locations in the 17th century. In 17th-century Warsaw, the price of bricks fluctuated. Until the end of 1630s, thousand bricks cost between 390 and 450 groshen. Between 1641 and 1651, prices increased to over 500 groshen; right before the Deluge prices dropped, only to rise again following the end of warfare, and to remain at around 500-600 groshen until the end of the century. The Deluge triggered an increase in prices of building materials requisite for post-war reconstruction, which seems to be in consonance with the expected response of the "stock market" by a rise of demand for a product. Meanwhile, daily income of bricklayers in both towns remained at a similar level throughout the 17th century – increase from 23 to c. 40 groshen occurred in Warsaw in the 1640s and the price re-

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[10] Schoss – standard property tax paid by burghers to the State Treasury in historic Poland.

mained at that level till the end of the century. The year 1670 was an exception: an increase to 67 and 102 groshen was noted; simultaneously in Krakow the daily wage of a bricklayer was stable in the course of an almost entire
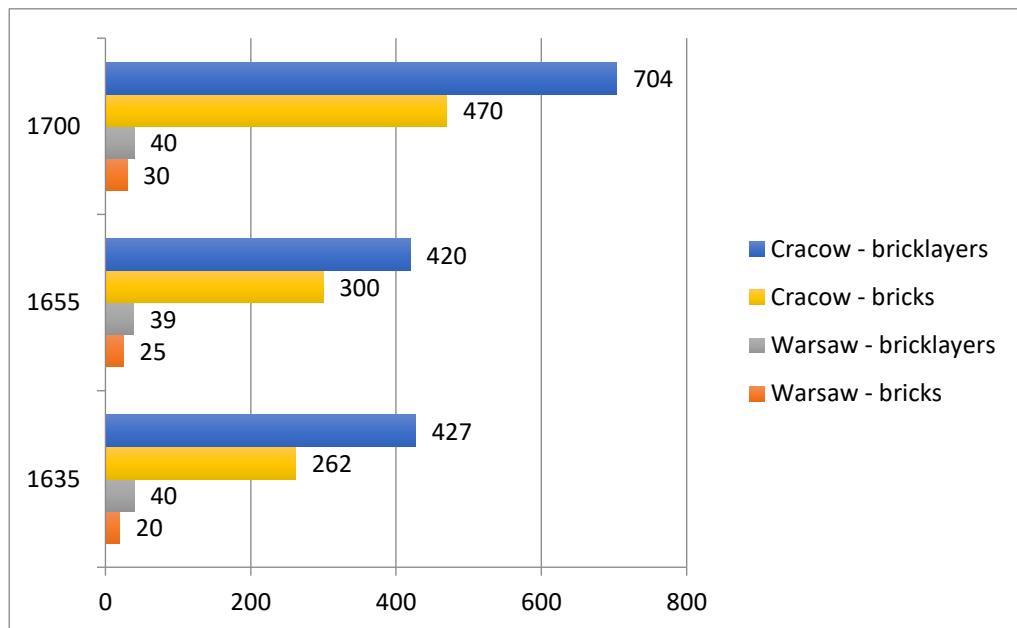
Chart 1. Costs of bricks and the salary of bricklayers in Krakow and Warsaw

> **Source**: own elaboration based on Władysław Adamczyk, *Ceny w Warszawie…* [Prices in Warsaw…], pp. 61, 78; Edward Tomaszewski, *Ceny w Krakowie 1601-1795* [Prices in Krakow 1601-1795), Lwów-Warszawa 1934, pp. 178-179, 215.

century, which in turned stabilized the costs of renovation and reconstruction of war inflicted damage[11]. The discrepancy of prices and wages fluctuation suggests that Warsaw boasted a buoyant job market which attracted qualified builders. Had it been any other way, the wages should have risen quite significantly.

The last element characteristic of a metropolis was the presence of tenants in the town. Initially, a burgher house was to be inhabited by one family only; however, already since the 16th century, this ceased to be the

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[11] Władysław Adamczyk, *Ceny w Warszawie…* [Prices in Warsaw…], pp. 61, 78; Edward Tomaszewski, *Ceny w Krakowie 1601-1795* [Prices in Krakow 1601-1795), Lwów-Warszawa, 1934, pp. 178-179, 215.

rule, especially in larger towns. Tenant density in burgher houses was linked with the increase in both the population count and the demand for lodgings, especially in Warsaw, Krakow and Poznań. To begin with, additional space was organized at the rear of buildings or on upper floors. With time, hallways which usually housed an artisan workshop or a small store[12] were divided. At times, a decision to add one storey in order to expand the living quarters was made, while the more impoverished sector of the population would rent basements or buildings at the very rear of the plot (thus far used as utility rooms). Subsequently, properties were divided between two or three owners which resulted in tenement houses being further transformed into multi-family buildings[13].

It could therefore be deducted that the owners did not perceive properties as impartible or one-family; instead, they rented several rooms in order to gain additional income which in turn could have been used to cover the cost of building's renovation. Both in the 17th and 18th centuries, higher rent (and, accordingly, higher tax) was paid by tenants renting rooms in masonry burgher houses rather than wooden houses. Property location had a significant impact on the amount due for rent – buildings situated at the town's main square were most expensive, followed by tenement houses located along busy thoroughfares. Further from the market square and located along a less busy street meant both lower rent and lower tax[14]. At the same time, the lower the rent, the more impoverished citizens occupied the lodgings. In Poznań it was noted that a higher number

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[12] *Warszawa w latach 1526-1795* [Warsaw in Years 1526-1795], pp. 106-107; Józef Jamroz, *Mieszczańska kamienica krakowska wiek XIII-XV* [Krakow Burgher House, the 13th-15th Centuries], Kraków, 1983, pp. 148-153; W. Grabski, *Wybrane zagadnienia z urbanistyki średniowiecznego Krakowa* [Selected Issues of Medieval Krakow's Urban Planning], "Biuletyn Krakowski", 1961, vol. 6, pp. 77-85; Idem, *Ze studiów nad zabudową mieszkalną średniowiecznego Krakowa* [From the Studies on the Residential Sprawl of Medieval Krakow], "Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury", 1968, vol. 2, pp. 187-205; Idem, *Średniowieczna kamienica krakowska. Zależności między typem działki a rozplanowaniem* [Medieval tenement house in Krakow. Type of plot of land versus planning], "Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury", 1970, vol. 4, pp. 163-179; *Dzieje Poznania* [History of Poznan], vol. 1, pp. 478-479.

[13] *Warszawa w latach 1526-1795* [Warsaw in Years 1526-1795], p. 107.

[14] Teresa Zielińska, *Szlacheccy właściciele nieruchomości w miastach XVIII w.* [Noblility Owners of Properties in the 18th c. Cities], Warszawa-Łódź 1987, pp. 51-52.

of tenants resided along busy streets, as it was much easier to find work, most often within the area of commerce or crafts.
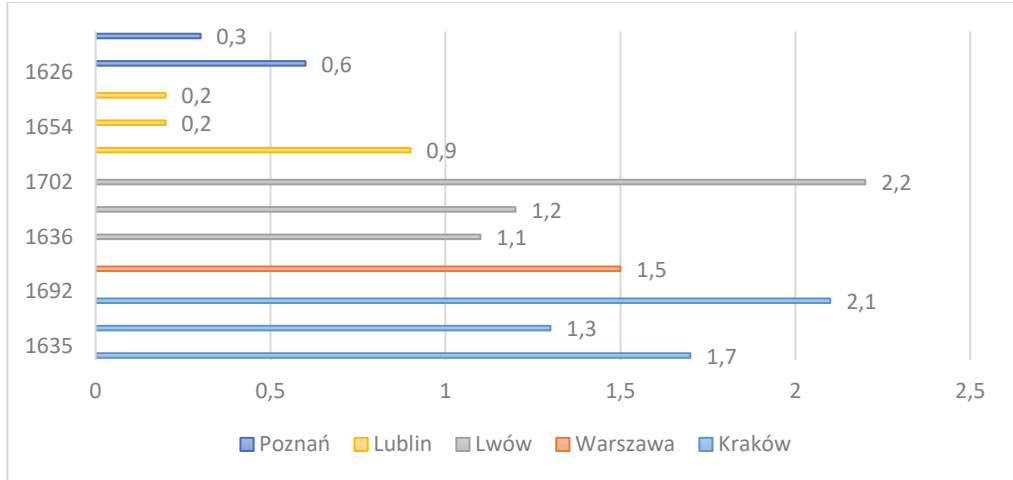
Chart 2. The average numer of tenants per house in years 1626-1702
Source: the same as table 1.

Assuming that high number of tenants in the city and in individual properties is a reflection of the urban centre's wealth and good economic situation, then all five towns analysed in this work had a lot of potential for growth. Naturally, the number of tenants fell in all towns in the mid-17th century, however this was caused by factors beyond the control of burghers, for example epidemics or the "Deluge" (as well as the Muscovite threat). This was nonetheless a purely transient event, with the reaction of tenants in its aftermath constituting a telling insight into the condition of a given urban centre. Krakow and Warsaw were inhabited by a higher number of tenants which meant that the average number of tenants renting properties was higher as well. Within the urban areas included in the research, the average equalled between 1.7 tenant per house in 1635 in Krakow, through 1.3 tenant in 1653 and 2.1 tenant in 1692. In the early 18th century in Warsaw, the number of tenants per house equalled 1.5. Lvov oscillated around alike values: 1.1 tenant (1636), 1.2 tenant (1665) and 2.2 tenant (1702). In Lublin and Poznań the situation was altogether different. In Lublin in the first half of the century, the average number of tenants per tenement house was more than one (1.4); however, in the subsequent years the value oscillated near the average. In Poznań, on the other hand,

the number of tenants remained below one (0.8). What is vital in light of the present research is that the results may serve as the basis for dividing towns into larger and more vital centres of artisan industry and commercial exchange and towns of marginal importance. Tenants not returning to town was a bad omen for a town – it pointed to some deeper changes the town was undergoing, for example the loss of economic significance. This is why bigger towns, where political factors played a major role, were able to quickly recover from a crisis.

CONCLUSIONS

Tax registers helped create a definition of a 17th century metropolis. The research shows that a large city is a town where there is a narrow financial elite (high Gini coefficient), most buildings are made of brick, and where there are tenants of property who leave the town during periods of temporary economic stagnation and return after its end.

In consonance with the studies carried out to date, in the 17th century Warsaw was the only town which possessed big-city characteristics. The impulse which boosted the economic situation and triggered transformation within the city was granting it the honour of housing plenary *sejms*, and - since 1572 – also electoral *sejms*. Eventually, the royal court was moved from Krakow to Warsaw. Thus, Warsaw grew to be the most important political centre in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, along with the royal court, a large number of noble families, artisans and artists working for the court followed suit. Political transformation fuelled the city's economic, spatial and cultural growth. In the course of the first half of the century, Krakow also possessed similar traits. Despite ceasing to be the King's residence, until the mid-17th century crisis, Krakow coped really well with the minor maelstroms of history that came its way.

The issue of metropolises undoubtedly needs to be researched further in order to develop a wider range of non-economic factors contributing to the definition. Nonetheless, it is certain that tax registers paved the way for such research, with their analysis leading to the conclusion that the influence of wars taking place in the mid-17th century on the condition of large cities of the Crown is largely overestimated.

EXILE ON PENAL SERVITUDE IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE 19th CENTURY: SOME ASPECTS OF APPLYING

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Abstract: The results of the research of the main features of the execution of criminal penalties in the form of exile on servitude in the Russian Empire in the 19th century are presented in the article. The study was based on the use of narrative, comparative and historically-genetic methods of scientific research. The information base of the research includes acts, analytical and statistical data that concern exile on servitude in the Russian Empire, published in Russian and foreign scientific literature before 1917 and in the modern period. Main positions of the "Exile Statute" from 1882 and the appropriate law enforcement practice were analysed. The cause and consequences of the abolition of exile on servitude as a kind of penalty for criminals in the central provinces of the Russian Empire were determined. The features of the servitude organization, the discharge system of arrived to prison convicts' classification were analysed. The legal framework and features of the regulation and organization of labour of convicts in the first half of the XIX century in the newly annexed western parts of the Russian Empire were studied. Largely, that exile on servitude in the Russian Empire in the studied period should be regarded as a significant socio-economic phenomenon that has had a great impact on the development of the country. Generally, it concerns the colonization of Siberia, the Far East and Sakhalin Island. Historical experience, gained during the development of the exile on servitude institution in pre-revolutionary Russia is essential and requires its consideration today. It was determined that a significant change of infrastructure, communications and information capabilities improve the relevance of the question of the return to the historical experience of the application of exile on servitude as one of the types of punishment, not related to incarceration.

Keywords: exile; penal servitude; Russian Empire; prison system

Rezumat: **Exilul la muncă forțată în Imperiul Rus în secolul al XIX-lea: particularitățile implementării.** *Articolul prezintă rezultatele cercetării principalelor trăsături ale executării pedepselor penale sub forma exilului la muncă forțată în Imperiul Rus în secolul al XIX-lea. Studiul s-a bazat pe utilizarea metodelor narative, comparative și istoric-genetice de cercetare științifică. Baza de date a cercetării include documente, date analitice și statistice care se referă la exilul în detenție grea în Imperiul Rus, publicate în*

literatura ştiinţifică rusă şi străină înainte de 1917 şi în perioada contemporană. Au fost analizate aspectele principale ale „Statutului Exilului" din 1882 şi practicile de aplicare a legii. Au fost determinate cauza şi consecinţele abolirii deportării la muncă forţată ca pedeapsă pentru infractorii din provinciile centrale ale Imperiului Rus. Au fost analizate caracteristicile de organizare a servituţii, clasificarea sistemului de achitare a condamnaţilor ajunşi la închisoare. Au fost studiate cadrul juridic şi caracteristicile reglementării şi organizării muncii forţate a condamnaţilor în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea în părţile occidentale nou-anexate ale Imperiului Rus. În linii mari, exilul la muncă forţată în Imperiul Rus în perioada studiată ar trebui privit ca un fenomen socio-economic semnificativ care a avut un mare impact asupra dezvoltării ţării. În general, el se referă la colonizarea Siberiei, a Orientului îndepărtat şi a insulei Sahalin. Experienţa istorică câştigată în timpul dezvoltării instituţiei exilului de servitute în Rusia prerevoluţionară este esenţială şi necesită o analiză în prezent. S-a constatat că o schimbare semnificativă a infrastructurii, comunicaţiilor şi capacităţilor de informare îmbunătăţeşte relevanţa problemei întoarcerii la experienţa istorică a aplicării exilului la muncă forţată ca una dintre tipurile de pedeapsă care nu au legătură cu încarcerarea.

Résumé : L'exil au travail forcé dans l'Empire Russe au XIXᵉ siècle : les particularités de son implémentation. L'article ci-joint présente les résultats de la recherche des principaux traits de l'exécution des sanctions pénales sous la forme de l'exil au travail forcé dans l'Empire Russe au XIXᵉ siècle. L'étude se basa sur l'utilisation des méthodes narratives, comparatives et historiques – génétiques de recherche scientifique. La base de données de la recherche comprend des documents, des données analytiques et statistiques qui font référence à l'exil à travaux forcés dans l'Empire Russe, publiés dans la littérature scientifique russes et étrangère avant 1917 et dans la période contemporaine. On y analysa les principaux aspects du « Statut de l'Exil » de 1882 et les pratiques d'application de la loi. On y détermina la cause et les conséquences de l'abolition de la déportation au travail forcé comme punition pour les délinquants des provinces centrales de l'Empire Russe. On y analysa, aussi, les caractéristiques de l'organisation de la servitude, la classification du système d'acquittement des condamnés arrivés en prison. On y étudia de plus le cadre juridique et les caractéristiques de la réglementation et de l'organisation du travail forcé des condamnés pendant la première moitié du XIXᵉ siècle les parties occidentales récemment annexées de l'Empire Russe. En général, on devrait apercevoir l'exil au travail forcé dans l'Empire Russe pendant la période étudiée comme un phénomène socio-économique significatif qui eut un grand impact sur le développement du pays. En général, il s'agit de la colonisation de la Sibérie, de l'Orient lointain et de l'Ile Sakhalin. L'expérience historique qu'on gagna pendant le développement de l'institution de l'exil de servitude dans la Russie prérévolutionnaire est essentielle et nécessite une analyse actuelle. On constata qu'un changement significatif de l'infrastructure, des communications et des capacités d'information améliora la relevance de la question du retour à l'expérience historique de l'application de l'exil au travail forcé comme un des types de punition qui n'eut pas de liaison avec l'incarcération.

INTRODUCTION

Exile on penal servitude during a long time was a widely spread punishment, that was used in the Russian Empire. The significance of this kind of punishment extends far beyond the borders of purely scientific sphere of legal interest. Siberian exile on servitude also had significant economic, military, social, political values. With its application was related great number of aspects of the remote and sparsely populated areas development, defence construction, the origin and development of industrial production in Siberia and the Far East of Russia.

As the information base of the study were used normative legal acts of the Russian Empire, which concerned penological, procedure and other questions of Exile application. In the preparation process of the article, the analytical and statistical information about the application of Exile in the Russian Empire, published in scientific literature and periodicals were used.

In order to achieve the research objectives, as well as the solution of put in its framework tasks, have been used narrative, comparative legal, historical and genetic methods of science research. With these research methods and the results of the detailed analysis and systematization of information base, the general practice of the exile on servitude in the Russian Empire in the 19th century has been studied. The research was also based on application of general scientific research methods.

Exile, including servitude, in Siberia and the Far East of Russia in the works of a number of scientists[1] is regarded only as a way of slave labour organization, which was determined by numerous political and economic reasons, among which the most important were technology backwardness, expansionism and colonial aspirations of the Russian Empire. In our opinion, exile on servitude in the 19th century was a significantly greater social phenomenon in comparison with an usual punishment. Meanwhile, the character of Russian criminal policy in the 19th century doesn't give us an opportunity to talk about its repressive direction. The same applies to the scale, nature and the results of convicts' labour application. It isalso worth to talk about the positive effect of exile on servitude on

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[1] Youngho N. *Why do Russian workers work?: an ethnographic study of manufacturing workers in Siberia*. [PhD thesis]. The Old Schools, Trinity Ln: University of Cambridge; 2007, p. 178; Witzenrath C. *Institutional culture and the Government of Siberia: empire, rebellion, and the Cossacks, 1598-1725*. [PhD thesis]. London: University of London; 2005, p. 195; Wood A. *Russia's Frozen Frontier: A History of Siberia and the Russian Far East (1581 – 1991)*. London: Bloomsbury publ.; 2008, p. 162.

the fight against professional crime and solution of other internal problems of the Russian Empire.

During the research, we used the works of pre-revolutionary experts in the field of punishment execution organization in the form of Exile on servitude[2]. Contemporary works on the topic of Siberian and Far Eastern Exile problems in the Russian Empire[3] were also used as a part of information base of the research. Noteworthy are the works devoted to the problems of punishment execution in the western provinces of the Russian Empire in the 19th century[4].

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[2] Таганцев Н.С. *Русское уголовное право*: *Лекции. Часть общая*. Т. 1 [Russian criminal law: Lectures. The general part.], С.-Пб.: Гос. Тип., 1902; Фойницкий И.Я. *Учение о наказании в связи с тюрьмоведением* [The doctrine of punishment in connection with prison studying], СПб.: Типография Министерства путей сообщения, 1889; Максимов С.В. *Сибирь и каторга* [Siberia and penal servitude]: В 3-х ч., СПб.: Тип. А. Траншеля, 1871, Ч. 1, *Несчастные* [Hapless people].

[3] Алексеев В.И. *Российская пенитенциарная политика в сфере применения ссылки и тюремного заключения в начале XIX столетия* [Russian penitentiary policy in the sphere of application of exile and imprisonment at the beginning of the 19th century], in "Юрист-правоведъ", 2014, № 4 (65), с. 92-95; Иванов А.А. *Уголовная ссылка в Сибирь в XVIII - XIX вв.: численность, размещение, использование в экономике региона* [*Criminal exile in Siberia in 18th –19thcenturies: the number, placement, use of the region's economy*], in "Гуманитарные исследования в Восточной Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке" [Humanities Research in Eastern Siberia and the Far East], 2014, № 1 (27), с. 42-53; Скиба А.П. *Пенитенциарные больницы (организационно-правовые и исторические аспекты): Монография* [Penitentiary Hospital (organizational, legal and historical aspects): Monography], Улан-Удэ: Изд-во Бурятского госуниверситета, 2007, с. 162; Упоров И.В. *Деятельность особой комиссии Министерства внутренних дел по реформированию тюремной системы Российской Империи в 60-е годы XIX века* [Activities of a special commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire on the reform of the prison system in the 60s of the 19th century], in "Новая наука: проблемы и перспективы" [The new science: problems and prospects], 2016, № 6-3 (85), с. 176-179.

[4] Андрущак О.І. *Праця як засіб виправлення і виховання засуджених (історико-правовий нарис)* [Labour, as the way of correcting the convicts (historical and juridical essay)], in "Юридична Україна" [Juridical Ukraine], 2011, № 6, с. 17-21; Григор'єв О.М. *Історіографія розвитку пенітенціарної системи і законодавства України (до 1917 г.)* [Historiography of the prison system and the legislation of Ukraine (before 1917)], in *Ученые записки ТНУ им. Вернадского. – Серия «Юридические науки»* [Scientific notes of TNU "Vernadsky". - Series «Juridical sciences»], 2009, №. 1, Т.22, с. 36-39; Стефанов С.О. *Праця як міра карального впливу при виконанні карних покарань в історії Української держави (період до*

ARGUMENTATION

Discussions about the exile, including servitude, in the Russian Empire as a widely spread phenomenon, which has a clear legal framework with relatively time-tested practice, is possible only starting from the 19th century.

Precisely in this period, exile on servitude becomes the primarily punishment, appointed by courts, according to the norms of criminal law. We should take in consideration, that in those times, pure criminal procedure law was absent, and practice of justice was based on the norms of criminal law. From the start of the wide propagation of Exile on servitude, as a kind of criminal sanction, it served only as a punishment for a convicted person. Exile on penal servitude wasn't focused on any economic, political or other problems' solving. Significant progress in convicts' labour regulation was achieved after the adoption in the 1822 *The Statute for exiled convicts*[5].

The Statute for exiled convicts was adopted along with *The Statute for escorting in the Siberian provinces*[14]. These Statutes were codified normative acts that were aimed on streamlining and regulating a wide range of problematic questions in the eastern part of the Russian Empire. *The Statute for exiled convicts* was acting as a whole until 1917, remaining the main document that regulated various penological procedure and other matters that concerning the execution of exile. Thus, the courts, inter alia, sent special notifications about sentenced to servitude in Tobolsk prison, which was involved in the distribution and the account of the exiled convicts.

In the 19th century servitude has been an actively used method of execution of punishments. The place of exile was determined depending on the degree of public danger of the convicted person. The most dangerous criminals were exiled to eastern Siberia and Sakhalin Island. Only minor party of sentenced to penal servitude was sent for the extraction of coal on Sakhalin Island until 1879. In 1879, on Sakhalin Island of 600 people for penal servitude and the subsequent settlement were sent. Since 1883 the Sakhalin penal servitude started exiling

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1900 г.) [Labour as a punitive measure impact at execution of criminal sanctions in the history of the Ukrainian state (before 1900)], in *Актуальні проблеми політики: зб. наук. праць* [Actual issues of the politics: alm. of scientific works], Одеса: Юридична література, 2000, Вип. 9, с. 431-437.

[5] *Российское законодательство X–XX вв.* В 9-х т. Т. 6. *Законодательство первой половины XIX века* [Russian legislation of X-XX centuries (The Russian legislation of the X-XX centuries. In 9 vol. Vol. 6. The legislation of the first half of the 19th century)], М.: Юрид. лит., 1988, с. 432.

women, and since 1895 – all sentenced women under the age of 40 years. In addition to economic reasons and the desire of remote areas rapid colonization, such close attention to Sakhalin Island can be explained by relatively prosperous situation in epidemiological terms among prisoners, compared with other regions of the Russian Empire.

On Sakhalin penal servitude agricultural works (growing crops, animal husbandry, and horticulture) were organized, as well as mineral exploration (ore, coal and oil). N. Tagantsev mentioned that due to comfortable climate conditions and as a result – the lack of epidemics, the aim of the Sakhalin penal servitude (taking into account the fact that the convicts were to settle here later) consisted in the preparation of the area to right colonization.

The Statute for exiled convicts made provisions for separation of sentenced convicts on six digits. However, if the classification criterion of the first category took into account the degree of public danger of the person, all the other digits were aimed on keeping the health status and qualifications of the exiled convict, his fitness for a particular type of work. Classification of sentenced to exile (the settlers) was the following: 1 digit – work in factories; 2 digit – road workers; 3 digit – craftsmen; 4 digit – sphere of services; 5 digit – agricultural work; 6 digit – sick and old persons who are not fit to work (the last digit composed a significant part of the total number of exiled prisoners because of inadequate medical provision of places, that served penal servitude, as well as the so-called landmark prisons).

Digit of road workers existed for not a long time and was abolished in 1828 as a virtually absent. Exiled prisoners of the first Digit were employed with difficulties and reluctantly due to the overflow of workers on factories and mines of Western Siberia. The only place where the exiled prisoners were taken to work was the Omsk cloth factory[6], but the maximum number of convicted persons who worked on it in 1837 did not exceed 200 people.

Digit of craftsmen also did not exist for a long time. Tomsk craft houses functioned until 1830 and similar institutions in other cities fell into decay until 1836. In 1852 functioned only Irkutsk craft house in which were employed 56 men and 42 women with a combined income of 86 kopecks per year (in best years - 3000 rubles). According to opinion of the General Governor of Western Siberia P. D. Gorchakov (1789-1868), failure in the organization of such operations was

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[6] Зиновьев В.П. *Промышленность, промыслы, ремесла и торговля в Сибири в XVIII в. – 1820-е гг.* [Industry, crafts and trade in Siberia in the XVIII century - 1820s], in *Вестник Томского государственного университета* [Bulletin of the Tomsk State University], 2016, № 409, с. 61-67.

due to the distrust of the local population to exiled convicts[7].

Terms of convict's incarceration was determined by the court sentence. After the end of the penal servitude serving, prisoners were attached to the enterprises on which they worked. End of the penal servitude meant the beginning of the lifelong exile. In the Siberian exile on penal servitude convicts had to prove independently housing for themselves. There was no provision and conditions for the separation of the exiled convicts, depending on the degree of their public danger or sex. As a rule, all prisoners on penal servitude were stigmatized. All prisoners were obliged on wearing of shackles and handcuffs out of the places of work. Special attention in the *The Statute for exiled convicts* was given to escorting, which was explained by a significant number of escapes of convicts during transportation to the place of penal servitude, as well as the selection from prisoners those who was fit for work and knew the craft by local officials for their needs. Pledged by M. M. Speranski's norms to *The Statute for exiled convicts,* in 1822, nipped this practice[4].

However, the practice of the exiled prisoners work organization has shown the failure of the taken measures. Thus, in 1827 six thousand prisoners were exiled to the Yenisei province. On their arrangement and work organization was spent 480 thousand of rubles. Additionally, for each of the exiled prisoners was picked out an area of 15 hectares of agricultural land. The supplementary of inventory, seeds, provision and other values was also established[8].

However, the exiled prisoners often escaped, some of them started engagement in criminal activities (horse stealing was widely spread). Moreover, prisoners faced with lack of job places, due to which they massively signed up to the digit of sick and old persons who were not fit to work. Because of this new job places and settlements didn't occur. Wives of the prisoners rarely went to exile with their husbands (about 1 from 30), which has led to an imbalance in the gender structure of the settlers. Separately there were the problem of morbidity and mortality of convicts (including mortality among their children). The situation in this sphere was much worse in comparison with residents without a criminal record. Among the most pressing questions was the extreme physical exhaustion of exiled prisoners during their escorting, as well as their moral decay as a result of a prolonged stay in the socially disadvantaged environment. Further all middle

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[7] Бараболя Е.В., *Российская политика на Дальнем Востоке в середине XIX в.* [Russian policy in the Far East in the middle of the XIX century], in "Россия и АТР" [Russia and the Asia-Pacific region], 2009, № 4, с. 17-27.

[8] Жигунова М.А., Ремнев А.В., Суворова Н.Г. *Сибирский ракурс региональной идентичности* [Siberian perspective of regional identity], in "Национальные приоритеты России" [Russia's national priorities], 2014, № 2(2), с. 48-62.

of the 19th century the discussions on the feasibility of exile to Siberia at the level of the Emperor, the government (the Ministers of Interior and Justice), as well as governors-general of eastern provinces was going on. An active defender of the position of conservation of Siberian exile remained N. Speransky[9].

