

**RUTHENIAN-HUNGARIAN MATRIMONIAL CONNECTIONS
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RURIK INTER-DYNASTY POLICY
OF THE 10TH-14TH CENTURIES:
SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA***

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Abstract: *The article analyses the statistical indicators of the Ruthenian-Hungarian marriages during the 10th-14th centuries, in the context of the matrimonial policy of the Rurik dynasty. The long tradition of the marriages of Ruthenian princesses with Hungarian Kings, Princes and some representatives of the Hungarian nobility, due to close political and economic interests, is presented. The author emphasizes that most of the brides arrived in Hungary from Rus'. The imbalance in the marriages reached its peak in the 13th – early 14th centuries, despite of the rise in 1253 of the Kingdom of Rus', headed by Daniel Romanovich and his descendants. In this respect, is important to mention that the status of Kingdom of Rus' was equal to of the Hungarian Kingdom on the political map of Europe. In our view, such dissonance in the matrimonial relations is due not to the lack of the long royal traditions in the Orthodox Rus', not to the Papacy jurisdiction in the Catholic Hungary, but rather to a certain (sometimes, systemic) crisis of confidence of the Western rulers concerning Rurikids. This could be measurable especially by the example of a considerable number of the Ruthenian seekers of political asylum in Hungary, in comparison with a very small number of Hungarian princes settled in Rus'.*

Keywords: *Rus', Rurikovichs, Prince, Hungary, Arpads, Anjou, King, matrimonial policy, marriages, statistics, dynasty, genealogy.*

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Rezumat: Conexiuni ruteano-maghiare în contextul politicii matrimoniale a dinastiei Rurik în secolele X-XIV: date statistice selectate. *Articolul analizează indicatorii statistici ai căsătoriilor ruteano-maghiare din secolele X-XIV, în contextul politicii matrimoniale a dinastiei Rurik. Se pune accentul pe tradiția îndelungată a căsătoriilor prințeselor rutene cu regii, prinții, precum și cu unii reprezentanți ai nobilimii maghiare, datorită intereselor politice și economice apropiate. Autorul subliniază că majoritatea miresei au sosit în Ungaria din Rusia. Dezechilibrul în căsătorii a ajuns la punctul maxim în secolul XIII – începutul secolului al XIV-lea, în ciuda ascensiunii în 1253 a Regatului Rus, condus de Daniel Romanovici și descendenții săi. Sub acest aspect, este important de menționat că statusul regatului Rus era egal cu cel al regatului maghiar pe harta politică a Europei. În opinia noastră, o astfel de disonanță în relațiile maritale se datorează nu lipsei tradițiilor regale de durată în regatul ortodox Rus, nici jurisdicției papale în Ungaria catolică, ci mai degrabă unei anumite (uneori, sistematice) crize de încredere a conducătorilor occidentali cu privire la Rurikizi. Aceasta poate fi măsurată în special prin exemplul unui număr considerabil de căutători de azil politic, ruteni, în Ungaria, în comparație cu un număr foarte mic de prinți maghiari stabiliți în regatul Rus.*

Résumé: Connexions ukrainiennes-hongroises dans le contexte de la politique matrimoniale de la dynastie Rurik aux X-ème – XIV-ème siècles: données statistiques sélectionnées. *L'article ci-joint analyse les indicateurs statistiques des mariages ukrainiens-hongrois des X-ème – XIV-ème siècles dans le contexte de la politique matrimoniale de la dynastie Rurik. On y met l'accent sur la tradition lointaine des mariages des princesses ukrainiennes avec les rois, les princes, ainsi qu'avec certains représentants de la noblesse hongroise, grâce aux intérêts politiques et économiques proches. L'auteur souligne que la majorité des jeunes mariées arrivèrent en Hongrie de Rus'. Le déséquilibre en mariages arriva à son point maximal au XIII-ème siècle – le début du XIV-ème, malgré l'ascension en 1253 du Royaume Rus', dirigé par Daniel Romanovici et ses descendants. A cet égard, il est important de mentionner que le statut du royaume Rus' était égal avec celui du royaume hongrois sur la carte politique de l'Europe. A notre avis, une dissonance semblable dans les relations de mariage n'est pas due au manque des traditions royales de durée dans le royaume orthodoxe Rus', ni à la juridiction papale dans la Hongrie catholique, mais plutôt à une certaine (parfois, systématique) crise de confiance des dirigeants occidentaux concernant les Rurik. On peut mesurer cela, en spécial, par l'exemple d'un nombre considérable de chercheurs d'asile politique, Ukrainiens, en Hongrie, comparatif à un nombre très réduit de princes hongrois établis dans la royaume Rus'.*

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Very active and rich in events, the Ruthenian-Hungarian medieval connections (until the end of the 14th century), is represented in the field of the

scientific endeavours of the scholar from the Central European countries.¹ One of its most important components is a long (i.e. initiated at the turn of the 10th–11th centuries) tradition of the bilateral matrimonial contacts between the Arpad and Anjou families on the one hand and the Rurikids on the other hand. These relations have been researched since the 18th century.² Some of the best comprehensive genealogical conclusions on this issue belongs to the Hungarian scientist Mór Werthner whose *History of the Arpad family*³ and a lot of smaller works became classic historical works in Hungarian historiography. In Ukrainian historiography, Leontiy Voytovych from Lviv studied some aspects of the bilateral marriage relations.⁴ Of very high quality on this topic are the genealogical studies of Polish researchers Kazimierz Jasiński⁵, Stanisław Sroka⁶ and Dariusz Dąbrowski. Dariusz Dąbrowski's *Genealogy of the Galician-Volhynian princes of Romanoviches*, and his Polish and Russian-language versions of the *Genealogy of Mstislaviches* have discovered many shortcomings in the works of their predecessors and demonstrated the urgent need for the further depth interdisciplinary study of the inter-dynasty relations in the so-called *Europa Iunior*.⁷ Auxiliary ones, which had not significantly influence on

¹ See also a historiographical generalization: М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві (XI – друга половина XIV ст.): суспільно-політична роль, майнові стосунки, міграції [«Rus'» in the Hungarian Kingdom (11th – the second half of the 14th centuries): the social-political role, property relations, migrations], Івано-Франківськ, 2014, p. 31–40, 46–48, 50–52, 55–57, 59–60.

² See P. Katona, *Historia critica Regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum ex exterorum scriptorium* [The critical history of the Hungarian kingdom...], Pesta, 1780, Vol. 3, p. 601; another edition with the same title was published in Posonii et Cassoviae, 1782, seria II, Vol. 5, p. 756.

³ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The history of Arpad family], Nagybecskereken, 1892, 629 p.

⁴ Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Princely epoch in Rus': the portraits of the elite], Біла Церква, 2006, 782 с.

⁵ See the reprint K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich* [The lineage of the Lesser Poland and the Kuyavian Piasts], in M. Górny [coord.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań-Wrocław, 2001, Vol. 3, 264 p.; Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [The first Piasts lineage], Poznań, 2004, 307 p.

⁶ P. Sroka, *A magyar Anjouk családi története* [The history of the Hungarian Anjou family], Kraków, 1998, 76 p.; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [The genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou], Kraków, 2015, 140 p.

⁷ D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Galician-Volhynian Romanoviches' lineage], in M. Górny [coord.], *Biblioteka...*, Vol. 6, 348 p.;

the results of our study, we consider the studies of Russian historians Nikolay von Baumgarten and Dmitry Donskoy as well.⁸ Even a superficial acquaintance with the published editions, despite the series not fully disclosed in the science questions, allows us to propose probably objective statistics about the several hundred-year matrimonial connections of the Rurik dynasty with the Arpads and Anjou families.

The Pyasts dynasty, with 27 bilateral marriages, hold the **first place** on the general background of the inter-dynastic relations of the rulers of Rus' with their neighbours (during the 10th–14th centuries): the brides from the Rurik dynasty arrived in Poland 18 times; in return, Piasts came to Rus' 9 times (pro rata – 18/9). According to the calculations of Russian scientists Anna Litvina and Fedore Uspensky, the Cumanian princely families hold the **second place** with 14 bilateral marriages with Rurikids (pro rata – 1/13).⁹ The Arpad and Anjou dynasties hold the **thirds place** in the matrimonial contacts with the Rurikids, with 11 bilateral (pro rata – 9/2) and 4 semi-royal marriages: generally 15 cases. In the general list there weren't included 2 another cases, which haven't sufficient sources.¹⁰

Idem, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (to the beginning of the 14th century)], Kraków, 2008, 816 p.; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей. Первые поколения (до начала XIV в.). Издание исправленное и дополненное* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (to the beginning of the 14th century). Corrected and supplemented edition], Санкт-Петербург, 2015, 880 с.

⁸ N. De Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Ruricides Russep. Du X^e au XIII^e siècle* [Genealogies and Western marriages of the Ruthenian Rurikids. From 10th to 13th centuries], Roma, 1928, 94 p.; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи. Исторический словарь* [The Rurikids. A historical dictionary], Москва, 2008, 788 с.

⁹ А. Литвина, Ф. Успенский, *Русские имена половецких князей. Междинастические контакты сквозь призму антропонимики* [Ruthenian names of Cumanian Princes. The inter-dynasty contacts through the prism of anthroponymics], Москва, 2013, с. 90. See also a little bit other statistics: M. Michalski, *Ruś Kijowska i połowcy. Wpływ małżeństw mieszanych na kształtowanie się stosunków politycznych, kulturowych i religijnych. Praca doktorska* [Kyivan Rus' and the Cumanp. The mixed marriages influence on the political, cultural and religious relations formp. PhD thesis], Kraków, 2017, p. 2.

¹⁰ It's about the marriages between Mikhail († around 990), the son of Prince of the Magyar tribe Taksony and N. for the name Ruthenian girl, which for the first time was discussed by Philip Strahl (Ph. Strahl, *Geschichte der Gründung u. Ausbreitung d. christl. Lehre unter den Völkern des russischen Reiches seit 988 bis jetzt, aus russischen*

THE PROBLEM FORMULATION

The list of Ruthenian-Hungarian inter-dynasty marriages during the 11th–14th centuries has the following form:

1. The Prince Ladislas the Bald († till 1030) + Premislava (the daughter of the Prince Volodymyr?) († 1015) (c. 1000?). It is the first marriage confirmed by the sources of the both dynasties¹¹, well researched in historiography. The main discussions is conducted around the affiliation of the bride, her name and the number (or absence) of children in the marriage (except, maybe, the son Bonuzló).¹²

2. The Prince Andrew I († 1060) + Anastasia Yaroslavna († around 1096) (around 1038). It is a well-known and well-studied marriage¹³. The parents

Quellen [The history of the foundation and expansion of the Christian doctrine between the peoples of the Russian Empire since 988 till now, according to the Russian sources], Halle, [P. A.], p. 150), and supported by M. Werthner (M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 22), N. von Baumgarten (N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 8) and by several modern historians (Л. Махновець [translator], *Літопис Руський* [The Chronicle of Rus'], Київ, 1989; F. Makk, *Hungarian foreign policy (896–1196)*, Szeged, 1993, p. 33; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба*, с. 227). The idea about another marriage between N., the daughter (?) of mentioned Taksony († 970) with Kyivan Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich († 972) also hasn't any source evidence, but sometimes nourishes in the scientific literature (see Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба*, с. 231).

¹¹ *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* [The Hungarian chronicles composed in 14th century], in I. Szentpétery [coord.] *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Budapest, 1937, Vol.1, p. 344.

¹² M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 112–113; М. Юрасов, *Отражение перемен в политической ситуации Венгрии эпохи Арпадов в генеалогии Ласло Сапа* [The changes in political situation of Hungary of the Arpads epoch reflected in Ladislas the Bald's genealogy], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Генеалогія, как форма исторической памяти. XIII Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Пащуто*, Москва, 11–13 апреля 2001. Материалы конференции, Москва, 2001, с. 205–207; M. Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek* [The Kings of the Arpads family and the Rurikids princes], Szeged, 2005, p. 127.

¹³ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 117–123; А.В. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь на международных путях: Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII вв.* [The Ancient Rus' on the international

had, at least, three children (by the birth order): Solomon († 1087), David († after 1095)¹⁴ and, probably, Euphemia († 1111).¹⁵ The future wife of Bohemian Prince Vratislav († 1092), the daughter of Andrew I Adelaida († 1062), in opinion of Jan Tęgowski, was born in the first marriage of her father from mother of unknown origin.¹⁶

3. N. Hungarian bride (probably the daughter of the Prince Bela, maybe called Lanka) + Rostislav Volodymyrovich († 1067) (c. 1061). There is a very difficult question related to similarity of the names of the wife of Croatian banus and future king Zvonimir († 1089) and of the daughter of the Hungarian King Bela I († 1063), Helena († 6. 1091)¹⁷ with Ruthenian Princess Lanca

routes: The interdisciplinary essays of the cultural, commercial, political relations of the 9th–12th centuries], Москва, 2001, с. 504, 520, 537; М. Юрасов, Русско-венгерские отношения второй трети XI в. [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations in the second third of the 11th century], in М. Ароштон [coord.], Венгрия и Россия в историческом прошлом. Материалы междисциплинарного семинара 26 января 2002 г. [Hungary and Russia in the historical past. Materials of the interdisciplinary seminar on January 26, 2002], Сомбатхей, 2003, с. 13–24; М. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 129; Л. Войтович, Княжа доба..., с. 311–312; М. Юрасов Когда Анастасия (?) Ярославна вышла замуж за венгерского королевича Эндре [When Anastasia (?) Yaroslavna married Hungarian Prince Endre], in Мининские чтения. Труды научной конференции. Нижегородский государственный университет им. Н. И. Лобачевского (20–21 октября 2006 г.) [Minin's readings. Proceedings of the scientific conference. Nizhny Novgorod State University. N. I. Lobachevsky (October 20-21, 2006)], Нижний Новгород, 2007, с. 258–267; Д. Донской, Рюриковичи. Исторический..., с. 22.

¹⁴ M. Homza, S. A. Sroka [coord.], *Historia Scepusii* [The history of Spiš], Bratislava, 2009, Vol. 1, p. 603.

¹⁵ B. Krzemińska, *Olomoučtí Přemyslovci a Rurikovci* [The Přemyslids from Olomouc and the Rurikids], in "Časopis Matice moravské", 1987, no. 106, p. 259–260. Slovak scientist Jan Steinhübel mentioned Czech researcher's version in his book (J. Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska* [Nitra Principality. The Medieval Slovakia emergence], Bratislava, 2016, p. 435).

¹⁶ J. Tęgowski, *W sprawie okoliczności i datacji małżeństwa nieznaney z imienia Piastówny z księciem węgierskim Belą* [To the question of circumstances and a date of the unknown Piast Princess marriage with Hungarian Prince Bela], in E. Bagińska [coord.], *Res gestae Meridionales et Orientales. Studia ad Memoriam Professoris Henrici Rusiński*, Białystok, 2009, p. 187.

¹⁷ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 162 (scientist dated this marriage between 1063–1066). The modern Croatian and Slovakian historiography recognize this (but not another) marriage in the defined chronology (N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u*

(*ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca*), remembered in 1099 in *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*.¹⁸ Analysing the events of the King Coloman Przemyśl's campaign of 1099, the Hungarian researcher Alexander Dománovszky mentioned this person, comparing of the fragment with *The Tale of Past Years* «Давыдъ [Igorovich, Volhynian Dux († 1112). – М. V.] же въ тѣ чинѣ пришедъ из Лаховъ. и посади жену свою оу Володара [i. e., in Przemyśl. – М. V.]»¹⁹, considered this unknown woman (he didn't offer any information) as a wife of Volhynian Prince, but not related with Bela's family.²⁰ Márta Font from Pécs University repeated this assumption.²¹ Nevertheless, some historians since N. von Baumgarten's times²² connected this Lanca, married to Rostislav Volodymyrovych in 1064, with the Prince Bela.²³ The view of a Russian scientist L. Voytovich recently tried to fix the opinion of a Russian scientist in Ukrainian historiography. He believes, that, at first, the bride was married to a Ruthenian izgoi prince between 1057 and 1060, but after his death on February 3, 1067 she married a Croatian noble.²⁴ However, we don't consider the views of the Ukrainian colleague completely convincing. He, for example, isn't fixed in David Igorevich's biography, who was this woman, which his husband left in Przemyśl during Hungarian army attack.²⁵

srednjem vijeku [The Medieval history of Croatia], Zagreb, 1990, p. 116–117; *Historia Scopusii*, p. 603; J. Steinhübel, *Nitriannske kniežatctvo...*, p. 435).

¹⁸ *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, p. 423–424.

¹⁹ Ипатьевская летопись, in Полное собрание русских летописей, т. 2. Москва, 1998, стп. 245.

²⁰ *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, p. 424.

²¹ M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 145.

²² N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15.

²³ Far predecessor of N. von Baumgarten, Vasyl Tatishchev, perhaps was the first of all researchers, who called Rostislav Volodymyrovych's wife the Hungarian Princess. He considered, at the death moment of Prince on February 3, 1067 this women's father was still alive, and, hence, he couldn't be Bela I, which died on September 11, 1063 (В. Татищев, *История Российская* [The history of Russia], Москва, 2003, т. 2, с. 84).

²⁴ See Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 323; Idem, *Ростиславичі – родичі Арпадів* [Rostislaviches were the relatives of Arpads], in "Галичина: науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис", 2015, no. 27, с. 53–54.

²⁵ At the same time we must remember about David Igorevich participation in the Volodar's brother Vasilko Rostislavich blindness in 1098 (*Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 234–235), what added an extra piquancy to the relationships with the Prince of Przemyśl.

The brilliant genealogical studies of the first Piast dynasty rulers' genealogy by K. Jasiński and J. Tęgowski certified the marriage of the Prince Bela with N., probably the youngest daughter, of Mieszko II Lambert († 1034) between 1042–1045.²⁶ The Hungarian Prince, even in the possession of the father-in-law waited for the birth of his sons – Géza († 1077) and Ladislaus († 1095). Other children (the third son Lampert († 1096), and the daughters Sophia († 1095), Ilona and N. for the name) were born after his return to the homeland, not earlier 1048, but rather in 1050.²⁷ Therefore, by the time of her birth and the achievement of the required age, Ilona couldn't marry to Prince Rostislav in the chronological interval proposed by L. Voitovich. Of course, this marriage with Ruthenian izgoi prince couldn't realize before the coronation of Bela I in 1060. It would be treated like a *misalliance* and Hungarian kings, as was shown by further historical experience, understood it very well.

But the Hungarian step of Lanca's name (in Hungarian «*lánny*» – the girl), her crowned origin, the behaviour during the Hungarian troops campaign near Przemyśl in 1099²⁸, the personal meeting with the King Coloman and the request for him not to destroy the Rostislavich's family²⁹ (this event primarily used by an editors of Hungarian *Pragesta* of the 11th–12th and little bit later of *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*), allows to speak about an affiliation of this women to the Arpad dynasty. We're sure, that otherwise it would be very difficult for her to hope for a personal audience with a very hard character king during his campaign against Ruthenians.³⁰ N. for the name wife of David Igorovich would hardly have been any motivation to ask for the

²⁶ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów...*, p. 150; J. Tęgowski, *W sprawie okoliczności...*, p. 187.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 245. There were a few publications dedicated to the battle: A. Hodinka, *Kálmán királyunk 1099-iki Peremysli csatája. Az orosz őskronika nyoman* [The battle near Przemyśl of our King Coloman. In the footsteps of ancient Ruthenian chronicle], in "Hadtörténelmi közlemény", 1913, Szeptember, p. 325–346; Idem, *Kálmán királyunk 1099-iki Peremysli csatája. Az orosz őskronika nyoman*, in "Hadtörténelmi közlemény", 1913, December, p. 524–544; Л. Войтович, *Битва під Перемишлем 1099 р.* [The battle near Przemyśl], in "Український альманах 1999 р.", Варшава, 1999, с. 106–111.

²⁹ «[...] ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca ejusdem regis (sic) venit obviam regi, pedibus provoluta obsecrabat regem cum lacrimis, ne disperderet gentem illam», *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 423–424.

³⁰ Л. Войтович, *Битва під Перемишлем...*, с. 108.

Rostislaviches, because her husband, contrary to the princely congresses decisions, for all life tried to deprive the newly acquired lands of them. This anti-Hungarian alliance was, as the future events showed, openly situational.³¹ So, Lanca – was a close relative of Prince Volodar, in our opinion, of his mother. The affinity with the representative of the royal blood, in our opinion, allowed the Volodar Rostislavich's daughter, and accordingly, granddaughter of Lanca, Iryna to marry in 1104 the son of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos's († 1118) – Isaac.³² It's important, that the father of the bride and his brother were interpreted in the Rurik dynasty as the izgois princes.³³ Therefore, the main basis of this advantageous marriage with the Emperor family had to be very convincing for the Komnenos dynasty genealogical argument.

That why, in our opinion, noted Lanca was, rather unknown (probably, bastard) representative of the Arpad dynasty, maybe the Bela's daughter, married before his coronation in 1060. From another side, we haven't got sufficient arguments to identify her with *Helena Lepa*, whose name is clearly known from the several acts of 1078.³⁴ In addition, why she returned before the death of her Croatian husband to the children of her first marriage, as proposes in the last article L. Voytovych³⁵, when in the same time another three children (two daughters and one son) lived in Croatia?³⁶ Despite very difficult political relations of the Croatian nobility with the Arpads before Zvonimir's death, to leave their children for the sake of the returning in Przemyśl it looks, to say strange, at least.

We are sure that this connection with Arpads “for a mother line” created the basis for the all-round Hungarian effects in Galicia with the genealogical pretences for the heritage of the “first Galician dynasty” since the end of the 12th century as well.³⁷ From this marriage of Rostislav and Lanca were born, in the

³¹ Idem, *Княжа доба...*, с. 326–327.

³² See, for example, О. Юревич, *Андроник I Комнин* [Andronikos I Komnenos], Санкт-Петербург, 2004, с. 51; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 333.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 322, 327–328, 330.

³⁴ М. Kostrenčić [coord.], *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [Codex of diplomas of the Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia Kingdom], Zagrabiae, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 163–164.

³⁵ Л. Войтович, *Ростиславичі – родичі Арпадів...*, с. 54.

³⁶ F. Rački [coord.], *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* [The monuments of the Southern Slavs history], Zagreb, 1877, Vol. 7, p. 66, 146.

³⁷ М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві..., с. 116.

small time difference three sons – Rurik († 1092), Volodar († 1124) and Vasylko († 1124). We don't exclude that two boys could be twins.