In 1832 was adopted the Code of the Russian Empire laws. In this act have been clearly defined six types of work which sentenced prisoners had to carry out: servitude, building of fortresses, work in the port, work on the state-owned factories, work in a strait home, work in a labour house and mining. The term of sentence serving started after the arrival to the prison, as the escorting to Siberia and the Far East at that time could hold 1,5 - 2 years. The transportation in Russia was on foot until 1858, and the inclusion of the period to the total escorting duration to sentence after the verdict was provided only in 1876[10].

Penal and correctional punishments Code of the Russian Empire considered forced labour as the second by the level severity sanction after death. Since 1845 were envisaged three kinds of servitude: mining ore, building of fortresses, work on state factories. Terms of sentences for servitude had duration from 4-6 years to lifelong. This sentencing in the form of servitude was accompanied by the appointment of corporal punishment (whipping of 40 to 100 beats), and with respect to nobility - exposition on the scaffold to the pillory with breaking of court sword (Article 963 of the Statute of criminal proceedings from 1864)[11].

Special attention is worth to be given to the labour organization of convicts in the first half of the 19th century in the western newly annexed parts of the Russian Empire. The legislation, as it was codified, applied to all attached territories of Malorossia and Belorussia. In 1804-1808 was adopted the Code of the local laws of the provinces and regions. In 1811 Lithuanian Statute was translated into Russian. In 1830-1833 was developed the Project of the Code of

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[9] Зиновьев В.П. *Промышленность, промыслы, ремесла и торговля в Сибири в XVIII в. – 1820-е гг.* [Industry, crafts and trade in Siberia in the XVIII century - 1820s], in *Вестник Томского государственного университета* [Bulletin of the Tomsk State University], 2016, № 409, с. 61-67.

[10] Упоров И.В. *Деятельность особой комиссии Министерства внутренних дел по реформированию тюремной системы Российской Империи в 60-е годы XIX века* [Activities of a special commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire to reform the prison system in the 60s of the 19thcentury] in "Новая наука: проблемы и перспективы" [The new science: problems and prospects], 2016, № 6-3 (85), с. 176-179.

[11] Фойницкий И.Я. *Учение о наказании в связи с тюрьмоведением* [The doctrine of punishment in connection with prison studying], СПб.: Типография Министерства путей Сообщения, 1889.

local laws of western provinces of the Russian Empire (the Right-Bank Ukraine and Belorussia). In these legal acts, along with other forms of punishment, servitude was also consolidated[12].

Significant changes in the organization of labour of convicted prisoners occurred in the 1860-1870. Thus, prison labour and its results used by management of separate penal institutions at their discretion. State-owned factories, in particular distillery, opened without binding to public needs and public development plans. The prison system as a whole started to increase the employment opportunities for its officers due to excess of prisoners' labour and budget financing. Further was observed a gradual accumulation of losses and enrichment of the prison administration. Due to this the Ministry of Finance has started the process of privatization of state enterprises and the closure of the prison system's production objects.

Experiments in the sphere of convicts' labour organization on the objects of precious metals extraction also have not led to success. The organization of gold mining in the basin of the river Kara[13] in the 1850-1860 and massive exile of convicts to these places has led to an increase of overcrowding level in prisoners' settlements. This in turn led to epidemics and massive mortality among exiled convicts that obtained numbers of thousands of people every year. Further, it has been recognized, that labour of civilian persons on the extraction of precious metals had much higher level of efficiency in compare with prisoners.

From the use of prisoners in the construction of fortresses Defence Ministry also declined. It was explained by higher preference of civilian labour builders. Starting from 1864, it was decided not to contain prisoners in the fortresses, as it was not profitable in the military sense. Only Tobolsk fortress continued to accept convicted prisoners (from 1870 to 1876, later they were transferred to Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress), but it concerned exclusively convicted persons, who previously served in the army.

At the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century exile on penal

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[12] Скуратов Ю.И., Глазкова Л.В., Грудинин Н.С., Незнамова А.А. *Развитие организованной преступности в России: системный анализ* [The development of organized crime in Russia: a system analysis], in "Всероссийский криминологический журнал" [Russian journal of criminology], 2016, Т. 10, № 4, с. 638–648. DOI : 10.17150/2500-4255.2016.10(4).638-648

[13] Гатинский Ю.Г., Прохорова Т.В., Рундквист Д.В., Соловьев А.А. *Современная геодинамика горнопромышленных регионов запада азиатской части России и ближнего зарубежья* [Modern geodynamics of mining regions of West Asian part of Russia and the close foreign countries], in Альманах Пространство и Время [Almanac Space and Time], 2015, № 2, Т.8, с. 16-19.

servitude remained a priority criminal penalty among other that were used in the Russian Empire. Thus, in 1827-1846, through Tobolsk order passed 159 755 exiled prisoners. However, it is worth to take into account the fact that exile on penal servitude was not only the criminal penalty, but also an administrative sanction (here is also used modern terminology – author's note). Link as an administrative measure was used by landowners against those who didn't agree with the existing socio-economic system, but more often – for personal reprisal of peasants and other persons. Moreover, 60% of convicts were vagrants, who had been exiled by administrative procedure (48 600 people), which were established as a result of numerous escapes of peasants from feudal oppression. Number of exiled farmers for active disobedience to the landowners in the 1837-1846 doubled in comparison with 1827-1836 and reached 4755 people. Statistics of the political exile on penal servitude during 1825-1861 is important from factual point of view. Political exile touched upon 268 000 people, half of whom were exiled by administrative procedure for the escape and disobedience. The number prisoners, who were convicted for crimes against state amounted 600 people, and for the anger and disobedience to the authorities – 4000 people[14].

Change in the number of convicts, who were exiled for their political activity was the result of large-scale political actions. In the 1830 occurred the insurrection in Sevastopol (insurrection of military settlers) and intensified the political opposition in Poland. Following these events, the number of crimes in the 1833-1845 in comparison with the previous period doubled, and the number of political prisoners has reached the number of 2400 people. As a result, the number of political convicts, exiled on the penal servitude amounted 29% of the total number of prisoners, convicted for ordinary crimes. More than 10% of political convicts were nobles[15]. During the same period, the number of exiled convicts, who were incarcerated in administrative procedure amounted 4612 people (an increase of 400%)[16].

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[14] Пашенцев Д.А. *Конструирование преступности в отечественном праве периода сословно-представительной монархии* [The construction of criminality in Russian law of the estate-representative monarchy period], in "Всероссийский криминологический журнал" [Russian journal of criminology], 2016, T. 10, № 3, c.431-437. DOI : 10.17150/2500-4255.2016.10(3).431-437.

[15] Богданов С.В., Репецкая А.Л. *Организованная преступность в экономической сфере СССР в 1930-1950-е годы: особенности воспроизводства, масштабы, формы проявления* [Organized crime in the sphere of economics in the USSR in 1930-1950-s: specifics of reproduction, scale, forms] in "Криминологический журнал Байкальского государственного университета экономики и права" [Criminology Journal of Baikal National University of Economics and Law], 2011, № 4, c. 70-79.

[16] Рарог А.И. *Уголовная политика и уголовно-правовые амбиции* [Criminal policy and

Significant analytical material about the processes of the organization of penal servitude and labour in prisons in the middle of the 19th century contains in the materials of the commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which concerned the reform of the prison system of the Russian Empire. Analysis of this document is expressed in the work of I. Uporov. The reason for the formation of this commission was caused by a deplorable state of the prison system in the Russian Empire and the country's authorities desire to change this provision. The Commission concluded that the most appropriate species of penitentiary facilities were correctional prisons. It was assumed to exclude the exile from the number of penalties as an unreasonably mild punishment and replace it by imprisonment. This initiative was actually taken due to the high population and overcrowding of a great number of traditional places for exile. Consequently, the main aim of the reform – was to decrease the severity of the punishment. At the same time, Siberian governors have increasingly turned to the capital with a request to stop sending prisoners on exile because of their negative impact on the locals[17].

Solution of the problem of the mass escapes from prison was based on the adoption of the Provisional Regulations of 1869. Later, Provisional Regulations were included in the text of *The Statute for exiled convicts* in the redaction of 1886. According to these changes, only convicts from Siberia, Perm (the part of the province, which is beyond the Urals) and Orenburg provinces could be sent to Siberian exile on penal servitude. It also concerned exiled convicts, whose families followed them, and settled in the place of exile. All the other prisoners were to be kept in special prisons: Novoborisoglebsk (Arakcheyev military settlements, Kharkiv province) Novobelgorodsk (Pechenegi settlement, Kharkiv province.) Iletsk (Sol-Iletsk, Orenburg Province), Vilensk (Vilno city, Vilno Province), Perm, Simbirsk, Pskovsk, Tobolsk and Alexandersk (Alexandrov village, Irkutsk province). Vilensk, Perm, Pskov and Simbirsk prisons were later reorganized into

criminal law ambitions], in "Всероссийский криминологический журнал" [Russian journal of criminology], 2016, Т. 10, № 3, с. 470-479, DOI: 10.17150/2500-4255.2016.10(3).470-479.

[17] Бебякин М.В. *Правовые реформы и развитие пенитенциарной системы Российской Империи* [Legal reform and the development of the penitentiary system of the Russian Empire], in "Вестник научно-исследовательской лаборатории «Взаимодействие уголовно-исполнительной системы с институтами гражданского общества: историко-правовые и теоретико-методологические аспекты»" [Bulletin of the research laboratory «Interaction of penitentiary system with institutions of civil society: legal, historical and theoretically-methodological aspects»], 2013, № 2, с. 98-111.

correctional prisons[18]. Until 1875 neither order of detention nor labour activity of prisoners were not regulated in these prisons. Subsequently residence of convicts in these prisons have been likened to exile on penal servitude. As a result, was established a requirement to all convicts, who were released from prisons, to serve the lifelong exile in Siberia on settlement. Established after these innovations system of punishment execution organization in the form of exile on penal servitude existed, with some modifications until 1917. However, starting from the second half of the 19th century, a prison incarceration became the major penalty in Russian criminal justice practice.

RESULTS

The legal framework and features of the normative regulation and organization of labour of convicts in the first half of the 19thcentury in the newly annexed western parts of the Russian Empire were studied. Such kind of the research gives opportunity to consider advances and experience of Russian penitentiary system in the studied period. During the research wasgrounded, that exile on penal servitude in the Russian Empire is worth to be regarded as a significant socio-economic phenomenon that has had a great impact on the development of the country. Generally, it concerns the colonization of Siberia, the Far East and Sakhalin Island. Urbanization and creation of big working settlements in the Far East of Russia greatly depended on the national penitentiary policy. Historical experience, gained during the development of the exile on penal servitude institution in pre-revolutionary Russia is essential and requires its consideration today. It generally concern demographic and financial issues of contemporary Russian penal policy development. It was determined that a significant change of infrastructure, communications and information capabilities improve the relevance of the question of the return to the historical experience of the application of exile on servitude as one of the types of punishment, not related to incarceration. Reanimation of old kinds of criminal punishments gives opportunity to combine in the future all of their positive characteristics with contemporary possibilities, which can compensate all disadvantages that determined abolition of exile on penal servitude in the Russian Empire.

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[18] Иванов А.А. *Уголовная ссылка в Сибирь в XVIII - XIX вв.: численность, размещение, использование в экономике региона* [Criminal exile in Siberia in 18th –19th centuries: the number, placement, use of the region's economy], in "Гуманитарные исследования в Восточной Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке" [Humanities Research in Eastern Siberia and the Far East], 2014, № 1 (27), с. 42-53.

CONCLUSION

Institution of exile on penal servitude in the Russian Empire in the 19th century is worth to be regarded as a large-scale social phenomenon that has had a significant impact on the country's development in the studied historical period. Direction of thousands of convicts on Sakhalin Island on exile for penal serving helped to colonize this territory in relatively short period. Construction of Trans-Siberian Railway at the beginning of the 20th century also was organized with the involvement of convicts, sentenced for penal servitude. Satisfactory wages along with tolerable food supply of the prisoners, who were involved the building, have resulted in comparable with civilian personnel labour productivity in the Far East railway construction. These and many other achievements are the foundation for a number of achievements, which are used by the current generation.

Much remote of places for exile and inefficient usage of resources for the organization of convicts work in remote areas of Siberia and the Far East, significantly complicated the further application of penal servitude at the end of the 19th century. These circumstances have led to a gradual transition to the concentrated content of convicts in prisons of the central part of the country. Subsequently, such kind of concentrated content of the significant part of convicts, along with the other reasons, caused an extreme growth of professional crime, which has increased substantially[19] in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, becoming one of the main components of the forces that had a destructive effect on the state.

Modern Russia is one of the world leaders in the number of convicts, sentenced to imprisonment. At the same time Siberia and the Far East are still sparsely populated regions with a significant shortage of manpower. Modern Siberia and the Far East of Russia are the regions where industrial development is focused. Conditions of work and social amenities in these regions meet high standards of the developed countries. In modern Russian conditions, exile on public works (kind of modern penal servitude in the 21st century), as a kind of criminal sanction, can be observed as a step for humanization of state penitentiary policy. Exile on penal servitude may be used as an alternative

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[19]Бабаев М.М., Пудовочкин Ю.Е., *Репрессивное решение социальных проблем: причины и последствия* [Babaev M.M. Pudovochkin Y.E. Repressive solutions of social problems: causes and consequences] in "Всероссийский криминологический журнал" [Russian journal of criminology]. 2016. T. 10, № 3. с. 419–430. DOI: 10.17150/2500-4255.2016.10(3).419-430

measure to incarceration, which gives a chance to convicts to avoid imprisonment and getting into criminal environment. Free work on industrial enterprises in remote areas for a certain period is a good substitution of incarceration. The above-mentioned circumstances, in our opinion, actualize the experience of the Russian prison activity in the 19th century. It becomes urgent and requires consideration of authorities in the 21st century.

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE ANTI-SEMITISM IN HUNGARY DURING THE EARLY POST-WAR YEARS (1945 – 1948)

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Abstract: Despite the fact that in the postwar period Anti-Semitism presents some similar features in countries of the East Central Europe, there were specific social, economic, political, and cultural conditions for the manifestation of excesses in each of these states. The historical facts concerning pogroms in North-Eastern and South-Eastern regions of Hungary show clearly a profound delay and obvious prejudices in the mentality of rural residents, especially in the poorest areas. At the same time, there have been factors that have cooperated in maintaining and perpetuating the Anti-Semitism ever since Horthy's regime was in power. These factors have materialized in what was called "the Popular Anti-Semitism", originating from the monarchy, as well as from the post-war realities of the establishment of the Hungarian-Communist regime (especially against persons of Jewish origin *who held the leading positions within the party, administration, justice, and police).*

Keywords: Anti-Semitism, Hungary, Post World War II Period, conflict

Rezumat: Considerații privind antisemitismul în Ungaria în primii ani postbelici (1945-1948). În ciuda faptului că în perioada postbelică, antisemitismul prezintă unele trăsături asemănătoare în țările din Europa Est-Centrală, au existat condiții specifice din punct de vedere social, economic, politic și cultural pentru manifestarea exceselor în fiecare dintre acestea. Faptele istorice cu privire la pogromurile din regiunile de nord-est și sud-est ale Ungariei arată în mod clar o profundă întârziere și evidente prejudecăți în mentalul locuitorilor din lumea rurală, în special în zonele cele mai sărace. Concomitent, au existat factori care au cooperat la menținerea și perpetuarea antisemitismului, încă din vremea în care regimul lui Horthy se afla la putere. Acești factori s-au materializat în ceea ce s-a numit „antisemitismul popular", având origini în perioada monarhiei, precum și în realitățile postbelice ale instaurării regimului comunist maghiar (în special împotriva persoanelor cu origini evreiești care s-au aflat în poziții fruntașe în partid, administrație, justiție și poliție).

Résumé: Considérations concernant l'antisémitisme en Hongrie les premières années d'après la guerre (1945-1948). Malgré le fait que pendant la période d'après la guerre, l'antisémitisme présenta en Europe Est-Centrale certains traits semblables pour tous les pays, il y a eu, aussi, des conditions spécifiques du point de vue social-économique, social-

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politique, de la sûreté et culturel pour la manifestation des excès en chacun de ceux-ci. Les événements historiques concernant les pogromes des régions de nord-est et sud-est de l'Hongrie montrent clairement un profond retard et des préjugés évidents dans le mental des habitants du monde rural, spécialement dans les régions les plus pauvres de la perspective sociale et économique. En parallèle, il y a eu des facteurs qui coopérèrent à long terme au maintien de l'antisémitisme et qui se perpétuent dès l'époque du régime de Horthy, facteurs matérialisés dans « l'antisémitisme populaire », ayant ses origines dans la période de la monarchie, ainsi que dans les réalités d'après la guerre de l'instauration du régime communiste à spécifique hongrois (en spécial contre les personnes avec des origines juives qui se trouvèrent à la direction du parti, de l'administration, de la justice et de la police).

INTRODUCTION

Anti-Semitism is one of the popular themes of historical research, but the knowledge of its manifestations and its implications among the historians from foreign countries (i. e. from the country different from that taken as an object of research) is not consistent. The main purpose of the study is to analyse the manifestations of anti-Semitism in Hungary in the first years after World War II, mainly based on the Hungarian literature and partially, in comparison with the situation in Slovakia. However, it is not an exhaustive analysis because it would require much more space.

The roots of modern anti-Semitism (but not of anti-Judaism which was motivated by religion) lie in the 19th century and had far-reaching consequences. In Hungary, it became obvious in the form of anti-Jewish policies, in particular as a result of the considerable immigration of the Jewish population during the "long century", from Galicia and Eastern European regions. Especially due to immigration, the number of Hungarian Jews increased from approximately 12 000, in 1735, to over 624 000, in 1880.[1] The principal economic activities of the Jews included the distillery, the woodworking and sugar industry, the production of bricks, tiles, cheese, fruits, and vegetables. They often brought new technologies and modern machines with them, but the majority of the population shared the image of the Jew as the usurer, the small shop-keeper or wandering seller, and especially that of the Jewish pub-owner, as it is reflected in folklore and Hungarian and Slovak literature written in the 19th century.

During that time, the Jews were accused by the Slovak intellectuals for a significant share of Magyarization or Hungarization of the population. The Slovak and Hungarian communities have not had great differences in the view of Jewish

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[1] Petra Rybářová, *Antisemitizmus v Uhorsku v 80. rokoch 19. storočia* [Anti-Semitism in Hungary in the 80's of the 19th century], Bratislava, 2010, p. 27.

fellow citizens through the prism of stereotypes, except for the accusations of Magyarization. Both reformist and Orthodox Jews provided political support to the governmental policies of the Hungarian governments until the end of the monarchy, and the ruling circles were mostly opposed to anti-Semitic manifestations on the Hungarian political scene. The assimilation of Jews in Hungarian culture should at least statistically increase the number of Hungarians because the non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary reached more than 50% of the population. Especially Reforming Jews did not want to differ from other members of society. They wanted to be Hungarians and their religion remained a private matter, so they got rid of more traditional customs.[2] Yet, shortly after the Great War, government policy and public opinion have turned strongly against the Jewish community in post-Trianon Hungary. It was related to the short period of the Communist dictatorship during the Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919), which was suppressed by both foreign enemies and internal enemies – i. e. by right-wing and monarchist circles. Since several "red" leaders (leaded by Béla Kun) were of Jewish origin, anti-Semitic propaganda could use this fact. Many Jews became victims of the so-called "White terror" and anti-Jewish riots.

On 31st of December 1920 a population census took place and showed that 5,9% of the population in the new Hungarian state registered their religious belief as Jewish.[3] In that year, the Hungarian parliament adopted a law limiting the study of Jews at universities. This law became the first anti-Jewish law in Europe after the World War I (entered into force on 26th of September 1920). It restricted civil rights on grounds of nationality and caused considerable outrage in the world.

During the inter-war period, however, the Jewish community in Hungary was relatively prosperous despite occasional anti-Semitic attacks. The reversal came in the last year of the World War II, in which Hungary as an ally of the Great-German Empire faced defeat. The anti-Jewish moods have tragically culminated during the year 1944, just several months before the fall of Admiral Horthy's regime, and after the emergence of the Arrow Cross Party government.[4] Various restrictive measures emerged, i. e. placing Jews into the labour service battalions (*munkaszolgálat*), and finally their deportation to the concentration camps. As it is estimated, 600 000 – 640 000 Jews were deported, but Tamás Stark, on the basis of detailed analysis, specified the number of 437 000 deported Jews in the summer of 1944, and another approximately 50 000 who were forced to build the

[2] Ješajahu A. Jelinek, *Židia na Slovensku v 19. a 20. storočí* (zborník statí – 1. časť) [Jews in Slovakia in the 19th and 20th centuries], Bratislava, 1999, p. 31.

[3] Richard Pražák, *Dějiny Uher a Maďarska v datech* [Chronological history of the Hungarian Kingdom and Hungary], Praha, 2010, p. 283 .

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

fortifications in Austria in the autumn of 1944.[5]

During the biggest persecution in the World War II, approximately up to 50–60% of Hungarian Jews perished, mainly due to the cooperation of the Szálasi's fascist regime with the Nazi Germany.[6] The American historian Deborah S. Cornelius stated it was the Soviet occupation, which helped save the rest of Jews.[7]

The military defeat of Nazism and its allies in Middle-Eastern Europe did not mean the destruction of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism aimed against the Jewish ethnic and religious minority in Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and other countries. The post-war period of 1945 – 1948 is characteristic for its difficult social, economic, safety and political situation. The Soviet ambition further worsened this to advocate pro-communist and communist political powers and regimes.

The war claimed the lives of over one million inhabitants of Hungary, of which half were the victims of the Holocaust. In the winter of 1944 – 1945 approximately a million people left Hungary, following the order of evacuation commanded by the government of the Arrow Crosses, or leaving the country because of the fear of Soviet occupation. Approximately 100 000 never returned. The 300 000 Hungarians, who surrendered to the western powers were released in 1946. However, half of the 600 000 captives (including over 100 000 civilians) in Soviet custody were sent to work camps in the Soviet Union. These people, if they survived the hardships, returned during 1947 and later years.[8] Because of this there was not enough manpower in Hungary to rebuild the country ravaged by war.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY FROM HUNGARY IN POST-WAR TIME

Historian János Gyurgyák (paraphrasing the ideas of poet Milán Füst) concluded that the "Jewish question" was especially complicated in Hungary[9]. The

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[5] Deborah S. Cornelius, *Maďarsko v druhej svetovej vojne* [Hungary in World War II], Bratislava 2015, p. 336.

[6] T. Snyder also said that about half of the Jewish population of Hungary had been saved and that of the 437 000 deportees about 320 000 were killed. Timothy Snyder, *Čierna zem. Holokaust ako história a varovanie* [Black Earth : The Holocaust as History and Warning], Bratislava, 2015, p. 235. For comparison, approximately 22% of the Slovak Jews survived the war (i.e. about 30 000, out of which 11 000 survived on the territory of the Slovak state, 9000 returned from the concentration camps and about 10 000 survived on the territories occupied by Hungary). Michal Šmigeľ, *Otázky okolo (povojnovej) židovskej otázky na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1953* [Questions about (post-war) Jewish question in Slovakia in 1945 – 1953], 2017, manuscript, p. 4.

[7] Deborah S. Cornelius, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[8] László Kontler, *Dějiny Maďarska* [The history of Hungary], Praha, 2001, p. 357.

[9] János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* [The Jewish question in Hungary],

relationship between the Jewish minority and the majority of the population, as well as the complexity of the Jewish identity, were the objects of many observations. Imre Kertész, the Hungarian writer of Jewish origin, also tried to express his views on this matter in his novel *Sorstalanság* [Fateless].[10] Similarly, the Austrian-Hungarian journalist Paul Lendvai, whose Jewish relatives lived in Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, has formed his own opinion. He wrote on the fate of his relatives from Transylvania's territory annexed to Hungary after the 2nd Vienna Arbitration: "Their tragedy was caused by the «liberation» of the Hungarian army, so they once again have become Hungarian citizens. If the Hungarian state authorities had any suspicion on a concealed property, they tortured them mercilessly, gathered and loaded them to cattle wagons, and transported to Auschwitz – without any German intervention. However, all those who lived in southern Transylvania under Romanian jurisdiction survived this persecution. [...] They drove off my grandparents and my relatives, even though they reported to the Hungarians and spoke Hungarian – I never heard a word in the Yiddish language there – and slaughtered them just because they have become «Hungarians» again."[11]

According to the monograph of Imre Hermann, published in 1945, the characteristics of the Hungarian Anti-Semitism ideology include the following patterns, enriched with the accusations of the dissolution of the Hungarian Kingdom: *"The Jews in Hungary created social upheaval to cover the problems of the immigration of Jews and emigration of common people to America, usury and their misuse of finance capitalism. During the First World War, they dissolved the army and undermined the psychological resilience of the people at the home front. They*

Budapest, 2001, p. 13.

[10] *...I was trying to explain her that they do not just hate her – in the end, they did not know her – it is the concept of the Jew, which irritates them. She told me she does not exactly know what that means. Anne Marie told her that everybody else knows: it is religion. However, this was not interesting to her. What did interest her was the "meaning" of this fact. – Finally, a person has to know, why everybody hates him/her. She admitted that she did not understand anything and that it was very difficult for her to comprehend why she is hated so much only because she is Jewish. This was the first time when she felt disconnection from people and that she belongs somewhere else. She started to contemplate and think about this and tried to find answers in books and discussions. After some time, she finally understood that it is this contemplativeness they hate. According to her "we the Jews are different than the others". This difference is the cause why people hate the Jews. She told me that it is very strange to live with this "notion of difference". For her it is a reason to be proud and sometimes a reason to be ashamed.* Imre Kertész, *Bezosudovosť* [Fateless], Bratislava, 2000, p. 31-32.

[11] Paul Lendvai, *Moje tri životy. Rozhovory so Zsófiou Mihancsik*, Bratislava, 2016, s. 155.

lead a vicious campaign in Hungary; with the aim to prepare the common person for the dissolution of the thousand-year-old Hungarian empire... In the Middle Ages they poisoned wells, spread diseases and plagues. They also provoked the current war."[12] These "ideas" were spread in pamphlets and scuttlebutts by "engaged anti-Semites" a decade after 1945. According to Paul Lendvai, the pro-Hungarian attitudes of the Jews were disparaged, and the concepts of "the Hungarian original race", "the Hungarian soul", or "the Hungarian spirit of the law" were used "to help the anti-Semites distinguish Hungarians from the Hungarian Jews and to bring hostile attitudes among them."[13]

The Jews who returned to Hungary after the war met many problems; for example, they could not take back their properties because they were confiscated. Therefore, they relied on organizations, which supplied them with food and other necessary things required for their survival. According to J. Gyurgyák, the biggest paradox was that the Jews who survived the concentration camps were able to get work in the state, political and economic areas, where it was impossible before. The "new" post-war Hungary needed experts and intelligentsia for which the educated Jews were ready. However, by accepting these occupations they found themselves in a complicated situation. They had to follow Stalin's ideas and communist orders for which they were criticized or even hated by the significant part of the Hungarian population. Later, the Jews found themselves at odds with their own identity. Many Hungarians also believed that the Communist ideology was trying to create a socially fairer society. They believed that the land reform would provide farmers with independence and a good standard of living, that there will be new jobs for young people, and that enormous social disparities among people (typical for pre-war Hungary) will be eliminated.[14]

The Hungarian history after 1945 was problematic not only in the case of the Jewish people, but also in the case of relations between the majority and other minority groups (mainly Slovaks and Germans). The Hungarian nation had to cope with the past, including the "Jewish question", which was heavily politicised.[15] At the same time it was a positive fact that the results of the war meant the destruction of the anachronic, semi-feudal social and political order of the "Kingdom" of Hungary" (*Magyar Királyság* as it was the official name of inter-war state). For some people, its disintegration awakened a revolutionary euphoria,

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[12] Imre Hermann, *Psychológia antisemitizmu* [The psychology of anti-Semitism], Nové Zámky, 1998, p. 28.

[13] Paul Lendvai, *Maďari. Víťazstvá a prehry* [Hungarians. Victories and defeats], Bratislava, 2011, s. 306.

[14] *Ibid.*, s. 405.