4. The King Ladislaus + N. Ruthenian girl, probably Predslava Svyatoslavna (?) († 1116) (after 1090). Despite the classic opinion of the Hungarian historians about just one marriage of the most famous Hungarian King with the daughter of the German anti-King Rudolph († 1080) – Adelaide († 1090)³⁸, the modern Slovak researchers, without valid arguments, believe in the existence of other (first) wife of Ladislaus I, with an unknown name.³⁹ Ukrainian researcher Leonid Makhnovets suggested and D. Donskoy continued to defend the version of the Hungarian King's marriage life, based on the "Tatishchev's information"⁴⁰ (but without any sources verification). They consider, that died in the monasticism in 1116, the second wife of Ladislaus I was the granddaughter of Yaroslav Volodymyrovich († 1054) Predslava Svyatoslavna.⁴¹ In response, L. Voytovych summed up: «This hypothesis has no any source justification».⁴² Yet, we're sure, that was happened.

In historiography, starting from M. Werthner, firmly was entrenched the view about the marriage of an unknown daughter of a Hungarian king with the Prince Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich († 1123). This view is based on the Ladislaus I diploma (1091) about the foundation of Somogy Abbey of St. Gill witnesses' list.⁴³ This man, in opinion of M. Werthner, in 1091 could note between the witnesses like *Gerazclavus filius regis Rutenorum gener ipsius*.⁴⁴ His father Svyatopolk Izyaslavich († 1113), continues Hungarian historian, sent him in Hungary to search the allies against the Rostislavich family. In this case, researchers directly translated the term *gener*, which does mean «son-in-law» (the main sense). Another argument of the affiliation of the mentioned man (*Gerazclavus*) served the difficult relationship of the future Prince of Kyiv with the Rostislaviches at the turn of the 11th–12th centuries.

³⁸ See, for example, M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 190.

³⁹ *Historia Scepusii...*, p. 603; compare M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ В. Татищев, *История Российская...*, с. 150.

⁴¹ *Літопис Руський...*, с. 176; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 523. See also: *Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 284.

⁴² Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 375.

⁴³ G. Györffy [coord.], *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*, Budapest, 1992, Vol. 1, p. 268.

⁴⁴ M. Werthner, *Szent László királynak orosz veje* [Ruthenian son-in-law of the Saint King Ladislaus], in "Turul", 1890, Vol. 8, p. 125–129; Idem, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 205–210; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 104, 135; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 357).

The Prince Svyatopolk used for their suppression the alliance with the Arpads. The future Kyivan Prince soon became a father-in-law for the Hungarian Prince Almos (see further).

Alexander Nazarenko expressed the doubts about the probability of this marriage, because the brides were in very close blood-related ties – 2:2. Russian historian didn't exclude an extra-marital birth of the Prince Svyatopolk as well. In addition, the term *gener* translates also like «shudder», «wife's brother». We can very simply find this brother of Predslava between her relatives in Rus'. He was Yaroslav Svyatoslavich, which could be noted in Latin-language act of the King Ladislaus I like *Gerazclavup*. Their father Svyatoslav Yaroslavich († 1076), owing to him authority outside the lands of the first Rurik dynasty generations of the 11th century, completely could be note like *rex Rutenorum*. This tradition was quite famous in the cases of another relative of him. And, although M. Werthner reviewed this view⁴⁵, he has chosen another main version, in our opinion false, analysing the future matrimonial Arpad dynasty policy till 1301 (see further). Thus, the conclusions of our predecessors about the marriage of Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich with N. for the name of Hungarian King's daughter⁴⁶, in our opinion, are not justified. It's more logical opinion proposed by L. Makhnovets (and supplemented by us) about the marriage (after 1090) between the King Ladislaus I with, probably, Predslava Svyatoslavna (?). We can't propose any sources information about the children in this marriage.

5. The Prince Álmos († 1127) + Predslava Svyatopolkivna († after 1104) (1104). The marriage is well known from *The Tale of Past Years* passage⁴⁷ and the further investigations of historians.⁴⁸ The daughters Adelaida († 1140), Yadviga and the son Bela (II) († 1141) were born in this marriage. According to the editors of *Historia Scopusii*, from the fornication of the Prince Álmos and

⁴⁵ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 207.

⁴⁶ This version is promoted by Márta Font (M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 104, 135), L. Voytovich (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 357), and M. Homza (*Historia Scopusii...*, p. 603).

⁴⁷ Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 256.

⁴⁸ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 248–249; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 136–137; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 358; М. Юрасов, *Русско-венгерские отношения начала XII в.* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations at the beginning of the 12th century], *Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики*, 2006, no. 3 (25), с. 47–55; *Ibid.*, *Русско-венгерские отношения начала XII в.* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations at the beginning of the 12th century], in “Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики”, 2006, no. 4 (26), с. 67–78.

young wife of the King Coloman, Euphemia Volodymyrivna gave birth the son Boris († 1154).⁴⁹

6. The King Coloman († 1116) + Euphemia Volodymyrivna († 1139) (1112). It was the most scandalous marriage, well known from narratives⁵⁰ and historical investigations.⁵¹ The King shortly before the marriage accused his wife

⁴⁹ *Historia Scopusii...*, p. 603–604.

⁵⁰ *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 273; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 429.

⁵¹ K. Gorski, *Boris ustęp z dziejów XII wieku* [Boris, the fragment of the 12th century history], Lwów, 1876, 38 p.; A. Hodinka, *Kálmánfi (Kolománovics) Boris* [Boris, the son of Coloman], in “Történelmi Tár”, Budapest, 1889, p. 421–433; M. Werthner, *Boris und Rostislav. Beitrag zur Geschichte der russisch-polnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen* [Boris and Rostislav. To the question of the Ruthenian-Polish-Hungarian relationships history], Berlin, 1889; Idem, *Az Árpádok családí története...*, p. 222–225; С. Розанов, *Евфимия Владимировна и Борис Коломанович. Из европейской политики XII в.* [Euphemia Volodymyrivna and Boris Kolomanovich. From the European policy of the 12th century], in “Институт АН, VII серия, Отдел гуманитарных наук”, Ленинград, 1930, no. 8, с. 585–599; Idem, *Евфимия Владимировна и Борис Коломанович. Из европейской политики XII в.* [Euphemia Volodymyrivna and Boris Kolomanovich. From the European policy of the 12th century], in “Институт АН, VII серия, Отдел гуманитарных наук”, Ленинград, 1930, no. 9, с. 649–671; F. Makk, *Borisz, egy XII. századi trónkövetelő* [Boris, the 12th century throne claiming], in “Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Antiqua Archaeologica”, 1987, Vol. 6, p. 61–65; П. Толочко, *Історичні портрети* [Historical portraits], Київ, 1990, с.157–184; М. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 137; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 459; М. Юрасов, *Последствия женитьбы Калмана Книжника на Евфимии Владимировне для освоения русскими Закарпаття* [The consequences of the marriage of the King Coloman and Euphemia Volodymyrivna for the Transcarpathia lands development by the Ruthenians], in “Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики”, 2007, no. 3 (29), с. 129; Idem, *Кто помогал Борису Коломановичу в 1132 г. в его борьбе за венгерский престол с Белой II* [Who helped Boris Kolomanovich in his struggle with Bela II for the Hungarian throne in 1132?], in “Княжа доба: історія і культура”, Львів, 2008, no. 2, с. 93–97; Idem, *Русско-венгерские отношения в годы киевского княжения Владимира Мономаха* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations in the period of the Kyivan rule of Volodymyr Monomakh], in “Отечественная история”, 2008, no. 3, с. 4; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 302–303; Z. Orságová, *The marriages between the Árpáadian kings and Princesses from the Rus'*, in “Colloquia Russica”, Kraków, 2012, series I, vol. 1: *Principalities in lands of Galicia and Wolhynia in international relations in the 11th–14th centuries.*

for adultery and sent her to the homeland. We don't know about the legally born children in this marriage.

7. The King Géza († 1161) + Euphrosyne Mstislavna († 1193) (1146). The marriage of the Kyivan Prince Mstislav-Garald Volodymyrovych's († 1132) daughter with the Hungarian King is well known from the sources⁵² and different genealogical investigations of D. Dąbrowski.⁵³ The parents gave birth of the eight children: four sons – Stephen (III) († 1172), Bela (III) († 1196) – the future Kings, and Géza († 1210) and Árpád as well, and also four daughters – Elizabeth († 1189), Odola, Ilona († 1199) and Maria.⁵⁴

8. The Prince Andrew (*dux Galitiae*) († winter 1233/34) + Maria Mstislavna († after 1226/27) (1226/27). The marriage of the third son of the King Andrew II († 1235) – Andrew (*Dux Galitiae*) with the daughter of the Galician Prince Mstislav Mstislavich († 1227) – Maria is covered by the sources⁵⁵ and genealogically investigated.⁵⁶ Probably the parents didn't have any children, or they died in the age of infants.⁵⁷ Anna († after 1270) + Rostislav Mikhaylovich († after 1264) (1242/43). The fact of this matrimonial allies of the former Galician Prince Rostislav with the King Bela IV's daughter († 1270) is well known by the sources⁵⁸ and historical explorations.⁵⁹ It was still considered, that the

Publication after 2nd International Conference, Ivano-Frankivsk, 20–22th October 2011, p. 51 etc.

⁵² See, for example, *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 384, 405–408, 420, 434, 450–451, 482–483; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 458.

⁵³ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 311–315; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 166–175; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 643; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 305; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściślawowiczów...*, p. 166–175; Z. Orságová, *The marriages...*, p. 52.

⁵⁴ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 175.

⁵⁵ A. Theiner [coord.] *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram Illustrantia* [The ancient monuments to the sacred Hungarian history], Roma, 1859, Vol. 1, p. 33.

⁵⁶ M. Werthner, *Die Allianzen der Arpaden. Politisch-genealogische Studien* [The Arpads Alliances. The politic-genealogical studies], Wien, 1887, p. 7; Idem, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 454; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 213; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 526; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściślawowiczów...*, p. 566–570; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 592–596; О. Головка, *Князь Мстислав Мстиславич «Удатний» і його доба* [The Prince Mstislav Mstislavich “the Daring” and his epoch], Кам'янець-Подільський, 2017, с. 135.

⁵⁷ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 596.

⁵⁸ *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 794, 800.

parents gave birth for six children: two sons – Mikhail († 1269) and Bela († 1272) and four daughters – Anna († after 1257), Kunigunda († 1285), Griffina († after 1303) and Margareta (after 1290).⁶⁰ But, we're sure, that Procop († 1295) was the third son, and so he was the seventh child of the parents, nominated in 1293 to be the bishop of Kraków.⁶¹

9. Lev Danilovich († 1301) + Konstancia († after 1287/88) (1246). This marriage is well known from the *Galician-Volhynian chronicle* (*The Romanovich's chronicle*)⁶², and is also dated on 11 November (without a precise year) in «Tatar letter» from Bela IV to the Pope Innocent IV († 1254) about the marriage of Daniel Romanovich's († 1264) the oldest son Lev, with the Hungarian Princes. In this letter, Bela IV informed the Papal curia about few marriages, which humiliated his royal dignity, but he had to realize this due to the constant threat from the nomads.⁶³ The researchers good investigate this matrimonial union.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Ф. Палацкий, *О русском князе Ростиславе, отце чешской королевы Кунгуты и роде его* [About the father of Czech Queen Kunigunda, Ruthenian Prince Rostislav and his family], in «Чтения в Московском Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских», 1846, no. 3, с. 11–12; G. Wenzel, *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg, IV. Béla magyar királynak veje* [The Galician Prince Rostislav, the son-in-law of the Hungarian King Bela IV], in «Értekezések a történelmi Tudományok köréből», Budapest, 1887, Vol. 13, no. 8, p. 4; M. Werthner, *Boris und Rostislaw; Ibid., Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 463–475; Ѓ. Харди, *Наследници Кијева између краљевске круне и татарског јарма: студила о државно-правном положају Галиче и Галичко-Волинске кнежевине до 1264. Године* [The successors of Kyiv between the kings crown and Tatar burden: the studies about the Galician-Volhynian Principality state-legal position till 1264], Нови Сад, 2002, p. 165; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 245; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 418; D. Dąbrowski, *Stosunki polityczne między królem Węgier Belą IV, niektórymi książętami polskimi i Romanowiczami w latach 1242–1250 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kwestii matrymonialnych)* [The political relations between the Hungarian King Bela IV, some Polish Princes and the Romanoviches during 1242–1250 (with the detailed analysis of the matrimonial questions)], in Л. Войтович [coord.], *Україно-угорські етюди*, Львів, 2010, вип. 16, с. 165.

⁶⁰ Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 420.

⁶¹ Unfortunately, the materials of the International Conference «*Poland, Rus' and Hungary in the International relations of the 10th–14st centuries*» (Institute of history of Polish Academy of the science, Warsaw, 16–17 June 2014) haven't been published yet. During the Conference we presented the topic «*Bishop of Krakow Procopius de Russia (1293–1295 pp.): his ethnicity and genealogical affiliation*» (in print).

⁶² Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 809.

⁶³ P. Toru, *IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett «tatár-levele»* [Bela IV's

At least three children were born in the marriage – son Yuri (I) († between 1308 and 1315) and two daughters Olena († between 1304 and 1323) and Svyatoslava († 1302) as well.⁶⁵

10. Charles Robert († 1342) + Maria Lvivna (?) († around 1308 or around 1306). This is one of the most mysterious and most debatable matrimonial union, nonetheless with two independent sources confirmations⁶⁶ and plenty supporters in the science, for example by Gyula Kristó⁶⁷, Jaroslav Perniš⁶⁸, L. Voytovich⁶⁹, M. Homza⁷⁰ etc. Among sceptics, instead, are S. Sroka⁷¹ and

foreign policy and the “Tatar-letter” addressed to the Pope Innocent IV], in “Századok”, 1987, Vol. 121, no. 4, p. 588–594.

⁶⁴ M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 485–487; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 108–113; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 250, 263; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 501; P. Maliniak, *K sobášnej politike Bela IV. Dynastická svadba vo Zvolene a jej reflexie v historiografii* [About the matrimonial policy of Bela IV. dynastical wedding in Zvolen and it's historiographical reflections], in “Historický časopis”, 2008, Vol. 56, no. 1, p. 125–135; Д. Донской, *Указ. соч...*, p. 435; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mścislawowiczów...*, p. 356; Л. Войтович, *Князь Лев Данилович (Славетні постаті середньовіччя. – Вип. 1)* [The Prince Lev Danilovich (Medieval glorious persons – Vol. 1)], Львів, 2014, с. 51–54; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 371–372.

⁶⁵ D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 113.

⁶⁶ L. Blazovics, L.Géczi [coordp.] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [The Archive of the Anjou epoch], Budapest-Szeged, 2000, Vol. 10, p. 60; Т. Живковић, В. Петровић, А. Узелац [coords.], *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalip. Анонимов опис Источне Европе* [The Anonymous description of the Eastern Europe], Београд, 2013, с. 131.

⁶⁷ G. Kristó, *Károly Róbert első felesége* [The first wife of Charles Robert], in “Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta historica”, 1988, Vol. 86, p. 27–30; Idem, *Aba Sámuel és Károly Róbert családi kapcsolatairól* [About the family relations of Aba Sámuel and Charles Robert], in “Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta historica”, Szeged, 1992, Vol. 96, p. 25–30; Idem, *Orosz hercegnő volt-e Károly Róbert első felesége?* [Was it the Ruthenian Princess the first wife of Charles Robert?], in “Aetas”, 1994, no. 1, p. 194–199; Idem, *Károly Róbert családja* [The family of Charles Robert], in “Aetas”, 2005, no. 4, p. 14–28.

⁶⁸ J. Perniš, *Karol Róbert z Anjou a jeho manželky* [Charles Robert from the Anjou family and his wives], in “Historický časopis”, 1997, Vol. 45, no. 2, p. 177–194; Idem, *Prvá piastovská prinzezná v rodine uhorských Anjouovcov* [The first Princess from the Piast dynasty in the family of the Hungarian Anjou], in “Slovanský přehled”, 2000, Vol. 86, no. 4, p. 559–566.

⁶⁹ Л. В. Войтович, *Ще одна загадка генеалогії Романовичів: Чи існувала королева Марія Львівна* [One more mystery of Romanoviches genealogy: did the Queen Maria

D. Dąbrowski.⁷² We're count ourselves to the first group. Our opponents, defend the version about the Hungarian King's first marriage with the Silesian bride, but didn't explain the presence in her environment at least a few persons, identified as Ruthenians.⁷³ In our opinion, these nobles arrived in Hungary with a court of the first Hungarian King's bride – the Ruthenian Princess Maria, and after Queen's death around 1308 were «inherited» by her niece – a new wife of Charles Robert, born from the Ruthenian mother Olena Lvivna. In the first marriage of the King any child wasn't born.

It's important, that is well known about at least four marriages between the relatives of the Rurik dynasty and the persons of a lower social status as well. At first, there is the marriage around 1117 between the Prince of Przemyśl Volodymyrko Volodarevich († 1152/53) and N. Hungarian girl (not the daughter of the King Coloman and not the daughter of the King Bela II), which entered to the royal family, as proposed N. von Baumgarten.⁷⁴ But, in that case, there is a lack of the source evidences. The compromise version was proposed by Mikhaïl

Lvivna existed?], in Збірник праць на пошану члена-кореспондента НАН України Миколи Федоровича Котляра з нагоди його 70-річчя [A collection of works to honor Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Nikolai Fedorovich Kotlyar on the occasion of his 70th anniversary], Київ, 2002, с. 161–164; Idem, Княжа доба..., с. 507–509; Л. Войтович, О. Целуйко, Правлячі династії Європи. Генеалогічно-хронологічний довідник [The ruling dynasties of Europe. Genealogical-chronological guide], Біла Церква, 2008, с. 11; Л. Войтович, Галицько-Волинські етюди [The Galician-Volhynian etudes], Біла Церква, 2011, с. 337–341.

⁷⁰ Historia Scopusii..., p. 607–608.

⁷¹ S. Sroka, *A Hungarian-Galician Marriage at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century?*, in "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", Cambridge, 1992, no. 16, p. 261–268; Idem, *Ki volt Károly Róbert első felesége?* [Who was the first wife of Charles Robert?], in "Aetas", 1994, no. 1, p. 187–193; Idem, *Wokół mariażu Karola Roberta z Piastówną Śląską Marią* [Around the marriage of Charles Robert with Silesian Piast Maria], in "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego", 1994, no. 1, p. 1–5; Idem, *A magyar Anjouk családi története*, p. 16–24; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów Węgierskich* [The Hungarian Anjou genealogy], Kraków, 1999, p. 25–28; Idem, *Чи існувала руська дружина угорського короля Карла Роберта на початку XIV ст.* [Did the Ruthenian wife of the Hungarian King Charles Robert existed at the beginning of the 14th century?], in "Княжа доба : історія і культура", Львів, 2010, Vol. 3, с. 268–277; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów...*, p. 13–29.

⁷² D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 275–277.

⁷³ М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві..., с. 195–196, 198.

⁷⁴ N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15.

Yurasov: «[...] absolutely deny the possibility of the wedding of Volodymyr Volodarevich with a Hungarian noble is not correct. But it should be stipulate, that she didn't belong to the Arpad family, otherwise it would be reflected in the sources».⁷⁵ In the marriage exactly was born the son Yaroslav, nicknamed in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* like *Osmomysl* († 1187). The possibility of birth of two daughters Maria-Anastasia and N. in this marriages as well, like consider N. von Baumgarten and L. Voytovich⁷⁶, in our opinion, is unconvincing, because of the sources absence. In general, we emphasize the urgent need for a farther study of the Rostislavich dynasty genealogy.

The next well known by the sources and genealogical studies marriage was concluded 1150⁷⁷ between the son of the Kyivan Prince Mstislav-Garald Volodymyrovich Volodymyr († 1171) and N. daughter of the Serbian noble and Hungarian banus Beloš († after 1163), wrongly noted in historiography Olena († till 1155/56).⁷⁸ The best studies of this casus provided in *Genealogy of Mstislaviches* by D. Dąbrowski. Since winter of 1155/1156 the Prince Volodymyr married again, and his wife gave birth him three children. That is why «the origin of the mother of the older son Mstislav, – historian concludes, – it's impossible to find out».⁷⁹

Another case was represented by the marriage between the Hungarian noble Dmytro (perhaps from Aba family) († after 1263) and Anastasia († after

⁷⁵ М. Юрасов, *Была ли жена Владимира Володаревича венгеркой?* [Was the wife of Volodymyrko Volodarevych from Hungary?], in «Слово о полку Игоревім» та його доба. Матеріали Міжнародної науково-теоретичної конференції. Галич, 24 жовтня 2007 р. [“The word about the regiment of Igor”. Materials of the International Scientific and Theoretical Conference. Halych, October 24, 2007], Галич, 2007, с. 139.

⁷⁶ N. De Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 346–347.

⁷⁷ Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 407–408.

⁷⁸ M. Wertner, *A középkori délszláv uralkodók genealogiai története* [The history of genealogy of Medieval South Slavic rulers], Temesvár, 1891, p. 14–18; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 171; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 463; М. Юрасов, *Бан Белуш – один из возможных прототипов былинного героя Дюка Степановича* [Banus Beloš – is one of the possible prototypes of an epic hero Duce Stepanovich], in “Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики”, 2013, no. 3 (53), с. 162; N. Kartalija, *Serbian Grand Prince Beloš as a Participant in the Hungarian-Rus' relations in the Mid-12th Century*, in “Colloquia Russica”, Krakov–Bratislava, 2015, p. 95.

⁷⁹ D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściławowiczów...*, p. 178–179, 183.

1248), the daughter of the former Prince of Belz, Oleksandr Vsevolodovich's († after 1234), concluded in 1248. The marriage, known by a single *Romanovich chronicle's* passage⁸⁰, is very well studied by D. Dąbrowski.⁸¹ For the Ruthenian princess, it was a second marriage before the death of her first husband – Mazovian Prince Boleslav († 1248). Polish historian allows that a son, Petro, could be born in this marriage.⁸² One of the last of all known this group marriages was matrimonial union between the Hungarian noble Joachim from the Gutkeled family († 1277) and Maria Romanivna († after 1270). Maria Romanivna was the daughter of the Ruthenian prince on the Austrian throne during 1252–1253, Roman Danilovich († 1258/59) and Gertruda Babenberg († 1288), abandoned by her husband before the birth of her daughter. Although this incident is well known by the sources, it has relatively recently fallen into the sight of the historians.⁸³ N. for the name daughter was born in the marriage.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 810.

⁸¹ D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów...*, p. 394–399, 417–422; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich...*, p. 55.

⁸² Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 422.