[15] János Gyurgyák, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

especially in the Eastern Hungary. Many workers, small farmers and intellectuals have entered the Communist Party, partly out of conviction, partly out of opportunism. At the time of the elections in November 1945, it had about half a million members. Deborah S. Cornelius stated: "Two distinctly large groups have entered the party - Jews and former members of the 'Arrow Cross' Party. The Jews have entered the party expressing their gratitude for liberation and feeling that Communism could protect them from anti-Semitism. Former members of the 'Arrow crosses' have entered because they wanted to hide their previous activities, but perhaps also from the reason of attraction of radical new change."[16]

The situation of the Jewish population in Hungary has evolved in the context of very difficult conditions of the post war period. The Soviet-backed Communist Party has strenuously pursued its goal: gaining power and sovietising the state by various means (including the disqualification and abduction of political opponents and later of those allies who have ended their roles). It gradually eroded the main adversary, i. e. the small farmers' party, the winner of the first post-war election on 4th of November 1945 (the small farmers party won 57% of the votes, the Communists 17%, the Social Democrats 17%).[17] In January 1946 the Hungarian Germans were expelled, on the 1st of February Hungary became a republic, in March the Left Block (*Baloldali Blokk*) was founded on the initiative of the Communists with the aim to isolate the small farmers. The Left Block joined the Communists, Social Democrats, members of the Party of national farmers, and members of the trade unions. After a strong pressure, the small farmers had to exclude "reactionary" members, and gradually other parties, including Social Democrats, and to "clean up" with the help of the security structures. On 12 of March 1946, the Parliament adopted a legal act to protect the "democratic state establishment" and the republic. According to this document, it was possible not only to punish propaganda and public association acting against the republic, but also to penalize those who knew about it and did not notify the competent authorities. The first political processes took place in the form of "People's Court". The difficult social and economic situation of the country also reflected the inflationary process of the new currency - the forint, culminating in July 1946.[18] Tension in society was also increased by the problem of resettlement of the Hungarian population from abroad. The Communist Party of Hungary (from June

[16] Deborah S. Cornelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-423.

[17] Richard Pražák, *Dějiny Uher a Maďarska v datech* [Chronological history of the Hungarian Kingdom and Hungary], Praha, 2010, p. 327.

[18] One dollar had in May 1946 the value of 59 millions of forints, at the end of July even 4 600 000 quadrillions of forints. *Ibidem*, p. 329.

1948 renamed as Hungarian Workers Party / *Magyar Dolgozók Pártja*)[19] created a three-year industrial plan in order to rebuild Hungary (from 1st of August 1947) and declared the main goals of its politics, i. e. the victory of democracy, destruction of inflation, division of land, freedom of religion etc. In fact, it was a rigorous and brutal sovietisation of the Hungarian society, which soon brought to prison, labour camps and executions many of those who helped build the new regime (such as L. Rajk, T. Szőnyi, I. Ries, D. Németh, A. Szalai, E. Szűcs). The year 1948 became the "turning point" in politics, economy, culture and education ("nationalization of education").[20]

The Jews had more difficult ways to adapt into the post-war society, which was characterized by post-war psychosis, administrative chaos, and various problems related to the construction of a new Hungarian state. Efforts to remove the legislative and administrative barriers imposed on Jewish citizens (which blocked their full inclusion into society) have been complicated by "bottom-up" manifest-tations, motivated by the subjective motives of the civilian population, taking "justice" into their own hands. According to the official data from the 31st of December 1945, there were 195 000 Jewish people living in Hungary of which 144 000 lived in Budapest and 51 000 in the province.[21] It is clear that Jews lived mainly in bigger towns, whereas during the war persecution affected Jews who were living mainly in rural areas. According to the census from 1941 (except of the main city – Budapest), there were 37 towns in Hungary where more than 1000 Jews were living. By contrast, in 1946, there were bigger groups of Jews living only in towns like Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged, Nyíregyháza and Makó. Another important fact was the prevalence of the female population within the Jewish community, which lead to the creation of many combined marriages. The socially higher group of Jews – entrepreneurs, owners of land and finance entrepreneurs – were able to save their lives on account of their wealth; they blackmailed the corrupt representatives of the Hungarian state and Germans, and therefore they survived. However, after the liberation, they had to decide. Most of them immigrated to America, Canada, France or other countries. Those wealthy Jews who decided to stay hoped for the creation of a civic democracy in Hungary and therefore took over the leadership in factories, banks and mass production facilities.[22]

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[19] On the 12th of June 1948, the Communist Party of Hungary and the Social Democratic Party joined together to form the Hungarian Workers Party / *Magyar Dolgozók Pártja*. Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[20] László Kontler, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

[21] Péter Kende, *Röpirat a zsidókérdésrő* [Short Review on Jewish Question], Budapest, 1989, s. 37.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Yet, the situation of the middle class was more complicated. The physicians, veterinarians, lawyers, newspaper writers, teachers and engineers were able to continue working after the war. The rest, especially the businessmen, industrialists and owners of small businesses had to look for new jobs in late 1945 and early 1946. Many Jews lost their entire property during the war. Their homes were already occupied by people who did not want to move out or simply couldn't because they did not have a place to go to. Regarding the problems of accommodation, the Jews in Budapest were helped by Zoltán Vas, member of the Communist party; however they did not get their original homes back. The American organization "Joint" informed that 90-95% of Hungarian Jews needed assistance.[23] The newspaper "Népszava" and the author László Hámori reported in the article *Antiszemitizmus és monopolizmus* [Anti-Semitism and Monopolism] that Jews did not have an easy live in the towns, where they returned after the deportations. The state offices did not want to give them back their property and some people did not accept them as citizens of the state. Many were even "shocked" that almost 100 000 of the 600 000 deported Jews, returned home. Some of them stated that the new wave of anti-Semitism arose because the Jews wanted to put "all the guilt on the Hungarian nation."[24]

Accordingly, the Jews had to decide if they want to emigrate or remain in Hungary after 1945. Those who decided to stay began to take part in the political and social lifestyles. The older, more religious Jews, abstained from the political life. The Jews who were determined to take on an active role in politics had to plan how to cope with their identity or if they want to hide it for practical reasons.[25] Therefore a group of the Jewish communists who gave up their religion attracted

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[23] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 59-60.

[25] As some Slovak authors show, a similar situation was in Slovakia. Due to the previous experience and fear of an insecure future in the new republic, many members of the Jewish community tried to integrate into the majority. Part of the Jews were trying to assimilate – they stopped practicing their faith, lived in mixed marriages, changed their names into a Slovak equivalent and so on. This was the reason for the fact that members of the community had an ambivalent relationship with their own identity – going from complete revulsion to total identification with one's heritage. More regarding this problem can be found: Michal Šmigeľ, Jana Šišjaková, *Protižidovské prejavy na východnom Slovensku v prvých povojnových rokoch (1945 – 1947)* [Anti-Jewish manifestations in eastern Slovakia during the first post-war years (1945 – 1947)], in: *Annales historici Presovienses*, vol. 8/2008, Prešov, 2008, p. 198.

The other part of the minority was ready to emigrate from Slovakia and understood that its work in Slovakia was only temporary (in the end many Jews returned to Slovakia only to find out if some relatives survived and later they emigrated from the country).

more and more members and sympathizers.

Because of the ideals of religious equalization, a significant part of the Jews sympathized with the Communist party, from which they expected safety. Other Jews felt that the memories of the Holocaust strengthened their Jewish identity and proudly proclaimed it and also joined the Zionist movement. The Zionists gathered those Jews who agreed with emigration to Palestine or Israel (after its creation on the 14th of May 1948). It is important to mention the creation of the Zionist political party in Hungary in 1945 – The Socialist Zionist Party / Ichud Mapáj (*Szocialista Cionisták / Ichud Mapáj / Pártja*) – which was relatively popular. It was active until 1948.[26] In July 1946 the State organization of Hungarian Jews was created (*Magyar Zsidók Országos Egyesülete*), which was supposed to protect the social and political position of the Jewish community.[27]

On the 6th of January 1945, according to the law article 200/1945 of the Interim national government, the Jewish laws of the Horthy's regime were dissolved. New laws were created later on and there were some bills that requested compensation, stopping the attacks based on race and religion. The right for full compensation was not given to the Jews. However, a fund was created and it was supposed to aid the Jewish institutions. As the Hungarian state couldn't cope with the difficult economic situation,[28] the American organization "Joint" was aiding in compensation procedures. The mentioned laws from 1946 were gathered in a volume with a foreword from Dr. István Ries, the Minister of Justice, and printed with an appropriate aid from the American Joint Distribution Committee.

The Interim national government set out to punish the war criminals and perpetrators of the genocide of the Hungarian Jews; therefore, it created the so-called People's Court (*Népbíróság*). The first decisions of this institution (death penalties) were carried out on the 4th of February 1945.[29] In October 1945 the leader of the "Arrow Crosses" Party, Ferenc Szálasi, and ten of his aides were brought to Hungary. The court proceedings started in February 1946 and in March he and seven others were executed.[30] Further people from the Ministry of the

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[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 91.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 66. István Földesi, the vice-president of the Israeli religious organization, played a big part in its creation.

[28] For example, during late 1945 the industry was only producing 20-30% pre-war capacity and the supply of the civilian population was still insufficient.

[29] The first ones were Peter Rotyis and Sándor Szívós.

[30] The People's court condemned 58 388 war criminals during its existence until 1950. From the 322 death penalties, 146 were carried out. *Ibid*, p. 53-54. Comparison with the situation in Slovakia in: Marek Syrný, *Post-war retributive jurisdiction in Slovakia*,

Interior and police organisation were executed, because they were involved in the deportations of Jews. The death penalty was also given to previous heads of government Bárdossy, Imrédy and Sztójay.

The government was looking for people who were responsible for the negative situation of Hungary during the Second World War. Germans were collectively found guilty,[31] and most of them (around 135 000) were deported. Further 60-70 000 Germans were sent to the Soviet Union in the forced-labour camps.[32] The 200 000 Hungarians also emigrated from Hungary in fear of the "people's democracy". Most of the Hungarians were confronted with negative aspects of the war and post-war situation, especially the brutality of the Soviet occupation, police and the State security (*ÁVO*) persecutions[33], courts and emigration of many people, as a "Jewish revenge" of the influential Jewish members of the Communist party: Mátyás Rákosi (born Rosenfeld), Gábor Péter (born Benjamin Eisenberger), Ernő Gerő (born Singer), Mihály Farkas (born Löwy), József Révai (born Lederer), Ernő Szücs (born Süs) or Zoltán Vas (born Weinberger).[34] In the collective memory of Hungarians this Jewish Communist fraction has been very often connected with ethnic origin of the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet republic (1919). Hungarians of Jewish descent held many influential positions in the state, police, state security, People's Court which fed the notions of a "Jewish revenge". Fame started to spread that the Jews want to take revenge for everything so that the Hungarians will never recuperate.

ANTI-SEMITIC CONFLICTS IN HUNGARY DURING 1945-1948

Very soon the first conflict with an anti-Semitic motive arose in Pécs. People started to protest against the harsh rulings of the local People's Court and the pamphlets demanded the execution of the judges. The demonstrations subsequently changed to public destruction of the Jewish religious objects. According to P. Kende, this could also be the remnants of the preferred anti-

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in: *European researcher: International Multidisciplinary Journal*, vol. 53, is. 6-2 (2013), p. 1722-1727.

[31] The Germans were living in Hungary since the middle ages, primarily in cities. The biggest enclaves of rural population were created in the 18th century, after the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary.

[32] Paul Lendvai, *Tisíc let maďarského národa* [Thousand years of the Hungarian nation], Praha, 2002, p. 285.

[33] In September of 1948 the name changed into the Office of State Security /AVH.

[34] JánosGyurgyák, *op. cit.*, p. 583-584.

Semitic rhetoric of the previous years.[35]

In the publication *A kommunistapárt és a zsidóság Magyarországon (1945-1956)*[36] Róbert Szabó stated an example of a "Jewish revenge" which took place in Gyömrő. In 1945 the deported Jews returned to their town, but discovered they lost their properties and families. A possible solution to overcome the impasse was to join the Communist Party and police. In the beginning of 1945 a big police raid took place in Gyömrő. Approximately 200 people, who held political power during the rule of the "Arrow Crosses", were arrested. The police were questioning and torturing them (with an "active help" from the returnees Jakab Krupa, Károly Bayer and three Schwarzstein brothers). At the end of this process some were freed, but 23 remained in custody. In the summer of the same year, 16 people were found dead in the lake in Gyömrő. Later the grave of the rest of them was found. During the inquiry, the cause of their deaths was found out: terrible torture after which the victims were shot or buried alive. The author outlined the lack of character of the involved policemen (of Jewish origin) who took over food packages destined for the people, who were already killed. The affair and the inquiry were hampered by the Communist Party and its chairman, Mátyás Rákosi. Minister of Interior, F. Erdei, rejected the exhumation of the bodies until September. The delayed identification had shown that the dead bodies belonged to 23 members of the "Arrow Crosses". Among them were persons and office workers who had the job of creating and presenting registers for the deported Jews.[37] This "Jewish revenge" created a nationwide outcry. The Communist Party was trying to downplay and cover up the whole situation. In December 1945, the perpetrators were jailed, but in early 1946 they were released. The whole situation was never fully investigated.[38]

In the spring and summer of 1946 many massacres and anti-Semitic demonstrations took place in Sopron, Csanádpalota, Tiszaladány, Hajdúhadháza, Mezőkovácsháza, Debrecen, Makó, Ózd – but the bloodiest pogroms took place in Kunmadaras and Miskolc.

British historian Keith Lowe recorded in his book *Savage Continent* a joke that circled in Hungary after the World War II: *The Jew returns from a concentration camp to Budapest meets his Christian friend. "How are you?", a friend*

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[35] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[36] Róbert Szabó, *A kummunista párt és a zsidóság Magyarországon (1945-1956)* [The Communist Party and Jews in Hungary (1945-1956)],Budapest, 1995, p. 110-112*.*

[37] However, we can find exceptions in the case of 2 people (specifically: Count József Révai, a teacher of classic philology, and Count János Koronini, the owner of the local mansion).

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 110-112.

asks the Jew. "Do not ask," says the Jew. "I came back from a concentration camp and the only thing which was left to me is the clothes you wear."[39] The joke could be well understood by everyone. However, it was not a Hungarian specification; the looting of Jewish property took place throughout Europe. People who have taken Jewish property and made a profit from it refused to return it to the original owners. K. Lowe stated: "people have seen the Jews with a different degree of hostility and grumbled on the bad luck because of all the Jews who 'disappeared' during the war, just those have had to return."[40] An example of an outbreak of anti-Semitic disruptions on the basis of prior confiscation of Jewish property is the case of the town of Kunmadaras, with about 8 000 inhabitants. Of the approximately 250 Jews deported from Kunmadaras in 1944, only 73 returned after the liberation. The property of the local Jews was confiscated, robbed, sold, or scattered around the town. However, while in the big cities it was difficult to return the demolished movables, it was more possible in the small town, and some of the returnees gained a certain part of their property back through the courts. The tense anti-Semitic attitudes have fully erupted in May 1946.

On the 21st of May 1946 in Kunmadaras, a young ex-soldier with his friends started a mass fight with an anti-Semitic aim. They also spread news that the Jewish community, which was preparing to consecrate an ecclesia (sic!), killed two children. Two people were killed in the following anti-Semitic attacks and 15 people were seriously injured, Jewish shops and houses were looted and destroyed.[41] The first articles dealing with this were published on the 24th of May in the newspaper "Szabad Nép". The attacks were also influenced by the very serious social situation. Eszter Kabai Tóth, who was illiterate, described the reasons of the hate aimed against the Jews, in jail to the redactor of the newspaper "Haladás": *"When the Jews returned they had nothing and now they eat white bread whereas she, who is struggling, doesn't have anything"*. During the hearings on the 30th of May, she stated: "*Several weeks before the attacks happened, rumours were spreading that the Jews were killing children of the Hungarian people because they want to plaster the roads with their skulls and that the Jews have a good life and we, the poor nation, are starving.*"[42] It was the woman who first attacked the egg seller Ferenc Kuti with the charge of making sausages from Christian children. The

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[39] Keith Lowe, *Krutý kontinent. Krv, chaos a bezprávie v Európe 1944 – 1949* [Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II], Bratislava, 2014, p. 224.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[42] János Pelle, *Azutolsóvérvádak. Azetnikaigyűlöletés a politikaimanipulációkelet-európaitörténetéből* [The last blood and honour feuds. History of ethnic hate and political manipulation in Eastern Europe], Budapest, 1996, p. 161.

crowd chased him to his home where Kálmán Balázs finally killed him by beating him with an iron rod.[43] J. Pelle also showed a Slovak connection in the case, because a certain 26-year old Zsigmond Tóth, who was born in Bratislava, was convicted of anti-Semitism in Kunmadaras. When he was captured near the Hungarian-Slovak border, near the village of Rajka, he stated that: "...*Children have also disappeared in Slovakia, but the Jews there are already hanged*"; he was also provoking people when he said that: "...*How long are you going to watch, as the Jews are making sausages of your children?*" The newspaper "Demokrácia" reported on the 23rd of June 1946 that Tóth was a member of the "Hlinka Guards" and took part in massacres in Slovakia. However, he declared that he was fighting against the Germans as a partisan.[44] After the whole incident, 120 people were arrested and 80 were detained for shorter time.[45] K. Lowe drew attention to the fact that in several European countries different ethnic groups had problems with returning their property, but the Jews were the most vulnerable. Their property was a light target during the war and was often considered to be something that belongs to everyone.[46]

Following these events, there was a huge increase in anti-Semitic outcries in the spring and summer of 1946 in Hungary. The newspaper "Szabad Nép" reported on the 30th of May and 2nd, 9th, 14th and 16th of June 1946 about anti-Semitic attacks in the following areas: A 45-year old woman living in Hajdúhadház, wife of Gyula Kovács, was supposedly seduced by "fascist people" to spread false information about the Jews. On the very same day, two women came to the police station in Hajdúhadház saying that their daughters have been kidnapped by Jews. Two policemen were sent out to investigate but later found out that the children were only playing on the main square after school. Similar messages started to spread in Sopron, stating that Jews "were capturing children and making sausages from them." Police investigation showed that this false information was spread by the wife of László Kléh. After the situation has been explained and solved, the people became calm and demanded that the perpetrators be punished. In Csanádpalota there were rumours that "illegal" persons, who came from Budapest, spread false information that Jewish doctors were vaccinating children with poison.[47] In Debrecen, it was said that in the cellar

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[43] Keith Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[44] Zs. Tóth emigrated abroad after he was released in October 1956. He died in Slovakia in the early 1970s.

[45] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158, 163, 165.

[46] Keith Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[47] Similar false notes stated that a Jewish doctor was giving children poisoned inoculation started the pogrom in the town of Topoľčany in Slovakia on the 24th of September

of Jenő Freiländer were some "children heads". András Orosz from Tiszaladányi created rumours about a child's nail, which was supposedly found in a sausage by one of his friends from Budapest. József Mucsi, together with his wife from Mezökovácsháza[48], was spreading news according to which Jews were calling children into secret cellars where they killed them. A local teacher, wife of Béla Sommer Iglói, told children to avoid the Jews, because they would cut of their heads.[49] According to P. Kende, certain Oszkár Bethlen informed that new anti-Jewish mottos were spreading like: "*Away with the Jews! Long live Auschwitz*!"[50] A certain trafficker József Rusznyák was arrested in Csanádpalota, because he said that Jew citizens kill Christian children. He swore he saw the heads of children in the cellar which belonged to a Jew. The same András Orosz spread a rumour according to which a certain Jew merchant sent a Christian girl to his friend with an envelope. In a letter, there was a message: "I send you one small delicate creature." That girl, the "delicate creature", was to be killed by this man, but the letter fell into the hands of the girl's mother, and the act of murder was avoided.[51]

J. Pelle mentioned the fact that anti-Semitic outcries were reported from Mezőberényi, Hajdúhadház, Kiszombor, Karcag and Szentes. Most of the participants were farmers with little political interest, who wanted to protect their properties that previously belonged to the Jews. They were not interested in killing Jews, but only wanted to frighten them and oust them from the villages. The investigation agencies were trying to show this as a conspiracy to eliminate political enemies. The Communist Party charged the Farmers Party for starting the social unrest.[52]

The events in Miskolc were caused by the bad financial situation and the inflation of the pengő. The rich people and illegal merchants (*"feketézők"*) were accused of being responsible for these things. New mottos started to appear like: "*Death to the illegals! Hang the speculators!*" Jews were usually suspected to be the speculators according to prejudice prevailing at that time. The Hungarian people

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1945. More can be found in: Jana Šišjaková, *"Prípad Topoľčany". Protižidovský pogrom (nielen) z pohľadu dobových dokumentov* ["The case of Topoľčany". Anti-Jewish pogrom (nor only) according to contemporary documents.], in: *Acta historica Neosoliensia*, nr. 10/2007, Banská Bystrica, 2007, p. 232-240. News regarding the killings of Christian children by the Jews appeared only sporadic in Slovakia compared to the extent in Hungary and Poland.

[48] The author J. Pelle identified his name as József Muti (not Mucsi).

[49] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 74-75.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[52] Róbert Szabó, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

were starving and the Jews were supported by the organization "Joint", which gave them food, clothing and sometimes chocolate and cocoa.[53] In Miskolc people were truly suffering from hunger, but the Jews were doing well. According to contemporary news, the Jews were careless because they were sitting in coffee shops in good clothes, exercising illegal trade. The people became outraged and stopped pitying them and from then on the Jews were seen as the enemies.[54]

On the 21st of July 1946, there was a meeting of workers from northern Hungary in Miskolc, where Mátyás Rákoci had a speech. He defended the value of the new forint, which was supposed to become used in ten days. Speculations with the forint were to be severely punished. Between the 30th of July and 1st of August 1946, the workers organized several manifestations aimed against illegal merchants (often identified as Jews) that resulted in anti-Semitic pogroms and the death of two people. According to the "Szabad Nép" from the 28th of July, two people were captured: Sándor Rejtő, owner of the *Flórián* mill, was interned for illegal trade with flour, and Ernő Jungreis was interned as the operating manager. People were convinced that they illegally sold flour was made from imported grain. On the 30th of July, the workers from Diósgyőr who did not receive payment for some time, protested against illegal merchants and illegal grain trade. They expressed support for the new forint as well. The workers marched towards Miskolc and accidentally met Jungreis and Rejtő who were just being transported to the internment camp. The demonstrators subsequently escorted S. Rejtő and E. Jungreis to the town hall in Miskolc. Under the influence of a few radicals, the demonstrators started a civil disorder. S. Rejtő was beaten, but saved by policemen and Soviet soldiers who escorted him to the hospital. He was lucky because the demonstrators thought he was already dead. However, E. Jungreis was beaten to death. The police arrested several attackers. Artúr Fogarasi, who was the investigator and was of Jewish descent, was charged for beating two suspects of the attack. Following this, new protests started the next day. The angry mob then took over the police station and destroyed it. The results were mass arrests. Fogarasi was also attacked and the next day he died because of his wounds.[55] As it was clear that Rejtő survived, the workers of the Iron Works in Miskolc created a team which was charged with the elimination of Rejtő. The team was threatening to kill the head physician if he does not "take care" of this Jew (meaning that he should kill him in hospital). The People's Court judge, Pál Ágost, was later successful in saving Rejtő by transferring him to the hospital in Budapest. According to J. Pelle, the anti-Semitic unrest continued in Miskolc up

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[53] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

[54] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, p. 198-199.

[55] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 201.

until the 1st of August 1946.[56] On the 4th of August, József Révai, a prominent member of the Communist Party, wrote an article entitled *Párizsés Miskolc* [Paris and Miskolc] in which he described these attacks as anti-Jewish pogroms.[57]

The Hungarian Communist Party started a campaign for the defence of the forint in July 1946 in the city of Mátészalka. The local police built some gallows for illegal merchants in the trade district. The merchants themselves were controlled more often, as it was stated in the local newspapers. There were some arrests which included the Jews: Gyula Erlich, a potato merchant, and Ábrahám Kaufmann, a shoemaker.[58]

The flashpoint of the anti-Semitic manifestations in Makó was the burning of the Jewish synagogue in Deák Street on the 31st of May 1946. The synagogue was reopened with two additional chapels only in 1945. In Hungary, this incident was compared to the one in Kunmadaras. The Hungarian newspaper "Világosság" wrote that the responsibility lay with a "hidden centre" that organized the pogrom. Spilled petroleum caused the fire. The alleged perpetrators were students of a school and the police arrested some of them. According to the newspaper "Szegedi Népszava", the leaders of the local Jewish community Zoltán Markovics, Pinkász Stuhl and József Weinberger did not accuse anybody specifically regarding the fire. However, they did not deny the fact that the local students and teachers were anti-Semitic. The newspaper "Haladás" brought up the information that the Jews themselves might have burned the synagogue and did not call the fire-fighters so that they have enough time to kill Christian children. Despite the fact that the situation in Makó was tense, the police was not able to find the culprits and only two Jewish representatives were charged; for that reason, the Jews wanted to leave the city. Conforming to the charges, the representatives did not allow the cleaning maid to put out the candles after the prayer. The results of all this was that the fire in the synagogue was deliberately started. One possibility was that it was aimed at "wounding" political enemies of the Hungarian Communist Party. According to J. Pelle this opinion was supported by the place where the fire started, the "accidental" presence of students, but this was only speculation.[59] P. Kende presented a different case. On the 14th of August 1946, a few anti-Semitic pamphlets were spreading in the Heves County. The police investigation showed that the author was Sándor Inotai, a notary from Budapest. People responsible for spreading the pamphlets were: Lajos Gál, Miklós Gál (teacher), Dr. Elemér

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[56] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[57] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[58] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[59] *Ibid.*, s. s. 121.

Szabó (physician), János Endrész (county notary). They stated that they only wanted to harm the Communist Party during the investigation.[60]

From the previous information it is clear that the best place for the rebirth of anti-Semitism was the smaller towns, especially in north-eastern Hungary. These notions were spreading mainly from Budapest, where most Jews returned from the concentration camps. In Budapest however, the Jews were not so severely persecuted and charged for alleged crimes.[61] The years 1945 – 1948 represented fear and insecurity. The Jews did not react unanimously to these situations. A part of the Hungarian Jews (approximately 40,000) was not able to adapt to the post-war situation at home because they hardly coped with memories of dead relatives and with the knowledge that their denunciators or deportation guards live unpunished. But they also struggled with the hostility of the society. They rather emigrated to Palestine or other western-European or overseas countries. After 1945 Hungary allowed free emigration and creation of Zionist organizations. The other part of the Jews remained in Hungary, where they wanted to continue their previous lives. They accepted their double Hungarian – Jewish identity, but most of them wanted to be assimilated. They used various strategies, like the membership in the Communist party, workers movements and the separation from their Jewish heritage. Hungarian Zionism found itself in a curious situation. From the 37 000 Zionists, around 12 000 were members of the Communist Party and several more thousands were members of other political parties.[62]

The year 1947 was a peaceful one for the Jewish religious organizations, as Hungary accepted the law for their equalization. The president of the republic, Zoltán Tildy, named representatives for the Jewish state fund for renewal (*Országos Zsidó Hely reállítási Alap*). The *World Jewish congress* (*Zsidó Világkongresszus*) welcomed the new Hungarian representation. P. Kende stated

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[60] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[61] In comparison in Bratislava was a great anti-Jewish manifestation during the 1st Slovak partisan rally, which was taking place at the same time as the 2nd annual celebrations of the Slovak national uprising in august 1946. Look in: Ivica Bumová, *Protižidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v historickom kontexte (august 1946)* [Anti-Jewish manifestations in Bratislava (august 1946)], in: *Pamäť národa*, vol. III, 2007, nr. 3, p. 11-27; Michal Šmigeľ, *Protižidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v rokoch 1946 a 1948 (v kontexte povojnových prejavov antisemitizmu na Slovensku)* [Anti-Jewish manifestations in Bratislava during 1946 and 1948 (In the context of post-war anti-Semitism in Slovakia)], in: *Fenomén Bratislava*, (ed. by M. Medvecký), Bratislava, 2011, p. 251-273.

[62] János Gyurgyák, *op. cit.*, pp. 582, 585-586.

that between 1946 up until the half of 1948, 4,000 Hungarian Jews emigrated to Palestine and the same number to other countries. After some time, the economic situation in Hungary improved and so did the social one. The newspapers did not mention the "Jewish question" anymore. The open anti-Semitic attacks transformed into "hidden anti-Semitism". The last small anti-Jewish attacks happened in the countryside during 1946 – 1947 and were aimed against higher representatives. The newspapers did not mention their possible Jewish ancestry. These attacks were not described as anti-Semitic ones, but rather as fascist ones.[63]

The Hungarian Communist Party consolidated its power from 1948 onwards. The party dealt with the Hungarian political opposition and started political processes even against its own members. The first condemned members had to be Jews of course, namely András Szalay and Tibor Szőnyi. According to P. Kende mainly because the Hungarian population would not feel that "Jewish functionaries are killing non-Jewish citizens."[64]

In 1948 there was an anti-Semitic event in Szegvár. Viktor Klein, the owner of a clothes shop, allegedly killed Manci Kovalcsik, a young 24-year old woman. She was last seen leaving her grandparents' house for a hairdresser. Many people claimed to have seen her entering Klein's shop. Rumours started to spread the following day about a ritualistic Jewish murder. Later, the girl's bicycle was found near the church, in the neighbouring town of Mindszent. Her body was found five days later in the river Tisza. The pathologist discovered that she was already dead when she was thrown into the river. The investigation was supposed to prove the charges of ritualistic murder.[65] It was led by Antal Fazekas, who believed the charges against the Jews and was persecuting the family of Viktor Klein.