⁸³ H. Meier, *Gertrud Herzogin von Österreich und Steiermark* [Gertrud, the Princess of Austria and Styria], in "Zeitschrift des Historischen Versinst für Steiermark", Graz, 1927, Vol. 23, Heft. 1–4, p. 20–21; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 230–231; N. Mika, *Walka o spadek po Babenbergach w latach 1246–1278* [The struggle for the Babenbergs heritage during 1246–1278], Racibórz, 2008, p. 51, 66, 82 (see also a sources list with this marriages description); D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów...*, p. 360–361, 377. See also about the Austrian life's period of Maria's father, А. Мартынюк, «Благородный муж Daniel Prutenus» – отголосок договорной грамоты Даниила Галицкого? [“The honorable man Daniel Prutenus” – echo of the agreement's letter of Daniel Halyskyi?], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье письменность как элемент государственной инфраструктуры. XXVIII Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Пашуто Москва, 20–22 апреля 2016 г. Материалы конференции* [Eastern Europe in ancient and medieval writing as an element of state infrastructure. XXVIII Reading of the Memory of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Vladimir Terentyevich Pashuto Moscow, April 20–22, 2016 Conference proceedings], Москва, 2016, с. 169–174; Idem, «Австрийский стол» князя Романа Даниловича [“The Austrian throne” of the Prince Roman Danilovich], in "Colloquia Russica", Ивано-Франківськ-Краків, 2017, series II, v. 3, с. 133–143.

⁸⁴ A. Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és allatvalóik* (Magyarország története 1301-ig) [The Arpads and their dependents (The History of Hungary till 1301)], Debrecen, 1997, p. 143–144.

The statistical indicators of this second category of the Ruthenian-Hungarian marriages will not be counted in the article. After all recorded cases of the bilateral inter-dynasty matrimonial connections of the Rurik and Arpad families we'd like to propose some statistical generalizations. Eleven analysed cases have a next figuration in the bilateral marriages dynamics: during the 10/11th century three persons were married from Rus', but in Rus' just one bride arrived. In the 12th century three persons were married from Rus' in Hungary, but in Rus' – anyone. During the 13th century two persons (including the Prince Rostislav Mikhaylovich, which arrived to live in Hungary like a “son-in-law”) from Rus' were married in Hungary, one Hungarian princess was married in Rus'; finally, one bride from Rus' was married in Hungary in the 14th century, but in Rus' – anyone.

The Ruthenian-Hungarian inter-dynasty matrimonial ties since the 10/11th–14th centuries from the point of view of the quantitative and qualitative indicators give the next statistical data:

1. The percentage of the Rurik dynasty blood in the royal Hungarian dynasties, especially Arpads, was one of the highest, comparing with other neighbours, approximately the same as the percentage of the German blood.⁸⁵

2. At least four Hungarian Kings married the daughters of the rulers of Rus': Ladislaus I in the second marriage, Coloman in the second marriage, Géza II and Charles Robert.

3. Just one Hungarian princess was married to the Ruthenian Prince (the marriage of Konstancia and Lev Danilovich in 1246).

Most of the brides married to Hungary were often from Kyiv, at least three – Premislava (the daughter of the Prince Volodymyr?), Anastasia Yaroslavna, probably Predslava Svyatoslavna, Predslava Svyatopolkivna), Pereyaslav (Euphemia Volodymyrivna), Galich (Maria Mstislavna), Lviv (Maria Lvivna) and several other princely places, not identified finally. Instead, the Hungarian brides arrived in such centres like Novgorod or Volhynian Volodymyr (N. for the name of Rostislav Volodymyrovich's wife), potentially to Galich (Anna, the daughter of Bela IV), Lviv (Konstancia the daughter of Bela IV). It's interesting (*sic!*), that crowned Hungarian Princess never married in the most famous princely residences of Rus', like Kyiv, Chernigov, Pereyaslav, Suzdal, Vladimir-on-Kliazma.

From the point of the Rurik dynasty branches view, the absolute majority of the marriages of the Hungarian rulers were made with brides from Kyiv and gravitated to the Kyivan grand throne of the Ruthenian Princes (Volhynian, for

⁸⁵ *Historia Scepusii...*, p. 603–609.

example) – we have clearly five such cases.⁸⁶ We also have three cases of marriages with the daughters of the Galician Princes or the Princes of so-called “Great” Galicia, for example in Przemyś.⁸⁷ We’re fixed one marriage of the Hungarian King with the sister of the King of Rus’ (*Regnum Russiae*) (Charles Robert and Maria Lvivna). Other cases are controversial.

We include to the “peculiar” and “unique” marriages the case with the candidate for the Hungarian throne Andrew, staying in exile in Kyiv, who married in 1038/1039, probably, the oldest daughter of the Kyivan Prince Yaroslav – Anastasia. At this moment, the Prince-fugitive, having no chances and perspectives to return at homeland and become the King, became a son-in-law of a powerful ruler of Rus’. By the way, the Prince Yaroslav didn’t married, under similar circumstances, his another daughter Elisiv (Elizaveta) with farther Norwegian Konung Harald Haardrada.⁸⁸

The marriage of the exile-challenger for the Galician throne Rostislav Mikhaylovich (near 1242/1243) with the most beloved Bela IV’s daughter Anna, was accompanied by a getting in his possession of Hungarian Mačva, with the decision to stay forever here, with the “son-of-law status”. This is a single case in all the Rurik dynasty history. The Bela IV’s son-of-law began a very active policy in his lands, receiving in 1257 the title *imperator Bulgarorum*.⁸⁹

According to the results of all marriages, eight boys and seven girls were born in Hungary by the Ruthenian mothers, instead, in Rus’ were born by the Hungarian mothers seven boys and six girls. Ruthenian mothers gave birth four

⁸⁶ Ladislas the Bald and Premislava (Volodymyrivna?), the prince Andrew and Anastasia Yaroslavna, the king Ladislaus and N. Ruthenian bride, probably, Predslava Svyatoslavna, the King Géza II and Euphrosyne Mstislavna.

⁸⁷ The prince Andrew and Maria Mstislavna, Anna and Rostislav Mikhaylovich, Lev Danilovich and Konstancia.

⁸⁸ Т. Джаксон, *Елизавета Ярославна, королева норвежская* [The Norwegian Queen Elizaveta Yaroslavna], in Т. Н. Джаксон, Е. А. Мельникова [coords.], *Восточная Европа в исторической ретроспективе. К 80-летию В. Т. Пашуто* [Eastern Europe in a historical retrospective. To the 80th anniversary of V. T. Pashuto], Москва, 1999, с. 63–71.

⁸⁹ Ђ. Харди, *О Мачви средином XIII века. Прилог питању стауса Мачве у доба владавине њеног господара Ростислава Михайловича* [About Mačva in the middle of the 13th century. To the question of Mačva’s stature during the rule of the dominus Rostislav Mikhaylovich], in “Споменица историјског архива Срем”, Сремска Митровица, 2011, no. 10, с. 32–42.

Hungarian Kings – Solomon, Bela II, Stephen III and Bela III. Hungarian Princes gave birth to the famous Yuri I, *Rex Russiae*.

We've noted, between another interesting results of the bilateral matrimonial contacts, three causes (from all nine marriages) of the childless marriages in Hungary (probably we don't know about that, as well). The separate position in the frame of general data takes – with a high probability – the extra-marital birth of the child Boris "Kolomanovich". We haven't got any childless marriages from two cases of Hungarian brides arrived in Rus'. The farther bishop of Krakow Procop (1292–1295) was born in the marriage of Rostislav Mikhaylovich and Anna around 1245–1248 or 1248–1250. He was a single Catholic Bishop, whose father was the Ruthenian Prince. And also, we know about two situations in Hungarian history, when semi-Ruthenian princes by origin, the grandsons of Lev Danilovich and Konstancia, were Hungarian bishops. There were the sons of Olena (Helena) Lvivna and Casimir of Bytom (1253/1257–1312): Boleslav – the Archbishop of Esztergom (1321–1328) and his younger brother Mieszko – the bishop of Nitra (1328–1334) and the bishop of Veszprem (1334–1344).⁹⁰

The longest were the marriages of Lev Danilovich with Konstancia – 40–41 year, Andrew I with Anastasia – around 23 years, Rostislav Mikhaylovich with Anna – 21/22 years and Géza II with Euphrosyne Mstislavna – 15 years. The most fruitful were the marriages of Géza II with Euphrosyne Mstislavna – eight children (four boys and four girls) and Rostislav Mikhaylovich with Anna – seven children (three boys and four girls).

It's interesting, that we note in the context of very active bilateral matrimonial policy just two cases of the Arpad dynasty relatives, of escape or departure in Rus' (Andrew and his brother Levente and little bit later Ladislaus I) in order to get political asylum and help. Instead, we note also more than twelve similar cases of the Ruthenian princes and nobles to escape to Hungary during the 11th–13th centuries. In this respect, among the most famous are the following: Rostislav Volodymyrovich, probably David Igorevich, Volodymyr Yaroslavich and his sons, Yaroslav Svyatoslavich, Daniel Romanovich, Roman Igorevich, Oleksandr Vsevolodovich, Mikhail Vsevolodovich and his son Rostislav, the Ryazan Prince or boyar Constantine, many representatives of the

⁹⁰ М. Волощук, *Католицькі єпископи з династії Рюриковичів XII–XIV ст.* [The Catholic bishops from the Rurik dynasty of the 12th–14th centuries], in "Colloquia Russica", Kraków, 2018, series I, Vol. 8: *Religions and beliefs of Rus' (9th–16th centuries)*. Publication after 8th International Conference, Lviv, 15–18th November 2017 (in print).

Galician nobility etc. We also have two cases of direct participation of independent or auxiliary Ruthenian princes in the struggle for the Hungarian royal throne (around 1040 and at the beginning of the 14th century). But, at the same time, we have no less than ten situations of the Hungarian troops participation (invited by the Ruthenian rulers) in inter-princely wars (the middle of the 12th century, the end of the 12th – the first half of the 13th centuries, the middle – the second half of the 14th century).

It's interesting also to compare the given statistical indices with the similar ones of the more intensive Ruthenian-Polish matrimonial ties of the 11th–14th centuries, which we'd like to present in the separate publication. The 25 (maybe 26) bilateral matrimonial contacts from the 27 causes between crowned persons were concluded during this period. The relatives of the Rurik dynasty married with the Piasts in 18 cases, and in 9 cases brides from the Piast family married the Rurikids. There was one marriage with a misalliance element as well: Silesian noble Petrus Vlast († 1153) married with the representative of Chernigov Olgovichs Maria Olegivna († 1146). We note also, and it is unknown in the Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial relationships of the same time, a concubinage of the Prince Boleslave the Brave († 1025) with Predslava Volodymyrivna (around 1018). The 21 marriages from all list of the cases were fruitful (six – in Rus', 15 – in the Piasts' lands), six – non-bearing (two – in Rus', four – in Poland). The dynamics of them during the centuries had a next figuration: three persons were married from Rus' in 11th century, two persons arrived in Rus'; six persons married the Piasts in the 12th century, five persons married the Rurikids; eight brides were departure from Rus' in the 13th century, but arrived only two; instead only one bride was married from Rus' in the 14th century, but anyone arrived in Rus'. Ruthenian mothers gave birth at least for 42 children in the Piasts' lands (proportionality 32/10) with a clear Ruthenian influence in a giving of the name for the child (Yaroslav, Yuri, Svyatoslava, Olga, Eudockia, Maria, Euphemia). Instead, Polish mothers gave birth at least for 17 children (12/5) without any influence of the Piasts in the giving name time.

The longest matrimonial unions in the lands of the Piasts were marriages of the Mazovian Prince Konrad († 1247) with Agafia Svyatoslavna († around 1248), 1207/1208–1247 – 39–40 years, of Mieszko III the Old († 1202) and Eudockia Izyaslavna (probably Yuriivna) († around 1187), 1151/1154–1187 – 33–36 years and of Casimir of Bytom († 1312) and Helena (Olena) Lvivna († between 1304–1312), 1275/1278–1304/1312 – 26/29–34/37 years. The most fruitful in the lands of the Piasts was the marriage of the Mazovian Prince Konrad with Agafia Svyatoslavna, which gave birth at least for ten children

(5/5). Instead, the examples of the matrimonial loyalty were the marriages of Vsevolod Svyatoslavich the Red († between 1212–1215) with the N. daughter of Casimir the Just († 1194), 1178/1179–1215 (?) – 33–36 years, of Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) with the daughter of Mieszko II († 1034) Gertrufa († between 1086–1108), 1043–1078 – 35 years, and of Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1172) with the daughter of Boleslaus III the Wry-mouthed († 1138) Agnieszka († after 1182), 1151–1172 – 21 year as well. Instead, the most fruitful in Rus' was the marriage of the King of Rus' Yuri with the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Casimir († 1267) Euphemia († 1308) – 4 children (2/2).

CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing our statistical calculations, we'd like to notice, that the Ruthenian-Hungarian bilateral marriages in the context of the matrimonial policy of the Rurikids were one of the most active in so-called *Younger Europe*, being caused by strong Slavic influences from each side. The matrimonial contacts were more or less equal till the beginning of the 12th century. The Hungarian rulers didn't consider the Rurikids equal in the status since the 12th century and till 1253, which is noted in sources and in the marriage policy dynamics. It's no accident, that any Hungarian Princess didn't marry any authoritative Ruthenian Prince until 1246. The situation didn't change even before the Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) emergence in 1253. The rulers of this new Kingdom were equal in their status to other contenders on the Hungarian throne for "the mother line", which expanded the prospect of the matrimonial relations with the rest of the Latin West rulers. The Charles Robert's intention to become a relative with the Romanovich family is explaining just by an attempt of the genealogical tightening of the claims to the Hungarian throne, and no more.

The feudal hierarchical system of the Latin West allowed the matrimonial alliances with the Ruthenian rulers, first of all, for the avoidance of the close blood relations with each other. Accordingly, it's showed by very intense unions with the Piasts and the high dynamics of the marriages of the Ruthenian princely daughters with the Arpads. The Rurikids were a very attractive party in this case, because they were one of the most branched European families. However they were evaluated lower than kings in the status (and emperors as well) at the same time, and also, by not finally established circumstances, which deserve a separate, special publication, enjoyed less respect and trust. This is clearly

visible from the personal and interfamily contacts dynamic during the 11th–14th centuries, matrimonial character connections etc., especially on a comparative background of the Hungarian rulers' relationships with the Piasts in the middle of the 13th–14th centuries.

**SURVEY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY OF KYIV
“ST. VOLODYMYR” UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HISTORIANS
(1834-1866)**

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Abstract: *The article brings to the readers' attention an overview of Ukrainian historiographical references from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first decade of the 20th century, insisting on the achievements of the main historians trained at the "St. Volodymyr" in Kiev. The historiographical approaches inspired by the works of the Ukrainian historians from the first and the second period of activity of the School of Kiev's history are presented. It is also highlighted the pedagogical and scientific character of the writings of professors Volodymyr Tsykh, Vasyl Dombrovsky, Olexius Stavrovsky, Nikolay Kostomarov, Platon Pavlov, Vitaliy Shulgin, as well as the historiographical aspects related to the life and activity of these historians.*

Keywords: *historians, Volodymyr Tsykh, Vasyl Dombrovsky, Olexsiy Stavrovsky, Nikolay Kostomarov, Platon Pavlov, Vitaliy Shulgin, Kyiv, St. Volodymyr University*

Rezumat: *Privire de ansamblu asupra istoriografiei Școlii de Istorie de la Universitatea “St. Volodymyr” din Kiev. Articolul aduce în atenția cititorilor o privire de ansamblu asupra referințelor istoriografice ucrainene din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și până în primul deceniu al secolului XX, insistând asupra realizărilor principalilor istorici formați la Universitatea “St. Volodymyr” din Kiev. Sunt prezentate abordările istoriografice inspirate de lucrările istoricilor ucraineni din prima și a doua perioada de activitate a Școlii de istorie kieveană. De asemenea, se subliniază caracterul pedagogic și științific al scrierilor profesorilor Volodymyr Tsykh, Vasyl Dombrovsky, Olexsiy Stavrovsky, Nikolay Kostomarov, Platon Pavlov, Vitaliy Shulgin, dar sunt reliefate și aspecte istoriografice referitoare la viața și activitatea amintiților istorici.*

Résumé: *Vision générale sur l'historiographie de l'Ecole d'Histoire de l'Université “St. Volodymyr” de Kiev. L'article ci-joint offre aux lecteurs une vision générale sur les références historiographiques ukrainiennes de la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle et jusqu'à la première décennie du XX-ème siècle, tout en insistant sur les réalisations des principaux historiens formés à l'Université “St. Volodymyr” de Kiev. On y présente les abords*

historiographiques inspirés des ouvrages des historiens ukrainiens de la première et de la seconde période d'activité de l'École d'histoire de Kiev. De plus, on y souligne le caractère pédagogique et scientifique des ouvrages des professeurs Volodymyr Tsykh, Vasyly Dombrovsky, Olexsiy Stavrovsky, Nikolay Kostomarov, Platon Pavlov, Vitaliy Shulgin, mais on met, aussi, en relief les aspects historiographiques concernant la vie et l'activité des historiens qu'on vient de mentionner.

INTRODUCTION

The School of Historians of the "St. Volodymyr" University (further – SHSVU – O. T.) in Kyiv – as a corporation of the individuals united by their profession as historians, who taught at the Departments of the World and Russian History – was developed from the second third of the 19th – till the beginning of the 20th century. Their scientific activities and legacy belonged to various scientific fields and trends but as a corporation of historians, they belonged to the University they worked at. Based on that, we believe that we have the right to call them collectively “the 19th century School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University”.

The author analysed in details in a monograph and 30 scientific articles¹, the lives, teaching, and scientific activities of the historians of the St. Volodymyr

¹ О. Тарасенко, *Становлення та розвиток історичної освіти і науки у Київському університеті у 1834–1884* [Formation and development of historical education and science at Kyiv University in 1834–1884], Київ, 1995, 276 с.; Eadem, *Історична освіта у Київському університеті* [Historical Science at Kyiv University], in “Історія України”, Київ, 1999. no. 39, с. 5-6; no. 41, с. 5-8; no. 42, с. 2-5; Eadem, *З історії становлення та розвитку історичної освіти в Київському імператорському університеті Св. Володимира* [From the history of the formation and development of historical education at Kyiv St. Volodymyr Imperial University], in “Історична думка”, Київ, 2010. no. 1, 59 с.; Eadem, *Викладачі школи істориків Університету Св. Володимира у спогадах сучасників (середина 30-х – початок 60-х років XIX ст.)* [Teachers of School of Historians of St. Volodymyr University in the memoirs of contemporaries (the middle of the 30's – the beginning of the 60's of the 19th century)], in “ЕМІНАК: науковий кварталник”, 2017, no. 4, с. 10-27; Eadem, *Школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира у середині 30-х – кінці 40-х років XIX ст* [School of Historians of St. Volodymyr University in the middle of the 30's – the end of 40's of the 19th century], in “Науковий огляд”, 2017, no. 10, с. 84–103; Eadem, *Школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира у кінці 40-х – середині 60-х років XIX ст* [School of Historians of St. Volodymyr University at the end of the 40's – middle of 60's of the 19th century], in “Paradigm of knowledge”, 2017, no. 6, с. 5-33.

University V. F. Tsykh, V. F. Dombrovsky, O. I. Stavrovsky, N. I. Kostomarov, P. V. Pavlov, and V. Ya. Shulgin in the historiography of the second third of the 19th – beginning of the 21st centuries, and came to a conclusion that the period of pedagogical and scientific work of V. F. Tsykh, V. F. Dombrovsky, O. I. Stavrovsky, N. I. Kostomarov during mid-1830s – late 1840s constituted the “First period of creation of the SHSVU”, while the period of work of O. I. Stavrovsky, P. V. Pavlov, and V. Ya. Shulgin during late 1840s – mid- 1860s represented the “Second period of creation” of the SHSVU. All six historians stood at the beginning of the formation of the School, its foundation, and traditions. Intensive scientific activity of representatives of the School began in the subsequent periods of its development, from the 70s of the 19 century.

The historiography about life, teaching, and scientific activities of mentioned historians is not ample and their legacy is also reduced. Teaching was their primary responsibility at that time. Their life, activities and work at the “St. Volodymyr” University (further – SVU – O.T.) were analysed in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. These historians practically were not named during the totalitarian period. The return to the study of the roots of national university education began at the end of the 20th century, after Ukraine became independent, as the historians of the SVU were among the founders of the Ukrainian historical education and science. Therefore, a survey of the historiography of the mentioned historians has a long period of time lasts from the second third of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st centuries.

The period of formation and establishment of the School of Historians of “St. Volodymyr” University started at 1834-1866. All six historians came work to the SVU very young, with a desire to work for the benefit of education and science; their multifaceted activities inspired others to study World and Russian History and the History of the Ukrainian lands. Their fates developed differently. Volodymyr Tsykh worked for three years (1834–1837) and Vasyl Dombrovsky for six years (1838–1844). They prematurely passed away at 32 and 35 years old and did not realize their promising potential. Nikolay Kostomarov, 30 years old, worked for seven months (1846–1847) till his arest on the day of his wedding, as a participant of “Cirylo–Mefodiy Brotherhood”, when he so dreamed to live the rest of his life in Kyiv and devote himself to work at the University. Kostomarov sought to return to Kyiv and the University, after his exile in Saratov, when he was officially amnestied. The SVU officially twice, in 1864 and 1868, invited him to Chair the Department of Russian history, but the Ministry of Education forbade the scientist to work at the University. Platon Pavlov worked for twelve years (1847–1859). At the age of 36, when he was full of creative forces, had an enormous love and a deep respect among

students, as well as a significant influence on the formation of their outlook, provided successful pedagogical and public education activities, because of his open freethinking views and public-educational activities, in the middle of the academic year he was transferred by the authorities to St. Petersburg, and then exiled to Kostroma Province without the right to teach. Vitaliy Shulgin worked for thirteen years (1849–1863). At the age of 41, when he had a great respect and love among students, he left teaching for health reasons and could not go back because of the requirements of a new 1863 “Charter of Universities”. Only Olexiy Stavrovsky worked at the SVU for thirty years (1836–1866) and retired with the honoured title of extraordinary professor and increased pension.

VOLODYMYR TSYKH'S LEGACY

At the cradle of creation of the School of the Historians of the “St. Volodymyr” University and its forthcoming traditions was professor of the World History Department *Volodymyr Francevych Tsykh (1805–1837)*. His life and scientific legacy was researched by V. Ya. Shulgin, in 1860.² F. Y. Fortynsky in 1884 submitted a biographic paper about the historian.³ M. F. Vladimirsky-Boudanov described the activities of V. F. Tsykh at the SVU,⁴ V. V. Roudakov published a paper about the historian in 1901⁵, and A. C. V'azigin wrote an article in 1908⁶ that was reprinted in 2007.⁷ In 1913, V. P. Buzeskul⁸ analysed the

² В. Шульгин, *История университета Св. Владимира* [History of the St. Vladimir University], СПб., 1860, 230 с.