Hungary cancelled the right for free emigration to Palestine in March 1948. For some time, it was possible to move there illegally through Bratislava and Vienna.[66] Later, in November 1949, according to the Hungarian – Israeli agreement, it was again possible to legally move to Israel by following a strict quota.[67] In 1948, the state nationalized the private economic sector. The process of nationalization included all companies employing more than 100 people. One year later, even smaller businesses employing more than ten people were

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[63] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The author shows the fact, that the Jews in Hungary were printing their own newspaper *Új Élet (New life)*.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[65] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, p. 253-255.

[66] Regarding illegal emigration of Hungarian Jews through Slovakia into Austria during 1948 – 1949 look in: Anton Baláž, *Transporty nádeje* [Transports of hope]*, Bratislava, 2010, p. 118-136.

[67] Péter Kende, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

nationalized. Because of this process, the small entrepreneurs, industrialists and merchants lost their properties.[68] In 1948 Hungary signed an agreement with the Jewish religious community stipulating that they will not be persecuted and may follow their religious needs. Since 1949, this agreement was included in the Hungarian Constitution.[69]

Nevertheless, the life of the Hungarian Jews was still complicated by prejudice and stereotypes. A better interpersonal relation existed in villages with non-Hungarian populations like in Tótkomlós (Slovak: Komlóš). This fact was expressed in the work of István G. Benedek, the descendant of the Jews who were living in Tótkomlós. According to him this was caused by the minority status of the Slovaks in the region.[70]

In his study *A szembenézés kudarca* [Failed confrontation], Áron Monori pointed out the opinions of István Bibó[71] that anti-Semitism in Hungary after 1945 had a different character than the so-called institutional anti-Semitism of the Horthy's regime. From 1945 onwards, the hate against the Jews was plebeian; it came from "the people". The causes were various, but the main ones were economic and social (for example people who were living in former Jewish homes, were afraid to lose them), so new anti-Semitic call words were created: "More of them returned, than went away."[72] The year 1945 symbolised freedom for the Jews, but meant military occupation and Soviet domination. The Jews were seeing the soviets as liberators and saviours from certain death and fascism; therefore, they adopted the new situation more readily regarding the Soviets. The most reliable people in terms of finding and sentencing fascists and collaborators were the Jews, because they had the biggest interest in finding those people.

According to Hungarian authors, the "Jewish question" in Slovakia was similar to the Hungarian one. As they stated, the main differences were in the numbers of the Jews who survived the concentration camps and returned, and in the numbers of pogrom victims. However, both countries suffered less Jewish victims than Poland. János Pelle considered that the post-war anti-Semitism came to Hungary from Slovakia, where it was prevalent since autumn 1945 and

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[68] *Ibid.*, p. 92-93.

[69] *Templomból istálló, és a kommunizmus 'zsidó üldözöttei'* [From Temple to Stable, and Communism 'Jewish Persecutions'], in: http://www.hazankert.com/200702_templpm.html [Accessed in 10.09.2010].

[70] István Gábor Benedek, *A komlósi tóra*, Békéscsaba [The hops Torah], 2003, p. 15.

[71] In his publication *A zsidó kérdés Magyarországon 1944 után* [The Jewish question in Hungary after 1944].

[72] Áron Monori, *A szembenézés kudarca* [*Failed confrontation*], in: http://www.beszelo.c3.hu/04/0708/10monori.htm [Accessed in 03.10.2010].

gradually it "infected" a considerable part of the population.[73] The "Haladás" newspaper from Budapest was dealing with anti-Semitism in Slovakia in the article written by Béla Zsolt: *Szlovák pogromnaptár I-II*. [The Slovak pogrom calendar I-II]. The author believed that the anti-Semitism in Slovakia was also influenced anti-Hungarian notions, because several slogans started to appear for example in Prešov ("*Hungarians belong behind the Danube and Jews into the Danube or Palestine*") or in Bratislava ("*Beat the Jew and chase the Hungarian*"). The newspaper stated that the Slovaks were blaming the Hungarians for the pogrom in Komárno. In Nové Zámky the local Jewish community was supposedly forced to blame the Hungarians for the persecutions. The article was emphasizing the biggest "Slovak" massacre, which happened in Kolbasov (in north-eastern Slovakia) in December 1945, which left eleven dead. This was supposedly caused by "the supporters of Stepan Bandera" – the Ukrainian anti-communist nationalists.[74] However, the author was putting emphasis on the "Slovak" dimension of the situation so he mentioned that "members of the Hlinka Guards" also took part.[75] In our opinion the allegations of the Hungarian press regarding the "Slovak" dimension or influence regarding anti-Semitism in post-war Hungary are only constructs without any reasoning.[76]

CONCLUSION

In spite of the fact that post-war anti-Semitism in Middle-Eastern Europe had similarities in various countries, it is clear that the specific social, economic, political, and cultural influences were different in each of these countries. Historical facts show us the deep backwardness and prejudice of the Hungarian population living in the countryside and in the "weakest" areas of Hungary. Further factors contributing to post-war anti-Semitism were: the state supported anti-Semitism that was strong in Hungary since the 1920s after the rise of the Horthy's regime, people's anti-Semitism with its roots in the years of the monarchy, and the situation of forming the post-war communist movement in

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[73] Compare: Michal Šmigeľ, Jana Šišjaková, *op. cit.*, p. 197-217.

[74] Look in: Michal Šmigeľ, *Vraždy židov a komunistov na severovýchodnom Slovensku v roku 1945: Kolbasovská tragédia* [The murders of Jews and communists in north-eastern Slovakia during 1945: The tragedy of Kolbasov], in: "Acta historica Neosoliensia", nr. 10/2007, Banská Bystrica, p. 217-231.

[75] János Pelle, *op. cit.*, p. 253-255.

[76] Hungarian post-war anti-Semitism culminated in May and June 1946, in Slovakia during late July – early August 1946. Michal Šmigeľ, *Protižidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave...* , p. 251-273.

Hungary (especially the high percentage of Jewish people in leading positions of the Communist Party, administration, police and judiciary).

In the 1950s the religious persecution of the Jews continued as a unifying anti-religious campaign of the communists. This was followed by the destruction of their cultural landmarks, especially cemeteries and small synagogues, or sometimes the synagogues were just used as the warehouses.[77] New wave of anti-Semitic notions arose after the well-known "pre-mortal" campaign of Stalin aimed against Jewish doctors and Zionism, which also influenced the satellite countries. The leader of the communists, Mátyás Rákosi, did not hesitate to sacrifice his own colleagues to the "security forces". After Stalin's death, two politicians had to leave the "leading four" (Rákosi, Gerő, Farkas, Révai) of the Communist regime in Hungary: Farkas and Révai. The Soviet comrades saw as a problem their Jewish origin in the "country with deep roots of anti-Semitism".[78] It is certain that these circumstances have led to new persecutions and pogroms in Mátészalka in April 1954 and Hajdúnánás in 1956. Because of this, many members of the Jewish community decided to leave Hungary during the 1956 revolution.

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[77]István Gábor Benedek, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[78] Richard Pražák, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

DROHICZYN BATTLE: HISTORY ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE VERSUS POLITICS (THE SOVIET HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF 30-80'S OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the representation of a unique event in the history of the Ancient Rus – direct contact of the Galicia–Volhynia Prince Daniel with the Knights Templar. The author analyses the "reading" of the heritage schemes of this conflict in pre-war period and the modelling of their political and ideological background during the Stalinist period. The image of the state control over culture in the development of Soviet historical memory played an important role. In this article, we will try to understand the Soviet historical vision of the Ukrainian history (for example, on the Drohiczyn battle). We will try to explain how, but more importantly, why this event evolved from a simple conflict in the Medieval period into the heroic victory of Daniel of Galicia.

Keywords: Galicia–Volhynia, Knights Templar, Daniel of Galicia, Drohiczyn, historical memory, ideological background

Rezumat: Bătălia de la Drohiczyn: istoria între știință și politică (gândirea istorică sovietică din anii '30-'80 ai secolului al XX-lea). Articolul este dedicat prezentării unui eveniment deosebit în istoria vechii Rusii, momentul în care Daniel Romanovici, principele cnezatului Halici-Volânia, s-a confruntat cu cavalerii Ordinului Templierilor. Autorul analizează „lectura" schemelor acestui conflict elaborate în perioada interbelică și modelarea lor în contextul politic și ideologic al perioadei staliniste. Un rol important în acest plan l-a jucat controlul statului asupra culturii, fenomen ce a afectat procesul de articulare a memoriei istorice a societății sovietice. Studiul încearcă să scoată în evidență perspectiva autorităților sovietice asupra trecutului Ucrainei (în cazul nostru, asupra bătăliei de la Drohiczyn) și să analizeze felul în care prezentarea acestui eveniment a evoluat de la menționarea unui simplu conflict din Evul Mediu la descrierea unei victorii răsunătoare a lui Daniel de Halici.

Résumé : La Bataille de Drohiczyn: l'histoire entre science et politique (la pensée historique soviétique des années '30-'80 du XX-ème siècle). L'article ci-joint présente un événement important de l'histoire de l'ancienne Russie, lorsque Daniel Romanovitch, le prince régnant de la principauté Galicie-Volhynie, se confronta avec les chevaliers de l'Ordre des Templiers. L'auteur y analysa la « lecture » des schémas de ce conflit

élaborés pendant l'entre-deux-guerres et leur adaptation au contexte politique et idéologique de la période stalinienne. Un rôle important y joua le contrôle de l'Etat sur la culture, phénomène qui affecta le processus d'articulation de la mémoire historique de la société soviétique. L'étude essaya de mettre en évidence la perspective des autorités soviétiques sur le passé de l'Ukraine (en notre cas sur la bataille de Drohiczyn) et d'analyser la manière dans laquelle la présentation de cet événement évolua de la mention d'un simple conflit du Moyen Age à la description d'une célèbre victoire de Daniel de Galicie.

INTRODUCTION

The representation of the unique event in the history of the Ancient Rus – direct contact of the Galicia-Volhynia Prince Daniel with the Knights Templar remains the subject of lively debate in the scientific literature for more than a century.[1] Unfortunately, modern formulations in historical narratives of the conflict known as the "Drohiczyn battle" still preserve dubious tradition of the

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[1] See the most detailed review of the historical literature: W. Nagirnyj, *Polityka zagraniczna księstw ziem Halickiej i Wołyńskiej w latach 1198 (1199) – 1264* [Foreign policy principalities lands Galicia and Volhynia in the years 1198 (1199) - 1264)], Kraków, Polska Akad. Umiejętności, 2011, s. 211-213; Among the main works we distinguish: Н. Дашкевич, *Княжение Даниила Галицкого по русским и иностранным известиям* [The Daniel of Galicia reign according to the Russian and foreign information], Киев, 1873, с. 11-13; W. Polkowska-Markowska, *Dzieje Zakonu Dobrzyńskiego. Przyczynek do kwestji krzyżackiej* [The history of the Order from Dobrzyń. Contribution to the issue of the Teutons], in "Roczniki Historyczne", – r. 2, 1926, zosz. 2, s. 145-210; О. Масан, *Добжинський орден (до історії дорогичинського інциденту 1237 року)* [Order of Dobrzyń (For history about Drohiczyn incident 1237)], in "Питання стародавньої та середьовічної історії, археології й етнографії", Чернівці, Рута, 1996, Вип. 1. – с. 41-52; О. Масан, *Добжинський орден (до історії дорогичинського інциденту 1237 року* [Order of Dobrzyń (For history about Drohiczyn incident 1237)], in "Питання стародавньої та середьовічної історії, археології й етнографії", Чернівці, Рута, 1996, Вип. 2, с. 53-55; M. Bartnicki, *Polityka zagraniczna księcia Daniela Halickiego w latach 1217–1264* [The foreign policy of Prince Daniel of Galicia in the years 1217-1264], Lublin, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2005, s. 158; A. Jusupović, *«Domus quondam Dobrinensis». Przyczynek do dziejów templariuszy na ziemiach Konrada Mazowieckiego* [«Domus quondam Dobrinensis." Contribution to the history of the Knights Templar lands of Konrad Mazowiecki], in "Zapiski Historyczne", Toruń, Wydział Nauk Historycznych, 2006, t. 71, zezs. 1, s. 14-17; А. Майоров, *Даниил Галицкий и тамплиеры* [Daniel of Galicia and Templars], in: "Русин. Международный исторический журнал", 2014, vol. 1, с. 36-51.

Soviet historical imagination. We see fairly simplified scheme and limited scientific research vectors. This, in turn, reflects rather narrow historiographical tradition which does not fully clarify the nature of the conflict and relations of Daniel with the Knights in general. In this respect, we face with the complex issues. Firstly, how the form of the Battle "recalling" has changed in Soviet times? Secondly, how did the Drohiczyn battle evolve from the simple conflict of the medieval period into the heroic victory of Daniel of Galicia? Finally, how the memory about the Prince was integrated into the society of the Soviet era?

The innovative ideas of such eminent theorists as B. Anderson, E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm and M. Hroch was a basis for this study.[2] In their view, the policy of propaganda established in promoting cultural recognition system and was playing a main role in the spread of national consciousness of the social elite to ordinary people throughout society as a whole. Investigating the mechanism of relations between political power and historical science with the means of historiography, education, media, cinema, monumental propaganda, organizing celebrations of historical events, we will use the term "politics of memory" which is accepted for global historiography. Regarding measures of the authorities towards historical studies, we will use the most suitable term "historical policy", including an individual ideological strategy of historians (i.e. "Imperious view of history") as a part of intellectual composition and a base component of historical policy. Actually, it should be separated from the official historiography. But we will take into consideration it as a basis for research of Soviet history. We will call this general image of history by a widespread term in historiography – "Grand Narrative" or "official historical discourse".

THE BATTLE OF DROHICZYN: HISTORICAL SOURCES
AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATIONS

The Galicia-Volhynian chronicle is our main source holding notification about the conflict of Daniel Romanovich with the Templar Knights. In the

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[2] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York, Vers, 1991, 124 p.; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1983, 150 p.; E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, 191 p.; M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of the National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 221 p.

chronicle of 6743 (1235) we read: "Весне же бывши, поидоста на Ятвезе и приидоста Берестью, рекам наводнившимся, и не возмогоста ити на Ятвязе. Данилови рекъшу: "Нелепо есть держати нашее отчины крижевникомь Тепличемь, рекомым Соломоничемь". И поидоста на не в силе тяжьце. Приаста град месяца марта, старейшину их Бруна яша, и вои изоимаша, и возъвратися Володимер"[3]. As we see the piece mentioned above is incomplete in terms of the content, there is not even reported about the city that Daniel has taken away from the "крижевникомь Тепличемь". To understand the essence of the message it should be combined with another passage, written in 6748 (1240) about the reconquest of Drohiczyn: "И приде ко градоу Дорогычиноу, и восхоте внити во град, и вестьно бысть емоу, яко не внидеши во град. Ономоу рекшоу, якосе былъ град нашь и отець нашихвы же не изволисте внити вонь. И отъиде, мысля си, иже Богъ послеже отьмьстье створи держателю града того. Въдасть [Богъ] и в роуце Данилоу, и обьновивы и, созда церковь прекрасноу святое Богородици, и рече: Сеградъ мои, преже бо прияхъ и копьем"[4]. As we can see, the chronicler portrays the knights who were in Drohiczyn, showing their similarities in armor and status with the Knights Templar ("Order of the Poor Knights of Christ of the Solomon Temple (Pauperurum Commilitonum Christi Templiqne Solamoniaci)")[5]. Such a manner

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[3] Original text in: *Ипатьевская летопись: Галицко-Волынский свод* [Hypatian Codex: Galician-Volhynian Chronicle], in: *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, СПб, 1908, Т. 2, стб. 776; Translation: "When spring came, [Daniel and Vasilko] marched against the Jatvingians and came to Berestja. But as the rivers had become flooded, they could not wage war against them. [Thereupon] Daniel said: "It is not right for our patrimony to be in the hands of the Templar [Knights] renowned as Solomon's [warriors"], and Daniel and Vasilko marched against them in greatforce. They took the city [of Drohiczyn] in the month of March, captured their elder Bruno and his soldiers, and returned to Volodimer", see in: *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, Munchen, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973, p. 44.

[4] *Ibidem*, стб, 788; Translation: "He came to the city of Drohiczyn and wished to enter it but was told that he could not come in. He replied that this city belonged to [the Rus'ians] and [their] forefathers [but their answer still was] that he and his men could not enter it. [Thereupon] he went away, thinking that God would later take revenge on the ruler of this city. And [indeed God] entrusted it to Daniel. He renovated [the city], built a beautiful church [dedicated to] the Blessed Virgin, and said: "This is my city, for I have taken it [by the sword"], see in: *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973, p. 49.

[5] *Codex diplomaticus et commemorationumv Masoviae generalis*, in "Zbiór ogólny przywi-lejów i spominków Mazowieckich", Warszawa, Drukiem W. Lazarskiego, 1919, Nr 366, s. 421; Russian translation see in.: В. Матузова, Е. Назарова, *Крестоносцы и Русь. Конец*

has become widespread in the scientific and popular science literature of modern times. Researchers, without analysing deeply the details of historiographical tradition, use the passage of "Drohiczyn battle", turning it into a grand event, thereby popularizing it in the masses.[6] But we can see another side of this problem. The leading medievalists are sceptical on the historical background of this event. Thus, we remark a certain conflict of memory about Daniel Romanovich. However, we can ask rhetorically ourselves: whether this traditional characterization was correct?

In the nineteenth century M. Dashkevych was the first historian who in detail reviewed the events of the conflict between Daniel Romanovich and the Crusaders. The scholar was inclined to believe that the enemies of the Prince were unknown Templars who before the arrival to Drohiczyn lived in Poland. Later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, M. Hrushevskiy wrote about the conflict between Daniel and the unknown "crusading knights", who obeyed the Prince Konrad Mazowiecki[7]. But two decades later the Polish historians came to the unequivocal conclusion that Prince Daniel fought with the Knights of the Dobrzyń Order[8]. The reason for such conclusions was the charter of March 8, 1237, concerning the transfer of Drohiczyn by Konrad Mazowiecki as the inheritance law to Master Bruno and his knights of the "Order of Christ Dobrzyń house". In this charter, we read: "Donamus magistro B(runoni) et fratribus suis, ordinis militum christi. domus quondam Dobrinensis, castrum Drochicin et totum territorium. quod ex eadem parte castri continetur a mediate fluminum Bug et Nur. usque ad methas ruthenorum, saluo iure ecclesie Mazouiensis et nobilium, si quid in predictis fluminibus hactenus habuerunt. cum omni districtu et honore,

XII в. – 1270 г.: тексты, перевод, комментарии [Crusaders and Russia. The end of the twelfth century - 1270.: text, translation, commentary], Москва, Индрик, 2002, с. 354–355.

6   Т. Каляндрук, *Дорогичинська битва 1238 року: таємниці однієї перемоги* [Drohiczyn Battle of 1238: The Secrets of One Victory], Львів, Піраміда, 2014, 100 с.; В. Ідзьо, *Руське королівство та Тевтонський Орден: політичні, економічні та релігійні взаємовідносини у XIII- XIV століттях* [Russian Kingdom and Teutonic Order: Political, Economic and Religious Relations in the XIII-XIV Centuries], Івано-Франківськ, «СІМИК», 2015, 60 с.; О. Гуржій, О. Реєнт, *Славетні битви на теренах України: від князівської доби до початку ХХ століття* [Glory Battles in Ukraine: From the Prince's Age to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], ред. Р. Стасюк, Київ, Арій, 2012, 336 с.; М. Котляр, *Нариси воєнного мистецтва Давньої Русі* [Essays on the Military Art of Ancient Rus], Київ, Наш час, 2010, 280 с.

7   М. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси* [History of Ukraine-Rus], Львов, 1905, с. 55.

8   W. Polkowska-Markowska, *Dzieje Zakonu Dobrzyńskiego. Przyczynek do kwestji krzyżackiej* [The history of the Order Dobrzyński. Contribution to the issue of the Teutonic], in "Roczniki Historyczne", r. 2, 1926, zosz. 2, s. 145-210;

castoribus. fluminibus. lacubus, saltubus, theloneo in ipso Drochicin de nauibus. siue de curribus, et cum omni iure, quod supradictum castrum noscitur hactenus habuisse. iure hereditario perpetuo possidendum, ut christo sub ordinis sui debito militantes. ab instantia paganorum defendant populum christianum…"[9]. As we can see from the text, the city was devolved together with the territory that was adjacent to the city and limited by the rivers of Bug and Nur. The Knights had to recognize the right of patronage from Conrad and also pledged not to obey the other sovereigns. The given above interpretation has become generally accepted in the literature of that time. There was no doubt about the thesis of a minor local conflict, as the organization of the Dobrzyń knights was itself subjected to considerable criticism as being the "state formation". At that time, the German historian M. Toppen criticized the knights of the Order. While writing about the Dobrzyń knights (due to their stay in Drohiczyn in 1237), scientist claimed that they "after all never played an important role". The Order of the "Christ knights from Prussia" was a marginal phenomenon and from the very beginning of its establishment it was doomed to disappear. The Dobrzyń Knights belonged to such local entities to which the local missionaries and the Prince of Mazovia assigned the role of the regional policy instrument[10]. The lively discussion and stormy debate about the contact of Daniel Romanovich with the religious Orders still left many questions in the literature: causes, nature and consequences of Daniel Romanovich contact with the Knight Order remained unrevealed.

THE BATTLE OF DROHICZYN: THE REFLECTION OF EVENTS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A CLASS IDEOLOGY

The need for the new studies of texts concerning the Drohiczyn Battle encountered a strange period of "silence." At the time of the Soviet historical science establishment the topic of the conflict between Daniel and the Knights disappeared from the pages of the scientific papers. How can we explain this apparent lack of interest of the academic community to this event? In our view, the answer must be sought in the context of the new concept formation of the historical narrative of the Soviet Union. The fundamental ideological revolution of perception and representation of Daniel of Galicia in the Soviet Union took place in the 30s' of the 20th century. During the general transformation of the political and ideological system of coordinates the existing historical doctrine was rejected.

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[9] *Codex Diplomaticus et Commemorationum Masoviae Generalis* [Codex General and Commemorationum Masoviae], Varsoviae, 1919, T. I, No. 366, p. 421.

[10] M. Toeppen, *Historia Mazur: Przyczynek do dziejów krainy i kultury pruskiej* [Contribution to the history and culture of the land of the Prussian], Olsztyn, 1988, s. 52.

The functions of history as the political and legitimizing science were subjected to revision and defined in a new way. Having rejected the historiography of M. Pokrovsky, that was directly oriented on the economic and historical categories, the Bolsheviks after 1934 rehabilitated the individual and the Ruthenian people as the objects of historical narrative[11]. Socio-political reorientation of the Ukrainian history took place in 1936 and this process was rather ambiguous[12]. That was the year when on the basis of related agencies, a special institution studying the history of Ukraine – Institute of the History of Ukraine at the Academy of Sciences USSR has been established. The emergence of this specialized research institution (though Marxist in its deformed shape) has given space to preserve the historical memory of the Ukrainian people.

With the appearance of the Institute of the History the scientists again "recall" the Daniel of Galicia incident in Drohiczyn. In 1937, S. Belousov, the successor of A. Saradzhayeva, being a director of the Institute, issued under his own editorship the first volume of the *Essays on the History of Ukraine*. The authors of the texts became the members of the Institute – K. Huslystyi and F. Yastrebov. The mention of the confrontation is placed in the context of the overall story of

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[11] A fast rejection of perpetuating the memory of the prominent personalities can be explained by the fact that Marxist historical science school rejected the importance of the individual in the course of historical events. The historical personality played a subordinate role in this theory. This view is confirmed by work of Mikhail Nikolayevich Pokrovsky (1868-1932) without doubt one of the most important representatives of early Marxist historical school in the Soviet Russia. Pokrovsky served as a Deputy Commissioner of Education of the RSFSR (Commissariat) and numerous positions in the science. Thus, he was able to influence the Soviet historical science. At the zenith of his fame Pokrovsky controlled the scientific study of history, teacher education, research and publishing. Review of the Russian history titled "Russian history in the most concise essay" (1920), won a personal praise from Lenin and recommendations as a textbook. By the mid of 30s' the book, that became an official picture of the history, was introduced in the Soviet schools and served as a model for many other books. For details, see.: П. Рындзюнский, *Социально-экономическая история России XIX в. в работах советских историков* [The socio-economic history of the 19th century of Russia in the works of Soviet historians], in: "Очерки истории исторической науки в СССР", Москва, Издательство АН СССР, 1966, Т. 4, с. 508; А. Сидоров. *Марксист-ская историографическая мысль 20-х годов* [Marxist historiography thought 20s'], Москва, Изд-во "Университетский гуманитарный лицей", 1998, с. 56-58.

[12] About the formation of new memory politics of the Ukrainian past (for example Galicia-Volhynia state) during Stalinism, see: Н. Христан, *Моделювання прийнятного минулого: образ Галицько-Волинської Русі в часи сталінізму* [Modelling of accept-able past: image of Galicia-Volhynian Rus' in the time of Stalin], in: "Питання історії України", Чернівці, Чернівецький національний університет, 2016, Т. 18, с. 85-92.

the threat of German knights-crusaders against Hungary, Poland and the Galicia-Volhynia principality. Germanic political and religious formations in Livonia and Prussia in *Essays…* were presented as "feudal colonies" of the German knights as the Livonian and Teutonic Order. The long-time confrontation of the Christian Poles against the pagan Prussians was entirely rejected. Post factum one can see that the tensions of the eastern Slavs against the spiritual and knightly orders in the Baltics show only aggressive policy. The monastic orders under the banner of the Christianization of the pagan population actually pursued a policy of expansion and grabbing the lands of pagans[13].

The reading of the Chronicle about the Drohiczyn conflict in *Essay…* marks significant differences and in some cases non-acceptance of the previous studies concerning this problem in the literature. All the previous attempts to identify the chronicle "крижевникомь Тепличемь, рекомым Соломоничемь" and the Latin "Pauperurum Commilitonum Christi Templiqne Solamoniaci" are limited to the note that K. Marx called the Crusaders the "Dogs-Knights". Further in the text, despite all messages of the sources, the knights are described again according to the Marxist term "crusading bastards"[14]. The Policy of the Order is presented as an act of brutal violence. The conflict in Drohiczyn was shown as the great war, which is in its scale almost the same as a dubious "Ice Battle by Alexander Nevsky". After the defeat of the Knights, they were finally expelled from the borders of the Galicia-Volhynia principality[15]. These findings in text show the ignorance or deliberate rejection of the known at that time bull of Pope Innocent IV on August 26, 1247 to king Daniel Romanovich and his brother Vasilko. According to it the Crusaders or the other Orders were strictly forbidden to assign ownership that were captured by these princes, or those yet to be captured by them[16]. How to explain this indifference to the sources while writing a text about Drohiczyn battle?

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[13] *Нариси з історії України. Київська Русь і феодальні князівства XII-XIII ст.* [Essays of the History of Ukraine. Kievan Rus' and the feudal principalities in 12th-13th centuries.], ред. С. Бєлоусова, Київ, Видавництво академії наук СРСР, 1937, Вип. 1, с. 137.

[14] К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс, *Сочинения* [Writings], Москва, Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1957, с. 53-54; У тексті див.: *Нариси з історії України. Київська Русь і феодальні князівства XII-XIII ст.* [Essays of the History of Ukraine. Kievan Rus' and the feudal principalities XII-XIII centuries.], ред. С. Бєлоусова, Київ, Видавництво академії наук СРСР, 1937, Вип. 1, с. 137-138.

[15] *Нариси з історії України. Київська Русь і феодальні князівства XII-XIII ст.* [Essays of the History of Ukraine. Kievan Rus' and the feudal principalities XII-XIII centuries.], ред. С. Бєлоусова, Київ, Видавництво академії наук СРСР, 1937, Вип. 1, с. 138.

[16] *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia, Romae*, Ucrainorum, 1953, Vol. 1, p. 36.