³ Ф. Я. Фортинский, *Цых Владимир Францевич* [Tsykh Vladimir Frantsevich], in *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Императорского университета Св. Владимира (1834–1884) под ред. В. С. Иконникова* [Biographical Dictionary of professors and teachers of the Imperial University of St. Vladimir (1834–1884)], Киев, 1884, с. 724–728.

⁴ М. Ф. Владимирский-Буданов, *История Императорского Университета Св. Владимира* [History of the Imperial University of St. Vladimir], Киев, 1884, Vol. 1, с. 107–113.

⁵ В. Рудаков, *Цых Владимир Францевич* [Tsykh Vladimir Frantsevich], in *Русский биографический словарь* [Russian Biographical Dictionary], СПб., 1901, Vol. 19, с. 496–497.

⁶ М. Г. Халанский, Д. И. Багалей (ред.), *Историко-филологический факультет Харьковского университета за первые 100 лет его существования (1805–1905)* [Historical and Philological Faculty of Kharkov University, at the first 100 years of its existence (1805–1905)], Харьков, 1908, 558 с.

⁷ А. С. Вязигин, *Цых Владимир Францевич* [Tsykh Vladimir Frantsevich], in *Историко-филологический факультет...*, с. 257–259.

⁸ В. Бузескул, *О лекциях В. Ф. Цыха, профессора Харьковского университета в 30-х*

lectures of V. F. Tsykh, and then evaluated the works of the historian in 1929.⁹ A note about V. F. Tsykh was published in 2004¹⁰ dedicated to the 170th anniversary of the University. V. F. Tsykh as a Rector was mentioned in 2006.¹¹ S. P. Stelmakh addressed the scientific legacy of V. F. Tsykh in 1997, 2005, and 2013.¹² In 2009, Oxana Rouchinska¹³ researched the scientific legacy of V. F. Tsykh in antiquity studies. Yuliya Kyselyova addressed the historiographical issues in V. F. Tsykh's works in 2009.¹⁴ S. I. Lyman reviewed the History of the Middle Ages in the works and lectures of V. F. Tsykh in 2012.¹⁵ E. E. Zamyslova in her 2015 article examined

годах прошлого века [About the lectures of V.F. Tsykh, Kharkov University Professor in the 30s of the last century], in *Сборник Харьковского историко-филологического общества* [Collection of the Kharkov Historical and Philological Society], 1913, Vol. XIX, с. 188-190.

⁹ В. П. Бузескул, *Всеобщая история и ее представители в России в XIX – начале XX вв.* [World history and its representatives in Russia in the XIX – the beginning of the XX centuries], Ленинград, 1929. 218 с.

¹⁰ Г. Д. Казьмирчук (ред.), *Історичний факультет Київського національного університету (1834–2004)* [Historical Faculty of Kyiv National University (1834–2004)], Київ, 354 с.

¹¹ В. В. Скопенко, В. А. Короткий, Т. В. Табенська, І. І. Тіщенко, Л. В. Шевченко (ред.), *Ректори Київського університету 1834–2006* [Rectors of the University of Kiev 1834–2006], Киев, 2006, с. 60

¹² С. Стельмах, *Історична думка в Україні XIX – початку XX ст.* [Historical thought in Ukraine in 19th – the beginning of 20th centuries], Київ, 1997, 175 с.; Idem, *Історична наука в Україні епохи класичного історизму (XIX – початку XX століття): Монографія* [Historical science in Ukraine in the era of classical historicism (19th – the beginning of 20th centuries): Monograph], Київ, 2005, 378 с.; Idem, *Цих Володимир Францович* [Tsykh Volodymyr Frantsovych], in В. А. Смолій (ред.), *Енциклопедія історії України* [Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine], Київ, 2013, Vol. 10, с. 480.

¹³ О. Ручинська, *Біля витоків харківського антикознавства: Володимир Францевич Цих* [Near the origins of Kharkov science of antiquities: Volodymyr Frantsevych Tsykh], in “Украс: Історія, культура, мистецтво: українсько-сербський збірник”, Харків, 2009, с. 49-58.

¹⁴ Ю. Кісельова, *Історіографічна проблематика у наукових працях В. Ф. Циха* [Historiographic problems in the scientific works of V. F. Tsykh], in *Актуальні проблеми вітчизняної та всесвітньої історії: Збірник наукових праць* [Actual problems of national and world history: Collection of scientific works], Харків, 2009, с. 276–282.

¹⁵ С. І. Лиман, *Історія середніх віків у творчості та навчальних курсах Володимира Францовича Циха (1805–1837)* [History of the Middle Ages in the works and training courses of Volodymyr Frantsovych Tsykh], in “Вісник Харківської державної академії культури”, 2012, no. 38, с. 15–24.

the attempt by N. V. Gogol and V. F. Tsykh to take the position of the Chair of the World History Department of the SVU¹⁶. In 2017, O. O. Tarasenko studied the personality of the historian as a teacher and a scientist who participated in creation of the SHSVU¹⁷, examining his role in development of the School¹⁸ and investigating his social and cultural portrait¹⁹, and memoirs about him by his contemporaries.²⁰ The sources for research of life and scientific legacy of V. F. Tsykh are his 1824–1825 student's works²¹, his 1833 Master's Dissertation²²,

¹⁶ Е. Е. Замыслова, *Н. В. Гоголь – историк и его «соперник» В.Ф. Цых* [N.V. Gogol as a Historian and His "Rival" V.F. Tsykh], "Электронный научный журнал «Медиаскоп»", 2015, no. 3, <http://www.mediascope.ru/1816> (Accessed on 15.06.2018).

¹⁷ O. Tarasenko, *Kyiv "St. Volodymyr" University School of History: Sketches for a Creative Portrait of Volodymyr Tsykh (1805–1837)*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2017, Vol. 23, с. 265–274.

¹⁸ Eadem, *До становлення школи істориків Університету Св. Володимира: В. Ф. Цих та О. І. Ставровський* [The foundation of the School of historians of St. Volodymyr University: V. F. Tsykh and O. I. Stavrovsky], in "Грані. Науково-теоретичний та соціально-політичний альманах", 2017, no. 7, с. 15–31.

¹⁹ Eadem, *Штрихи до соціокультурного портрету істориків Університету Св. Володимира В. Ф. Циха, О. І. Ставровського, В. Я. Шульгіна* [Strokes to the socio-cultural portrait of historians of the St. Volodymyr University V. F. Tsykh, O. I. Stavrovsky, V. Ya. Shulgin], in "Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія", 2017, no. 2, с. 3–22.

²⁰ Eadem, *Викладачі школи істориків...*

²¹ В. Ф. Цых, *Речь Гая Мариа к римскому народу: (Из Криспа Саллюстия: Bellum Iugurthinum) Пер. с лат. В. Цыха* [Speech of Gaius Maria to the Roman people: (From Crispus Sallust: Bellum Iugurthinum) Transl. From the lat. V. Tsykh], in "Украинский журнал", Харьков, 1824, no. 15, с. 115–123; Idem, *Тит Ливий с присовокуплением отрывка из его истории* [Titus Livius with the addition of a passage from his history], in "Украинский журнал", Харьков, 1824, no. 11, с. 224–234; no. 12, с. 279–293; Idem, *Несколько слов о величии духа* [A few words about the greatness of the spirit], in "Украинский журнал", Харьков, 1825, no. 16, с. 223–239.

²² Idem, *О способе преподавания истории. Решение вопроса: По причине беспрестанно умножения массы исторических сведений и распространения объёма истории, а не оказывается ли нужным изменить обыкновенный способ преподавания сей науки и какой он должен быть именно, как вообще, так и особенно в университетах?* [About the way of teaching history. Solution of the question: Due to the continuous growth of the quantity of historical information and the spreading of the volume of history, is not it necessary to change the ordinary way of teaching of this science and what should it be exactly, in general, and especially at the universities?],

an 1835 article²³, his speech at the ceremony of opening of the “St. Volodymyr” University²⁴, as well as the speeches during his 1837 burial and memoirs about V. F. Tsykh.²⁵ The scientific legacy of Tsykh confirms his extraordinary contribution to the development of education and science in the 1830s. V. F. Tsykh managed to lift the quality of his lectures to the level of a European professor.

VASYL DOMBROVSKY'S ENDOWMENT

Professor of the Russian History Department, *Vasyl Fedorovych Dombrovsky (1805–1837)* was also at the cradle of the School of the Historians of the St. Volodymyr University and its traditions. His life and scientific tenure were described in the anniversary edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of the professors and teachers of the St. Volodymyr University*.²⁶ Brief information about V. F. Dombrovsky was also presented in the 1893 Brockhaus and Efron *Encyclopedic Dictionary*.²⁷ O. I. Levitsky described the work of V. F. Dombrovsky in the Provisional Committee for Investigation of the Ancient Acts – the Kyiv Archeographical Commission.²⁸ A century later, O. I. Zhourba and M. P. Kovalsky studied

Харьков, 1833, 128 с.

²³ Idem, *Взгляд на историческую жизнь народа эллино-македонского* [A glance at the historical life of the Hellenic-Macedonian people], in “Журнал Министерства народного просвещения”, 1835, Vol. 6, с. 148.

²⁴ Idem, *О цели и пользе высших учебных заведений* [On the purpose and benefits of higher education institutions], in *Записки и речи, читанные при открытии Императорского Университета св. Владимира, 15 июля 1834 года* [Notes and speeches, read at the opening of the Imperial University of St. Vladimir, July 15, 1834], Киев, 1840, с. 85–119.

²⁵ *Речи, произнесенные при погребение ректора и профессора всеобщей истории в Императорском университете Св. Владимира Владимира Францевича Цыха, 21 апреля 1837 года* [Speeches at the burial of the Rector and Professor of World History at the Imperial University of St. Vladimir, Vladimir Frantsevich Tsykh, April 21, 1837], Москва, 1837, с. 16–22.

²⁶ *Домбровский, В. Ф.* [Dombrovsky V. F.], in *Биографический словарь профессоров и преподавателей Университета Св. Владимира (1834–1884)* [Biographical Dictionary of the professors and teachers of the St. Volodymyr University (1834–1884)], Киев, 1884, с. 182–186.

²⁷ *Домбровский, В. Ф.* [Dombrovsky V. F.], in Ф. А. Брокгауза, И. А. Ефрона, *Энциклопедический словарь* [Encyclopedic Dictionary], 1893, с. 945–946.

²⁸ О. И. Левицкий, *Пятидесятилетие Киевской комиссии для разбора древних актов (1843–1893): Историческая записка о ее деятельности* [Fiftieth anniversary of the

the role of V. F. Dombrowsky in the Kyiv Archeographical Commission.²⁹ O. I. Zhourba examined the archeographical works of V. F. Dombrowsky³⁰. The work of V. F. Dombrowsky – as archivist – was also described by O. Koval, in 1999, in a bibliographic reference book on the Ukrainian archivists.³¹ O. O. Tarasenko addressed the personality of the scientist in the 2011³² paper dedicated to the activity of the historians of the SVU in the Kyiv Archeographical Commission in 1850s-1880s. A brief mentioning of V. F. Dombrowsky as a historian is made in the “Ukrainian Electronic Encyclopaedia” by L. V. Shevchenko.³³ In 2015, O. O. Tarasenko sketched a creative portrait of V. F. Dombrowsky³⁴ and showed his lecturing and scientific activity during the initial phase of creation by the scientist of the

Kiev commission for analysis ancient acts (1843-1893): Historical note on its activities]. Киев, 1893. 142 с.

²⁹ О. І. Журба, М. П. Ковальський, *Значення діяльності В. Ф. Домбровського у становленні Київської археографічної комісії* [The value of V. F. Dombrowsky activity in the development of Kyiv Archeographical Commission], in “Вісник Київського університету. Історичні науки”, 1989. Vol. 31, с. 48-54.

³⁰ Idem, *Київська археографічна комісія 1843–1921. Нарис історії і діяльності* [Kyiv Archeographical Commission 1843–1921. Essay on the history and activities], Киев, 1993. 186 с.

³¹ О. Коваль, *Домбровський Василь Федорович. Українські архівісти: Біобібліографічний довідник* [Dombrowsky Vasily Fedorovich. Ukrainian archivists: bibliographic guide], Киев, Vol. 1, 1999. 117 с.

³² Idem, *Діяльність учених Університету Св. Володимира в Київській археографічній комісії у 50-80-х роках XIX ст.* [Activities of the scientists of St. Volodymyr University in the Kyiv Archeographical Commission in the 50-80's of the 19th century], in *Київ у соціально-культурному просторі 19-21 століть: національний та європейський контекст: Матер. Всеукр. науково-практ. конф., 13 квітня 2011 р. Київ: Київський університет імені Бориса Грінченка* [Kyiv in the Socio-Cultural Space of the 19th–21st centuries: National and European Context: Mater. Allukr. science-practice Conf., April 13, 2011 Kyiv: Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University], 2011, с. 67-72.

³³ Л. В. Шевченко, *Домбровський Василь Федорович* [Dombrowsky Vasyf Fedorovych], in *Енциклопедія історії України* [Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine], Киев, Vol. 2, http://www.history.org.ua/index.php?encycllop&termin=Dombrowsky_V (Accessed on 15.06.2018)

³⁴ О. Тарасенко, *Школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира: штрихи до творчого портрету Василя Федоровича Домбровського* [School of Historians at the St. Volodymyr University: strokes for the creative portrait of Vasyf Fedorovych Dombrowsky], in “ScienceRise”, 2015, no.1, с. 37-41.

First period of the SHSVU.³⁵ She analysed his works *The Old Times of Ostrog, Lutsk, A Brief Sketch of the City of Chernigov in Old and New Times*, and *On the Castle of Kremenets*.³⁶ A Russian poet, translator, and publisher, M Gerbel shared his memories about the historian.³⁷ O. O. Tarasenko in 2016 drew a socio-cultural portrait of V. F. Dombrovsky³⁸, and in 2017, having studied the memoirs of his contemporaries; she came to a conclusion about the direct role of V. F. Dombrovsky in initiation of the creation of the “First period of establishing of the SHSVU”.³⁹

OLEXIY STAVROVSKY'S PORTRAIT TO POSTERITY

The life, work, and a brief sketch of scientific research of the World History Department professor *Olexiy Ivanovych Stavrovsky (1809–1882)* was described by F. Y. Fortynsky in 1884.⁴⁰ A brief summary of his life and work was published in 1900⁴¹ and 1909. N. I. Kostomarov and V. G. Avseenko shared their

³⁵ Eadem, *До становлення школи істориків Університету Св. Володимира: В. Ф. Домбровський та М. І. Костомаров* [The foundation of St. Volodymyr University historians' scientific school: V. F. Dombrovsky and M. I. Kostomarov], in “Грані. Науково-теоретичний і громадсько-політичний альманах”, 2015, Vol. 128, no. 2, с. 59-68.

³⁶ В. Ф. Домбровський, *Острожская старина* [The Old Times of Ostrog], in “Киевлянин”, Киев, Vol. 1, 1840, с. 81-118; Idem, *Луцк* [Lutsk], in “Киевлянин”, Vol. II, 1841, с. 49-67; Idem, *Очерк г. Чернигова и его области в древнее и новое время* [A Brief Sketch of the City of Chernigov in Old and New Times], Киев, 1846. 49 с.; Idem, *О Кременецком замке* [On the Castle of Kremenets], in “Киевлянин”, 1850, с. 39-44.

³⁷ М. Гербель, *Лицей князя Безбородко. Гимназия высших наук и лицей кн. Безбородько* [Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko. Gymnasium of the higher sciences and Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko], 1881. 474 с.

³⁸ О. Тарасенко, *Штрихи до соціокультурного портрету істориків Університету Св. Володимира В. Ф. Домбровського, М. І. Костомарова, П. В. Павлова* [Strokes to the socio-cultural portrait of historians of the St. Volodymyr University V. F. Dombrovsky, M. I. Kostomarov, P. V. Pavlov], in “Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія”, 2016. Vol. 2, с. 100-112.

³⁹ Eadem, *Викладачі школи істориків Університету...*

⁴⁰ Ф. Я. Фортинский, *Ставровский А. И.* [Stavrovsky A. I.], in *Биографический словарь профессоров...*, с. 619-622.

⁴¹ *Ставровский Алексей Иванович* [Stavrovsky Alexsey Ivanovich], in “Брокгауза, Ефрона, Энциклопедический словарь”, 1900, Vol. 31, с. 387; Ф. Кравец, *Ставровский Александр Иванович* [Stavrovsky Alexsey Ivanovich], in *Русский биографический словарь. Т. XIX. Смеловский – Суворина*, Спб., 1909, с. 310-311.

memories about O. I. Stavrovsky in 19th century.⁴² O. O. Tarasenko researched the memoirs of V. G. Avseenko⁴³ on the historians of the SVU, its students and in particular O. I. Stavrovsky. She also studied his tenure as a Head of the Antiquities Museum of the SVU.⁴⁴ In 2009, S. I. Lyman reported about the Kyiv Medievalist⁴⁵, and in 2011 he detailed about the Medieval Studies by O. I. Stavrovsky and his lectures on this subject.⁴⁶ S. I. Lyman also objectively and in details evaluated O. I. Stavrovsky's Magister's Dissertation⁴⁷, and confirmed that the professor's name is connected with the birth of Medieval Science at the SVU. Professor Stavrovsky carried out the teaching of Ancient, Medieval and Modern History. Specialization did not exist at that time. Such practice existed in all universities of the Russian Empire. In 2013 S. I. Lyman analysed the essence of the "human resources" conflict between O. I. Stavrovsky and V. G. Avseenko in the field of medieval history, during early 1860s.⁴⁸ The researcher emphasized that based on

⁴² Н. И. Костомаров, *Исторические произведения. Автобиография* [Historical works. Autobiography]. Киев, 1990, с. 426-651; В. Г. Авсеенко, *Школьные годы. Отрывок из воспоминаний. 1852–1862* [School years: An excerpt from memories. 1852–1862], in "Исторический вестник", 1881, no. 4, с. 707-734.

⁴³ О. Тарасенко, *Спогади В. Г. Авсеенка про істориків Університету Св. Володимира* [Memoirs of V. G. Avsienko about the historians of the St. Volodymyr University], in "Грані. Науково-теоретичний та соціально-політичний альманах", 2016, no. 130, с. 81-89.

⁴⁴ Eadem, *Музей старожитностей університету Св. Володимира у вивченні історії українського народу (до 170-річчя заснування)* [Museum of Antiquities of the St. Volodymyr University in studying the history of the Ukrainian people (to the 170th anniversary of the foundation)], in "Сумська старовина", 2007. Vol. 23, с. 78-83.

⁴⁵ С. И. Лимаң, *Идеи в латах: Запад или Восток? Средневековье в оценках медиевистов Украины (1804 – первая половина 1880-х гг.)* [Ideas in armours: West or East? The Middle Ages in the assessments of medievalists in Ukraine (1804 – the first half of the 1880's)], Харьков, 2009, с. 180, 184-185.

⁴⁶ Idem, *Історія середніх віків у творчості та навчальних курсах професора Київського університету Олексія Івановича Ставровського (1811–1882)* [The history of the Middle Ages in the creation and training courses of Professor of Kyiv University Olexiy Ivanovych Stavrovsky (1811–1882)], "Вісник Харківської державної академії культури", 2011, Vol. 33, с. 29-40.

⁴⁷ А. И. Ставровский, *Рассуждение о значении средних веков в отношении к новейшему времени* [Discourse on the importance of the Middle Ages in relation to Modern Times], Киев, 1841. 197 с.

⁴⁸ С. И. Лимаң, *З історії «кадрового конфлікту» у київській університетській медієвістиці першої половини 1860-х рр.: О. І. Ставровський проти В. Г. Авсеенка*

the critical notes by N. I. Kostomarov and V. G. Avseenko as to general level of the scientific and pedagogical preparedness of O. I. Stavrovsky, during the Soviet times, a “scientific inertia” regarding O. I. Stavrovsky was formed which manifested in a very brief and superficial mentioning of his name.⁴⁹ Such approach can be seen in the works of V. P. Buzeskul⁵⁰, in the monograph by R. G. Eymontova⁵¹, in the *Sketches of the Historical Science in the USSR*⁵², where the authors failed to properly evaluate the work of O. I. Stavrovsky. In 2017, O. O. Tarasenko studied the personality of O. I. Stavrovsky as a historian and a lecturer⁵³, who was instrumental in creating the “First and Second periods of the SHSVU”, and examined his activities in establishing the SHSVU; she also studied the socio-cultural portrait of the historian and memoirs about him.⁵⁴

Later, in the last third of the 19th century – at the beginning of the 20th century the SVU became one of the largest centres of the Medieval Studies in the Russian Empire. The main achievements of its specialists in the field of Western

[From the history of "frame conflict" in the Kyiv University medievrity of the first half of the 1860's.: O. I. Stavrovsky against V. G. Avseyenko], “Наукові праці Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка: Історичні науки”, 2013, Vol. 23, с. 144-160.

⁴⁹ Idem, *Історія середніх віків у творчості та навчальних курсах професора Київського університету Олексія Івановича Ставровського (1811–1882)* [The history of the Middle Ages in the creation and training courses of Professor of Kyiv University Olexiy Ivanovych Stavrovsky (1811–1882)], in “Вісник Харківської державної академії культури”, 2011, Vol. 33, с. 29-40.

⁵⁰ В. П. Бузескул, *Всеобщая история и ее представители в России в XIX – начале XX вв.* [World History and its representatives in Russia in the 19th early 20th centuries], Ленинград. 1929, 218 с.

⁵¹ Р. Г. Эймонтова, *Русские университеты на грани двух эпох. От России крепостной к России капиталистической* [Russian Universities at the Turn of the Centuries. From serfdom Russia to capitalist Russia capitalist], Москва, 1985, 350 с.

⁵² *Очерки истории исторической науки в СССР* [Sketches of the Historical Science in the USSR], Москва, 1961, Vol. 2, 1554 с.

⁵³ О. Тарасенко, *Школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира: штрихи до творчого портрету О. І. Ставровського (1811–1882)* [School of Historians at St. Volodymyr University: the strokes for the creative portrait of O. I. Stavrovsky (1811–1882)], in “Наукові роботи Історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету”, 2017, Vol. 49, с. 90-98.