The draft of *Essays...* was presented by the Institute not as an academic publication, as it actually was, but as a didactic one, that means the series of "handbooks for teachers of the middle and high schools"[17]. In the preface to the first issue of *Essays...* the edition positioned as a series designed for the "students of the universities, colleges, school teachers and in general to any Soviet reader"[18]. As we can see, in the conceptual sense, this serial publication reflected the interim, transitional state of that Soviet grand narrative that acquired the traits of centralized, Great Russian Canon with the teleological, or more exactly, the rigid formational and class presentation with the characteristic features of the "ritual" Marxism-Leninism. Although there still remains some space for the national stories, including the Ukrainian past. Therefore, the ideological principles at the turn of 1930-1940-ies became a catalyst for the major theses and ideas around which the conceptualization of the factual material was unfolded, but have not yet acquired a total regulatory direction.

The image of Daniel conflict in Drohiczyn with the "crusading bastards" and "dogs-knights", launched in the *Essay...* penetrates into all the scientific works of that time. The idea of the destruction war, the total invasion of the Galicia-Volhynia principality by German religious orders reflected the general view of the Ukrainian history in works of the leading scientists – *History of Ukraine. Short Course* (1940), edited by S. Belousov, K. Huslystyi, M. Petrovsky, M. Suprunenko F. Yastrebov[19], *Essay on the history of Ukraine* (1942), edited by K. Huslystyi, L. Slavin, F. Yastrebov[20], the first volume of *History of Ukraine* (1943), edited by M. Petrovsky[21].

In our view, we should pay attention to the activities of K. Huslystyi, an employee of the Institute of History of the USSR. The scientist except of the publications of *Essays...* continued to work on the patriotic series of "Our great ancestors" in the magazine "Slavs". In 1942, the author issued an essay *Daniel of*

[17] В. Смолій, *Історія інститутська, історія українська (ювілейні роздуми з академічної проблематики)* [Institute History, Ukrainian history (Jubilee reflection on academic issues)], in: "Український історичний журнал", 2012, Вип. 1, с. 7.

[18] *Нариси з історії України. Київська Русь і феодальні князівства XII-XIII ст.* [Essays of the History of Ukraine. Kievan Rus' and the feudal principalities in 12th-13th centuries.], ред. С. Бєлоусова, Київ, Видавництво академії наук СРСР, 1937, Вип. 1, с. 3-4.

[19] *Історія України: Короткий курс* [History of Ukraine: Short course], ред. С. Бєлоусова, К. Гуслистого, О. Оглобліна, Київ, Видавництвово АН УРСР, 1940, 412 с.

[20] *Нарис історії України* [Essays of the History of Ukraine], ред. К. Гуслистого, Уфа: Видавництво АН УРСР, 1942, с. 46-47.

[21] *Історія України* [History of Ukraine], ред. М. Петровського, Київ, Видавництво АН УРСР, 1943, Т. 1, 330 с.

Galicia, which was published not only in some periodicals but also as a pamphlet[22]. In this essay, the author emphasizes the importance of the Galicia and Volhynia Principality, that "for a long time played a major role in the history of the Ukrainian land", and the image of Galicia-Volhynian Prince Daniel was "one of the highlights among the great ancestors of the Ukrainian people". The idea of "combining disparate Ukrainian lands into one centralized state was embodied in the history of the Galicia-Volhynia principality". In the essay, the stages of the Principality from Roman Mstislavovitch to Daniel of Galicia were described, the attention is focused on the fight of the Galicia and Volhynia people against the Hungarians, Poles, and on the battles of the princes with the Tatars and especially with the German "dogs-knights". K. Huslystyi completely ignores all the messages of the sources. The mentions of "крижевникомь Тепличемь, рекомым Соломоничемь" absolutely had no place. Instead, the conflict in Drohiczyn was portrayed as the liberation campaign of Daniel against his eternal enemy – the "German-crusading bastards"[23].

The story of K. Huslystyi about the "Germans" invasion of the Galicia-Volhynia principality land was taken up by the historians of the Federal Center – "progressive forces of the ideological front". One of the leaders of the historical science, at that time a director of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the USSR, V. Pichette outlined his vision of the Battle in Drohiczyn. The author understood the message of the chronicles about "крижевникомь Тепличемь" as the invasion of the Volhynia land by the Teutonic Order and the Prince of Mazovia (in text Polish) Conrad[24]. The image of the eternal enemy of the Rus' lands that was so well created by the historians relied on the complete disregard of the historical reality. All the relationships of the Galicia-Volhynia principality with the Order were "forgotten". Thus, the charter of February 11, 1334 was forgotten. In the charter by the Galicia-Volhynian Prince George-Boleslav Troydenovych to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Lyudera von Braunschweig, we find a confirmation of the union agreement, which stated: "Nos et pi[i]e memo(r)aminis n(ost)ri pr(a)edecessores c(a)ri(ssi)mi, scilicet Romanus, Daniel, Leo, Geogrgius et

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[22] К. Гуслистий, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], in "Славяне», 1942, Вип. 2, с. 42-46; К. Гуслистий, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], Саратов, Укрвидав при ЦК КП(б)У, 1942; К. Гуслистий, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], in: "Література і мистецтво", 1942, 31 березня.

[23] К. Гуслистий, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], in "Славяне», 1942, Вип. 2, с. 44.

[24] В. Пичета, *Основные моменты в исторических судьбах народов Западной Украины и Западной Белоруссии* [Highlights in the historical destiny of the peoples of the Western Ukraine and Western Belarus], Москва, Государственное социально-экономическое издательство, 1940, с. 13.

Andreas […] aut incolis, p(er)petu[a]e omnimodeq(ue) pasis et concordi[a]e unionem fac(er)e c(on)suevim(us) et f(ir)mavim(us), s(ecundu)m quod in eor(um)dem pr[a]edecessor(um) n(ost)ror(um) et litt(er)es n(ost)ris alias sup(er) dictate c(on)cordial habenta p(rae)fectis patet, evident(er)"[25]. We have no doubt in the authenticity of this document, and therefore we can affirm that the prince's office (orderly room) in 1334 preserved relevant agreements with the Order signed by the preliminary princes since Roman Mstislavich. In 13th–14th centuries the Galicia-Volhynia principality was in close military and political, trade and economic alliance with the Teutonic Order. The order served as a natural ally of the Galicia-Volhynia state until the time of Boleslaw-Yuri and Dmitry Troydenovich Dedko. The union alliance, due to the political conjuncture at that time, existed and was beneficial for both sides.

Stability of the provisions of the new concept of relationship between Daniel Romanovich and the knights resembles some kind of a theatre of the absurd. As we can see, the Soviet historians having read in the chronicle about "Pauperurum Commilitonum Christi Templiqne Solamoniaci" namely the Order Templar Crusaders, concluded that in Drohiczyn Daniel fought with an unknown formation on the territory of modern Latvia and Estonia of the German Livonian knights ("swordsmen" – wearing red sword painted on billboards and cloaks), the charter of which was supported by the statute of the Knights Templar that arose during the Crusades in Jerusalem and had a seat at the temple (templum) of Solomon or they took out a concept of the Teutonic Order invasion in the Volhynia land. Others believed that Drohiczyn was captured by another Order of the German knights that was often-called the "crusaders" (wearing mostly black crosses on the shields and cloaks), which were settled with the assistance of Konrad Mazowieckithe near the Polish-Prussian border (in 1237 "swordsmen" and "crusaders" were united)[26]. A very important question arises – how to explain such a straightforward and

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[25] Translation: "We and for our blessed memory the dearest predecessors, namely Roman, Daniel, Lev, Yury and Andriy are accustomed to sign and fasten the union of the permanent and all possible peace and consent, this is evident from the same documents of our predecessors, and the same yours compiled in the case of comprehension and observance of these agreements", See.: О. Купчинський, *Акти та документи Галицько-Волинського князівства XIII – першої половини XIV століть. Дослідження. Тексти* [Acts and Documents of the Galicia–Volhynia Principality of the 13th - first half of the 14th centuries. Research. Texts], Львів: Наукове товариство імені Шевченка, 2004, с. 178.

[26] М. Ждан. *Романовичі і Німецький Хрестоносний орден* [Romanovich dynasty and German crusading order], in "Український історик, 1973, Вип. 3-4, с. 56.

ultimately unscientific approach to the interpretation of the historical sources in the context of the new Soviet narrative?

USING AND ABUSING OF THE HISTORY: THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Searching for the answer to this question, we should mention the illusion of the "new developments" in the ideological life of the Soviet Union. In our point of view, the unexpected return of Daniel Romanovich into the Soviet historical discourse in the mid of 30s of the 20th century carried concrete political and ideological factors. The actualisation of the official Soviet model formation of the Galicia-Volhynia principality contributed to the reunification of the Ukrainian people, which took place in 1939-1940. In these years, and during the period of war in 1941-1945, the national factor, the national struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence, the reunion in a single Ukrainian state were emphasized. The concept of the Galicia-Volhynia state in its Ukrainian interpretation was acceptable for the Soviet historiography. After all, it directly contributed to the unification of the Western Ukraine with the Soviet lands. The party demanded the creation of a new patriotic history, full of facts, events and personalities, which had to take a leading and sustainable place in the ideology of "Soviet patriotism" and to contribute to the boost of love to the country by the population and political leadership represented by Stalin. Therefore, within the bounds of permitted the pages of the history of Kievan Rus' were activated. Following the party positions, the Soviet ideologists tried to find the old Western Ukrainian heroes who would become eligible for their ideological discourse. In particular, there was an attempt to make Prince Daniel of Galicia such a hero.

Having been formed during 1937-1938 as part of the anti-fascist propaganda the Soviet image of Daniel Romanovich had to encourage the military mentality of the Soviet people and their willingness to attack as well as to defend. The Drohiczyn conflict perfectly fit to the new concept of the original image of "the enemy" or "the stranger" where there was told about the German "onslaught on the East" or about the centuries-old struggle of Slavonic and Baltic nations against German aggression that allegedly continued. In both phases of the remembering about the Drohiczyn battle (1937-1939 and 1941-1945) the victory of Daniel was marked as a star time of the Ukrainian history and the lessons of this historical event gave the reason to mention the self-proclaimed descendants of the Knights of the Order. The war with Germany, about which the texts of the 30s mentioned only hypothetically, in 1941, became a harsh reality. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 the main

task of Soviet propaganda was to convince the Soviet citizens in the capacity of the Red Army to resist the German troops. Such aspirations seem quite clear. However, official reports were trying to weaken the impression of news about the unexpected attack in rather a strange way. V. Molotov in his radio speech on the first day of military operations said: "It is not the first time our people have to deal with the attackers. At one time during the campaign of Napoleon to Russia, our people responded with the Patriotic War and Napoleon was defeated. The same will be with Hitler. The Red Army and all our people will hold a winning battle for their country"[27]. By this speech, written jointly with Stalin, Molotov and the other members of the Politburo, it can be understood what kind of system images deemed to be the most effective at the mass level of consciousness during the war[28].

On July 7, 1941 Daniel of Galicia was officially "called to arms". In the press organ of the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in the newspaper "Communist" on the front page the Drohiczyn battle of Prince against the German (Teutonic) dogs-knights, known before only in some scientific communities, was politically legitimized and popularized[29]. The Ukrainian writers wrote in an open letter to Stalin: "It is not the first time the Ukrainian people have to destroy the German brazen horde. At his time, Daniel of Galicia has defeated the German dogs-knights"[30]. Such calls among the writers were caused by the statement of the Institute of History of Ukraine on June 28, which announced that its researchers have prepared a series of brochures about the heroic past of Ukraine. The first brochure had to glorify the battle of Daniel of Galicia, and the last one – the imminent Soviet victory in the war that had started[31]. The story of the Prince and his victory over German knights become an integral part of the Soviet military propaganda. The plan of publication works of the historians in the Academy of Sciences of USSR appears to be significant one. In a separate memorandum by Professor M. Petrovsky submitted to the Department of Propaganda and agitation All-Russia Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on 23 April 1942, has indicated the need for a separate extended edition of the article by of K. Huslystyi *Daniel of Galicia*[32].

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[27] *Сто сорок бесед с Молотовым: Из дневника Феликса Чуева* [One hundred and forty interviews with Molotov: From the diary of Felix Chuev], Москва,Терра, 1991, с. 54.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 38.

[29] "Комуніст" [Komunist], 7 липня 1941, с. 1.

[30] *Ibidem*, 4 липня 1941, с. 1-2.

[31] *Ibidem*, 28 червня 1941, с. 1

[32] The article instead of one printed sheet had to be expanded and published in 2-2.5 printed sheets. For details, see: *Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України* [Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine], ф. 1, оп.

Soon in Saratov a separate booklet of the same name was published.[33] Thus the Soviet Union held a double legitimization interpretation of the Drohiczyn conflict as a war of Daniel against the Teutonic Order ("German dogs-knights") – in the newspaper "Communist" as the press organ of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and in the official resolution of M. Petrovsky, who reaffirmed its importance by his academic regalia.

The thesis of the "perpetual German pressure on the East" is reflected in the art of the Soviet patriotic texts. Popularization of the "Drohiczyn battle" took place in a patriotic poem by M. Bazhan (published in 1942), *Daniel of Galicia*. The author described the prince as an outstanding military leader and a helmsman of masses. Although, in the poem the Ukrainian ancestors of the 13th century are mostly named as Rusichi or Slavs, and Bazhan twice used the word "Ukraine": "All Ukraine hears the step of Daniel retinue" and "As the first soldier of the Ukrainian fields"[34]. Obviously, in the climax of the war, the author's ideological supervisors considered such assignment of Galicia and Volhynia to be appropriate for the Ukrainian historical memory. The poet studied all the historical publications and political trends of that time and actively picked up the thesis of the German "crusading bastards". The poem fit quite well in the contemporary propaganda of the USSR leadership course. Soviet regime had to arouse patriotic feelings in the Western population, which were in no hurry to defend the communist dictatorship. In the poem, the Order of Dobrzyń became the embodiment of all the Teutonic (i.e. – German) forces. Literary image of Daniel and the Teutons was highly appreciated be the party leadership, taking him to the general concept of the Soviet patriotic history. Soon visual display of the Drohiczyn war of Daniel was represented in the theatrical play, music for which was written in 1943 by Chernivtsi composer B. Kryzhanivsky[35]. It is noteworthy, that later Bazhan has received for his *Daniel of Galicia* the Stalin Prize of the second degree[36]. Later, in a

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70, спр. 48, арк. 6–12.

[33] К. Гуслистий, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], Саратов, Укрвидав при ЦК КП(б)У, 1942.

[34] М. Бажан, *Данило Галицький* [Daniel of Galicia], Українська література, 1942, Вип. 3-4.

[35] М. Богайчук, *Література і мистецтво Буковини в іменах: словник-довідник* [Literature and art Bukovina names: Dictionary Directory], Чернівці: Видавничий дім "Букрек", 2005, с. 141-142.

[36] С. Цалик, *Про що змовчали біографи Миколи Бажана* [What silent biographers about Mykola Bazhan], in "Таємниці письменницьких шухляд: Детективна історія української літератури", Київ, Наш час, 2010, с. 32-35; С. Єкельчик, *Імперія пам'яті. Російсько-українські стосунки в радянській історичній уяві* [Empire of memory. Russian-Ukrainian relations in the Soviet historical imagination], Київ, Критика, 2008, с. 56.

similar style, the Ukrainian writer A. Khizhnyak published a historical novel *Daniel of Galicia*. The literary image of "Drohiczyn battle" is not depicted exactly, even biased, the rivals of Daniel the Crusaders – were ethnic Germans, and Daniel himself serves as a classic unifier of the "Russian people" and a fighter against the German aggression[37].

The Soviet patriotic image of Daniel of Galicia conflict with the Crusaders in late 1930s' was taken by the Soviet military propaganda after the attack of the Wehrmacht in 1941. It has not undergone major modifications in its text composition, only partially it was changed during a long period of time. However, the new foreign policy circumstances of the post-war period – the beginning of the "Cold War" and the debate around the cult of Stalin personality affected the official discourse about the coverage of events around the Drohiczyn incident. Moreover, after 1945 memory of Daniel Romanovich received the new forms. In different cities of Ukraine secular monuments in honour of him were built. The subject of Drohiczyn finds its visual display in paintings. In 1954, the artist S. Adamovich at an exhibition on the occasion of the tercentenary reunion demonstrated his painting "Daniel of Galicia", no artist dared to work on topics from the history of Galicia and Volhynia before him. Adamovich itself came under severe criticism drawing prince on the battlefield after the victory over the Teutonic knights. The author's picture did not develop the theme of Russian-Ukrainian friendship, and was condemned by the media as "meaningless"[38].

Considering the discourse about the contacts of the Galicia-Volhynia principality with the Order, the elements of differentiation can be noted. Contribution to it was made by some historians and their research projects, the results of which served as a stimulus to doubt the official version of history. The first who thoroughly questioned the Soviet vision of the events in Drohiczyn, became the Director of the Institute of Social Sciences of USSR at that time I. Krypiakevych (1886-1967). The scientist turned his attention to messages in the Chronicle and attempted to consider this episode in context of Daniel relationship with the Order[39]. Significantly, the volume *Galicia-Volhynia principality* prepared by I. Krypyakevych was not published during the life of the author and was published after his death in 1984. Since 1960s' the discourse about Daniel Romanovich in the Soviet Union regains the features of the stories on behalf of the state, which reproduces the main features of the historical

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[37] See reissue: А. Хижняк, *Данило Галицький: роман* [Daniel of Galicia: novel], Львів, Каменяр, 1984, 536 с.

[38] "Літературна газета", 17 червня 1954, с. 4.

[39] І. Крип'якевич, *Галицько-Волинське князівство* [Galicia-Volhynia principality], Київ, Наукова думка, 1984, с. 98.

picture of 1930-1940's. One of the authors of *Essays on the History of the USSR* V. Dyadychenko described the conflict as: "The invasion of enemy hordes in Rus' and the invasion of Drohiczyn that was part of the Volhynia principality". The author does not give any reason for this "invasion", the number of "hordes" and absolutely crosses out the message of the source[40].

CONCLUSION

Rehabilitation of Daniel of Galicia as a figure of the Ukrainian history in 1937 and the development of this cult after 1941 can be considered to be an evidence of a progressive nationalization of the Soviet historical discourse and the Soviet concept of collective identity. By using one of the many ordinary for the medieval era episodes of conflict – the Drohiczyn incident, the party leadership managed to create a primordial image of the "enemy", the image of a "stranger" in the Soviet Union. Texts and pictures, movies and music, ignoring the opinion of the source, were reported to the Soviet population about the Crusader knights – "medieval German occupiers". Patriotic stereotypes that represented the Teutonic Order as the main instrument of the eternal policy of the German invaders "Drang nach Osten", retained their dubious trends in the present and do not allow to examine impartially the relationship between the Galicia-Volhynia principality and the religious orders.

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[40] *Нариси з історії СРСР (епоха феодалізму)* [Essays on the History of the USSR (the era of feudalism], ред. В. Дядиченко, Київ, Видавництво академії наук СРСР, 1971, с. 51.

THE LIBERALIZATION OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY
(1945-1976)

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Abstract: Immigration policy has played a key role in Canadian history since the second half of 19th century. Certainly, immigration legislation was a major element of it. Some of the most important reforms in Canadian immigration policy took place in the first decades after the Second World War. This was a time of multiple legislative reforms conducted by the Canadian government, but in general, the immigration regulations introduced during that period started the process of liberalization in this area. The Immigration Act of 1976 played a key role in building up the new liberal strategy of Canadian immigration. The pre-reform period is also important because it helps to understand the evolution process from discriminative legislation to liberal policy.

Therefore, the focus of this study is on the development of Canadian immigration policy from 1945 to 1976. The present research examines the main preconditions for the adoption of the 1976 Immigration Act. It analyses legislation regulations, which paved the ground for post-war Canadian immigration policy, with a particular emphasis on regulations enacted from 1945 to 1976. This article provides an overview of Canadian immigration policy in post-war period. It also identifies successive documents that proved particularly influential for Canadian immigration policy at the time. The findings of this research point to a variety of causes for the legislation changes, from foreign and domestic policy to economy policy.

Keywords: Canada, Immigration Policy, Legislative Regulations, Refugee, Immigrants, Liberalization, Discrimination

Rezumat: Liberalizarea politicii canadiene a imigrării (1945–1976). Politica imigraționistă a jucat un rol-cheie în istoria Canadei încă din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Evident, legislația privind imigrația a fost un element important al acesteia. Una dintre cele mai remarcabile reforme în domeniul imigrării în Canada a avut loc în primele decenii de după al Doilea Război Mondial. A fost perioada cu numeroase reforme legislative efectuate de guvernul canadian, însă, regulamentele de imigrare adoptate în acea epocă au dat startul procesului de liberalizare în acel domeniu. Legea privind imigrația din 1976 a jucat un rol cheie în construirea noii strategii liberale de imigrare în Canada. Perioada antereformei este importantă grație faptului că ne ajută să înțelegem evoluția schimbărilor de la legislația discriminatorie la politica liberală.

Prin urmare, obiectivul principal al acestui studiu este de a investiga dezvoltarea politicii de imigrare canadiene în perioada 1945-1976. Prezentul studiu analizează premisele importante care au stat la baza adoptării Legii de Imigrare din 1976. Articolul are la bază analiza reglementărilor legislative care au statuat imigrația din Canada în perioada postbelică, în special actele adoptate între 1945 şi 1976. Totodată, s-a urmărit schițarea unei imagini de ansamblu a politicii de imigrare din Canada în perioada de după al Doilea Război Mondial. De asemenea, s-a încercat identificarea documentelor care au exercitat influență asupra politicii imigraționiste a Canadei în perioada respectivă. Concluziile arată că au existat cauze diferite pentru introducerea unor modificări legislative, de la politică externă şi cea internă până la economia politică.

Résumé: La libéralisation de la politique canadienne d'immigration (1945-1976). La politique d'immigration joua un rôle important dans l'histoire canadienne depuis le XIX-ème siècle et jusqu'à nos jours. La législation sur l'immigration constitua, certainement, l'un de ses éléments majeurs. On réalisa une des plus remarquables réformes de la politique d'immigration canadienne dans les décennies qui ont suivi la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Le long de cette période, le gouvernement canadien mit en pratique de multiples réformes législatives, mais en général, les lois d'immigration adoptées à cette époque-là déclenchèrent un processus de libéralisation en ce domaine. La loi sur l'immigration de 1976 joua un rôle clef dans l'édification d'une nouvelle stratégie libérale d'immigration au Canada. La période qui précéda la réforme est également importante, car elle permet de comprendre le processus d'évolution d'une législation discriminatoire vers une politique libérale.

Par conséquent, l'objectif principal de l'étude ci-jointe est d'étudier le développement de la politique d'immigration canadienne de 1945 à 1976. L'étude analyse les conditions sur lesquelles se basa l'adoption de la Loi sur l'Immigration (Immigration Acte) de 1976. Cet article est fondé sur l'analyse des normes législatives qui statuèrent la politique d'immigration canadienne d'après-guerre, se concentrant principalement sur les normes législatives adoptées de 1945 à 1976. Cet article offre, aussi, une vue d'ensemble sur la politique d'immigration de Canada dans la période d'après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. De plus, on y essaya d'identifier les documents successifs ayant influencé la politique d'immigration canadienne à cette époque-là. Enfin, on tira la conclusion qu'un grand nombre de facteurs influencèrent ces changements législatifs, de la politique étrangère et intérieure à la politique économique.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian policy and society had a great evolution progress during the last century. Particularly, there were many important changes on the way to democracy, multiculturalism and tolerance in this country. One of the most significant reforms in Canadian legislation were aimed at reviewing the immigration policy. The policy of discourage and discrimination in this field progressed in the first half of the 20th century. But the post-war period became the time of liberalization changes in the aforementioned area. And the middle of the

1970s was the top of the changes because of the Immigration Act of 1976. This document was one of the most significant legislation documents in Canada and its adoption started a New Era in immigration policy of this country. The pre-reform period is also important because it can help us understand the evolution of changes on the way from discriminative legislation to liberal policy. Thus, it could explain the main causes that gave impulse for the changes in immigration policy and the consequence steps during this process.

Many immigration issues have already been investigated by different researches. For instance, the Canadian authors Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock released a general overview of the history of the Canadian immigration policy[1]. Canadian historian Valerie Knowles has studied the main steps of this policy within the period of 1540–2006 and described the realities of the newcomers' life in the new homeland[2]. Another Canadian researcher, Margaret Conrad, has done an overview of the Canadian history, including immigration issues of this country. She has shown different aspects of immigration movements and the liberalization processes of Canada's society[3]. Another Canadian researcher is Lee Blanding, who has investigated in his PhD thesis the history of Canada from 1945 to 1974, but he has focused mainly on the origins of the multiculturalism policy[4]. The well-known Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka's researches discussed the connection between multicultural politics and immigration issues. His publications have focused on diverse aspects of Canadian history and policy[5]. Finally, some aspects of the Canadian immigration policy have been investigated by the Ukrainian researcher Taras Lupul, who has studied the ethnical aspects of immigration policy of Canada[6].

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[1] Ninette Kelley, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: a History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 2000.

[2] Valerie Knowles, *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977*, Ottawa, Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000, in http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-4b.asp; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006 (2 ed.),* Toronto, High Town, Tonawanda, Dundurn Press, 2007.

[3] Margaret Conrad, *A Concise History of Canada*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo, Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

[4] Lee Blanding, *Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945–1974*, Victoria, University of Victoria, 2013.

[5] Will Kymlicka, *Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State,* in "Ethics and International Affairs", 2006, Vol. 20, no. 3, p. 281–304; Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future,* Washington, Migration Policy Institute, 2012.

[6] Тарас Лупул, *Імміграція як фактор етнодемографічних змін в аналізі сучасного вітчизняного та зарубіжного мігрантознавства* [Immigration as the Factor of

Thus, various aspects of Canadian immigration policy draw the attention of many researchers. But the pre-reform liberalization period in this field is still interesting for investigation because this period was full of changes that facilitated the turning point of the immigration policy in 1976.

This paper focuses specifically on the analysis of different legislation regulations that established the Canadian immigration policy from 1945 to 1976. This article has three key aims. Firstly, we will provide an overview of Canadian immigration policy during the period from 1945 to 1976. Secondly, we will analyse the main causes of the changes in immigration policy at that time. And thirdly, we will investigate the immigration regulation acts in this period. During the research, we plan to examine changes in the Canadian immigration law by using the general scientific theory and such empirical methods as critical analysis, synthesis of sources and the method of qualitative analysis of text messages. This investigation is based on various Canadian laws that influenced immigration policy. Among these legislative documents, the most important ones are the Acts passed by the Parliament of Canada, the Orders-in-Council, and the Proclamations and Regulations.

We divided the full period of 1945–1976 into three chronological periods: the post-war Canadian immigration policy from 1945 to 1957, the changes of immigration policy from 1957 to 1962, and new liberal regulations in Canadian immigration policy from 1962 to 1976. Each of these periods had special governmental immigration policy.

THE POST-WAR CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY: FROM 1945 TO 1957

In the first decade after the Second World War, the Canadian government provided different changes in the immigration policy, both liberal and discriminative. The main causes of the changes in Canadian immigration policy were the necessity to reform the juridical system according to the new international commitments and the interior needs, such as taking a decision for various groups of people. For example, the number of wartime laws and other discriminative regulations stayed in force after the end of the Second World War,

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Ethnic and Demography Changes in the Analysis of the Current Domestic and Foreign Migration Studies], in "Вісник Одеського національного університету: Соціологія і політичні науки", 2007, 15 (52), с. 58–73; Тарас Лупул, *Сучасна імміграція як структурний компонент формування політичної нації в Канаді* [Modern Immigration as an Important Part of the Forming Process of the Canadian Political Nation], in "Політологічні та соціологічні студії: Зб. наук. праць", 2010, XI, с. 494–506.

even though most of these regulations were already outdated. Moreover, there were different groups of people like displaced persons, refugees and other categories who needed urgent actions from the government. In addition, Canada became a member of international organizations that promoted international peace and security, equal opportunities without discrimination and the fundamental rights of every human being.

On the one hand, the Canadian government provided liberal moves for the immigration policy. For example, there was the policy of support for refugees and displaced persons, as the program for the immigrants and refugees from Europe, which consisted of two main parts, such as the Close Relatives Plan and the Group Movement Plan. Another important development of the Canadian immigration policy was the admission entry to Canada for displaced persons from the refugee camps in Europe in 1947. According to this policy, refugees and displaced persons were transported to Canada under the care of the International Refugee Organization[7]. Moreover, in 1947 the government adopted The Canadian Citizenship Act, whose main purpose was "to give a clear definition of Canadian citizenship and provide an underlying community of status for all the people in Canada"[8]. On the same year, King George VI proclaimed An Act to Amend the Immigration Act and to Repeal the Chinese Immigration Act which had been in force since 1923 and only in 1947 it was abolished[9]. In 1951 the Canadian government signed separate treaties with the governments of India, Ceylon (nowadays Sri Lanka) and Pakistan, which partly enlarged the facilities of Canadian immigration policy for a few of these non-Europeans[10]. In 1951, the Canadian government implemented a program to help European immigrants who were unable to pay for their transportation to Canada. The government also reclassified the "enemy aliens" persons, took decisions in case of different groups of people, and cancelled some discriminative regulations. For instance, the Italians, the Japanese and the

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[7] *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, ON., 1948–1949, p. 173–174.

[8] *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, ON., 1955, p. 177–181.

[9] *An Act to Amend the Immigration Act and to Repeal the Chinese Immigration Act,* 1947, p. 107–109, in https://archive.org/stream/actsofparl1947v01cana#page/106/mode/2up (Accessed in 25. 12. 2016).

[10] *Exchange of Letters between the Governments of India and Canada Regarding Entry to Canada for Permanent Residence of Citizens of India*, January 26, 1951, in http://www.commonlii.org/in/other/treaties/INTSer/1951/3.html (Accessed in 19.01.2017); *Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ceylon Constituting an Agreement Regarding the Entry to Canada for Permanent Residence of Citizens of Ceylon*, January 26 and April 24, 1951, in "Treaty Series", 1951, no. 28; *Exchange of Notes between Canada and Pakistan Constituting an Agreement Regarding the Entry to Canada for Permanent Residence of Citizens of Pakistan,* October 23, 1951, in "Treaty Series", 1951, no. 21.

Germans who were detained in camps during the Second World War, were removed from the list of "enemy aliens" in 1947, the Japanese Canadians – in 1949, and the Germans – in 1950[11].

On the other hand, although the Canadian government adopted many quite liberal regulations, the complete equality of rights had not been attained. For instance, in 1945 the government passed discriminative Orders-in-Council P.C. 7355, P.C. 7356 and P.C. 7357 which were aimed against Japanese Canadians[12]. In different laws, Canadian government categorized prospecting immigrants to preferable and undesirable categories[13]. There were persons from European countries and US citizens who got a permission to enter to Canada. In contrast, there were a lot of prohibited persons such as non-white people, especially Asians, the ill and physically or mentally disabled persons, homosexuals, etc. Moreover, prospective immigrants could be rejected because of such subjective reasons as unsuitability to the climatic, economic, social, educational or other conditions. These regulations were adjusted by Orders-in-Council P. C. 2856[14] from 1950, P. C. 859 from 1953, and P. C. 785 from 1956[15] etc.

The main immigration law that appeared in the post-war decade was the new Immigration Act (the official title was "An Act Respecting Immigration"), which was adopted in July 1952. The new regulations had no considerable changes as compared to prior Immigration Acts (1910, 1919). Only homosexuals and alcoholics were added to the prohibited-persons group[16]. According to the Immigration Act of 1952, the particular role in granting or denying entry to applicants was held by the Governor in Council. This person had the right to deny entrance for newcomers for different reasons, for instance, the excuse of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin. Furthermore, this person reject an applicant because of peculiar customs, habits, and ways of life. Moreover, the Governor in Council could reject a candidate

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[11] *Canadian Immigration Timeline*. in https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/canadian-immigration--9 (Accessed in 10.01.2017).

[12] *1945 Japanese Canadians*, in http://historyofrights.ca/encyclopaedia/main-events/1940s-japanese-canadians (Accessed in 3.02.2017).

[13] George Rawlyk, *Canada's Immigration Policy, 1945–1962,* in "Dalhousie Review", 1962, 42, p. 291; *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, ON, 1950, p. 181–182.

[14] *Order re landing of immigrants in Canada, P. C. 1950-2856,* 1950, in "Canada Gazette. Part II (1947–1997)", 1950, 84 (12), p. 765–766.

[15] *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, ON, 1957, p. 172.

[16] *Immigration Act*, 1952, S.C. 1 Elizabeth II, Chapter 42, p. 5–7, in http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-1952 (Accessed in 12.02.2017).

for the reason of unsuitability regarding the climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health or other conditions[17].

As a result, Canadian immigration policy in the first post-war decade (1945–1957) was quite ambiguous because of enacting, at the same time, liberal and discriminatory legislation. In general, according to the different regulations we can characterize the activity of the Canadian government in the field of immigration as the policy of "White Canada".

THE CHANGES OF IMMIGRATION POLICY FROM 1957 TO 1962

1957 was the year of great changes in the Canadian political system because new political forces came to power. That was the Conservative government led by the Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker. The new Prime Minister announced the aim of the immigration policy of his government by these words: "We will overhaul the act's administration [The Immigration Act 1952] to ensure that humanity will be considered and put an end to the bureaucratic interpretations which keep out from Canada many potentially good citizens"[18]. At the same time the first lady – Ellen Fairclough, became the new Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.

When Ellen Fairclough chaired the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, she faced the negative results of the previous policy. For instance, there were a series of discriminatory laws in force. Moreover, the number of liberal post-war regulations also had a negative impact. For example, the process of realization of the Close Relatives Plan had influence on the increase of uneducated and unqualified newcomers (mainly from Europe). Thus, primary activities for Ellen Fairclough consisted in upgrading the shortcomings of the previous legislative.

Thereto, in March 1959 the Canadian government adopted the P.C. 1959-310. The new document amended the immigration regulations that contained in the P.C. 1954-1351 (1954). Essentially, it restricted the admission of relatives to the immediate family. According to the new document, Canadian citizens or legal residents lost their right to sponsor relatives from Egypt or brothers, sisters and married sons, daughters from any country of Europe, North America, Latin America, Lebanon, Turkey, and Israel[19].

As it was mentioned above, Canada became a member of a few international institutions, so they had a great impact on the Canadian policy and legislature in the field of immigration. In November 1959 UN General Assembly adopted the

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[17] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

[18] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006 (2 ed.),* Toronto, High Town, Tonawanda, Dundurn Press, 2007, p. 179.

[19] *Ibid., p.* 180–181.

Resolution 1390 (XIV), which announced the World Refugee Year from 1959 to 1960. According to the resolution, Member States of the United Nations should make additional financial contributions for international assistance to refugees and encourage in their territory increasing contributions from non-governmental organizations and the general public. Also, the UN members had to encourage additional opportunities for permanent refugee solutions through voluntary repatriation, resettlement or integration, on a purely humanitarian basis[20].

As the member of UN, the Canadian government had to provide some aid programs for newly refugees, but the assistance decisions were not popular among society of Canada. For instance, during the World Refugee Year, Ellen Fairclough gave the permission to admit to Canada 325 tubercular refugees and 501 members of their families. Altogether there were accepted 6 912 persons from different refugee camps in 1959–1960. But, at the same time, Ellen Fairclough rejected other requests for aid. Valerie Knowles points out that: "Although international agencies had tried repeatedly to persuade Canada to accept more "hard-core" (i.e., unsponsored, disabled, or ill) refugees, this country had steadfastly refused to commit itself to accepting such people"[21].

It probably could mean that aid programs that were provided by the Canadian government in 1959–1960, were only de jure actions. The support programs were rather sophomoric facade of Canada's contribution to the World Refugee Year. But perhaps it was caused by the critical opinion of the society.

There were important developments of the Canadian immigration policy that were provided by the new Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, among which there was an attempt to solve the problem of large-scale illegal Chinese immigration. Thus, in July 1960 the government announced an amnesty for all illegal Chinese immigrants if they came and officially announced their presence, for one month. But this attempt had only partial success.

The most significant contribution that conservative government made to the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy was taken in January 1962, when Ellen Fairclough had presented new immigration regulations – Order-in-Council P.C. 1962-86. This document amended previous immigration regulations made by Order-in-Council 1954-1351. The mentioned document rejected discrimination due to race, colour, national origin, religion or sex[22].

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[20] The UN Refugee Agency, *World Refugee Year, 1390 (XIV),* 20 November 1959, in http://www.unhcr.org/excom/bgares/3ae69ee610/world-refugee-year.html (Accessed in 29.01.2017).

[21] Valerie Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 183–185.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 187–188.

According to P.C. 1962-86, the rights of immigrants were protected on board (there had to be safety, health and moral conditions) and newcomers also got the temporary accommodation after they landed. In contrast with previous immigration regulations, immigration officer lost the authority to take a decision about physical or mental conditions of a newcomer. By this document, if the officer had any doubt, he or she had to refer the immigrant for further medical examination by a medical officer. The main criteria for determining admissibility became the educational, training, skills or other special qualifications of the applying person. Other important criteria for getting permission were "sufficient means of support to maintain himself in Canada", "arrangements for employment in Canada", "approved by the Director, for establishment in business, trade or profession, or in agriculture", or if the person was the relative of a Canadian citizen who had applied and was able to provide care for the person[23].

However, new regulations had some hidden obstacles that were aspects of discrimination. Because people who were husband, wife, fiancée, unmarried son or daughter under 21 years of age, parents or grandparents of Canadian citizen or permanent resident, they could immigrate to their relative. But these rules were in force only for "citizens of any country of Europe, including Turkey; or of any country of North, Central or South America or islands adjacent thereto". At the same time, for people from Egypt, Israel or Lebanon only the unmarried son, daughter, brother, sister, wife, fiancée or husband, unmarried orphan or niece under 21 could immigrate to Canada. In spite of these facts, we agree with the Valerie Knowles' opinion, according to which the Order-in-Council P.C. 1962-86 eliminated racial discrimination policy and abolished the "White Canada" immigration policy[24].

The findings of this section indicated that there were multilateral causes for the after-war immigration changes. The Canadian immigration policy needed to reform the juridical system according to the international commitments and the interior needs, as well as take a decision for various groups of people.

As a result, during the period from 1957 to 1962 Canadian government provided more consistent liberal changes than during the post-war decade. Finally, in 1962 the new immigration law abolished the large majority of prior

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[23] *Immigration Act, Immigration Regulations, Part I, Amended, Immigration Act, Immigration Regulations, Part II, Amended, Order-in-Council P.C. 1962-86,* 18 January 1962, p. 2, 10–11, in http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/ immigration-regulations-order-in-council-pc-1962-86-1962 (Accessed in 06.03.2017).

[24] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006 (2 ed.),* Toronto, High Town, Tonawanda, Dundurn Press, 2007, p. 187.

discriminative legislative regulations. This document dropped the policy of "White Canada" and started a new stage of development of Canadian immigration policy.

NEW LIBERAL REGULATIONS IN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY FROM 1962 TO 1976

The new Liberal government of Lester B. Pearson had provided the ideas to change immigration regulations in response to Canadian economy. On the one hand, the number of unskilled immigrants without education had increased. But on the other hand, high-skilled, well-educated and professional people were needed. To achieve such purpose, in 1966 the Department of Manpower and Immigration was established.

The first changes in Canadian immigration legislation were provided by The White Paper on Immigration (the official name was the Immigration Act and Regulations) which was enacted in October 1966. The main purpose of this document was "a general awareness among Canadians that the present Immigration Act no longer serves national needs adequately". According to the text, one of the issues of the White Paper was to accept people who have the capability to adapt themselves successfully to the Canadian economic and social conditions. Some important economic factors for the new immigration policy were identified. Firstly, the Canadian industry needed highly qualified workers. But this aim to achieve "the level of productivity necessary to survive"[25] cause unskilled workers to become unemployed. Secondly, advanced technologies would give new opportunities for the qualified persons, but at the same time, some types of work for people without education and without high level of skills could become unnecessary. Finally, the Canadian economy needed educated or skilled people who would easily integrate their occupation area in Canada[26]. In general, the Canadian labour market was interested in highly educated people such as engineers, doctors, skilled technicians etc.

According to the Immigration Act and Regulations, there were two admissible groups of immigrants. The first one consisted of unsponsored, educated, trained, skilled and other qualified immigrants from any country. The second group consisted of sponsored immigrants who had a close relative in Canada. Application for a sponsored program was available for family members

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[25] Library and Archives Canada, *The White Paper of Immigration,* October 1966, in "Canadian Immigration Policy", 1966, p. 9, in http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/white-paper-on-immigration-1966 (Accessed in 22.02.2017).

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 9.

such as husband, wife, unmarried son or daughter under 21, parents, grand-parents, orphan grandchildren, brother, sister, nephew and niece under 16. This law did not regulate refugees' application process, because government planned to introduce separate legislation for this category of people[27].

In addition, the White Paper of 1966 provided the prohibited classes of individuals. First of all, there were persons who represented a threat for public health or safety. For instance, there were "mentally or physically defected and diseased persons", criminals, spies, saboteurs, "morally or socially undesirable persons", prostitutes, drug traffickers and drug addicts, persons giving false information about themselves, and seamen who had deserted their ships. In contrast, some categories of previously prohibited persons due to this document were excluded from the dangerous group. Thus, the homosexuals, beggars, vagrants and the chronic alcoholic now were considered as "not true dangers to the national interest by virtue simply of their personal failings"[28].

The White Paper met a great criticism from different groups of people who presented workers, ethnic groups, church organizations[29]. So, government continued to work on legislation changes in this area.

The next significant fact for the understanding the evolution of Canadian immigration policy act of law was Immigration Regulations, Order-in-Council P.C. 1967-1616 which was enacted in August 1967. These regulations established new standards to appraise newcomers. The main innovation of this document was the Points system, according to which immigrants were assigned points in various categories, that was aimed at avoiding discrimination from the Canadian immigration policy.

Due to P. C. 1967-1616, the Points system consisted of nine categories: education and training; personal qualities; demand for the profession of the applicant; level of occupational skill; age; pre-arranged employment; knowledge of French and English languages; the presence of a relative in Canada who was prepared to assist; general employment opportunities in area of applicant's destination[30].

In general, there were three admissible classes of immigrants. The first group consisted of sponsored persons who had relatives in Canada. The main

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[27] *Ibid.,* p. 10–23.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 24–25.

[29] Ninette Kelley, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: a History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 2000, p. 358.

[30] *Immigration Regulations, Part 1, Amended, Order-in-Council P.C. 1967-1616*, August 1967, p. 4 and *Schedule A: Norms for Assessment of Independent Applicants,* in http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-regulations-order-in-council-pc-1967-1616-1967 (Accessed in 9.03.2017).

conditions were the same as in the previous regulations (The White Paper, 1966), but there were some changes in this category. For example, orphan relatives earlier had to be under the age of 16, but now they had to be under the age of 18, adopted children were permitted too. Previously, grandparents and parents did not have an age limit. But they should be 60 years or more, and if they were under this age, they needed to have employment or be widowed and an accompanying immediate family of those persons[31]. The second group consisted of sponsored dependents. For instance, fiancé or fiancée, or a child of a sponsor if there were impediments for marriage or adoption before. The third group consisted of persons who could immigrate to their Canadian relative. But only if this relative sponsored earlier another member of the family, and that person died or was unable to comply with the requirements of new regulations.

Generally, Canada became the first country that had developed and adopted the Points System for immigration policy. This system aimed at providing an objective, fair and non-discriminatory process of selection of applicants. It also cancelled the subjective decision and judgment of the immigration officer (as it was before). And generally, the Points System was implemented successfully – it had eliminated discrimination based on nationality or race from all categories of immigrants.

The next document also continued the liberal changes in Canadian immigration policy. The Immigration Appeal Board Act was passed in November 1967 and it gave to anyone who was ordered to be deported the right to appeal the decision to the Immigration Appeal Board. The new institution had to provide independent review process of all official decisions regarding either deportation or sponsored application denials[32].

In fact, the results of White Paper of 1966 and Immigration Regulations of 1967 had direct influence on the working process of the Immigration Appeal Board. Those laws combined the permission to appeal for everyone and a greater selectivity for every applicant. As a result, the numbers of appeals to the Immigration Appeal Board rapidly increased.

As it was noticed earlier, foreign policy and especially international agreements or treaties had significant influence on the Canadian immigration legislation. For instance, in 1969 Canada had signed the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees which was enacted in October 1967 by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This document became the main treaty for the international refugee law. Its regulations amended the Final Act of the UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons

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[31] *Ibid.,* p. 1–2.

[32] *Immigration Appeal Board Act (Canada)*, 1967, in http://immigrationtous.net/156-immigration-appeal-board-act-canada-1967.html (Accessed in 17.03.2017).

which was adopted in 1955 at Geneva, Switzerland. Previous treaty interpreted the refugees as people who had been forced to leave their countries because of events that occurred before 1951. But escalation of international crises, conflicts or wars, and also the process of decolonization let to the revision of that document. As a result, the new Protocol presented more extensively the concept idea of refugees, and promoted the policy of protection of refugees. According to the Protocol, time and geographical restrictions in relation to the term of "refugee", were omitted.

Countries which had signed the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees had to apply its principles. Moreover, governments had to made reports to UN organs with statistical data about the conditions of refugees, results of implementation of the Protocol in their state and with information about each legislative regulation related to refugees[33].

Another international agreement signed by the Canadian government was the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly resolution 2106 in December 1965 and entered into force in January 1969. The Convention had eliminated racial discrimination and all practices of segregation in all its forms throughout the world. It had promoted respect for the dignity of every human person. Due to the Convention, Canada and other countries which had signed the document had to do all appropriate effective measures for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Signers also had to promote tolerance, communication and understanding for all races[34].

However, there were still many problems for those who were looking for a new home in Canada. As we noticed earlier, according to the White Paper (1966) and Immigration Regulations (1967) each applicant had either permission to appeal or greater selectivity. Thus, the numbers of appeals to the Immigration Appeal Board rapidly increased and persons waited for the decision quite a long time.

By 1973, Robert Andras, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, reported that "many persons who appealed a deportation order could count on a 20-year stay in Canada while awaiting the outcome"[35]. In order to solve the problem, an

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[33] The UN Refugee Agency, *Final Act of the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons*, 25 July 1951, in http://www.unhcr.org/protection/travaux/40a8a7394/final-act-united-nations-conference-plenipotentiaries-status-refugees-stateless.html (Accessed in 15.03.2017).

[34] UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, 21 December 1965, in http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx (Accessed in 20.03.2017).

[35] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy,*

amendment to the act was passed in July 1973, abolishing the automatic right of appeal while providing amnesty for those who registered within 60 days. More than 39 000 people from over 150 countries obtained immigrant status[36].

The next official governmental documents were two amendments enacted in 1974. The first one was the Immigration Regulations, Part I, amendment – P. C. 1974-318, which was enacted in February 1974. This document amended the Immigration Regulations Part I made by Order-in-Council P. C. 1962-86 (1962). According to it, the group of sponsored immigrants with relatives in Canada became wider. For example, relatives such as half-brothers and half-sisters got a right to apply for the sponsor program. There were also other details for the sponsor program and some regulations about scoring process according to the Points system[37]. The second document was the Immigration Regulations, Part I, amendment – P. C. 1974-2351, which was enacted in October 1974. It amended the Immigration Regulations (Part I) made by Ellen Fairclough's provided P. C. 1962-86 (1962)[38]. The new document had also some additions about the Points system. For example, it consisted of several explanations for the immigration or visa officers about the scoring procedure for nominated relatives and independent applicants.

Both Immigration Regulations – P. C. 1974-318 and P. C. 1974-2351 had provided more stringent regulations for immigrants. Thus, newcomers, in spite of their appropriate general score, had to have also at least one point for occupation in Canada or arranged employment. Moreover, the final score for admissions became higher than 10 points (from 50 to 60). These conditions were regulated by economic policy of Canada and its necessities.

Among different legislative regulations, there were also some significant documents that regulate the concrete procedures of immigration policy. This kind of laws consisted of information about current operations, resolutions and decisions. For instance, Immigration Special Relief Regulations, No. 17 – P. C. 1974-1475, and Immigration Special Relief Regulations, No. 18 – P. C. 1974-1476, both were enacted in June 1974[39]. Another similar document was Immigration Special

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1540–2006 (2 ed.), Toronto, High Town, Tonawanda, Dundurn Press, 2007, p. 202.

[36] *Immigration Appeal Board Act (Canada)*, 1967, in http://immigrationtous.net/156-immigration-appeal-board-act-canada-1967.html (Accessed in 17.03.2017).

[37] *Immigration Regulations, Part I, Amendment, P.C. 1934-318,* 21 February 1974, in "Canada Gazette Part II", 1974, Vol. 108, no. 5, p. 660–663.

[38] *Immigration Regulations, Part I, Amendment, P.C. 1974–2351,* 22 October 1974, in "Canada Gazette Part II", 1974, Vol. 108, no. 21, p. 2840–2841.

[39] *Immigration Special Relief Regulations, No. 17, P. C. 1974-1475*, 27 June 1974, in "Canada Gazette Part II", 1974, Vol. 108, no. 14, p. 1972–1985; *Immigration Special Relief Regulations, No. 18, P. C. 1974-1476*, 27 June 1974, in "Canada Gazette Part II", 1974,

Relief Regulations No. 24 – P. C. 1974-2329, which was enacted in 1974[40]. All of these laws modified the application of certain provisions of the Immigration Regulations to certain persons. For example, these documents consisted of six schedules with a list of people. The first schedule contained a list of those who were rejected to immigrate to Canada. The second one contained a list of persons who may be granted landing in Canada. The third schedule consisted of people who were considered as sponsor for admission to Canada for permanent residence of the persons that also were noted in this schedule. The fourth contained a list of family members who should be deemed to be a member of the immediate family of the independent applicant. The fifth schedule consisted of people who could be the accompanying member of the family. And the last schedule contained a list of nominative relatives. Each of these schedules contained many people from different regions and with different citizenships. And, as we can see, Canadian legislature proposed very detailed regulations in the immigration area.

In 1974 the Department of Manpower and Immigration also adopted the "global priorities" for Canadian immigration policy, according to which selection officers had to give the first priority to all applications for sponsored immigrants. The second priority had independent and nominated persons whose occupation was needed to Canadian economy. The third priority had applicants who were going to invest their own capital to Canada and start their own business. The lowest priority had other immigrants, both independent and nominated, who were not included to the groups of higher priority. According to Anthony H. Richmond's investigation, these selection proceedings slowed down the flow of many independent and nominated immigrants to Canada[41].

At the same year Canadian government launched the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). Because of its aims, the ISAP was the significant and useful improvement decision for immigration policy in general. The main purposes of the program were to support settlement and adaptation of newcomers. ISAP funded organizations that provided settlement services for new Canadian immigrants. Owing to the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, newcomers received the important support after arriving, such as the guidance and necessary knowledge for their basic needs, and for adaptation to life in Canada[42].

Vol. 108, no. 14, p. 1986–2008.

[40] *Immigration Special Relief Regulations No. 24, P. C. 1974-2329*, 22 October 1974, in "Canada Gazette Part II", 1974, Vol. 108, no. 21, p. 2801–2822.

[41] Anthony H. Richmond, *Canadian Immigration: Recent developments and Future Prospects*, in "International Migration", 1975, Vol. 13, Issue 4, p. 171–172.

[42] *Evaluation of the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP)*, in

In fact, despite numerous different kinds of legislative regulations that were enacted since previous Immigration Act of 1952, exactly this Act was the basis of Canadian immigration policy. Moreover, immigration legislation was irrelevant and it did not correspond with real social, economic and political conditions. Thus, the Canadian government had an important task to reform law in this area.

The significant shifts of immigration policy started in 1974, when the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Robert Andras, had declared the public debates about the role of immigration for Canada and about the needs of the immigration policy of this country. He invited provinces and interested organizations to join this process. Robert Andras also organized the commission that had to provide a factual background to policy issues and ensure policy options[43].

In February 1975 the commission, headed by Richard Tait, presented four discussion documents in the House of Commons. These documents were named as a Green Paper (the official name was *Green Paper on Immigration and Population*) and after presentation in Parliament, Green Paper was introduced to society.

Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons consulted the general public and, as a result of "50 public hearings in 21 Canadian cities and reviewing more than 1 400 briefs submitted to it, the hard-working committee produced a report whose recommendations formed the basis of a new Immigration Act"[44]. This long-term but efficient working process on the Green Paper became an important contribution to liberalization of Canadian immigration policy.

As a result, most of the recommendations that Committee prepared for the Green Paper, were accepted by the government and became the basis of the reform legislation. The New Immigration Act (the official name was An Act respecting immigration to Canada) was introduced in 1976, and this document for the first time had managed the fundamental principles and goals of Canadian immigration policy. The Immigration Act was proclaimed in November 1976. But this law came into effect only in April 1978.

The new law declared that the rules, regulations and immigration policy in general had to promote the domestic and international interests of Canada, such as: demographic, cultural, social and economic goals; reunion of Canadians with their relatives abroad; to encourage and facilitate the adaptation programs for

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http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/isap/2011/section2.asp (Accessed in 23.03.2017).

[43] Valerie Knowles, *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977*, Ottawa, Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000, in http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-4b.asp (Accessed in 22.03.2017).

[44] *Ibid.*

newcomers; to invite visitors for the growth of trade, tourism, scientific activities and international understanding; prohibition discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex; and fulfil Canada's international legal obligations with respect and help to refugees etc.[45]

Moreover, due to this new Immigration Act, there were four categories of people eligible for landed-immigrant status: family relatives; humanitarian class, which consisted of refugee and displaces persons; independent class; and assisted far relatives who partially met some of the selection criteria of the independent class[46].

Valerie Knowles characterizes the Immigration Act of 1976 as the cornerstone of Canadian immigration policy from 1978 to 2001 that broke new ground by spelling out the fundamental principles and objectives of Canadian immigration policy[47].

So, during the period from 1962 to 1976 the Canadian government provided a number of significant liberal legislation that regulated different areas of immigration policy. Important laws entered in force at this time, such as the White Paper of 1966 and Points system of 1967. These documents aimed at avoiding discrimination against applicants. Finally, the Green Paper of 1975 formed the new Immigration Act of 1976 that started a New Era in immigration policy of Canada.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the Canadian immigration policy in the first post-war decade, from 1945 to 1957 was enforcing, at the same time, liberal and discriminatory legislation. Due to the different law regulations, the Canadian government had provided the policy of "White Canada". It meant that prospective immigrants could have been rejected because of factors like race, ethnic, originality, language, or traditions.

Whereas, in the next five years, from 1957 to 1962, the government provided more consistent liberal changes. As a result, in 1962 there was enacted a new immigration law that abolished the large majority of prior discriminative legislative regulations. This document eliminated the policy of "White Canada" and started a new stage of development of Canadian immigration policy.

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[45] *Immigration Act, 1976, An Act respecting immigration to Canada,* 5 August 1977, p. 1197–1199, in http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-1976 (Accessed in 25.03.2017).

[46] Valerie Knowles, *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977*, Ottawa, Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000, in http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-4b.asp (Accessed in 22.03.2017).

[47] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006 (2 ed.),* Toronto, High Town, Tonawanda, Dundurn Press, 2007, p. 208.

During the next period from 1962 to 1976 the Canadian government had provided number of liberal laws which regulated different areas of immigration policy. Some evolutionary documents entered in force at this time. For instance, the White Paper of 1966 and Points system enacted in 1967 were aimed at avoiding any forms of discrimination against applicants. To top it all, in 1974 started a long-term work to define needs of the Canadian immigration policy. As a result, the Green Paper on Immigration and Population of 1975 formed the new Immigration Act of 1976 that was the first immigration act that outlined the fundamental objectives and principles of Canadian immigration policy, and started a New Era in immigration for this country.

The findings of this section indicated that there were multilateral causes for immigration changes in Canada. We could conclude that the main causes of the changes in Canadian immigration policy were the necessity to reform the juridical system according to the international commitments and the interior needs such as to take a decision for various groups of people in the first decades of post-was period. But since the 1960s the changes in immigration policy were also influenced by the conditions and needs of the Canadian economy.

Finally, during the period of 1945–1976 the Canadian immigration policy had done the turning point from discrimination to liberal principles, and laid down the foundations of the next period of open policy for newcomers.

THE MAIN RESEARCH AREAS OF THE U.S. POLICY TOWARDS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Abstract: The article is an attempt to detect the main research areas of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution in the current historiography. The main groups of the works in the Soviet, post-Soviet, American and Cuban historiography were analysed. There were shown the basic research centres that had studied various aspects of the U.S. actions towards the Cuba. In the article, there were also considered the main dimensions and approaches towards the issue. There were revealed changes which happened in the studies at the post-Cold war period. It was also determined that the formation and change of the main approaches to the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution depended on the ideological context and transformation of the international situation. In the American historiography, the main research areas have reflected a plurality of views and were dominated by a more balanced approach in the post-Cold War period. In the Soviet and post-Soviet historiography, we found the substitution of the main concept: the notion of the American imperialism has been replaced by the conception of U.S. geopolitical interests in Latin America. The Cuban historiography was characterized by two different groups: Cuban studies and the publications of historians-emigrants.