⁵⁴ Eadem, *До становлення школи...; Eadem, Штрихи до соціокультурного...; Eadem, Викладачі школи істориків...*

European Medieval History were connected with the creativity of the medievists Vasyl Bilbasov, Fedir Fortinsky, Ivan Luchitsky at that time.

NIKOLAY KOSTOMAROV'S INFLUENCE ON UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

One of the most prestigious places among the historians of the School of the Historians of the "St. Volodymyr" University belongs to *Nikolay Ivanovich Kostomarov (1817–1895)*, who worked as an adjunct-professor at the Russian History Department during 1846–1847, and after only seven months in this position was arrested as a participant of the "Cyrylo–Mefodiy Brotherhood".

The *Biographical Dictionary* of the professors and teachers of the SVU contains an article about this historian.⁵⁵ Y. A. Pinchouk devoted his life to the research of N. I. Kostomarov's life, work, and social activities⁵⁶, and the time he spent in Kyiv during 1844–1847.⁵⁷ In 2016, O. O. Tarasenko researched the individuality, teaching, and scientific activities of N. I. Kostomarov during his short work at the SVU.⁵⁸ The work of the historian at the Russian History Department of the SVU was mentioned in the rubric "Unforgettable Individuals of Kyiv University" in 2005.⁵⁹

In his autobiography N. I. Kostomarov addressed the period of his life and work in Kyiv⁶⁰. V. Naumenko, P. Popov, and M. Yatsenko⁶¹ studied Kostomarov's

⁵⁵ *Костомаров, Н. И.* [Kostomarov N. I.], in *Биографический словарь...*, с. 283–297.

⁵⁶ Ю. Пінчук, *Вибрані студії з костомаровознавства* [Selected papers from kostomarov-studies], Київ, 2012, 608 с.

⁵⁷ Eadem, *М.І. Костомаров у Києві (1844–1847 рр.)* [M.I. Kostomarov in Kyiv (1844–1847)], in "Український історичний журнал", 1992, no. 5, с. 3–15.

⁵⁸ О. Тарасенко, *Школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира: Микола Іванович Костомаров* [School of Historians of St. Volodymyr University: Mykola Kostomarov], in "Київські історичні студії", 2016, no. 1, с. 127–134.

⁵⁹ *Костомаров Микола Іванович (1817–1885)* [Kostomarov Mykola Ivanovych (1817–1885)], in *Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка: Незабутні постаті* [Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University: Unforgettable Individuals], Киев, 2005, с. 191–192.

⁶⁰ Н. И. Костомаров, *Исторические произведения. Автобиография* [Historical works. Autobiography]. Киев, 1990, с. 426–651.

⁶¹ В. Н. Науменко, *Н. И. Костомаров как этнограф* [N. I. Kostomarov as an ethnographer], in "Киевская старина", 1885, no. 5, с. XXXV–XLIV; П. Попов, *М. Костомаров як фольклорист і етнограф* [M. Kostomarov as a folklorist and ethnographer], Київ,

ethnographic work *Slavic Mythology*⁶² (which became a part of his lectures at the SVU) and his scientific work as an ethnography, folklore, and literature expert. Y. V. Kozachok described N. I. Kostomarov's participation in the "Cyrylo-Mefodiy Brotherhood".⁶³ Mykola Ge shared his memories of Kostomarov⁶⁴. Orest Levitsky⁶⁵, O. I. Zhourba⁶⁶ and the author of this paper studied the Kostomarov's work at the Kyiv Archeographical Commission⁶⁷, as well as the personality of the scientist representing the people's trend in the context of creation of the SHSVU.⁶⁸ Tarasenko also analysed his memoirs about lecturers, students and general atmosphere at the SVU, and his opinion about P. V. Pavlov, his successor at the Russian History Department.⁶⁹ She examined Kostomarov's socio-cultural

1968. 113 с.; М. Т. Яценко, *М. І. Костомаров – фольклорист і літературознавець* [M. I. Kostomarov is a folklorist and literary critic], in М. І. Костомаров, *Слов'янська міфологія* [M. I. Kostomarov, *Slavic mythology*], Київ, 1994, с. 18-19.

⁶² *Славянская мифология. Сочинение Николая Костомарова. Извлечение из лекций, читанных в университете Св. Владимира во второй половине 1846 г.* [Slavic mythology. Composition of Nikolay Kostomarov. Extract from the lectures given at the University of St. Vladimir in the second half of 1846], Киев, 1847. 113 с.

⁶³ Я. В. Козачок, *Забуттю не підлягає. Микола Костомаров і Кирило-Методіївське товариство* [Not To Be Forgotten. Mykola Kostomarov and the Cyrylo-Mefodiy Society], Київ, 2007, 80 с.

⁶⁴ Н. Ге, *Киевская гимназия в 40-х годах XIX ст.* [Kiev Gymnasium in the 40's of the 19th century], in *Сборник в пользу недостаточных студентов Университета Св. Владимира* [The collection in favor of insufficient students of the St. Vladimir University], СПб., 1895, с. 59-60.

⁶⁵ О. И. Левицкий, *Пятидесятилетие Киевской комиссии для разбора древних актов (1843–1893): Историческая записка о ее деятельности* [Fiftieth anniversary of the Kiev commission for analysis ancient acts (1843–1893): Historical note on its activities], Киев, 1893, 142 с.

⁶⁶ О. І. Журба, *Київська археографічна комісія 1843–1921. Нарис історії і діяльності*, Київ, 1993, 246 с.

⁶⁷ О. Тарасенко, *Діяльність учених Університету...; Ідем, Представники народницького напрямку Микола Костомаров та Іван Лашнюков (школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира)* [Representatives of the Populist Direction Mykola Kostomarov and Ivan Lashnyukov (School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University)], in "Science Rise", 2015. no. 11 (16), с. 64-68.

⁶⁸ Eadem, *До становлення...*

⁶⁹ Eadem, *Спогади М. І. Костомарова про П. В. Павлова (школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира)* [M. I. Kostomarov memories about P. V. Pavlov (School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University)], in "Гілея: науковий вісник", 2016. Vol. 105 (2), с. 133-139.

portrait⁷⁰ and personality in the memoirs of contemporaries⁷¹, his teaching practices and scientific work during his short tenure at the Russian History Department of the SVU.⁷²

Summarizing the review of the historical studies of the 19th – the beginning of the 21st century about the life, scientific, and teaching activities of V. F. Tsykh (1834–1837), V. F. Dombrovsky (1838–1844), O. I. Stavrovsky (1836–1866), and N. I. Kostomarov (1846–1847) at the SVU in Kyiv, we state that they were directly involved in creation of the SHSVU at its “First period”, and contributed to the development of education and science in the 30s – 40s of the 19th century. At the same time, professor O. I. Stavrovsky was also involved in the formation and establishment of the “Second period”⁷³ of the SHSVU.

PLATON PAVLOV, PROFESSOR AND HISTORIAN

The life and scientific work of a professor of the Russian History Department in 1847-1859 *Platon Vasylovych Pavlov (1823–1895)* was described in the *Biographical Dictionary* of the professors and lecturers of the SVU.⁷⁴ The *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* of Brockhaus and Efron, in 1897, included short information about the historian⁷⁵. A hundred years later the article about him appeared in the Electronic Encyclopaedia of the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University⁷⁶. His former students and lecturers such as O. V. Romanovich-Slavatinsky, V. G. Avseenko, V. O. Portugalov, and N. I. Kostomarov shared their memories⁷⁷ of the historian.

⁷⁰ Eadem, *Штрихи до соціокультурного...*

⁷¹ Eadem, *Викладачі школи істориків...*

⁷² Eadem, *Школа істориків Університету...*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ П. В. Павлов [P. V. Pavlov], in *Биографический словарь...*, с. 533-537

⁷⁵ Павлов Платон Васильевич [Pavlov Platon Vasilievich], in Ф. А. Брокгауза, И. А. Ефрона, *Энциклопедический словарь* [Encyclopedic Dictionary], СПб., 1897. Т. XXII, с. 570-571.

⁷⁶ Л. В. Шевченко, О. Г. Таран, *Павлов Платон Васильович* [Pavlov Platon Vasylovych], in *Електронна енциклопедія Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка* [Electronic Encyclopaedia of Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University]. <http://eu.univ.kiev.ua/departments/istoriyi-rosiyi-kafedra/pavlov-platon-vasyl%60ovych/> (Accessed on 15.06.2018)

⁷⁷ А. В. Романович Славатинский, *Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. Воспоминания и заметки. 1832–1884 гг.* [My life and academic activity. Memories

Doctor's dissertation of P. V. Pavlov⁷⁸ was analysed in 1850 by K. D. Kavelin⁷⁹, S. M. Solovjov⁸⁰, N. P. Pogodin.⁸¹ In 1908, M. Lemke briefly described the life and scientific legacy of the historian.⁸² Professor Pavlov was sent by the SVU in a foreign scientific trip to study historical monuments in 1857. He conducted a comparative study of archaeological monuments of European nations and the archaeology in the Slavic lands, Germany, Italy, Greece, and France. Professor Pavlov examined some of the ancient Rus' manuscripts and provided a brief description of their content to the British Museum in London in the French language. In Prague, he communicated with Vaclav Hanka, a Czech philologist and professor at the University of Prague. P. V. Pavlov studied the archaeological collections of Vienna and communicated with G. von Talberg, specialist in History of Fine Arts and professor of the Vienna Academy of Arts. In 1858, in London, P. V. Pavlov visited several times A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev and read several lectures on the Russian history in their houses.⁸³

The farewell lecture by Pavlov which he presented to the students of the SVU in December 1859 before leaving the University was published in 1955⁸⁴. The

and notes. 1832–1884], in "Вестник Европы", 1903, Ч.2, с.606-650; Ч.5, с. 181-205; В. Г. Авсеенко, *Школьные годы: Отрывок из воспоминаний. 1852–1862* [School years: An excerpt from memories. 1852–1862], in "Исторический вестник", 1881, Ч. 4, с. 707-734; В. О. Португалов, *Ученик об учителе* [Student about Teacher], in "Исторические записки", 1986, Т. 113, с. 252–256; Н. И. Костомаров, *Исторические произведения. Автобиография...*

⁷⁸ П. В. Павлов, *Об историческом значении царствования Бориса Годунова* [The historical significance of the reign of Boris Godunov], Москва, 1850. 132 с.

⁷⁹ К. Д. Кавелин, *Об историческом значении царствования Бориса Годунова. Соч. П. Павлова. М., 1850* [The historical significance of the reign of Boris Godunov. Op. P. Pavlov. M., 1850], in "Отечественные записки", 1850, Т. 72, Ч. 9, с. 13-30.

⁸⁰ *Об историческом значении царствования Бориса Годунова. Соч. П. Павлова. М., 1850* [The historical significance of the reign of Boris Godunov. Op. P. Pavlov. M., 1850], in "Современник", 1850, Т. 22, Ч. 7, с. 17-26.

⁸¹ М. П. Погодин, *Об историческом значении царствования Бориса Годунова. Соч. П. Павлова. М., 1850* [The historical significance of the reign of Boris Godunov. Op. P. Pavlov. M., 1850], in "Москвитянин", 1850, Ч. 8, Кн. II, Від. IV, с. 116-135.

⁸² М. Лемке, *Дело профессора Павлова* [The Case of Professor Pavlov], "Очерки освободительного движения 60-х годов" [Essays of liberation movement of 60s], СПб., 1908, с. 7-13.

⁸³ О. Тарасенко, *Становлення та розвиток...*, с. 31.

⁸⁴ *Прощальная лекция пр. П. В. Павлова, студентам Киевского университета, зачит. в декабре 1859 г.* [Farewell lecture of Professor P. V. Pavlov to students of the Kiev

researchers mentioned the leadership of this professor in opening the first “Sunday schools” in Kyiv and his influence upon students in the context of activity of “Kharkiv–Kyiv secret society”⁸⁵ and revolutionary democrats in 1850s–1860s Ukraine.⁸⁶ In 1986, R. G. Eymontova researched P. V. Pavlov as a scientist and educator of the 1860s.⁸⁷ V. I. Chesnokov researched the ‘case’ of professor Pavlov in the context of the “State policy” and historical science in the Russian Empire in 1860s – 1870s.⁸⁸ In 2017, the author of this paper researched teaching and scientific activity of Pavlov⁸⁹, defining him as a mentor of Ivan Lashnjukov.⁹⁰ Two years earlier, she has analysed the memoirs of a medical student V. I. Portugalov about his professor Pavlov.⁹¹ After his return from Paris and London,

University, read in December 1859], in “Исторические записки”, 1955, Т. 52, с. 265-266.

⁸⁵ Р. А. Таубин, Я. Н. Бекман и Харьковско–Киевское тайное общество [Ya. N. Beckman and Kharkov–Kiev secret society], in “Революционная ситуация в России 1859–1861” [The Revolutionary Situation in Russia 1859–1861], Москва, 1963; А. З. Барабой, Харьковско–Киевское революционное тайное общество 1856–1860 гг. [Kharkov-Kiev revolutionary secret society of 1856–1860 years], in “Исторические записки”, Москва, 1955, Т. 52; Н. Я. Эйдельман, Герцен и Харьковско–Киевское революционное общество [Herzen and Kharkov–Kiev revolutionary society], in *Проблемы истории общественного движения и историографии* [The problems of the history of social movement and historiography], Москва, 1971.

⁸⁶ Ф. Ястребов, *Революционные демократы на Украине: вторая половина 50-х – начало 60-х годов XIX ст.* [Revolutionary Democrats in Ukraine: the second half of the 50's - the early 60's of the 19th century], Киев, 1960, с. 269-271.

⁸⁷ Р. Г. Эймонтова, *Ученый-просветитель П. В. Павлов (60-е годы)* [The scientist-educator P. V. Pavlov (60th years)], in “Исторические записки”, 1986, Т. 113, с. 208-249.

⁸⁸ В. И. Чесноков, *Министерство Просвещения и “дело” профессора П. В. Павлова* [Ministry of Education and the “case” of Professor P. V. Pavlov], in *Правительственная политика и историческая наука России 60–70-х гг. XIX в. Исследовательские очерки* [The Government policy and historical science of Russia in the 60–70-ies. of the 19th century. Research essays]. Воронеж, 1989. 208 с.

⁸⁹ Idem, *Викладацька діяльність П. В. Павлова в Університеті Св. Володимира у середині XIX ст.* [Teaching activity of P. V. Pavlov at the University of St. Volodymyr in the middle of the 19th century], in “Література і культура Полісся”, 2007. no. 38, с. 236-248.

⁹⁰ Idem, *Формування наукових шкіл істориків в Університеті Св. Володимира: Іван Васильович Лашнюков* [Formation of academic schools of historians at the University of St. Volodymyr: Ivan Vasylovych Lashnjukov], in “Київські історичні студії. Збірка наукових праць”, 2015, no. 1, с. 108-114.

⁹¹ О. Тарасенко, *Спогади В. Й. Португалова про професора Павлова (школа істориків*

V. I. Portugalov recalled that stories about Europe and personal meetings caused the students admiration. Soon, P. V. Pavlov became their idol, whom they admired and loved selflessly. O. O. Tarasenko also researched Pavlov's personality in the context of creation of the SHSVU⁹², memoirs about Pavlov by O. V. Romanovich-Slavatinsky⁹³, V. G. Avseenko⁹⁴, and N. I. Kostomarov⁹⁵ in 2016. Law student Romanovich-Slavatsky emphasized that the genuine interest in a legal science was inspired by Pavlov, who represented for Kyiv what was Granovsky for Moscow, and Kachenovsky for Kharkov: a sower of truth and goodness. Romanovich-Slavatsky so appreciated the Pavlov's lectures, that he did not miss any of them in all four years. In addition, the historian Avseenko recalled that professor Pavlov combined the reputation of a respected scholar with the halo of the bearer of "best ideas", called to manage the young generation in its pursuit of social and moral ideals. Tarasenko studied a socio-cultural portrait of the scientist in 2016⁹⁶ and 2017, based on memoirs of the contemporaries of the SHSVU⁹⁷; she concluded that professor Pavlov played an active role in creation of the Second period of the SHSVU. The Russian History Department did not have lecturer for more than eight years after P. V. Pavlov was transferred by the authorities to St. Petersburg.

Університету Св. Володимира) [Memoirs of V. Y. Portugalov about Professor Pavlov (School of Historians at the University of St. Volodymyr)], in *Матеріали 12 міжнародної наукової інтернет конференції. Актуальні наукові дослідження* (22-24.12.15). *Історія. Збірка наукових праць* [Materials of the XII International Scientific Internet Conference. Actual Scientific Studies (22-24.12.15), History. Collection of scientific works], 2015, с. 77-85.

⁹² Eadem, *До становлення школи істориків Університету Св. Володимира: Платон Васильович Павлов* [To the formation of the School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University: Platon Vasylovych Pavlov], in "Парадигма пізнання: гуманітарні питання", 2015, Vol. 7(10), с. 4-30.

⁹³ Eadem, *Спогади про професора Павлова (школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира)* [Memories of Professor Pavlov (School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University)], in "Наукові роботи Історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету", 2016, Vol. 45, с. 80-85.

⁹⁴ Eadem, *Спогади В. Г. Авсеєнка про істориків Університету Св. Володимира* [Memoirs of V. G. Avseenko about the historians of the St. Volodymyr University], in "Грані. Науково-теоретичний та суспільно-політичний альманах", 2016, Vol. 130 (2), с. 81-89.

⁹⁵ Eadem, *Спогади М. І. Костомарова...*, с. 133-139.

⁹⁶ Eadem, *Штрихи до соціокультурного...*

⁹⁷ Eadem, *Викладачі школи істориків Університету...*

The next period of growing of the School of Historians was connected with the SVU graduates, prominent Ukrainian historians, professors Ivan Lashnjukov, Volodymyr Ikonnikov, and Volodymyr Antonovych who was the founder of Kyiv Documentarist School, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian independence awakening in the Russian Empire. They developed traditions of predecessors in fruitful pedagogical and scientific activities for several decades.

VITALIY SHULGIN, AN “ADORNMENT” OF THE UNIVERSITY

The life, scientific, and public activities of professor of the World History Department *Vitaliy Yakovych Shulgin (1822–1878)* are being researched since the second half of 19th century to present. In 1879, G. K. Gradovsky published a biography of V. Ya. Shulgin⁹⁸, and in 1884, the same did F. Y. Fortynsky.⁹⁹ In 1904, P. A. Konsky¹⁰⁰ placed an article about the historian. A comprehensive picture of the conflict that emerged during V. Ya. Shulgin’s attempt to return to teaching at the University, under the 1863 Charter of Universities (which was named the “Shulgin’s Case”), was researched by V. I. Chesnokov.¹⁰¹ The policy of the Russian Government regarding historical science at the SVU during the second half of the 19th century and the “Shulgin’s Case” in particular was researched by V. M. Mordvincev¹⁰², V. G. Avseenko¹⁰³, and O. V. Romanovich-Slavatinsky¹⁰⁴ in their memoirs. In her turn, Tarasenko studied how was mentioned V. Ya. Shulgin

⁹⁸ Г. Градовский, *Виталий Яковлевич Шульгин* [Vitaliy Yakovlevich Shulgin], “Древняя и Новая Россия”, 1879, Т. II, no. 9, с. 413-429.

⁹⁹ Ф. Я. Фортинский, *Шульгин В.Я.* [Shulgin V.Y.], in *Биографический словарь...*, с. 760-777.

¹⁰⁰ П. А. Конский, *Шульгин, Виталий Яковлевич* [Shulgin Vitaliy Yakovlevich], in *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*, СПб., 1904, Т. XL, с. 4-5.

¹⁰¹ В. И. Чесноков, “*Дело В. Я. Шульгина*” в *Киевском университете как эпизод из истории университетской жизни в условиях действия Устава 1863 года* [“Case of V. Ya. Shulgin” at Kiev University as an episode from the history of University life under the terms of the Charter of 1863] in *Российские университеты в XVIII–XIX веках: сборник научных статей* [Russian universities in the 18th -19th centuries: a collection of scientific articles], Воронеж, 1999, Vol. 4, с. 121-139.

¹⁰² В. М. Мордвинцев, “*Київський університетський розбрат*” [Kyiv University Discord], in “*Київський університет як осередок національної духовності, науки, культури*”, Київ, 1999, Ч. 1, с. 48.

¹⁰³ В. Г. Авсеенко, *Школьные годы...*, с. 707-734.

¹⁰⁴ А. В. Романович-Славатинский, *Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. Воспоминания и заметки. 1832–1884 гг...*, Ч.2, с. 606-650; Ч.5, с. 181-205.

in these memoirs.¹⁰⁵ In 1999, L. V. Shevchenko reminded about V. Ya. Shulgin as a “leading history professor” at the SVU.¹⁰⁶ L. D. Fedorova researched the figure of him as an outstanding representative of the Kyiv science and culture.¹⁰⁷ O. V. Romanovich-Slavatinsky stressed that V. Ya. Shulgin was “an adornment of the University”, that such a history professor “rarely had to hear even abroad”. He had “an amazing power to own his audience: students suffered and rejoiced together with the lecturer”.¹⁰⁸ In his turn, V. G. Avseenko recalled that V. Ya. Shulgin was considered the ‘luminary of the University’, that he had enormous talents, and his lectures were exemplary.

At the beginning of 21st century, R. P. Levinets researched the life and scientific work of the historian.¹⁰⁹ A. V. Kryzhevsky examined the contribution of

¹⁰⁵ О. Тарасенко, *Віталій Шульгін за спогадами Василя Авсеєнка (школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира)* [Vitaly Shulgin from the memoirs of Vasyl Avseyenko (School of Historians of the University of St. Volodymyr)], in *Науковий потенціал 2016: Матер. 12 міжнар. наукової інтернет конфер. (16-18.03.16). Історія. Збірка наукових робіт* [“The scientific potential 2016 "Materials of the XII International Scientific Internet Conference (16–18.03.16), History. Collection of scientific works], Київ, 2016, с. 44-56; Eadem, *Спогади В. Г. Авсеєнка про істориків Університету Св. Володимира...*, с. 81-89; Eadem, *Спогади про професора Шульгіна (школа істориків Університету Св. Володимира)* [Memories of Professor Shulgin (School of Historians of the St. Volodymyr University)], in “Інтелегенція і влада”, 2016, Вип. 34, с. 207-223.

¹⁰⁶ Л. В. Шевченко, П. В. Павлов, В. Я. Шульгін – провідні професори історії Київського університету Св. Володимира [P. V. Pavlov, V. Y. Shulgin – leading professors of the history of the Kyiv University of the St. Volodymyr], in *Історія України. Маловідомі імена, події, факти: Зб. ст.* [History of Ukraine. Little-known names, events, facts: Collection of articles], Київ, 1999, Вип. 9, с. 321- 332.

¹⁰⁷ Л. Д. Федорова, *Шульгін Віталій Яковлевич [Shulgin Vitaly Yakovuch]*, in *Видатні діячі науки і культури Києва в історико-краєзнавчому русі України* [Prominent figures of the science and culture of Kyiv in the historical and ethnographic movement of Ukraine], Київ, 2005, Ч. 2, с. 319-321.

¹⁰⁸ *Віталій Яковлевич Шульгін. Некролог и речи, произнесённые над его гробом* [Vitaliy Yakovlevich Shulgin. The obituary and speeches spoken over his coffin], Киев, 1879, 40 с.

¹⁰⁹ Р. П. Левінець, *В. Я. Шульгін – життя пов'язане з Києвом* [V. Ya. Shulgin – life is associated with Kyiv], in “Наукові записки з історії України. Переяслав-Хмельницький”, 2002, Вип. 13, с. 217-222; Idem, *Дослідження В. Я. Шульгіним стану освіти в Україні на зламі XVIII – XIX ст.* [Research by V. Ya. Shulgin of the state of education in Ukraine at the turn of 18th – 19th centuries], in *Наукові записки. Історичні науки: Зб.*

V. Ya. Shulgin in the development of the studies of antiquity at the SVU.¹¹⁰ In 2010, Shulgin's *History of the St. Vladimir University* was reprinted;¹¹¹ it contains a substantial article about the historian's life and work by Ivan Grytsenko, Viktor Korotky, and Dmytro Nabilsky.¹¹² The three textbooks on Ancient, Medieval and Modern History, published by V. Ya. Shulgin in 1856–1862¹¹³, were accepted as a base for teaching at most educational establishments of the Russian Empire (respectively withstood 6, 8, and 7 reprints). For their time, they were an

наук. ст. Національного педагогічного університету імені М. П. Драгоманова [Scientific notes. Historical sciences: Collection of scientific articles of the National Pedagogical University named after M. P. Drahomanov], Київ-Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2002, Вип. 47, с. 180-187; Idem, *Київські сторінки життя В. Я. Шульгіна* [Kyiv pages of V. Ya. Shulgin life], in *Історичний календар* [Historical calendar], Київ, 2002, с. 181-183; Idem, *Життєвий шлях та науково-громадська діяльність В. Я. Шульгіна (1821–1878 рр.)* [V. Ya. Shulgin (1821–1878): life way and scientific and social activity], Київ, 2004, 24 с.; *Історичний факультет Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка: минуле й сьогодення / під ред. проф. Г. Д. Казьмирчука* [Historical Faculty of Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University: Past and Present / ed. prof. G. D. Kazmirchuk], Київ, 2004.

¹¹⁰ А. В. Крижевський, *В. Я. Шульгін та його внесок у розвиток антикознавства в Університеті Св. Володимира* [V. Ya. Shulgin and his contribution to development antiquity studies at the University of St. Volodymyr], in *Етнічна історія народів Європи: Збірник наукових праць* [Ethnic History of the peoples of Europe: Collection of scientific works], Київ, 2014, Вип. 44, с. 89-96.

¹¹¹ В. Я. Шульгін, *История Университета Св. Владимира* [History of the St. Vladimir University], СПб., 1860. 230 с.; *Шульгін Виталий. История Университета Св. Владимира /соч. Виталия Шульгина; сост. В. Короткий. Репр. изд.* [Shulgin Vitaliy. History of the St. Vladimir University], Київ, 2010, 280с.

¹¹² І. Гриценко, В. Короткий, Д. Віктор, *Професор В. Я. Шульгін та його «История университета Св. Владимира»* [Professor V. Ya. Shulgin and his "History of the St. Vladimir University"], in *Шульгін Виталий. История Университета...*, с. 255-290., с. I–XXXVI.

¹¹³ В. Я. Шульгін, *Курс всеобщей истории для воспитаниц благородных институтов и воспитанников гимназий. История средних веков* [Course of World History for pupils of noble institutions and pupils of gymnasiums. History of the Middle Ages], Киев, 1858, 1881; Idem, *Курс истории древнего мира для воспитаниц женских институтов и воспитанников гимназий* [Course of Ancient History for the pupils of the Women's Institute and pupils of gymnasiums], Киев, 1856, 1865; Idem, *Курс истории новых времен для воспитанников и воспитаниц средних учебных заведений* [Course of the history of New Times for pupils of secondary schools], Киев, 1861, 1898.

outstanding example of the pedagogical and historic thought. They possessed a bright and artistic narrative, precise characteristics of the historical epochs and figures, high professionalism and a high methodological level. Even adults were reading those textbooks with interest and satisfaction. S. V. Yeshevsky¹¹⁴ and D. I. Ilovaisky¹¹⁵ highly praised the importance of V. Ya. Shulgin's textbooks as meeting all requirements of that time.

The scientific legacy of V. Ya. Shulgin comprises his Magister's Dissertation¹¹⁶ was underlined by M. P. Pogodin¹¹⁷ in his article about the state of education in the South-Western areas from the end of the 18th century to creation of the University in Kyiv¹¹⁸; it became an introduction to the *History of the St. Vladimir University*¹¹⁹, which still remaining one of the best studies of its early history, while V. Ya. Shulgin had the honour to be the first author who left information about the first five years of the University to the generations to come. V. Ya. Shulgin considered it as a chance to pay tribute to his Alma Mater. The work was well received and praised.¹²⁰ He also wrote a review of the economic, political, and cultural status of the South West Region in the middle of the 19th century in 1864 as a monograph.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ С. Ешевский, *Курс всеобщей истории, составленный В. Шульгиным* [Course of World History, compiled by V. Shulgin], in "Атеней", 1858, no. 5, с. 126-160.

¹¹⁵ Д. Иловайский, *Курс всеобщей истории и пр. соч. Шульгина* [Course of World History, and so forth. Op. of Shulgin], in "Московские Ведомости", 1858, no. 137, с. 561-563.

¹¹⁶ В. Шульгин, *О состоянии женщин в России до Петра Великого. Историческое исследование* [On the status of women in Russia before Peter the Great. Historical research], Киев, 1850, 106 с.

¹¹⁷ М. П. Погодин, *О состоянии женщин* [On the status of women], in "Москвитянин", 1850, Ч. 3, с. 97.

¹¹⁸ В. Я. Шульгин, *Историческое обозрение учебных заведений в Юго-Западной России с конца XVIII века до открытия университета в Киеве* [Historical review of educational institutions in South-Western Russia from the end of the 18th century to the opening of University in Kiev], in "Русское слово", 1859, no. 9, с. 1-40.

¹¹⁹ Idem, *История Университета Св. Владимира* [History of the St. Vladimir University], СПб., 1860, 230 с.; Idem, *История Университета Св. Владимира* [History of the St. Vladimir University], Киев, 2010, 280 с.

¹²⁰ А. Н. Пыпин, *История университета св. Владимира. Сочинение Виталия Шульгина* [History of the St. Vladimir University. The composition of Vitaliy Shulgin], in "Современник", 1860, no. 8, с. 295.

¹²¹ В. Я. Шульгин, *Юго-Западный край в последнее двадцатипятилетие (1838-1863)* [South-Western Region in the last twenty-five years (1838-1863)], Киев, 1864, 254с.

CONCLUSIONS

The personalities of V. F. Tsykh, V. F. Dombrovsky, O. I. Stavrovsky, N. I. Kostomarov, P. V. Pavlov, and V. Ya. Shulgin were outstanding for their time due to their multifaceted activities, their cult of knowledge, high erudition, general culture, and strive to creativity.

They taught future talented specialists and researchers, cherished unprejudiced youth with wide outlook on life, inspired the students to study the World and Russian history, history and culture of their own native land, which all contributed to creation of the traditions of the School of the Historians of the “St. Volodymyr” University.

MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY AND NICOLAE IORGA SCHOLARS' STRUGGLE OVER THE NATIONAL HISTORY

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Abstract: *The article is devoted to the reconstruction of the first Ukrainian-Romanian historiographical polemic represented by leaders of the national movement Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Nicolae Iorga. It has been proved that the discussion was triggered by the dynamic processes of nation-building in the Central-Eastern European region, which pushed historians to justify the „exclusive” rights of their peoples for one territory or another, and prompted interpretation of events common to their neighbours in the past, based solely on their own national interest. The conclusion has been made on the need for further comprehension of the phenomenon of historiographical discussions in Central and Eastern Europe and of their impact on the dynamics of interethnic relations in the region.*

Keywords: *Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Nicolae Iorga, historiographical polemics, nation building, Central-Eastern Europe.*

Rezumat: *Mykhailo Hrushevsky și Nicolae Iorga. Înfruntarea cercetătorilor pe tema istoriei naționale.* Articolul este dedicat reconstrucției primei polemici istoriografice ucraineano-române purtate de liderii mișcărilor naționale Mykhailo Hrushevsky și Nicolae Iorga. S-a demonstrat faptul că discuția a fost declanșată de procesele dinamice ale construcției națiunii în regiunea central-est-europeană, care i-au determinat pe istorici să motiveze drepturile „exclusive” ale popoarelor lor asupra unui teritoriu sau altul și să interpreteze evenimentele comune din trecut, luând în calcul doar propriul interes național. S-a ajuns la concluzia că este necesară o viitoare înțelegere a fenomenului discuțiilor istoriografice din Europa Centrală și de Est și a impactului acestora asupra dinamicii relațiilor interetnice din regiune.

Résumé: *Mykhailo Hrushevsky et Nicolae Iorga. La confrontation des chercheurs sur le thème de l'histoire nationale.* On dédia l'article ci-joint à la reconstruction de la première polémique ukrainienne-roumaine portée par les leaders des mouvements nationaux Mykhailo Hrushevsky et Nicolae Iorga. On y démontra que les processus dynamiques de la construction de la nation dans la région centrale-est-européenne, qui déterminèrent les historiens à motiver les droits „exclusifs” de leurs peuples sur un certain territoire ou un autre et à interpréter les événements communs du passé, prenant en calcul seulement leur propre

intérêt national, déclenchèrent la discussion. On arriva à la conclusion qu'une future compréhension du phénomène des discussions historiographiques en Europe Centrale et d'Est et de leur impact sur la dynamique des relations interethniques de la région est nécessaire.

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries is a special period in the cultural history of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, as at that time the generalized grand national narratives, performed according to methodological requirements of Rankean and positivist schools, widely spread across this part of the continent. This phenomenon has become a reaction to the increasing pace of national self-awareness in the region, encompassing wider social strata. The creators of these grand narratives were representatives of the latest generation of encyclopaedists-humanitarians actively engaged in national reconstruction processes, often trying on the role of leaders of social movements or practical politicians (for example, Pavel Milyukov from Russia or Michal Bobzhynsky from Poland). In the Ukrainian case, it was Mykhailo Hrushevsky, in Romanian – his slightly younger colleague, Nicolae Iorga.

The fate of Ukrainian and Romanian historians was more or less similar. Both gained a brilliant historical education under the guidance of prominent teachers: in M. Hrushevsky's case, it was Volodymyr Antonovych, and in N. Iorga's one it was Alexandru Xenopol. Moreover, even in the same year (1894) they became professors of university departments of world history: the Ukrainian scholar in the centre of national life in Lviv, and his Romanian counterpart in the metropolitan Bucharest. Responding courageously to the challenges of the epoch both actively plunged into public and political life and significantly influenced the evolution of national movements. Both were the founders of the first modern parties, which carried the same name: National-Democratic. Both were destined for the political Olympus: the Ukrainian scientist became the head of the Central Rada – the parliament of the revived Ukrainian state; for some time, the Romanian historian was the head of the parliament and even the prime minister of his country.

It is noteworthy that approximately at the same time – at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – both M. Hrushevsky and N. Iorga began to create national grand narratives. In accordance with the canons of that time, the construction of the „ideal” history of the people in such narratives provided the deepest possible, as far as only sources allowed, immersion of the past in seeking the roots of their own ethnic group. More importantly, historians attributed to their people the widest

range of resettlement. Such a reconstruction was made possible by medieval sources with their often-confusing ethnic nomenclature. Obviously, the willingness of the historians to attribute the largest possible area of settlement to their compatriots inevitably triggered disputes with historians of neighbouring nations that have implemented similar social objectives and claimed their territorial ambitions. The mentioned historiographical situation is now fully researched in the Ukrainian-Polish¹, Ukrainian-Russian² and Ukrainian-Belarusian³ cases. Instead, the Romanian aspect of the problem, as ultimately the broader issue of Ukrainian-Romanian historiographical visions, is virtually unclear today.⁴ Eduard Baidaus approached the study of this problem most thoroughly, reconstructing the image of Ukrainian-Romanian relations on the pages of the fundamental *History of Ukraine-Rus* by M. Hrushevsky. His interesting works⁵, which discuss the establishment of a professional dialogue between Iorga and Hrushevsky, proved the need for a special analysis of Ukrainian-Romanian

¹ Віталій Тельвак, *Між історією та політикою: польські та українські історики у боротьбі за східноєвропейську спадщину (кінець XIX – початок XX століття)* [Between history and politics: Polish and Ukrainian historians in the struggle for the Eastern European heritage (end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)], in *Історичні образи «сусідів» на українсько-польсько-білоруському прикордонні: міфи – студії – пам'ять. Колективна монографія / Керів. автор. кол. та редактор В. В. Масненко* [Historical images of „neighbors” on the Ukrainian-Polish-Byelorussian border: myths – studios – memory. Collective monograph / Head of author committee and editor V. V. Masненко], Черкаси, 2017, с. 84-124.

² Леонід Зашкільняк, *Україна між Польщею й Росією: історіографія та суспільна свідомість* [Ukraine between Poland and Russia: historiography and public consciousness], in „Український історичний журнал”, Київ, 2005, no. 5, с. 93–113; Іван Куций, *Цивілізаційні ідентичності в українській історіографії кінця XVIII – початку XX ст.: між Слов'янщиною та Європою* [Civilizational identities in Ukrainian historiography of the late XVIII – early XX centuries: between Slavic and Europe], Тернопіль, 2016, 480 с.

³ Віталій Масненко, *У полоні національних міфів. Конструювання образів добрих/поганих сусідів (випадок України, Польщі, Білорусі)* [In the captivity of national myths. Designing images of good / bad neighbours (case of Ukraine, Poland, Belarus)], in *Історичні образи «сусідів»...*, с. 11-44.

⁴ Сергій Добжанський, *Николае Йорга та Буковина* [Nicolae Iorga and Bukovina], in „Питання історії України” [Questions on the history of Ukraine], Чернівці, 2014. Вип. 17, с. 138-141.

⁵ Eduard Baidaus, *Mihail Hruşevski și Istoria Ucrainei-Rusi* [Mykhailo Hrushevsky and History of Ukraine-Rus], in „Revista istorică” [Historical Review], t. XX, 2009, no. 3–4, p. 309–328; Idem, *Relațiile româno-ucrainene în Istoria Ucrainei-Rusi. Considerente istoriografice (I)* [Romanian-ukrainian relations in the History of Ukraine-Rus'. Historiographic considerations (I)], in „Revista istorică”, 2010, Vol. XXI, no. 1–2, p. 167–182.

intellectual relations during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The purpose of the article is an attempt to reconstruct the first historiographical polemic between Romanian and Ukrainian intellectuals represented by the leaders of their humanities. A wide range of sources serve for the realization of this goal: historiographical works, review texts, documents of that time (epistolary and diaries), etc.

MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY AND THE NEED TO POPULARIZE THE UKRAINIAN HISTORY

Both historians made their first attempts to integrate the past of their peoples in their native languages, which did not belong to the general knowledge of the European scientific world. Therefore, the reception of these works, despite the utter novelty of ideas and concepts presented in them, was mostly limited to the internal readership circle. Pondering this problem, M. Hrushevsky was inclined to seek influence of hostile to Ukrainians forces: „In scientific circles, whether Russian or Polish the book [the first volume of *History of Ukraine-Rus*] is thoroughly concealed as the whole history of [...] in general”.⁶

However, analysing the reasons for the indifference of European colleagues, the Ukrainian scholar came to a logical conclusion about the need to present the historical hypotheses in the language of contemporary (for that time) science – German. In a diary, dated March 13, 1904, he noted: „During the last months, I contemplated a lot over the system of silencing us and on the urgent needs of popularization of our work. I made many mistakes, turning aside and relying on our work to pave its way. No, it may not break through because there are too many adversaries”.⁷

The aforementioned conviction that there is no alternative to the distribution of translated projects for professional audience to the achievements of historians of Central and Eastern Europe M. Hrushevsky expressed in 1904, in his first

⁶ Михайло Грушевський, *Автобіографія, 1926* [Autobiography, 1926], in *Великий Українець: Матеріали з життя та діяльності М. С. Грушевського / Упоряд. та підгот. текстів та фотоматеріалів, комент. та приміт. А. П. Демиденка*. [Great Ukrainian: Materials from the life and work of M. S. Hrushevsky / Sorting and preparation of texts and photographs, comments, remarks by A. P. Demidenko], Київ, 1992, с. 230.

⁷ Михайло Грушевський, *Щоденник/підгот. до друку І. Гирича, О. Тодійчук* [Diary/Preparation to the publication by I. Girich, O. Todiychuk], in „Український історик” [Ukrainian historian], 2006–2007, ч. 4/1–2, с. 24. See about this: С. М. Панькова, *Творча майстерня вченого: до історії написання 3-го тому „Історії України-Руси” М. Грушевського* [The creative workshop of the scientist: to the history of writing of the 3rd volume of „History of Ukraine-Rus” M. Hrushevsky], in „Український історичний журнал”, Київ, 2016, no. 3, с. 32–38.

review of the work of N. Iorga, devoted to the trade relations of Romania (in the author's vocabulary „Voloshchiny”) with Lviv, in the XVII century. The reviewer praised his Romanian counterpart for a thoroughly written archaeologically work, which attracted the attention of Ukrainian scholars to the need for a closer study of the collections of the Lviv archive. At the same time, he pointed out that the Romanian language of the peer-reviewed text (as well as the obscure periodical, on the pages of which it appeared), naturally narrowed the circle of readers: „Due to the small area of knowledge of the Romanian language, for the majority researchers the publication [source] became a dead capital (for the record, it came out in the journal „Economia națională”, and there are no imprints on its sales)”.⁸

Being led by his growing belief in the need to popularize the Ukrainian history and the history of the past of Central and Eastern Europe in a practical aspect, M. Hrushevsky decided to translate the first volume of his *History of Ukraine-Rus* into German, by refining its content in accordance with the progress of scientific knowledge in the time elapsed from the first the publication of the book in 1898. The implementation of this plan has encountered unexpected obstacles. After all, if the professional aspect of M. Hrushevsky's question was solved rather quickly, thoroughly redefining the first volume taking into account the novelties of historiographical literature and the evolution of its own conceptual views on the questions of the initial period of Ukrainian history, then the real problem was the search for an interpreter.

It turned out that despite the fact that German was one of the languages studied in the educational institutions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, to find a translator for the historiographical text was a rather problematic issue. Either people who could handle such a responsible job were overworked, or, as the correspondents of the Ukrainian scholar say, did not want to take on a truly responsible task. For example, refusing M. Hrushevsky's proposal, his student Zenon Kuzelia (a future outstanding linguist) frankly stated: „Your *History* is the first venerable work on the history of Ukraine-Rus that appears in German; the translated history will become inextricable and probably a frequently used textbook

⁸ Михайло Грушевський, *Рецензія: Relațiile comerciale ale țărilor noastre cu Lembergul, registre și documente din Archivele Orașului Lemberg publicate de N. Iorga. Partea I, Букарешт, 1900, см. 113. Studii istorice asupra Chiliei și Cetății-Albe, de Nicolae Iorga, Букарешт, 1900, см. 419* [Review: The commercial relations of our countries with Lemberg, registers and documents from the Archive of the City of Lemberg, published by N. Iorga. Part I, Bucharest, 1900, 113 p.; Historical Studies of Chilia and Cetatea Alba, by Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1900, 419 p.], in „Записки НТШ”, 1904, Vol. 61, с. 18.

for Western European scholars or those Slavic writers who were not more familiar with Ukrainian editions. Therefore, it must be translated completely by a very good, smooth and perfect German. The translation that does not correspond to the German standards will damage the *History's* popularity. For that reason, I would not dare taking on this translation. I am not good at it enough and the responsibility is great".⁹ After a long quest, Hrushevsky found Felicia Nossig. Although she had the experience of translating professional works of Ukrainian writers into German, she was little acquainted with the special features of the works of M. Hrushevsky. That is why the translated text was edited numerous times, in particular, by Ivan Franko, who was already overloaded by other projects.¹⁰ Despite all the efforts made, the quality of the translation turned out to be unsatisfactory.

These circumstances led to a significant delay of the book; it was published only in 1906 (two years after the Ukrainian version 1904) in Leipzig by „B. G. Teubner-Verlag”. However, the historiographical resonance caused by the book surpassed all, even the most daring expectations. It was predicted by Ukrainian intellectuals like Ivan Kopach who stated: „This is – without doubts – one of the most important events for Ukrainians. For the first time, our nation was represented to the Europe by the works of the most significant scholar and it was represented in such a way, that we cannot fear European condemnation”.¹¹ One of the translators, Ivan Franko on the pages of „Literary and Scientific Bulletin” wrote: „This edition is the first decisive step of our scientific works to the larger audience, the first attempt to introduce to the widest circles of Western European specialists the achievements of Ukrainian historiography. The first volume of *History of Ukrainian People* of prof. Hrushevsky impresses by its great scope, thoroughness of accomplishment and critical presentation of the material covered. All the remains of Rus original are present and they make the reading more pleasant for those who are not specialists in the field”.¹²

Indeed, *History of the Ukrainian People* was the most discussed scientific

⁹ Листи Зенона Кузеля до Михайла Грушевського / Упорядники: В. Наулко, В. Старков [Letters of Zenon Kuzelia to Mykhailo Hrushevsky / Compilers: V. Naulko, V. Starkov], Запоріжжя, 2005, с. 11.

¹⁰ Михайло Грушевський, *Щоденник*, с. 31.

¹¹ Іван Копач, *Рецензія: Hruševskýj Michael, Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. I Bd. Leipzig, Teubner 1906* [Review: Mykhailo Hrushevsky, History of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people], in „Діло”, 1906, ч. 34, no. 15 (28) лютого.

¹² І. Франко, *Рецензія: Hruševskýj M. Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. I Bd. Leipzig, Teubner 1906* [Review: Mykhailo Hrushevsky. History of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people], in „Літературно-науковий вісник”, 1906, Vol. XXXIII, с. 595.

book ever written by a Ukrainian scientist. Letters addressed to the author by Western European historians with the words of recognition, as well as numerous reviews evidence this.¹³ On the pages of Polish, Czech, and German periodicals, the author's decision to share his ideas with colleagues from other countries by means of commonly known language was unanimously approved.