Keywords: U.S., Cuban Revolution, Historiography, Cold War, the Soviet Union, Cuba, imperialism

Rezumat: Principalele direcții de cercetare ale politicii SUA față de Revoluția Cubaneză în istoriografia sovietică și post-sovietică. Articolul este o încercare de a identifica principalele direcții de cercetare ale politicii SUA față de Revoluția Cubaneză în istoriografia contemporană. Autoarea a analizat lucrările fundamentale produse de istoriografiile sovietică, post-sovietică, americană și cubaneză. De asemenea, în studiu au fost prezentate principalele centre de cercetare care au studiat diverse aspecte legate de acțiunile Statelor Unite față de Cuba. Cercetătoarea a insistat asupra diverselor niveluri și abordări ale problematicii în cauză. Studiul inventariază modificările survenite în abordările cercetătorilor în timpul și după încheierea Războiului Rece. De asemenea, autoarea constată că formarea și modificarea principalelor abordări ale reacției SUA față de Revoluția Cubaneză a depins de contextul ideologic și de transformările survenite pe arena internațională. În istoriografia

americană, principalele direcţii de cercetare au fost caracterizate de pluralitatea de opinii, evidenţiindu-se o abordare mai echilibrată în perioada post-Război Rece. În istoriografia sovietică şi post-sovietică, autoarea a identificat fenomenul substituirii conceptului principal: noţiunea de imperialism american a fost înlocuită cu conceptul de interese geopolitice ale SUA în America Latină. Istoriografia cubaneză a fost caracterizată prin împărţirea studiilor publicate în două grupe diferite: studiile cubaneze şi publicaţiile istoricilor-emigranţi.

Résumé : Les principales directions de recherche de la politique des États-Unis vis-à-vis la révolution cubaine dans l'historiographie soviétique et postsoviétique. L'article ci-joint représente une tentative d'identifier les principaux domaines de recherche de la politique des États-Unis vis-à-vis la révolution cubaine dans l'historiographie actuelle. On y analysa les travaux les plus importants de l'historiographie soviétique, postsoviétique, américaine et cubaine. De plus, on y montra les centres principaux de recherche qui étudièrent divers aspects des actions des États-Unis à l'égard de Cuba. On y examina, aussi, les divers niveaux de recherche et les approches de la question en cause. On constata des changements dans l'attitude des chercheurs pendant la Guerre Froide et la période d'après la Guerre Froide. On y détermina également que la formation et le changement des principaux abords de la réaction des États-Unis à l'égard de la Révolution Cubaine furent influencés par le contexte idéologique et la transformation de l'arène internationale. Dans l'historiographie américaine, les domaines principaux de recherche réfléchissent la pluralité des points de vue, étant dominés par une approche plus équilibrée dans la période d'après la Guerre Froide. Dans l'historiographie soviétique et postsoviétique, l'auteur identifia le phénomène de la substitution du concept principal: la notion des intérêts géopolitiques américains en Amérique Latine remplaça la notion d'impérialisme américain. L'historiographie cubaine se caractérisa par la division des études publiées en deux groupes différents: les études cubaines et les publications des historiens-émigrants.

INTRODUCTION

The U.S.–Cuba relationship has been plagued by distrust and antagonism since 1959, the year Fidel Castro overthrew the U.S.-backed regime in Havana and established a socialist state allied with the Soviet Union. The Cuban Revolution shattered some of the most important policy formulations by which the United States had traditionally defined its place and defended its interests in the Western Hemisphere. During the half century that followed, successive U.S. administrations pursued policies intended to isolate the island country economically and diplomatically. Indeed, the United States has sanctioned Cuba longer than any other country. Therefore, the study of U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba in the second half of the twentieth century has always attracted the attention of researchers, in particular the theme of the Cuban revolution of 1959 which has become one of the traditional subjects for Latin American studies. As a proof of this we can find the numerous studies of historical, political, sociological, and even

cultural orientation, which appeared almost immediately after the revolution.

For more than 50 years the response of the United States to the revolution in Cuba was interpreted by researchers in different ways. That was dependent on many factors; it proceeded from the ideological and political conjuncture, the conditions of the Cold War, and the realities of the post-bipolar world. This is especially evident in the Soviet and post-Soviet historiography.

In the USSR, History as a science was the object of ideological and political influence. The theoretical basis for Soviet historiography was the Marxist-Leninist ideology and idea about the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and to build a world communist community. At the same time, History was seen as a "party's science". The leadership of the Communist Party completely controlled historical science and determined main approaches of research. The Soviet historiography served the authorities' political interests. In their investigations historians had to select certain facts, which reflected the official position of the Soviet government on any issues, including the U.S. policy towards Cuba. In contrast to the Soviet times, the post-Soviet scholars received the opportunity to be free of the Cold War ideological pressures, leading to a pluralistic approach in the historical researches and in the studies of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution.

Despite the large number of publications devoted to this issue in the Soviet and post-Soviet historiography there is a necessity to make some generalizations. In this article, we will focus on the main interpretations of the U.S. reaction to the 1959 Cuban Revolution that were proposed by the representatives of the Soviet and post-Soviet (in particular Russian and Ukrainian) historiography. The author realizes that it is impossible to make a detailed analysis of the whole amount of publications which already exist in historiography since 1960s. The main goal is to identify the key approaches and to investigate how these approaches changed after the Cold War. We will also take a brief look on some publications of the American and Cuban historiography in order to compare a few key areas of the studies in the mentioned field.

THE MAIN APPROACHES OF THE U.S. REACTION TOWARDS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION DURING THE COLD WAR

Soviet historians responded to the Cuban revolution with great interest and enthusiasm. The first travelogue, journalistic articles, and popular science pamphlets on revolutionary Cuba were published in 1959. After the proclamation of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution, the interest towards the island had increased in the USSR.

Among general features of the Soviet historiography in this field it is

worthwhile to mention: a concentration of the Cuban studies in Moscow, the low level of scientific research, the great impact of the political component, and the dominance of the anti-American orientation in these studies. Let's make a brief overview of the mentioned peculiarities.

For the first decades - after the revolution of 1959 - in the Soviet Union there was a comprehensive library established containing scientific studies dedicated to the revolutionary process in Cuba. The history of this country began to be studied in several research centres and universities. But as it was typical for the Soviet science there was some kind of monopolization by the capital city in the study of certain topics, especially in the field of international relations. That is why the research of American-Cuban relations was concentrated mostly in the central scientific institutes in Moscow. In 1961 the Institute of Latin America was created within the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. As Vladimir Davydov (one of the directors of this Institute) mentioned, the "Cuban impulse" influenced the creation of this research institution that was formed earlier than other establishments oriented on regional studies (such as Institute of the Far East -1966, Institute of the USA and Canada -1967, Institute of Europe -1987)[1]. Other centres of the Latin America studies were also located in Moscow; among them we can name: Institute of the International Relations, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow State University, and a number of scientific establishments of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR such as the Institute of History or the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, etc.

Another feature of the Soviet historiography in the field of the USA-Cuban studies was the low level of scientific research. The weakness of these studies was caused mostly by the limited range of sources which were available for Soviet researchers. In addition, the lack of cooperation and interaction between Soviet and foreign scientists entailed the limitations of reliable information as well as fragmentariness of the scientific representation.

On the other hand, the shortcomings of the Soviet- Cuban studies were provoked by the political component. As it was already mentioned, the Soviet historical science served the political interests of the Soviet government, explaining why the majority of these studies were characterized by excessive politicization and subjectivity in the assessment of the U.S.-Cuban relations. As a result, the main approaches had evolved in the context of the Cold War and ideological confrontation. This was reflected in the anti-American orientation of the Soviet historiography dominance as one of the specific feature of the U.S.-

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[1] В.М. Давыдов, *Институт Латинской Америки РАН: полвека научной деятельности* [The Institute of Latin America RAS: the half-century of scientific activity], "Новая и новейшая история", 2011, 3, с.3-14.

Cuban studies. As it is well known the United States was interpreted as the most important external enemy of the Soviet Union and its image greatly influenced on all spheres of historical research and teaching as well as news making and propaganda as a whole. The negative features of American policies were too exaggerated, while the positive or neutral characteristics were understated. Such one-sided interpretation of the U.S. policy predetermined a low degree of the research objectivity.

In general, the Soviet historiography presented the U.S. policy towards Cuba in two principal dimensions. The first one was within the framework of the main research stream dedicated to the global confrontation of communist and capitalist systems[2]. The second one was in the context of the study of the local confrontation: the revolutionary struggle in Latin America[3]. In both cases, the interpretation was focused on the American imperialism and on the related issues of the U.S. anti-Cuban activities, fraternal support of Cuba by the USSR and other socialist countries, encouragement for the Cuban people in the face of the U.S. threats.

We have to underline that the concept of "American imperialism" was central within the Soviet ideological system of the global confrontation of communist and capitalist systems during the Cold War. It was suggested that from

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[2] А.М. Ковалев, *современная эпоха и мировой революционный процесс* [The Modern Era and the World Revolutionary Process], Москва, Издательство Московского университета, 1970; Г. Б. Старушенко, Ю. А. Бочкарев, *Сотрудничество СССР с освободившимися странами и международная безопасность* [The Cooperation between the USSR and the Liberated Countries and the International Security], Москва, Международные отношения, 1983; Н. И. Китаев, Е. И. Рыбкин, *Противо-борство сил прогресса и реакции в современном мире* [Struggle Between the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Modern World], Москва, Издательство "Университетское", 1986.

[3] *Национально-освободительное движение в Латинской Америке на современном этапе. Материалы расширенной сессии Ученого совета Института мировой экономики и международных отношений Академии наук СССР, посвященной 150-летию войны за независимость народов Латинской Америки* [The National Liberation Movement in Latin America at the Present Stage. The Materials of Extended Session of the Academic Council of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, that Dedicated to the 150th Anniversary of the Independence War of Latin America Peoples]. Москва, Соцэкгиз, 1961; А. В. Вяткин, Н. В. Мячин, М. И. Мохначев, *Борьба за единый рабочий и антиим-периалистический фронт в странах Латинской Америки* [The Struggle for a United Workers' and Anti-Imperialist Front in Latin America], Москва, Изд-во ВПШ и АОН, 1963; Б. М. Мерин, *Революция и контрреволюция в Латинской Америке* [The Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Latin America], Москва, Политиздат, 1977.

the first days of the Cuban revolution Washington was hostile to the actions of Cuban rebels and their leader Fidel Castro and that this enmity was a result of "the United States' imperial ambitions in Latin America". In the Soviet historiography the issue of American imperialism was partially touched in general studies, which belonged to the history of international relations[4], the history of Cuba[5] and Cuban Revolution in 1959[6], the history of the U.S. foreign policy[7], especially, the U.S. policy in Latin America[8]. Taking into account the specific of the ideological confrontation between socialist and capitalist blocks, in the USSR there had been published many works about methods and means of the United States' *"secret war"* against Latin America and Cuba[9]. For example, we can mention the works of E. Checkmazov, B. Merin, E. Grinevich, and B. Gvorzdarev. These authors studied the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution as a manifestation of the American

[4] *Международные отношения после Второй мировой войны, 1956-1964 гг.* [International Relations after the World War II, 1956-1964], т. 3, Москва, Политиздат, 1965.

[5] Э. А. Гриневич, Б. И. Гвоздарев, *Куба в мировой политике* [Cuba in World Politics], Москва, Международные отношения, 1984; О. Дарусенков, Б. Горбачев, В. Ткаченко, *Куба – остров созидания* [Cuba – the Island of Creation], Москва, Политиздат, 1975.

[6] *Пять лет кубинской революции* [Five years of the Cuban revolution], Москва, Академия Наук СССР, 1963; В. В. Вольский, *Куба: 10 лет революции* [Cuba: 10 years of Revolution], Москва, Наука, 1968; *XX лет Кубинской революции. Материалы международной конференции* [XX Years of the Cuban Revolution. The Proceedings of the International Conference], Москва, декабрь 1978 г., Москва, Наука, 1980.

[7] В. И. Лан, *США в военные и послевоенные годы* [The USA in the War and the Post-War Years] Москва, Наука, 1978; Г. А. Трофименко, *США: политика, война, идеология* [The USA: Politics, War, Ideology], Москва, Мысль, 1976.

[8] А. Н. Глинкин, Б. Ф. Мартынов, П. П. Яковлев., *Эволюция латиноамериканской политики США* [The Evolution of the U.S. Latin American policy], Москва, Прогресс, 1982; Б. И. Гвоздарьёв, *Эволюция и кризис межамериканской системы* [The Evolution and the Crisis of the Inter-American System], Москва, Международные отношения, 1966; К. А. Хачатуров, *Идеологическая экспансия США в Латинской Америке: доктрины, формы и методы пропаганды США [The United States Ideological Expansion in Latin America: the doctrines, forms and methods of U.S. propaganda],* Москва, Международные отношения, 1978.

[9] К. С. Тарасов, *Тайная война империализма США в Латинской Америке* [The Secret War of the U.S. Imperialism in Latin America], Москва, Политиздат, 1978; В. В. Листов, В. Г. Жуков, *Тайная война против революционной Кубы* [The Secret War against Revolutionary Cuba], Москва, Политиздат, 1966; Ф. М. Сергеев, *Тайная война против Кубы* [The secret war against Cuba], Москва, Прогресс, 1982.

imperialism[10],[11],[12]. In their opinion, the U.S. was decidedly antagonistic to the Revolution because of the "imperialist role" played by the United States in the Western Hemisphere. They described the U.S. policy as the Washington's attempts "to strangle the revolution" and to establish a full economic blockade of the island. The Soviet historians had shown the growth of the international prestige of Cuba, the consolidation of the Cuban regime and the USSR's support in the protection of revolution achievements, of freedom and independence.

It is necessary to mention that a great influence on Cuban studies as well as on the formation of anti-American views of Soviet scholars (and the Soviet people) was played by some personalities of the Cuban revolution and especially by Fidel Castro. His political biography and speeches[13] or the biographies of other heroes of the Cuban Revolution[14] have been published in the Soviet Union in large editions. The central place in Castro's orations was occupied by the "anti-imperialist struggle of the Cuban people for the ideals of the Revolution". Fidel Castro's accusation of Washington carrying out anti-Cuban policy was within the general line of the Soviet approaches towards the United States.

If the Soviet historians had studied the issue solely within the ideological context, on the contrary the American historiography of 1960s – mid-1980s had been characterized by a plurality of views on the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution. The issue was presented using different level of analysis. The main ones were in the context of the peculiarities of U.S.-Cuban relations, the U.S. policy

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[10] В. Г. Чекмазов, *Политика империализма США и революционная Куба (американо-кубинские отношения, 1959 – 1962 гг.)* [The Policy of the U.S. Imperialism and revolutionary Cuba (American-Cuban relations, 1959 – 1962)], автореф. дисс. на соискание наук. степени канд. ист. наук, Москва, ИЛА АН СССР, 1968.

[11] Б. М. Мерин, *Американо-кубинские отношения (1959-1961 гг.)* [American-Cuban relations], автореф. дисс. на соискание наук. степени канд. ист. наук, Москва, Моск. обл. пед. ин-т. им. Н. К. Крупской, 1963.

[12] Э. А. Гриневич, Б. И. Гвоздарев, *Вашингтон против Гаваны: Кубинская революция и империализм США* [Washington against Havana: the Cuban Revolution and the U.S. Imperialism], Москва, Международные Отношения, 1982.

[13] Фидель Кастро, *Речи и выступления* [Speeches and Statements], Москва, Издательство иностранной литературы, 1960; Фидель Кастро, *Избранные произведения, 1952-1986 гг.* [Selected Works, 1952-1986], Москва, Издательсво политической литературы, 1986.

[14] Антонио Нуньес Хименес, *В походе с Фиделем. 1959* [In the Campaign with Fidel. 1959], Москва, Политиздат, 1984; А. М. Зорина, *Камило Сьенфуэгос – герой Кубинской революции* [Camilo Cienfuegos, Hero of the Cuban Revolution], Москва, Наука, 1966; И. Р. Лаврецкий, *Эрнесто Че Гевара* [Ernesto Che Guevara], Москва, Молодая гвардия, 1973.

in Latin America and Western Hemisphere, within the framework of the Cold War and the confrontation with the Soviet Union. Most interpretations of the United States' actions towards revolution were focused on the issue of U.S.-Soviet rivalry, communist subversion, or U.S. imperialism.

Traditionally, there were three main approaches of the mentioned studies: a conservative, a liberal, and a radical. Representatives of the conservative approach mainly focused on the growth of Soviet power. In their opinion, Washington was "fooled" by Castro and did "too little and too late" to prevent the consolidation of his regime; thus, it allowed the creation of a serious threat to U.S. security. This view was reflected in the works of D. James[15], E. Smith[16], and N. Weyl.[17] The authors of the liberal approach were mostly concerned about maintaining of the U.S. influence in the Third World countries, in the circumstances of the undergoing rapid change in international relations caused by decolonization and lasting struggle with the USSR for the spheres of influence. They expressed the opinion that the United States could have prevented the spread of Castro's communism in Latin America by becoming much more active in promoting the non-revolutionary change in the Western Hemisphere. Among the representatives of this second approach we can mention P. Bonsai[18] and A. Schlesinger Jr.[19]. Among the American researchers, who held radical views on the U.S. reaction towards the Revolution of 1959 were L. Huberman and P. Sweezy[20], W. Williams[21], M. Zeitlin and R. Scheer. Their opinions were almost similar to those of the Soviet historians. They believed that Washington was early and decidedly hostile to the Cuban Revolution and that this hostility was a result of the "imperialist role" played by the United States in the Third World[22]. Some researches of the left-wing radical historians had been even translated and published in the Soviet Union.[23]

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[15] Daniel James, *Cuba: The First Soviet Satellite in the Americas*, New York, Avon Book Division, Hearst Corporation, 1961.

[16] Earl E. T. Smith, *The fourth floor: an account of the Castro communist revolution,* Washington D. C., U.S. Cuba Press, 1962.

[17] Nathaniel Weyl, *Red star over Cuba: The Russian assault on the Western Hemisphere*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1960.

[18] Philip Bonsai*, Cuba. Castro, and the United States. Pittsburgh,* Pittsburgh University Press, 1971.

[19] Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1965.

[20] Leo Huberman, Paul Sweezy, *Cuba – Anatomy of a Revolution,* New York, Monthly Review, 1968.

[21] William A. Williams. *The United States. Cuba and Castro,* New York, Monthly Review, 1962.

[22] Maurice Zeitlin, Robert Scheer, *Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere*, New York, Grove, 1963.

[23] Г. Аптекер, *Внешняя политика США и «холодная война»* [The U.S. Foreign Policy and

In this connection, it was of interest to compare the Soviet and American historiography with the Cuban historiography. The post-revolutionary Cuban historiography was characterized by the division into two different groups. The first one included the studies of the Cuban researchers who lived on the island under the new regime. These studies were characterized by the symbiosis of Marxism and Leninism theory of imperialism (which was borrowed from the Soviet historical science) and the national anti-American traditions. The approach of Cuban historians and political scientists to the study of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution was determined mainly by the local government, and in fact was a reflection of the official position. The Cuban researchers were mainly focused on Washington's imperial ambitions in Latin America.[24] Some Cuban researches were published in the Soviet Union as representatives of the studies undertaken in the socialist bloc countries.[25] The second group included the historical works which were published abroad, consisting of almost exclusively English language materials. It was known by varieties of methodological approaches and ideological persuasion and differed by scope, structure, and sources. Most of the Cuban immigrant researchers lived in the United States. Their works can be considered as a part of American historiography and the authors mostly belonged to the conservative approach. They advocated more active U.S. policy to overthrow the regime of F. Castro.[26]

Thus, during the Cold War, the explanations of the main approaches of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution in Soviet, American and Cuban historiography were considered mostly in the context of bilateral tensions and ideological struggle between communist and capitalist systems. Moreover, the Soviet historiography has been subjected to the ideological influence. It was distinguished by the unification of scientific research on the specific issue and reflected the official position of the Soviet government on the U.S. policy towards Cuba.

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the Cold War], Москва, Госполитиздат, 1963; Д. Норт, *Кубинская революция* [Cuba's Revolution], Москва, Иностранная литература, 1960.

[24] Sergio Guerra Alberto Prieto. E.E.U.U. contra America Latina: dos siglos de aggression. - La Habana, 1978; Guerra Ramiro. En el camino de la Independencia. - La Habana, 1974.

[25] Антонио Нуньес Хименес, *Аграрная реформа на Кубе* [The Agrarian Reform in Cuba], Москва, Издательство ИМО, 1960; Хулио Ле Риверенд, *Кубинская республика: зависимость и революция* [The Cuban Republic: Dependence and Revolution], Москва, Прогресс, 1970.

[26] Jules Dubois*, Fidel Castro: Rebel-Liberator or Dictator?* Indianopolis - New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1959; Jorge Garcia Montes, Antonio Alonso Avila, *Historia del Partido Comunista de Cuba* [History of the Cuban Communist Party], Miami, Ediciones Universal, 1970.

POST-COLD WAR APPROACHES OF THE U.S. REACTION
TOWARDS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the historical science appeared in completely new conditions. First of all, the historians from former Soviet republics received an opportunity to study their own national history, which in the previous times was allowed exclusively within the framework of the Soviet paradigm. That is why more attention was paid to the topics that were previously forbidden. For example, in Ukraine, new research areas were entirely connected with Ukrainian issues (national revolution in 1917-1921, Holodomor 1932-1933, Ukrainian Insurgent Army, etc.), and even international relations and world history issues were studied in the context of Ukrainian history.

Scholar interest towards U.S. foreign policy remained as topical one, but different areas had different scale of attention. In general, interest to U.S. policy towards Cuba lost its priority, but still was in the focus of post-Soviet researchers. Among the common features of the post-Soviet historiography in the mentioned field we can talk about new possibilities for the scholars because of the growing cooperation between them and availability of the sources, de-monopolization and spread of these studies out of Moscow, appearing of the plurality of approaches and denial of exclusively ideological approach. Let's take a look on this in more details on the example of the Ukrainian and Russian historiography.

If to start with the new possibilities for the scholars we have to mention that since the end of the Cold War, in the late 1980s – early 1990s, the ideological confrontation has lost its edge. The declassification of the documents in the American and Cuban archives created new conditions for the historical researches and led to some intensification of the Cuban studies. As a result, a number of new publications and conferences on various aspects of U.S.-Cuban relations were conducted. This also marked the beginning of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in this field. The growing cooperation between post-Soviet historians with their foreign colleagues (especially with American) as well as accessibility of the sources led to the higher level of the researches.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union another specific feature of the historical science was that the study of U.S.-Cuban relations has ceased to be monopolized. If earlier the majority of the scientific centres for studying this issue were concentrated in Moscow, since early 1990s such centres appeared in the former republics of the Soviet Union. In Ukraine, for example, the American studies dealing with the U.S.-Cuban policy took place in Kyiv, Odessa, and Kharkiv. In addition, in post-Soviet U.S.-Cuban studies had appeared the plurality of

approaches and denial from class approach to the perception of historical events. This feature is closely connected with the refusal of exclusively ideological approach. Evaluating the Cold War period, we can observe the increasingly use the terms of geopolitics, not ideology. As in previous times historical works were focused entirely on the issues of the struggle of the two opposite systems, after disappearing of the bipolar world the interest to the study of the Cuban Revolution has decreased. Let's overview the mentioned above specific features with the help of a few concrete examples.

In the most of post-Soviet scientific researches, the U.S. response to the Cuban revolution is studied as part of some specialized issues. The most of these studies have analysed the U.S.-Cuba conflict after the Cold War. There is considered the U.S. policy towards the revolution in retrospect and regarded the events of 1959 as one of the reasons for the long-lasting U.S.-Cuban conflict. In the Russian historiography such opinions are shared by E. Bendyuk[27] and I. Hilov.[28] In Ukraine, these studies are conducted by O. Skliarenko,[29] H. Saveliev.[30] The important difference between recollected Russian and Ukrainian studies is that Russian historians still analyse the U.S. policy towards the Cuban revolution mostly in the context of the global Soviet-American confrontation, while Ukrainian researchers try to move away from this approach, considering the U.S.-Cuban relations through events in the Latin America.

But the study of the U.S. policy towards Cuban revolution from the standpoint of Soviet-American confrontation remains a separate line of historical researches.[31] Some scientists recognize that one of the reasons of the Washington

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[27] Е. С. Бендюк, Эволюция конфликта США – Куба после завершения "холодной войны" [The Evolution of the Conflict between the USA and Cuba after the Cold War], автореферат дисс. на соискание наук. степени канд. полит. наук, ИЛА РАН, Москва, 2004.

[28] И. С. Хилов, *Американо-кубинские отношения в современных условиях: 2000-2007 гг.* [American-Cuban relations in present conditions: 2000-2007], автореф. дисс. на соискание наук. степени канд. ист. наук, Москва, Дипломатическая академия МИД РФ, 2009.

[29] О. О. Скляренко, *Політика США щодо Куби: формування та основні принципи: (початок 1990-х-2008 р.)* [The U.S. Policy toward Cuba: the Formation and Basic Principles: (Early 1990s-2008)]: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук, Київ, Київ. нац. ун-т ім. Т. Г. Шевченка, 2014.

[30] Г. С. Савельєв, *Політика США щодо Куби у 1980-х–1990-х рр. Аналіз концепції американської політології* [The U.S. policy toward Cuba in the 1980s–1990s. The Analysis of the American Political Science Concept], автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. політ. наук, Одеса, Одес. гос. ун-т им. И. И. Мечникова, 1997.

[31] Д. Е. Горовцов, *Советско-американские отношения и Кубинская революция, вторая*

reaction towards the Cuban Revolution was the U.S. confidence in its huge economic, political, and military power. They did not want to share its sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere with the USSR. Among the studies, a special place is occupied by works which are dedicated to the Cuban missile crisis. The authors of these researches focus on the cause-and-effect relationships between the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Soviet-Cuban cooperation and the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.[32] As an example we can mention the dissertation of the Ukrainian researcher O. Saltan who tried to rethink the role of the political elites of the United States and the Soviet Union in the process of resolving the Cuban crisis. On one hand the author made an attempt to show the expectancy and regularity of the U.S.-S.U conflict; on other hand he is talking about certain adventurism of the steps of both the American and Soviet leadership[33].

Among the general studies of the post-Soviet historiography that address the issue of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution we would like to highlight the research "Interdependence and Conflict of Interest. The United States and Latin America (Second Half of the 20th Century)". The Russian author (V. Sudarev) draws attention to the relationship between the White House reaction towards the Cuban revolution and the creation of "Alliance for Progress" by J. Kennedy. He describes Washington's actions towards Cuba as *"a policy of fire suppression"*. Sudarev believes that the U.S. reaction towards the revolution was an evolutionary path from recognition of F. Castro's government to the breakdown of U.S.-Cuban relations and the embargo. In this action, the United States responded to their geopolitical interests in the Western Hemisphere.[34]

половина 1950-х-начало 1960-х гг. [Soviet-American relations and the Cuban Revolution, the Second Half of 1950s-Early 1960s.], автореф. дисс. на соискание наук. степени канд. ист. наук, Москва, МГУ им. Ломоносова, 1996; О. М. Салтан, *Американо-радянське ракетно-ядерне протистояння в 1945-1962 рр.* [The U.S.-Soviet nuclear missile confrontation in the 1945-1962], автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук, Харків, Харьков. нац. ун-т им. В. Н. Каразина, 2009.

[32] Александр Фурсенко, Тимати Нафтали, *Адская игра. Секретная история Карибского кризиса* [A Hell of a game. The Secret History of the Cuban Missile Crisis], Москва, Гея итэрум, 1999; V. A. Borodaev, *Playa Giron: 1961*, in "Новая и новейшая история", 2011, № 3, pp. 151-161; Н. С. Пасічник, *Адміністрація Дж.Ф.Кеннеді і Кубинська ракетна криза 1962 р.* [The John F. Kennedy Administration and the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962]: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук, Київ, Київ. нац. ун-т ім. Т. Г. Шевченка, 2006.

[33] О. М. Салтан, *Американо-радянське ракетно-ядерне протистояння в 1945-1962 рр.* [US-Soviet nuclear missile confrontation in 1945-1962], Харків, 2009. – 26 с.