The encyclopaedic education of the author and the courage of his historiographical reconstruction were also noted with enthusiasm. For example, the quote of Alexander Brikner's assessment: „The work of Mr. H[rushevsky] is a clear testimony to the scholarship and universality of the Rus [Ukrainian] author. He fully mastered the enormous literature of the subject – archaeological, historical, philological, especially Russian, before closed to Europe; he simply surprises us with knowledge of the most special, insignificant, even forgotten Russian and German works. With that fantastic knowledge combined with a speed of thought, the originality of judgments, the perfect method...”.¹⁴

At the same time, the most fundamental criticisms concerned exactly the interpretation of a certain complex of problems (territorial, terminological, event) differentiating the historical interests of Ukrainians with their neighbours. In interpreting author's statements reviewers were inclined to see the ideological motivation of the author's historiographical work as an attempt to attribute as large as possible range of resettlement to Ukrainians. As Otto Getch correctly noted, the concepts of M. Hrushevsky once again proved that „national historiography goes hand in hand with national awakening, which accelerate and affect one another productively”.¹⁵

The active appeal of colleagues to the *History of the Ukrainian People* persuaded M. Hrushevsky in the worthiness of the efforts and time spent on the project. Moreover, the critical remarks convinced the Lviv professor in the need to continue translating his works into German for further explanation of the logic of arguments in defence of the proposed model of the Eastern European historical process. The elevated mood of the scientist, caused by the scrupulous attention to his work, was reflected in a letter to his Russian counterpart Alexander Lappo-Danilevsky: „My

¹³ See about this Віталій Тельвак, *Німецькомовна «Історія українського народу» Михайла Грушевського в оцінках сучасників»* [German-language „History of the Ukrainian people” by Mykhailo Hrushevsky in his contemporaries' perspective views], in „Український історичний журнал”, Київ, 2007, no. 3, с. 175-189.

¹⁴ Aleksandr Brückner, *Dogmat normański* [Norman Dogmat], in „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, Lwów, 1906, Vol. XX, p. 665.

¹⁵ Otto Höttsch, *Рецензія: Hruševskij M. Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. Leipzig, 1906* [Review: Mykhailo Hrushevsky. History of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people. I Vol. Leipzig, Teubner 1906], in „Historische Vierteljahrshrift”, Leipzig, 1907, Vol. X, p. 223.

first vol. of *History...* was released last year in German and now it is undergoing the fiery baptism. Alongside with more or less sharp criticism, dictated by the reluctance to my „innovations” or personal and political accounts, I was pleased to see that even the most severe critics did not point at any real flaws in my conclusions or methodology; on the other hand, this criticism, perhaps, should be valued even more than loud compliments. It motivates me for the new book review”.¹⁶ However, the chronic financial insecurity of Ukrainian science and scholars became a hindrance to many conceived, and even partially implemented, translation projects.

IORGA AND HRUSHEVSKY. THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTROVERSY

Among the reviewers of the *History of the Ukrainian People* was N. Iorga, whose review appeared on pages of Leipzig’s „Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland”. Like other observers, the Romanian historian linked the emergence of work with the general activation of the Ukrainian national movement and the desire of its leaders to promote Ukrainian national postulates in the European intellectual and political environment: „In general, we are dealing with a product that serves as a national aspiration for Rusyns, who want to represent themselves as a people with 34 million population, their own culture and state formation”.¹⁷ The reviewer emphasized that the peer-reviewed book is only a small part of the multi-volume publication, on which M. Hrushevsky continued to work tirelessly. Therefore, according to N. Iorga, it was quite timely that the German translation of the first volume that presented the early history of Ukrainians was published. The reviewer summarizes the content of the *History of the Ukrainian People*, pointing out its strengths and weaknesses. He underlined the outstanding erudition of M. Hrushevsky, the profoundness of the work, the solidity of the used source and historiographical material. According to N. Iorga, the special scientific value marked the last section of the book, devoted to the beginnings of the Old Rus statehood and the reign of Volodymyr the Great. „Hrushevsky – emphasizes the reviewer – is an educated, critical, and inventive mind; he has a perfect knowledge

¹⁶ Віталій Тельвак, *Листи Михайла Грушевського до Олександра Лаппо-Данілевського* [Letters of Mykhailo Hrushevsky to Oleksandr Lappo-Danilevsky], in „Записки НТШ”, Львів, 2016, т. 270, с. 330.

¹⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Рецензія: Hruševskij M. Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. I Bd. Leipzig, Teubner 1906* [Review: Mykhailo Hrushevsky. History of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people. I Vol. Leipzig, Teubner 1906], in „Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland”, Leipzig, 1907, no. 17, p. 534.

of his material".¹⁸

At the same time, like his Czech and Polish colleagues, N. Iorga particularly focused on the moments that directly affected the interests of Romanian historiography. It should be noted that these were the first reflections of Romanian intellectuals regarding the modern version of the Ukrainian past. N. Iorga criticized the proposed size of the area of resettlement of Ukrainian ancestors in the prehistoric age and the exaggeration of the Ukrainian contribution to the ancient cultural and political heritage; he criticized Hrushevsky's Ancient theory as well as his „anti-românism” attitude, pointed at the idealization of the psychology and customs of his people. The reviewer was rather sceptical about the terminology of *History of the Ukrainian people*. He doubted the correctness of the toponym „Ukraine” instead of the usual „Rus”. In addition, the observer reproached a cumbersome structure of the book, the overload of its contents by numerous excursions that distracted the reader from the main plot line. However, this defect, as N. Iorga noted, is inherent in the Russian historiographical tradition.

Addressing the views of M. Hrushevsky, the special criticism concerned the Slavic colonization of the Carpathian region. Pointing to the unlikelihood of the territory attributed to „his Rusyns”, the Romanian scientist frankly mocks at such „gifts” in the form of the Danube lands and „Semigorod”. Besides, it was unclear why Ukrainian scientist carefully avoided the use of ethnonym „Romanian”, giving preference to the old „Vlachs”, and even concludes that his colleague „hates the name of the Romanians”. It should be noted that, at the same time, the observer did not feel a certain irony of the situation, of the „Little Russians”, and not – as M. Hrushevsky does – of „Ukrainians”. Finally, despite the rather harsh tone of the review, the critic pointed out: „A smart and voluminous, even enormous book will be useful for a lot of historians, but it will not satisfy everyone, although it indicates a high level of knowledge, and partly the author's insight”.¹⁹

The reproaches of N. Iorga were not left unanswered; the reason was the publication by the Romanian scientist at the same time of several parts of the *History of the Romanian people* in German. One of the closest students of M. Hrushevsky and a representative of the „Galician school”, Myron Korduba responded to the generalizing study of the founder of modern Romanian historiography. His review, published at the pages of „Notes of the SSS” which were edited by Hrushevsky, contained arguments, which, undoubtedly, correlated with ones of his teacher. Moreover, the letter of M. Korduba to Hrushevsky testified that the logic

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

of construction and the critical tone of the review were largely provoked by N. Iorga's criticism of M. Hrushevsky: „Via Tomashivsky, I sent a review on Iorga's *Geschichte Rumänen*. Recently I read in the «Litterarisches Centralblatt» his criticism on the 1st volume of your *History*, which is similar to feuilleton criticism from our «Dilo» or «Ruslan». Since my review has been not printed yet, would you have time to send me some remarks? I think I should add something”.²⁰ The last phrase explains the structural similarity of the reviews of N. Iorga and M. Korduba, who challenged the Romanian scholar with the same criticism.

First, the observer introduced N. Iorga to Ukrainian audience, which had been already more or less acquainted with the name of an outstanding Romanian scholar. He acknowledges that his colleague is „undoubtedly the best methodologically trained from among Romanian historians”, who „laid the foundation of insights into the knowledge of the past of his people, the basis on which one can draw a solid image of the development of the Romanian powers in accordance with the requirements of present science”.²¹ The undisputed merit of N. Iorga was a consistent criticism in working with sources that removed from Romanian historiography many myths rooted over centuries (for example, the Roman origin of Romanians).

However, M. Korduba pointed at the author's insufficient source argumentation of many hypotheses he put forward. In addition, in the opinion of the columnist, N. Iorga underestimated the existing literature on the issue. More vividly it concerned Ukrainian historiography, achievements of which, as it was criticized repeatedly by the reviewer, were completely out of the attention of the Romanian author. The results of such neglect were significant mistakes of the peer-reviewed work, in which numerous aspects of the past of Ukrainian-Romanian relations were illusory or false. Among such mistakes, there was an interpretation of Cossacks' relationship with the Moldavian principality. Apart from this, M. Korduba argued with N. Iorga about the nature of the initial colonization of the Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic bor-

²⁰ *Взаємне листування Михайла Грушевського та Мирона Кордуби/Упорядник, автор вступних розділів і наукового коментаря Олег Купчинський [Mutual correspondence of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Myron Korduba / Compiler, author of introductory sections and scientific commentary Oleg Kupchinsky]*, Львів, 2016, с. 181.

²¹ Мирон Кордуба, *Рецензія: N. Iorga – Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen, Гома, 1905, т. I і II, XIV, 402-f-XV, 541 см.* (Geschichte der europäischen Staaten, hrg. von A. H. L. Heeren, F. A. Uckert, W. v. Giesebrecht u. K. Lamprecht. 34 Werk) [Review: N. Iorga – History of the Romanian people as part of their state formations, Gotha, 1905, Vol. I and II, XIV, 402-f-XV, 541 ст.], in „Записки НТШ”, 1907, т. 76, с. 202.

der, indicating the methodological weakness of the attempts to support his hypotheses evidence from toponymic sources. The Ukrainian columnist pointed out to numerous mistakes in the transfer of Ukrainian ethnonyms and toponyms caused by the Romanianization of their pronunciation. M. Korduba did not appreciate the literary style of N. Iorga as well, in particular, he considered irrelevant the belles letters style of describing historical personalities. The Ukrainian scientist was not satisfied with the attempts of a peer-reviewed author to recreate the life of his people at the beginning of the twentieth century: „Here N. Iorga from objective historian turns into a politician who condemns everything that is not Romanian”.²²

In spite of the rather critical tone of the entire review, the Ukrainian historian ultimately pays tribute to the diligence and talent of his Romanian counterpart: „[...] We must admit that despite some flaws I consider this book to be the best work of this volume. The mistakes and shortcomings were the result of the author’s contest to reject all the current acquisitions of science and to be original to the *tout prix*, partly again at the cost of ignoring Slavic scientific literature, which is impermissible for the Romanian historian”.²³

Since the publication of M. Korduba’s critical review, the works of the Romanian scientist, especially those that at least somewhat concerned the Ukrainian past, were noticed by the employees of the „Notes of the SSS”. It is noteworthy that the students of M. Hrushevsky, who always stayed in close contact with the teacher, always reviewed them.²⁴ At the same time, the reviewers, like M. Korduba, admitted N. Iorga’s professional skills, as they constantly pointed out to him the ignorance of Ukrainian historiography. To their mind, the last was the reason for misinterpretation of Ukrainian-Romanian relations during many centuries of neighbourhood.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 212-213.

²⁴ See, for example: С. Т. [Томашівський С.], *Рецензія: Alessandro Amira – Storia del soggiorno di Carlo XII in Turchia, scritta dal suo primo interpršte... e pubblicata da N. Iorga, professore all’ universita di Bucarest. Букареум 1905, см. 98* [Review: Alessandro Amira – History of the stay of Charles XII in Turkey, written by his first interpreter ... and published by N. Iorga, professor at the University of Bucharest. Bucharest, 1905, p. 98], in „Записки НТШ”, 1910, т. 93, с. 185-186; З. К. [З. Кузеля], *Рецензія: Scierile lui N. Iorga. (Junimea literară, 1911, VIII, – ст. 146-154)* [Review: Writings of N. Iorga (Junimea literary, 1911, VIII, p. 146-154)], in „Записки НТШ”, 1912, т. 107, с. 178; Андрій Ключ, *Нова історія Османів. N. Iorga – Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Gotha 1908 – 11, тт. I-IV: ст. VIII-486, VI+453, VIII+479 i 512 [A new story of the Ottomans. N. Iorga – History of the Ottoman Empire depicted after the sources, Gotha 1908 – 11, vol. I-IV: p. VIII-486, VI+453, VIII+479 i 512], in „Записки НТШ”, 1912, т. 110, с. 183-192.

Both N. Iorga and M. Hrushevsky themselves no longer reviewed the works of each other. Instead, at the beginning of twentieth century, the controversy moved to the pages of their general works, where the issues of reconstruction of the events of the Eastern European past in general and the Ukrainian-Romanian relations in particular, were raised. At the same time, M. Hrushevsky treated the works of a Romanian colleague with indisputable respect, especially appreciating his archaeological publications.²⁵ Traditionally, the Lviv professor disagreed with N. Iorga's opinions on the problems of common history solely through the prism of Romanian interest.

CONCLUSIONS

The historiographical controversy reconstructed above can be regarded as typical for the intellectual situation of that time: the dynamic processes of nation-building in the Central and Eastern European region pushed historians to justify the „exclusive” rights of their peoples for one or another territory and prompted interpretation of events common to their neighbours of the past, based solely on their own national interest. The results of this controversy were numerous discussions that emerged in the professional environment, often spread on the pages of massive periodicals, pushing for self-reflection the representatives of the broad circles of intellectuals. Unfortunately, this discussion was mostly „hermetic” in nature, since the parties a priori rejected the very possibility of the suitability of the arguments of the opponents. Therefore, the potential benefit of these discussions, which was the possibility of a kind of „immunization” of interethnic conflicts in the region through the correction of inter-neighbourly misunderstandings with intellectual tools, was actually wasted up. It was shown by the events of the First World War, when the empire's disintegration brought about its greater effectiveness in resolving territorial disputes. A good example here was the Ukrainian-Romanian confrontation in Bukovina. All this updates the comprehension of the phenomenon of historiographical discussions in Central and Eastern Europe and finds out their influence on the dynamics of interethnic relations in the region.

²⁵ М. С. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*: в 11 томах, 12 книгах [History of Ukraine-Rus: in 11 volumes, 12 books], т. I, Київ, 1991, с. 135; т. VI, Київ, 1995, с. 47, 63, 66, 67, 72, 602, 606; т. VII, Київ, 1995, с. 161; т. IX-1, Київ, 1996, с. 83, 90, 140, 477, 478, 485, 523, 524, 530; т. IX-2, Київ, 1997, с. 904, 905, 1546.

**MOLDOVAN ETHNOGRAPHIC SCIENCE (THE SECOND HALF
OF THE 20TH CENTURY) ABOUT THE TRADITIONS
AND FOLK CULTURE OF THE ROMANIANS (MOLDOVANS)
FROM THE CHERNIVTSI REGION (UKRAINE)**

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Abstract: *This paper aims to analyse the contribution of folklorists and ethnographers from Republic of Moldova to studying the traditional culture of the Romanian-speaking population in the Chernivtsi region (Ukraine). There are presented the general results of a large expeditionary campaign in the second half of the 20th century and the main conclusions of scholars such as G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu, and I. Filip. In their works, they have approached almost all aspects of spiritual culture: from the folk prose, sayings, riddles, poems of calendar rituals, to the folklore of children, melodic genre, folk theatre, customs and family ceremonies, spells, riddles, magic practice, musical instruments, and instrumental music, etc.*

Keywords: *folklore, traditional culture, spirituality, Republic of Moldova, Chernivtsi, Romanians.*

Rezumat: *Știința etnografică moldovenească (a doua jumătate a secolului XX) despre tradițiile și cultura populară ale românilor (moldovenilor) din Regiunea Cernăuți (Ucraina). Lucrarea urmărește să analizeze contribuția folcloriștilor și etnografilor din Republica Moldova la studierea culturii tradiționale a populației vorbitoare de limbă română din regiunea Cernăuți (Ucraina). Sunt prezentate rezultatele generale ale unei mari campanii derulate în a doua jumătate a secolului XX și principalele concluzii ale unor cercetători precum G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu și I. Filip. În lucrările lor, aceștia au abordat aproape toate aspectele culturii spirituale: de la proza populară, zicători, ghicitori, poezii specifice ritualurilor calendaristice, până la folclorul copiilor, genul melodic, teatrul popular, obiceiurile și ceremoniile familiale, vrăji, ghicitori, practici magice, instrumente muzicale și muzică instrumentală etc.*

Résumé: La science ethnographique moldave (la deuxième moitié du XX-ème siècle) sur les traditions et la culture populaire des Roumains dans la région Tchernovtsy (Ukraine). L'ouvrage ci-joint analyse la contribution des folkloristes et des ethnographes de la République Moldavie à l'étude de la culture traditionnelle de la population parlant la langue romaine dans la région Tchernovtsy (Ukraine). On y présente les résultats généraux d'une grande campagne déroulée pendant la seconde moitié du XX-ème siècle et les conclusions principales des chercheurs tels G. Spătaru, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, G. Botezatu, A. Hîncu et I. Filip. Dans leurs ouvrages, ceux-ci abordèrent presque tous les aspects de la culture spirituelle: de la prose populaire, paroles, énigmes populaires, poésies spécifiques aux rituels du calendrier, jusqu'au folklore des enfants, le genre mélodique, le théâtre populaire, les coutumes et les cérémonies de famille, des sorcelleries, des devinettes, des pratiques magiques, des instruments musicaux et de la musique instrumentale etc.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional customs and rituals of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region were formed during a large period of time. The population of this region was alternately a part of various states, and it was influenced by different religions and ideologies. The ethnic factor was also made up: in modern times, the Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, Jews, the Polish, Armenians, and others actively interacted in the region. This factor explains the interest of scientists of different nations and from countries in the ethnography of the peoples who lived here.

After World War II the Chernivtsi region (northern part of Bukovina) was a part of the USSR and became a constituent unit of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; the southern part of Bukovina became the Suceava district of Romania. Since the 60s of the 20th century, the all-union policy was aimed at creating a "united Soviet people", so the intense russification was carried out. The Latin font in Romanian speaking editions was replaced by Cyrillic, the course was conducted to separate Moldavian language from Romanian, and all Romanian schools became Moldavian. These processes also influenced on the self-identification of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region. Taking these facts into account, two ethnonyms of the East Romanian (Romanian speaking) population of the Chernivtsi region of Ukraine will be used in the work: "Romanians" and "Moldavians".

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE TRADITIONS AND FOLK CULTURE OF THE BUKOVINIAN ROMANIANS

The traditional folk culture of the Romanian population of Bukovina (the northern part of which is now part of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine, along with the northern part of Bessarabia and Herța district of the former Romanian kingdom) was studied the most by Romanian ethnographers. The following names should be mentioned: S. Fl. Marian¹, I. G. Sbiera², E. Niculiță-Voronca³, T. Pamfile⁴, A. Gorovei⁵, D. Dan⁶, L. Bodnărescu⁷, and G. Bostan in the post war period⁸. The ethno-cultural problems of the Ukrainian population of Bukovina were studied by Ukrainians such as P. Chubynskyi⁹, H. Kupchanko¹⁰, O. Manastyrskyi¹¹, Austrian authors, e. g. Gabriel

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- ¹ S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români* [Romanian Holidays], București, 1898, Vol. I, 290 p.; 1899, Vol. II, 307 p.; 1901, Vol. III, 346 p.
- ² I. G. Sbiera, *Colinde, cântece de stea și urări la nunți. Din popor luate și poporului date* [Christmas carols, star songs and wedding speeches. Taken from the people and return to them], Cernăuți, 1888, p 117.
- ³ E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Studii în folclor* [Folklore studies], București, 1908, Vol. I, 303 p.; Cernăuți, 1912-13, Vol. II, 450 p.
- ⁴ T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români: Sărbătorile de vară la români. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays: Romanian Summer Holidays. Ethnographic essay], București, 1911, 234 p.; Idem, *Sărbătorile la români: Sărbătorile de toamnă și postul Crăciunului. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian Holidays: Autumn holidays and Christmas fast. Ethnographic essay], București, 1914, 216 p.
- ⁵ A. Gorovei, *Credințe și superstiții ale poporului român* [Beliefs and superstitions of the Romanian people], București, 1915, p 465.
- ⁶ D. Dan, *Comuna Straja și locuitorii ei (studiu istoric, topografic and folcloric)* [Straja commune and its inhabitants (historical, topographical and folklore essay)], Cernăuți, 1897, 112 p.
- ⁷ L. Bodnărescu, *Câteva datini de paști la români. Încondeiatul ouălelor de paști* [Some of the Romanian Easter rites. Coloring Easter eggs], Cernăuți, 1908, p 28.
- ⁸ G. C. Bostan, *Poezia populară românească în spațiul Carpato-Nistrean. Istoriografie, studiu comparat, texte* [Romanian folk poetry in the Carpatho-Dniester space. Historiography, comparative characteristics, texts], Iași, 1998, 280 p.
- ⁹ П. Чубинський, *Труди этнографическо-статистической экспедиции в Западно-русский край* [Proceedings of the ethnographic-statistical expedition to the West-Russian Territory], 2004, 128 c.
- ¹⁰ Г. Купчанко, *Некоторые историко-географическія сведения о Буковине* [Some historical and geographic information about Bukovina], in *Записки Юго-Западного отдела императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Съ картою Буковины*. Том. II., Киевъ, 1875, с. 289–395.
- ¹¹ Р. Кайндль, О. Манастырський, *Русини на Буковині* [Rusyns in Bukovina], Чернівці, 2007, 192 c.

von Spleny¹², E. Fischer¹³, R. F. Kaindl¹⁴, and others; Russian scientists, such as P. Svin'in¹⁵, L. Berg¹⁶, A. Zashchuk¹⁷, V. Semionov-Tian-Shanski¹⁸, P. Nesterovski¹⁹, V. Butovich²⁰, A. Afanasiev-Chuzhbinski²¹, K. Ermolinski.²²

THE MOLDOVAN RESEARCHERS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDYING OF THE ETHNO-FOLKLORIC PATRIMONY OF ROMANIANS IN NORTHERN BUKOVINA

Speaking about ethnographic and ethno-folkloric research in the Republic of Moldova in the 50s-80s of the 20th century, the following scientists should be noted: I. Ciobanu, G. Botezatu, M. Savin, A. Hîнку, N. Băieșu, E. Junghietu, V. Cîrimpei, S. Moraru, I. Buruiană, T. Colac, M. Mocanu, V. Hațac, H. Spătaru, and I. Filip. It is a period of comprehensive research and collection of ethnic and folklore materials for the "Folklore Archive of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences", the publication of the first major folklore collections (M. Savin, I. Ciobanu, G. Botezatu): *Moldavian folklore, Moldavian folk poems, Moldavian folk art* in 16 volumes²³ and

¹² Г. фон Сплени, *Опис Буковини* [Description of Bukovina], Чернівці, 1995, 110 с.