[34] В. П. Сударев, *Взаимозависимость и конфликт интересов. США и Латинская*

It should be noted that in the post-Soviet historiography the concept of "American imperialism" (in the main interpretation of U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution) has been replaced by the concept of "U.S. geopolitical interests in Latin America". However, for adherents of the old Soviet school - represented in current Russian historiography and especially in the memoirs of contemporaries - the term "imperialism" is still preferable by S. Khrushchev,[35] S. Mikoyan[36] or D. Yazov.[37]

Among a few studies devoted directly to the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution we should point out the article "Interference of the USA in the Affairs of Cuba during the Rise of Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Victory of the Revolution 1946-1959".[38] In his paper, V. Borodaev (another Russian author) examines the situation in Cuba after the Second World War, the U.S. interference into the internal affairs of this country in the conditions of the Cold war, the rise of the anti-imperialist struggle and the victory of the revolution. He thinks that the victory of the Cuban Revolution of 1959 was a serious geopolitical challenge for Washington, because the United States used to consider Latin America as its dominion. As we see, this approach repeats the Soviet tradition and even the title of the article reflects it.

We also have to mention that another round of tension in the U.S.-Russian relations in recent years caused some kind of renewal of the usage of ideological clichés in some Russian works where authors returned to the concept of American imperialism in describing of the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution. This can be explained by the rise of anti-Americanism in today's Russia and needs a special research.

Despite the fact that some current researchers continue to consider the U.S. policy towards the Cuban revolution through the Cold War ideology, the main

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Америка (вторая половина XX века) [Interdependence and Conflict of Interest. The United States and Latin America (Second Half of the 20th Century)], Москва, ИЛА РАН, 2000, с. 63-64.

[35] С. Хрущев, *Никита Хрущев: кризисы и ракеты.* [Nikita Khrushchev: Crises and Missiles], т. 1, Москва, Новости, 1994.

[36] С. А. Микоян, *Анатомия Карибского кризиса* [Anatomy of the Cuban Missile Crisis], Москва, Academia, 2016.

[37] Д. Язов, *Карибский кризис. 50 лет спустя* [The Cuban Missile Crisis. 50 Years Later], Москва, Центрполиграф. 2015.

[38] В. А. Бородаев. *Вмешательство США в дела Кубы в условиях подъема антиимпериалистической борьбы и победы революции. 1946-1959 годы* [Interference of the USA in the Affairs of Cuba during the Rise of Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Victory of the Revolution. 1946-1959] in "Новая и новейшая история", 2015, № 6, с. 109-128.

approaches of the post-Soviet historiography have become closer to American historiography. The development of current historiography is dominated by a more balanced approach to the assessment of U.S.-Cuban relations. The most of American historians try to explain the U.S. actions towards Cuba by the impossibility to avoid conflict with the new regime in Havana in the context of over 100 years of North American predominance in Cuban affairs.[39] However, some of these researchers accept the alternative of the U.S. action towards Cuba under certain conditions. It should be noted the continuity of the study of the key issues of the United States' policy towards the Cuban revolution. This is the Embargo,[40] the Cuban missile crises and the problem of nuclear safety,[41] the Cuba's foreign policy and F. Castro's regime.[42]

In the Cuban historiography approaches to U.S. reaction towards the Revolution has changed less. Most of the Cuban current publications are still characterized by high politicization, lack of critical attitude to the Castro's regime and policy.[43] However, the process of normalization of relations between the U.S. and Cuba - which was declared by Obama administration – seemed like an opportune time to reassess the history of the Cuban Revolution and its consequences. This process supposed to encourage a reexamination of the traditional views on the U.S. reaction towards the Revolution. But as current

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[39] Jules R. Benjamin, *Interpreting the U.S. Reaction to the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1960* in "Cuban Studies", 1989, Vol. 19, pp. 145-165; Mark Falcoff, *Cuba and the United States: Back to the beginning* in "World Affairs", 1994, No. 156(3), 111; Louis A. Pérez*, Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*, Athens, London, University of Georgia Press, 2003; Samuel Farber, The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006; Julia E. Sweig, *Cuba: What Everyone Needs to Know*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2009.

[40] Joy Gordon, *The U.S. Embargo against Cuba and the Diplomatic Challenges to Extraterritoriality* in "The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs", 2012, Vol.36:1 Winter, pp. 63-79; William M. LeoGrande, *A Policy Long Past Its Expiration Date: US Economic Sanctions Against Cuba* in "Social research", 2015, Vol. 82, No. 4, Winter, pp. 939-1050.

[41] Stephen G. Rabe, After the Missiles of October: John F. Kennedy and Cuba, November 1962 to November 1963 in "Presidential Studui Quarterly", 2000, 30, no. 4 (December), pp. 714-726; Barton J. Bernstein, *Reconsidering the Perilous Cuban Missile Crisis 50 Years Later* in "Arms Control Today", 2012, October, pp. 39-44.

[42] Melanie M. Ziegler. *U.S.-Cuban Cooperation Past, Present, and Future.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007; Francisco López Segrera, *The United States and Cuba: From Closest Enemies to Distant Friends*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

[43] Miriam Zito Valdés, *Asalto* [The Assault], La Habana, 2001; Jorge Hernández Martínez, *Estados Unidos, hegemonía, seguridad nacional y cultura política* [The United states, hegemony, national security and political culture], La Habana, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2010.

development showed president D. Trump declared the revision of announced by Obama changes in the U.S. policy towards Cuba, so this may cause the slowdown in the historical research interest.

In general, even with some reminiscences from the Soviet traditions, post-Soviet historiography shows more balanced approaches towards the research of the U.S. policy towards Cuba and Cuban revolution in particular. And we can also mention that current political events are still play an essential role on the rise or decrease of the historical interests.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the study was to present the specifics of the main interpretations of the U.S. policy towards the Cuban Revolution and to generalize basic groups of the works which represents the Soviet and post-Soviet (in particular, Russian and Ukrainian) historiography with a brief look on some publications of the American and Cuban historiography, just to compare some key areas of the studies in the mentioned field.

The first aim of current study was to investigate the main approaches of the historians on the U.S. reaction towards the Cuban Revolution during the Cold War. The ideological confrontation influenced the researches made in this field, causing the differences in approaches and interpretations of the U.S. activities towards Cuba. In conclusion, we can say that the principal interpretation of the Soviet historians was focused on the "American imperialism" and on the related issues of the U.S. anti-Cuban activities. While the American historiography had been characterized by a plurality of views on the issue (conservative, liberal and radical), the Cuban historiography evolved in two different ways: the first one was characterized by the Cuban national anti-American traditions and interpreted the U.S. actions towards the Cuban Revolution as "imperialism"; the second one (considered as a part of American historiography because of the authors - Cuban historian-emigrants) belonged to the conservative approach and advocating more active U.S. policy to overthrow the regime of F. Castro.

The second aim of this study was to analyse the post-Cold War approaches on the United States' reaction towards the Cuban Revolution. The American and the post-Soviet historiography had tended to revise the earlier statements. That became possible due to the radical changes in the international political situation after the end of the Cold War. We could resume that in the current historiography the main interpretation of the issue (which formally belonged to the sphere of ideological contradictions after the end of the Cold War) has been replaced by the concept of "U.S. geopolitical interests". Yet, in the post-Soviet (Russian and

Ukrainian) historiography we can find some differences: if the Russian historians analyse the U.S. policy towards the Cuban revolution in the context of the global Soviet-American confrontation, the Ukrainian researchers try to move away from this and consider U.S.-Cuban relations through events in the Latin American. The current American historiography is dominated by a more balanced approach to the assessment of U.S.-Cuban relations. At the same time, the current Cuban publications are still characterized by a high level of politicization.

In general, on the example of brief analysis of the Soviet and post-Soviet (Russian and Ukrainian) historiography we can note that the formation and change of the main approaches to the U.S.-Cuban relations, and American reaction towards the Cuban Revolution in particular is still dependent on the ideological context and transformation of the international situation.

MYTHOLOGIZED HISTORY AND POLITICS
IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN*

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Abstract: The purpose of this work is to show the role of mythologized history in the management of modern political processes in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The article analyses the causes of appearance of mythologized histories in the two republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The article evaluates the function and instrumental character of this phenomenon. Authors have demonstrated in a lot of examples that mythologized history is one of the tools by which an attempt is made to control the political process. Mythologized history plays an important role in both countries. It cannot be argued that this phenomenon is understood and interpreted in full. In any case, this phenomenon requires further study.

Keywords: Mythologization of history, invented tradition, policy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan

*Rezumat: **Istorie mitologizată şi politică în Kazahstan şi Kârgâzstan (în perioada post-sovietică).** Scopul acestei lucrări este de a arăta rolul istoriei mitologizate în gestionarea proceselor politice moderne din Kazahstan şi Kârgâzstan. Articolul abordează cauzele apariţiei istoriilor mitologizate în cele două republici din Asia Centrală, Kazahstan şi Kârgâzstan. Studiul analizează funcţia şi caracterul instrumental al acestui fenomen. Prin diverse exemple, autorii demonstrează că istoria mitologizată este unul dintre instrumentele prin care se încearcă controlul procesului politic. Istoria mitologizată joacă*

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un rol important în ambele țări. Nu se poate susține că acest fenomen este înțeles în întregime și interpretat în mod adecvat. În orice caz, acest fenomen necesită studiu suplimentar.

Résumé : Histoire mythologisée et politique en Kazakhstan et Kirghizstan (dans la période postsoviétique). *Le but de l'étude ci-jointe est de montrer le rôle de l'histoire mythologisée dans la gestion des processus politiques modernes de Kazakhstan et Kirghizstan. L'article aborda les causes de l'apparition des histoires mythologisées dans les deux républiques de l'Asie Centrale, Kazakhstan et Kirghizstan. L'étude analyse la fonction et le caractère instrumental de ce phénomène. A l'intermédiaire de divers exemples, les auteurs démontrent que l'histoire mythologisée est un des instruments par lesquels on essaya de contrôler le processus politique. L'histoire mythologisée joue un rôle important dans les deux pays. On ne peut pas soutenir qu'on comprit ce phénomène entièrement et qu'on l'interpréta de manière adéquate. En tout cas, ce phénomène nécessite une étude supplémentaire.*

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Soviet Union, which became the most important event of modern times, had occurred for several reasons. Among the factors that led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, one of the most important ones is the ethno-political processes. From the fifteen newly independent countries on the territory of the former Soviet Union five Turkish-speaking republics have been formed. Construction of the new states was accompanied by growth of ethnicity and national identity and consequently an increase in interest in the history of their nation. In this context, researchers should pay particular attention to the problem of ethnic- and political genesis, which are natural processes. Affirmation and evolution of new states must be analysed by means of their specific way throughout history, because every phenomenon, and especially the origin of a people and the state, must be traced and comprehended by means of their origins. Hence, the researchers' interest in studying such matters, as the loss of independence and the entry of ethnic communities into the tsarist Russia, is not circumstantial. These processes have not received in the preceding period an adequate approach and currently serve as the object of mythologizing.

Mythologized history has an instrumental character; therefore, it can manifest itself in many different forms. Under authoritarian rule, mythologized history assumes the character of official history, in order to validate the reign of a particular person, group and ethnic group. The above function of mythologized history has a negative impact on society, being used to justify the suppression of the people. In addition, mythologized history often gives the base for inter-state, inter-ethnic, ethno-religious conflicts and territorial disputes. Feedback on the

masses is a distortion of historical identity, xenophobia, and, of course, the celebration of mythologized history is due to the suppression of historical truth.

Functions of mythological histories are multifaceted, but the most important are the legitimation of education of the state and its borders (often meant that the present territory is much smaller than the territory occupied by the ancestors of the people, therefore prerequisites for claims to its neighbours).

Mythologized history has long attracted the attention of researchers from around the world. The great importance for understanding the nature of mythological history was played by the work of Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*[1], and E. Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism*[2].

American researcher M. B. Olcott[3] devoted one work to the problem of fabrication of the social past in Kazakhstan. The *Nawriz*, an invented tradition in modern Kazakhstan, was investigated by H. C. Eitsen[4]. Japanese Historian T. Uyama[5] wrote the article about rethinking ethnic history of the Kazakhs. The role of the mythological history in the political life of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan has been shown in the books of E. Marat[6] and N. Masanov, Zh. Abylkhozin and I. Erofeeva[7].

Starting from the achievements of modern historiography, we will analyse mythological history in the social-cultural life of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The political elites of the new states see mythologized history as the link between the past and the future, and this "past" also legitimizes the existence of new countries. This phenomenon exists in one form or another in all post-Soviet states, but this

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[1] Anderson B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1991.

[2] Gellner E., *Nations and Nationalism*. New York, Cornell University Press, 1983.

[3] Olcott M.B., "The Fabrication of a Social Past. The Kazakhs of Central Asia*"*, In Political Antropology Yearbook 1: *Ideology and Interest: The Dialects of Politics*, edited by Aronoff M.J., New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1980.

[4] Eitsen H. C. *Nawriz in Kazakstan: Scenarios for Managing Diversity. Contemporary Kazaks. Cultural and Social Perspectives*, London, Curzon Press, 1999.

[5] Uyama T. Rethinking Ethnic History of the Kazakhs, in "*Chiki Kenkyu Ronshu*", 1999, Vol.2, no.1, 85-116.

[6] Marat E. *National Ideology and State-building in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan*. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program. A Joint Transatlantic Research and Policy Center Johns Hopkins University-SAIS - Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2010.

[7] Масанов Н.Э., Абылхожин Ж.Б., Ерофеева И.В. *Научное знание и мифотворчество в современной историографии Казахстана* [Scientific knowledge and formation of myths in a modern historiography of Kazakhstan], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс.

article will only consider the case of two of them – Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. This choice is not accidental: both countries are located in Central Asia; Kazakhs and Kyrgyz formed on an ethnic basis; ancestors of both nations had recently engaged in nomadic pastoralism. But, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, various political systems emerged, a more democratic one in Kyrgyzstan and a more authoritarian in Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, both societies created mythologizing histories for themselves. The reason and how mythological history is used in different conditions will be discussed in this article.

METHOD

The mythologization of history is understood as the process of creating a quasi-scientific version of the past, which is based on the structure of the myth: the cyclical time; notion of the "Golden Age"; kulturtraeger and missionary role played by the ancestors of the ethnic group or groups; the insidious enemy; assign all greatest national achievements to the territory and habitat, which were much wider; the return of the "glorious antiquity".

Understanding the role of mythologized history in society is possible by using the theory of nationalism, and in this respect especially useful were the works of E. Hobsbawm[8], B. Anderson[9], E. Gellner[10] mentioned above.

GROUP CENTRISM AND HISTORY OF KAZAKHSTAN

After the proclamation of independence, new documents have been introduced into scientific usage and many previously closed topics have been covered. Before 1990, the works of honest researchers were persecuted by the Soviet myth-makers of "official" history. Historical science of Kazakhstan is currently experiencing an upswing produced by new historical journals, published researches, including banned by Soviet censors. In general, professional historians of Kazakhstan, who suffered because of the totalitarian regime, preserve scientific traditions and do not participate in the formation of mythological history. But, it can be noted that, in addition to scientific studies, there appeared the mythologized version of the past. Nursultan Nazarbaev himself, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, did not deny the existence of this

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[8] Hobsbawm E., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality,* Cambridge, 1990.

[9] Anderson B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1991.

[10] Gellner E., *Nations and Nationalism*. New York, Cornell University Press, 1983.

phenomenon[11]. As a rule, this version of the past is forged by the representatives of technical sciences, who believe that the history of Kazakhstan was created by professional historians on the request of the authorities and needs to be re-written[12]. Characteristically, even the name of one of the books illustrates this idea: *Alternative history of Kazakhstan*. All this is combined with the existence of the tribal structure of the Kazakh society. In recent years, and especially in the first years after independence, a lot of books, pamphlets, articles related to individual tribes and their bloodlines have appeared in Kazakhstan. Along with the work of professional historians, based on medieval eastern and western sources and covering the previously unknown pages of the past of Turkic tribes, works of amateurs are published[13]. The main purpose of these non-professional "studies" is to artificially extend the past of a Kazakh family and tribe. Their attention to the history of the tribes was highlighted by the foreign researchers[14].

Many "discoveries" in search of prestigious ancestors of some Kazakh tribes were made by physicist E. Omarov[15]: the Kipchaks were declared as descendants of the Scythians and Saks. No less prestigious and ancient ancestors of Argyn were the Huns, or precisely the White Huns - Ephtalits. The same idea underlies the work of a mechanical engineer Sh. T. Kuanganov[16]. In correspondence with this idea sometimes the Scythians and the Huns are proclaimed as Kazakhs.

Attempts to prove a Kazakh affiliation to another great conqueror – Genghis Khan, stressing the political significance of this idea: "Due to the fact that Genghis Khan belongs to a particular people, including the Chinese, is of great geopolitical importance, and may in the future even become part of a larger policy goal of this book in an attempt on the basis of scientific research to establish the truth about the origins of the Kazakh state and Genghis Khan" - writes K. Danyarov[17] in his

[11] Назарбаев Н., *В потоке истории* [In a history stream], Алматы, Атамура, с.38.

[12] Galiev A., *Mythologization of History and the Invention of Tradition in Kazakhstan,* in «Oriente Moderno», 2016, Vol. 96, no. 1, 46-63.

[13] Абдираманулы А., *Мудрость народа: генеалогия от сары и коырата* [Folk wisdom: the genealogy from Sarah and Konyrat], Алматы, Рауан, 1993.

[14] Akiner Sh., *The formation of Kazakh Identity. From Tribe to Nation State,* London, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996, p.58.

[15] Омаров Е., *«Скиф» плюс «сак» равно «скифсак» и «кипчак». О происхождении кипчаков* [Skif plus Sak is equal "skyfsak" and "kypchak". About origin of kypchak], Вестник университета «Кайнар», 1997, вып. 2, с. 31-33.

[16] Куанганов Ш.Т., *"Арий-гун" сквозь века и пространство: свидетельства, топонимы* ["*Ariy-gun" through the centuries and space: evidence, toponyms*], Алматы, Билим, 1997.

[17] Данияров К., *Альтернативная история Казахстана* [Alternative history of Kazakhstan], Алматы, Жыбек Жолы, 1998, с.7.

book. The history of Kipchak has been considered through the prism of the conquest of Genghis Khan: "Kazakh historians sought to completely separate Genghis Khan from his conquests, and in contrast the Kipchak origin of the Kazakh people has been invented"[18].

Mythologized history is usually based on falsified sources[19]. These historical works appeared in the early period of the sovereign Republic of Kazakhstan. Then they began to take concrete steps to establish an ideology for a national-stately independent construction, and at that time, the questions of the liberation struggle history of the Kazakh people were placed in the forefront of the Kazakhstan media[20].

In Kazakhstan, there are not a lot of professionals engaged in mythologizing of the past, and, probably, our publishing products replenish the deficit of scientific works created in other Turkic regions[21]. On the other hand, there were also representatives of the "advanced" schools of mythologizations in our country. In particular, M. N. Abishev[22] has made an attempt to revise the history of Kazakhstan in terms of "new chronology".

The phenomenon of mythologized history has encompassed the entire post-Soviet space, including Kazakhstan. Here, the nomadic tradition division into tribal groups has not been yet eradicated, and the representatives of these ethnic communities are still trying to gain a foothold in various sectors of the economy and society, including History.

"KYRGYZ GREAT POWER" AND MODERN KYRGYZSTAN

The Kyrgyz Republic is one of the five newly independent states of Central Asia. The weak economy of the country, ethnic conflicts, tribalism, constant political crises do not provide confidence in the future. However, the past of people has been depicted in the most vibrant colours. It is fully forged.

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[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Таусар К., *От предков к нам* [From ancestors to us], Алматы, Талас, 1993.

[20] Масанов Н.Э., Абылхожин Ж.Б., Ерофеева И.В. *Научное знание и мифотворчество в современной историографии Казахстана* [Scientific knowledge and formation of myths in a modern historiography of Kazakhstan], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, с.165.

[21] Лайпанов К.Т., Мизиев И.М., *О происхождении тюркских народов* [On the origin of the Turkic people], Черкесск, 1993; Каримуллин А.Г., *Тюрки и индейцы Америки: истоки происхождения* [The Turks and Indians of America: Origins], Алматы, Издательский Дом «Кочевники», 2004.

[22] Абышев М. *Эра Золотой Орды и формирование социо-культурных систем. Новый взгляд на историю* [The era of the Golden Horde and the formation of social and cultural systems. A new look at the history], Алматы, Билим, 2007.

Therefore, K. S. Musayev, in his book *History of the Great Kyrgyz-Kipchak Empire,* argues that the age of the Kyrgyz people is six thousand years[23]. There are two main lines of myth-making. First, modern Kyrgyz have connected with local autochthonous tribes. As glorious ancestors declared different ethnic antiquity groups and the early Middle Ages, had "in their ethnic element the name «az»": arimaspi, Yueh-chih, Arsi, Turgish, Saks, Massagets, apasiaki, Oguz, Usuns, Issedones, Tochars, sakarauki. The author also included in this group the ancient Kyrgyz. All these people are recognized as one of the two branches of the ancient Turks (second – kuna)[24]. As elsewhere in the Turkic mythologized history, Saks and Scythians have been regarded as Turkic-speaking ethnic groups[25]. Some mythmakers identify Huns with the Kyrgyz. A few authors describe all epic events in "Manas" as a reflection of the Hun time, which they call the era of "on" (i.e. hoon)[26]. The writers underline that this era was a favourable age for the Kyrgyz[27].

The second line of modern myth connects the Kyrgyz people with the Kyrgyz Khanate, established in Siberia.

Each of these lines solves only one problem - the autochthony or the age of the people. To solve this dilemma, an international conference on the ethnogenesis of the Kyrgyz was held in celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the epic "Manas", which in its resolution noted that the origins of the Kyrgyz people and their culture can be found in the territory of Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan and Southern Siberia[28].

Ch. Valikhanov (1985) addresses the problem of identity of the Siberian and Tien Shan Kyrgyzs. Based on the data and "on the testimony of the people themselves, who completely refute it, do not know and do not remember their displacement and unanimously consider the Anjan mountains to be their homeland", he argues that one cannot help but come to the conclusion that the Kyrgyzs were Anjanian: "The *dikokamennye* [wild-stone] Kyrgyzs indeed have

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[23] Мусаев К.С. *История Великой Киргизской империи* [History of the Great Kyrgyz empire], Бишкек, Ала-Ту, 1999, с. 52.

[24] Эсен К., Азия или кочевники Азы [Asia or nomads Azy], Бишкек, Илим, 1993.

[25] Абылгазиева А.К., Богатырёв В.Б., *История и идентичность: Кыргызская республика* [History and Identity: The Kyrgyz Republic], Бишкек, 2007, с.23-24.

[26] Абакиров К.А., *Общие вопросы исследования системы образов эпоса "Манас"* [General questions of the study of the system of epic images Manas], "Universum: филология и искусствоведение", 2016, Том 33, вып. 11, с. 5-7.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] Бернштам А.Н., *История кыргыз и Кыргызстана с древнейших времен до монгольского завоевания* [The history of Kyrgyzstan and Kyrgyzstan from ancient times to the Mongol conquest], Бишкек, Айбек, 1998.

lived in the present places, i.e. in the mountains from Kashgar to Andjan, for a long time"[29].

The Kyrgyz people are often presented with the idea that they are one of the oldest in the world, the creators of a unique civilization. But the answers, referring to the Kyrgyz people "what ancient people do you remember / with which ancient people do you associate / do Kyrgyzs associate?" show a slightly different picture: Usuns - 0.2%; 2) Saki - 0.3%; 3) The Turks - 1.9%; 4) Yenisei Kyrgyz - 2.4%; 5) The Persians - 3.1%; 6) The Mongols - 4.2%; 7) The Scythians -5.1%; 8) The Huns - 18.3%; 9) Chinese - 19.3%; 10) Other - 7.3%; 11) No answer 37.9% – i.e. the majority of Kyrgyz citizens either do not know the works of mythmakers, or connect somehow the ethnogenesis of the Kyrgyzs with the Chinese people[30].

Despite numerous attempts by the government of Kyrgyzstan to present the Kyrgyzs as one of the oldest ethnic groups in Central Asia, and despite the efforts of the official celebration of the 2200th anniversary of statehood of the Kyrgyz people, the majority of residents have not been convinced yet.

Moreover, the worldview of the Kyrgyz people has a stronger line with the settled peoples of Transfergana or its surrounding area, such as the Iranians, Greeks, Uzbeks and even nomadic Kazakhs and Kipchaks, rather than with the Yenisei people, who are geographically, culturally and religiously remote from them[31].

According to sociological studies carried out in Kyrgyzstan, in answer to the question «Which of the most prominent personalities of the ancient history of Kyrgyzstan should be the Kyrgyz national hero?» 27.5% of respondents replied – Genghis Khan, 19.2% – the heroes of the epic "Manas"[32].

Kyrgyz historians also face the primordial choice: Yenisei or Tien Shan. Both hypotheses in line with this concept are mutually exclusive. If Yenisei's hypothesis favours exclusive antiquity, it casts doubt on the legitimacy of land ownership. At the same time, the option for the autochthony, justifying this right, makes it impossible to talk about a two-thousand-year period of statehood.

The mythologized history of Kyrgyzstan is a reflection of its economic status. It is known that the country is among the poorest countries in the world. The shutting down of factories and unemployment forced people in search of sources of income to leave the republic. This not only leads to permanent

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[29] Валиханов Ч. *Записки о киргизах* [Notes about Kyrgyzs], Алматы, Главная редакция Казахской советской энциклопедии, 1985, с.59.

[30] Абылгазиева А.К., Богатырёв В.Б., *История и идентичность: Кыргызская республика* [History and Identity: The Kyrgyz Republic], Бишкек, 2007, с. 26-30.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

"revolution" and the unstable political situation, but also makes politicians look for a way out of this situation. To stabilize the climate in the country and promise a bright future for the people, the political class uses a myth based on a cyclic pattern. The mythmakers speak of a "golden age" in the history of the people – "Kyrgyz great power" – a boastful celebration of an invented date – the epic "Manas". In order to confirm this version, the great past has been invented. However, the connection has not been established between the Yenisei and the Tien-Shan Kyrgyz yet.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, on the basis of the material relating to the seemingly so different post-Soviet states of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan we can draw several conclusions.

Firstly, mythologized history is actively used by various circles to achieve their goals, especially the seizure of power, or for its retention. This unscientific version is a tool and servant policy.

Secondly, despite the fact that mythmakers always claim that they, unlike the professional historians, recreate the real picture of the past, in reality, they design a comfortable version. Since mythmakers represent different clans, groups, power-hungry, they also created many incompatible versions of the past.

Mythologized history legitimizes the situation in the country, or, on the contrary, highlights the illegality of the existing order.

The "old" traditions, which are presented as a revitalization of true folk customs, are in fact not a revival, but an invention. In fact, only the institutions involved in the maintenance of the existing government were revived. Although they play a role in modern society, they are not elements of the social antique system. These institutions are no more than appendages of the modern state system, without any real power. In some cases, an appeal to the traditional institutions is an argument for the usurpation of power (Khan's power).

The studied materials show that mythologized history is given an important role in society. It cannot be argued that this phenomenon is fully understood and adequately interpreted. In any case, this phenomenon requires further investigations.

The problem of mythologized history has been recently the subject of scientific study in the former Soviet Union. Almost all professional historians and political scientists acknowledge the importance of this problem. However, mythologized history of the Central Asia's nations is still poorly explored. Basically, all the researchers believe that mythologized history is characterized by certain distinctive features. For example, N. Masanov, Zh. Abylkhozhin and

I. Erofeeva call such features as the absence of a clear understanding on the part of the mythmaker that history is a scientific discipline. The mythmaker does not understand the nature of the work of professional historians, does not know the methods of working with historical sources[33]. In general, we agree with the opinion expressed by N. Masanov, Zh. Abylkhozhin and I. Erofeeva. However, these texts should not be called historical works. They must not be used against their authors, but the term "historiography" (even non-scientific) cannot be applied to this kind of descriptions. This genre's most suitable name could be unscientific fiction.

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[33] Масанов Н.Э., Абылхожин Ж.Б., Ерофеева И.В. *Научное знание и мифотворчество в современной историографии Казахстана* [Scientific knowledge and formation of myths in a modern historiography of Kazakhstan], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, с. 165.

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1. Paul Jensen, *History of the World*, New-York, University Publishing House, 2003, p. 243.
2. Richard Little, Barry Buzan, *Sistemele internaţionale în istoria lumii* [International Systems In World History], Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 62-63.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4. Stelian Tanase (coord.), *Cioran şi Securitatea* [Cioran and Securitatea], Iaşi, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 14.
5. Christine Sylvester, *Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method for IR*, in "Millennium: Journal of International Studies", 1994, Vol. 23, no. 2, p. 315-334.
6. Richard Little, Barry Buzan, *Sistemele internaţionale...*, pp. 148, 155, 239.
7. *Australia-NATO Joint Political Declaration*, in http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/ official_texts_94097.htm (Accessed on 12.11.2012).
8. А. И. Деникин, *Путь русского офицера* [The Way of a Russian Officer], Москва, Современник, 1991, с. 58.

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