¹³ *Населення Буковини* [Population of Bukovina], Чернівці, 2000, 160 с.

¹⁴ Р. Ф. Кайндль, *Гуцули: їх життя, звичаї та народні перекази* [Hutsuls: their life, customs and folk legends], Чернівці, 2000, 208 с.

¹⁵ *Описание Бессарабской области. Составлено ведомства государственной коллегии иностранных делъ надворным советником Павлом Свиньинымъ, 1816 года, 1-го Июня* [Description of the Bessarabian region. The department of the state collegium of foreign affairs was created by the Court Counsellor Pavel Svinin, 1816, 1st June], in *Записки Одесскаго общества истории и древностей*, Одеса, 1867, Т. 6, с. 175–283.

¹⁶ Л. С. Берг, *Бессарабія. Страна, люди, хазяйство. Съ картою и 30 рисунками* [Bessarabia. Country, people, economy. With a map and 30 drawings], Прага, 1918, 248 с.

¹⁷ А. Зашукъ, *Матеріали для географіи и статистики Россіи, собранные офицерами генеральнаго штаба. Бессарабская область* [Materials for geography and statistics of Russia collected by General staff officers. Bessarabia region], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1862, 515 с.

¹⁸ В. П. Семенов (Тянь-Шанский), *Россія. Полное географическое описание Нашего Отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга* [Russia. Full geographic description of our homeland. Reference and travel book], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1910, 983 с.

¹⁹ П. А. Нестеровській, *Бессарабскіе русины* [Bessarabian Rusyns], Варшава, 1905.

²⁰ В. Н. Бутовичъ, *Матеріали для этнографической карты Бессарабской губерніи* [Materials for the ethnographic map of Bessarabia province], Кіевъ, 1916, 59 с.

²¹ А. Афанасьев-Чужбинский, *Поездка въ Южную Россію. Очерки Днестра* [A trip to South Russia. Sketches of the Dniester], Санкт-Петербургъ, 1863, 440 с.

²² К. Ермолинскій, *Сборникъ статистическихъ свѣдѣній по Хотинскому уезду, Бессарабской губерніи* [Collection of statistical information about Khotyn, Bessarabia province], Москва, 1886, 410 с.

²³ Г. Савина, И. Д. Чобану, *Фолклор молдовенеск* [Moldavian folklore], Кишинэу, 1956;

others; the first complex theoretical and textual works (*Chrestomathy of Moldavian folklore*²⁴, etc.); new theoretical works (as, for example, about the typology of ballads of V. Hațac, A. Hîncu and etc.); the launch of the regional study of ethnography and folklore, etc.

This article is an attempt to investigate the contribution of Moldavian scholars in the study of the traditional culture and everyday life of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region in the second half of the 20th century, which has not yet been introduced into the scientific circulation of Ukraine, and has not been closely studied in Romanian historiography.

The Moldovan scholars' achievements lie not only in the fixation of folklore texts in the territory of the Chernivtsi region in the second half of the 20th century. Their works attempt to deep into the roots of some customs and rituals, as in the case of magic rituals in pre-Christian times, the "hajduk" and "recruit folk drams" in the Middle Ages. The ethnic and folkloric material accumulated in the expeditions is currently stored in the Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, in the fund No. 19 entitled *Materials of scientific expeditions conducted in the period 1946-1985 on the territory of the Moldavian and Ukrainian SSR*. The results of field research, in particular, are kept here as well. They were carried out in 28 settlements of the Chernivtsi region: Bairachi, Văleni, Buda Mare, Godinești, Horbova, Mihoreni, Movila, Molnița, Târnauca, Hreățca and Herța (Herța district), Voloca, Stăneștii de Sus, Dubivka (Oprișeni), Cupca, Tureatca (Hlyboka district), Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei, Pătrăuții de Sus, Igești (Storozhynets district), Boian, Dinăuți, Malinești, Rachitna (Novoselytsia district), Șișcăuți (Sokyriany district) and Colincăuți (Khotyn district).²⁵ The subject of the investigation of the spiritual culture of the Romanian speaking population of the region is diverse: folk prose, sayings, riddles, poetry of calendar rituals, children's folklore, song genre (historical, mourning, shepherd's, hajduks', recruits' songs, dumas, etc.), folk theatre, family customs and ceremonies, spells, divination, magic

Г. Г. Ботезату, М. Г. Савина, Г. А. Тимофте *Поэзие популярэ молдовеняскэ* [Moldavian folk poetry], Кишинэу, 1957, 470 п.; *Creația populară moldovenească* [Moldavian folk art], Chișinău, 1973-1983, 16 vol.

²⁴ G. G. Botezatu, *Folclor moldovenesc: Crestomație* [Moldavian folklore: Chrestomathy], Chișinău, 1966, 366 p.

²⁵ Arhiva Științifică Centrală a Academiei de Științe a Moldovei [Central Scientific Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova], No. 19: *Materialele expedițiilor științifice de teren efectuate în perioada anilor 1946-1985 pe teritoriul Republicilor Moldovenești și Ucrainene* [Materials of field scientific expeditions carried out during the period 1946-1985 on the territory of the Moldovan and Ukrainian Republics], file 81, 83, 86, 99, 101, 106, 238, 239, 240, 248, 274, 290, 339, 344, 356.

practice, musical instruments and instrumental music, etc.

We consider it expedient to personify the contribution of each of the mentioned scientists in field research in order to elaborate the topic raised in this article, investigate it, comprehend it theoretically and publish the accumulated materials.

Nicolai Băieșu (1934-2015) was born in Caracușeni Vechi of Khotyn district. In 1952 he graduated from the pedagogical school in Chernivtsi, later from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University (1956-1961). He worked at the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM (folklore section), the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the ASM, the Institute of Philology. The range of scientific interests: folklore of calendar rituals, children's folklore, history of folklore. He studied Romanian intangible cultural heritage in Bessarabia, Transnistria, northern Bukovina, and Carpathian Ruthenia. In 1970 he defended his PhD thesis, in 1994 he gained a doctor's degree, and he was a professor since 2004. He published about 800 scientific works, including 30 books (6 monographs) during his creative career. The most famous works are *Moldavian folk poetry of the New Year's rites* (1972), *The Poetry of Calendar Rites* (1975), *Children's Folklore* (1978), *Ritual Folklore and Life* (1981), *Folk Art: The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina* (in co-authorship, 1991), *Pan's holidays* (vol. I in 2004; vol. II in 2006) *Ethnographic Traditions of Winter Holidays* (2008), *Rites and folklore of Winter Holidays (Typology. The Corpus of Ethnographic and Folklore Texts)* (2004).

In his works, the scientist used the field material collected in the Chernivtsi region, in particular during his expeditionary research conducted in the villages of Storozhynets: Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei; Hlyboka: Voloca, Oprișeni, Cupca; Novoselytsia: Dinăuți; Herța: Târnauca; Khotyn: Colincăuți; Sokyriany districts: Șișcăuți. N. Băieșu studied folk labour traditions, which were spread in the Romanian-speaking population of Bukovina and came to the conclusion that spring customs and rites are more prevalent than winter ones. The scholar paid special attention to the study of the cycle of labour traditions and holidays: March 1/14 is the first day of spring, Alexius of Rome's Day (March 17/30), Annunciation, Introduction, Easter, St. George's Day, Papparuda Doll, and others, as well as children's folklore. In his studies, the researcher often recorded unique labour folk rituals associated with the completion of agricultural work, such as "The Last Snip" („Ultimul snop"). The rich experience of expeditionary searches allowed Băieșu to approach professionally the question of carolling rituals classification.

Traditional rituals of "plugușorul" (the little plough), sowing, "sorcova", etc. are characterized in the N. Băieșu's monograph *Moldavian Folk Poetry of the New Year's Rites* (1972). A special attention is paid to the poetry of the New Year's ritual

calendar.²⁶ The theoretical part is not separated from the ethnographic context; samples of poetic texts and photographs are added. The material was collected during field research in the 60's and 70's of 20th century. The material from a number of villages of Novoselytsia, Khotyn, Herța, Hlyboka districts of Chernivtsi oblast: Stalinești, Probotești, Malinești, Movila, Târnauca, Mahala, Mămăliga, Cupca, Pătrăuții de Sus, Carapciu is presented in the work. Bukovinian variants of carols, walking "with music", "bear", etc. are widely covered. The work is written on a very high professional level, using variety of sources and historiographical base. It represents a significant contribution to the study of winter agrarian rituals.

An analysis of the historiography of the problem, texts, comments, melodies is presented in *Poetry of the Calendar Rituals*²⁷ (1975), as a continuation of the topic begun in his previous work. The work contains Bukovinian material, which is related to the existence of carols of various subjects, wishing (*urătura*, "hăitura"), New Year's customs and rituals: matrimonial divination, sowing, "sor-cova", "kiraleisa", spring, summer and autumn agrarian rituals, pluvial ceremonies of "kaloyan", "paparuda", "Drăgaica" rites and others. The rich material devoted to agrarian subjects is worth mentioning.

Grigore Botezatu was born in 1929 in Baraboi, Bălți District. He has been a Candidate of Philology since 1966, and worked at the Institute of History, Language and Literature, and from 1979 to 1999 at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the ASM. Botezatu was active in field expeditions of the second half of the 20th century on the territory of the northern parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia. The range of his scientific interests: "hajduk's" folklore and the folk prose. The folklore collected by him was reflected in the textbook *The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina* (1991), and in the monograph *Folklore from the Land of Beeches* (1993) (both co-authored). The archive contains photographs from 1968, where he is depicted along with Motrescu family from Bukovina, and also from 1982 in Crasna, Storozhynets district. His works *Hajduk Folklore from Moldova* (1967), *At the springs. Fairy-tales, folk poetry and folklore research* (1991), as well as his participation in the compilation and editing of numerous folklore collections, in which materials from the Chernivtsi region also found their place, are worth studying.

In his first monograph *Hajduk Folklore from Moldova*²⁸, Botezatu expands

²⁶ Н. Бэешу, *Поезия популарэ молдовеняскэ а обичеюрилор де Анул Ноу* [Moldovan Folk Poems on New Year], Кишинэу, 1972, 236 п.

²⁷ Idem, *Поезия обичеюрилор календариче* [Texts of Calendar Rituals], Кишинэу, 1975, 464 с.

²⁸ Г. Ботезату, *Фолклорул хайдуческ ын Молдова* [Hajduk Folklore from Moldova], Кишинэу, 1967, 182 п.

the range of used material and adds folklore from Bukovina in the consideration of epic poetry (heroic poems, historical songs, ballads, “doina” songs, and drama). Therefore the author turns to the folklore anthologies of the Romanian researchers of the ethnography of Bukovina: S. F. Marian – *Romanian Folk Poetry* (1873) (song about Corbii and Darie hajduks), *Funeral among the Romanians* (text of the hajduk song) and E. Niculiță-Voronca – *Rites and Beliefs of the Romanian People* (1903). He finds the most of material in D. Furtună's research *Ancient songs of the Prut valley* (1927): 8 songs about Codreanu hajduk, a legend about him, in which he is recognized as the son of the ruler of Moldova, originally from Bukovina, who went to the forest avengers as a result of court intrigues. In Furtună's works, Botezatu also found the information about Bujor hajduk who was very popular in this area, as well as Tobultoc hajduk who originated from a village near Khotyn. Many of hajduk's songs are associated with the live of Darie hajduk, a contemporary and friend of Bujor. According to this researcher, such songs exist only in Bukovina. G. Botezatu found a lot of material in S.F. Marian's collection of Romanian folk songs. The folklorist elaborated a monograph based on his materials, gathered during the field research on the territory of Chernivtsi region. The wonderful songs about Darie and Toader Tobultoc were found in Crasna and Pătrăuții de Sus of Storozhynets district. One of them has a social content, and is well correlated with the present: “Voi balauri fără minți / Sugeți sângele din toți / Și ne ziceți nouă hoți” (You are mindless dragons / Squeeze all dry / Calling us thieves.²⁹

Efim Junghietu (1939-1993) was born in Petrești, Ungheni district. He graduated from the school in his native land, and later from the Kishinev State University. From 1963 he began working at the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM. While being a student he participated in folklore expeditions and as a collaborator of the folklore section of the Institute he took part in the field research, which became a systematic component of his scientific activity. For thirty years, he collected folk material from Moldova and Ukraine (Chernivtsi, Zakarpattia, Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kirovograd regions). His scientific interests were lyrical folk songs, genres of folklore short forms (proverbs, sayings, and riddles), verse letters, folk literature. His colleagues describe him as a very captious and disciplined researcher who made his observations on paper, on a magnetic tape, on a photo, made sketches of the most interesting objects of folk architecture and sketched the findings. Along with his colleagues, he collected all material related to the folklore from the Chernivtsi region in the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova. He co-authored the monograph *Folklore from*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

the Land of Beeches (1993) and *The Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina* (1991). In addition, the ethnographic material from Bukovina, northern Bessarabia, and Herța district are used in his main works: *Words with the meaning. Proverbs and Sayings* (1964, in co-authorship), *Who Dances and Does not Cry* (1966), *Doinas and Songs* (1968), *Let's Remember* (1972). A three-volume series was published on the basis of folklore from Moldova and Ukraine: *Moldavian Folk Art, Folk Love Songs* (1977), *Exclamations, Memories and Verse Letters* (1978, in co-authorship), *Proverbs and Sayings* (1981). The other three books were published in the series „Pearls”: *Who said “doină-doină”*. *Doinas and Lyrical Songs* (1981), *Small Waters are Gathering in Large Rivers. Proverbs and Sayings* (1984), *That's the Way We Dance* (1985). For example, he was responsible for the presentation of exclamation and songs of various genres (shepherd, drinking song, hajduks' and recruiting songs, satirical and humorous songs) in the collective monograph *Moldavian Folklore* (1976).³⁰ In his investigations, the researcher used the exclamations from the village of Dimca of Hlyboka district, which are used while the bride's dowry was brought, and from Ceahor village of the same district, e.g. the song of a young wife.³¹ E. Junghietu collected all the hajduks' songs in the villages of Hlyboka: Oprișeni and Stăneștii de Jos; and Herța districts: Horbova. The printed materials show a systematic expeditionary work in the village of Oprișeni, where satirical, playful, recruits and soldier songs are collected. Etymology and the legend of the village of Vașcăuți, the great epic texts about the poor Serb, the Novak's son Gruia, Khotyn, Bujor, Darie, and Toltoc are of particular interest.³²

Gheorghe Spătaru (1933-1997) was one of the most talented Moldovan ethnographers, who were engaged in the study of the traditional culture of the Romanian speaking population of Chernivtsi region. In his scientific work, the carnival ritual of the Romanian speaking population of Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria occupies an important place. A lot of material, which was collected by the researcher about the folk theatre in Herța district, is due to the fact that he was born in Humăria (now the part of the Horbova village) of this district. Spătaru graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University (1956-1961) and worked as a member of the Republican Institute of Ethnography and Folklore and the Institute of History and Theory of Art. He is the author

³⁰ Г. Г. Ботезату, Н. М. Бэешу, В. М. Хацак, Е. В. Жунгиету, А. С. Хинку, І. Д. Чобану, В. А. Чиримпей, *Молдавский фольклор* [Moldavian folklore], Кишинев, 1976, 288 с.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 101,112,114, 130-134.

of several monographs such as *Moldavian National Drama* (1976), *Folk Theatre with Historical Themes in Moldova* (1980 in Russian), *Folk Theatre* (co-authored in 1981), *In the World of Folk Theatre* (1985). The expeditionary material collected by the researcher in Bukovina creates a clear idea of all existing forms of folk theatre: dramatic dances „The Lark” («Ciocârliia»), „Hajduk” („Haiduceasca”), „Russian” („Ruseasca”); folk dramatization (performances): „goat” («capra»), „bear” („ursul”), „horse” („căluțul”), „deer” („cerbul”), „bugai” („buhaiul”), „he-sheep” („berbecul”), „stork” („cocoștârcul”), „Malanca”, etc.; historical folk dramas: „warlike”: „Gruia and Novac” („Gruia și Novac”); hajduk: „Jianu”, „Bujor”, „Codrenii”, „Hajduks” („Haiducii”); soldier: „Soldiers” („Soldații”), „Turks” (Turcii), „Mălăncuța”, etc.; dramas about the partisans: „Partizans” (Partizanii); fantastic folk dramas: „Mărțișor”, „Brumărel”, „Gaia”, „Paparuda”, „Făt-Frumos”, etc. Gheorge Spătaru's works are based on materials from about 3-5 villages from each districts of Bukovina, where Romanians lived compactly: Storozhynets (Crasna, Cireș, Ciudei), Hlyboka (Voloca, Cupca, Molodia, Tureatca), Novoselytsia (Forosna, Mămăliga, Dranița, Boian, Vancicăuți). The greatest attention was paid to the villages of Herța district: Bănceni, Văleni, Buda Mare, Herța, Godinești, Horbova (Humăria), Mihoreni, Movila, Molnița, Târnauca, Hreățca etc. The most information was taken from his native village Horbova. Spătaru recorded also the unique carnival customs and rituals of this region. In the villages of Marșinți and Boian of Novoselytsia district, he discovered a dramatized „hajduk” dance („haiduceasca”), defining it as one of the initial stages of folk drama „Hajduks”. According to his observations, „buhai-carol” was common in the territory of Moldova, and „buhai-tube” was spread in its northern regions and the Chernivtsi region. In addition, „hăiul” is connected to the walking with „buhai”. The carnival rite „stork” was observed in Crasna, Poieni, Mogoșești and Pasat.³³ This is one of the rare reports of this rite on the territory of Bukovina. Gh. Spătaru also recorded the rite „shaft” („tânjala”) in Chernivtsi region for the first time. The researcher has approached very closely to such a multi-faceted carnival performance as „Malanca”, which was spread on the territory of Chernivtsi region. He described 19 characters, which were popular in 1970-1971. The material is of interest for tracking the evolution of this carnival performance, the study of the processes of its transformation. In this context, it should be emphasized that at present (2018) more than 350 characters and 3-5 thousand spectators participate in Crasna carnival. Spataru's monographs contain a series of photographs of carnival rite, common to the

³³ Г. И. Спатару, *Драма популярэ молдовеняскэ. Антоложие* [Moldavian Folk Drama. Anthology], Кишинэу, 1976, с. 56-59, 66.

Romanian speaking population of Bukovina: the group „Bujoreni” from Voloca in Hlyboka district, the group „Goat” and „Malanca” from Horbova (Humăria) of Herța district, and “Jieni” from Ciudei of Storozhynets district and others.

Iulian Filip was born 27 January 1948 in the village Sofia near Bălți of the Republic of Moldova. From 1974 to 1987 he was researcher at the Folklore Department of the Institute of Moldavian Language and Literature, Academy of Sciences of the MSSR. His first work – *Folk Theatre*³⁴ (1981) co-authored with G. Spătaru – contains folklore texts, which were collected during the period of 1948-1975 on the territory of all ethnographic zones of the Prut-Dniester interfluvium. The second book (*Do you accept the „horse”? - The Folk Theatre*³⁵) was published in 1983. Due to his fundamental knowledge of folklore, especially in the field of folk theatre, he became a co-author of the most professional ethnographic and folklore collections of that time. So, in 1991 he wrote a chapter devoted to the folk theatre, which was included in the collective monograph *Folk Art (the theoretical course of Romanian folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina)*³⁶; in 1993 he took part in compiling the collection *Folklore from the Country of Beeches*³⁷. In the mentioned chapter, he described the unfavourable conditions for holding winter carnival rites in the villages of northern Bukovina. It is about the period of the totalitarian regime domination when a strict struggle was carried out against folk beliefs and prejudices. The scientist witnessed a dialogue, during which he was impressed by the perseverance and persistence with which a simple man protected his right to have a holiday. The colonel of the police took off the *bear* mask from the man and began to scold him, as he was not at work. The man showed the law-enforcement officer a medical certificate, in which it was stated that he had passed the blood, and therefore he had the right to two days off: „I paid my blood for the right to celebrate St. Basil's Day”.³⁸ As the researcher noted, it is the love to national values that can explain the fact of the impressive concentration and preservation of the whole complex of a theatrical repertoire of Romanian folklore. The author also emphasized that nowhere, except for Bukovina and Northern Moldova, on both sides of the Prut, the entire complex of folk drama has survived.

³⁴ Г. И. Спатару, Ю. И. Филип, *Театрул популар* [Folk Theatre], Кишинэу, 1981, 272 с.

³⁵ Ю. Филип, *Примиць «Кэлуцул»? – Театру популар* [Do you accept the "horse"? - The Folk Theater], Кишинэу, 1983, 156 п.

³⁶ *Creația populară (Curs teoretic de folclor românesc din Basarabia, Transnistria și Bucovina)* [Folk Art (Theoretical course on Romanian folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina)], Chișinău, 1991, p. 256-295.

³⁷ G. Băieșu, G. Bostan et alia, *Folclor din Țara Fagilor* [Folklore from the Land of Beeches], Chișinău, 1993, 530 p.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112-147.

I. Filip drew attention to the fact that dance with zoomorphic masks can spontaneously appear on different family and calendar holidays, mixing with other kinds of folklore. He gave the play of little children „family” or „hajduks” („de a haiducii”) as an example. The children's game „hajduks” was recorded by a researcher in Oprișeni of Chernivtsi region (respondents: V. Munteanu, H. Munteanu, V. Pahon, D. Posteuică, I. Turanschi). The game was played in their free time (on holidays or on Sunday), mostly in the woods. According to its rules, the children were divided into two equivalent groups; everyone should have wooden swords or sticks. After an improvised fight, the winners received the right, and thus became the hajduks, and each one chose the name of one of the famous hajduks: Codreanu, Anghel, Pinte, Coroi, Gruia (one of them became captain). The defeated were called „boyars” and they were tied to a tree. Sometimes one of the losers, the „landowner”, was covered with a sheet. A large beet was placed on top, and he was told that they had put the mine on top, if he did not tell the truth, it would explode. I. Filip underlined the names, composition of participants, clothes and the function of characters in describing the winter carnival traditions. He also studied the folk theatre, which existed in the Romanian speaking population of Bukovina. In particular, there are records of walking with *Malanca*, *Codrenii*, a bear and a goat in Crasna; *Malanca*, a bear in Cireș, Storozhynets district; *Gruia lui Novac*, *Bujor* in Văleni, Herța district; *Păcală and Tândală* in Oprișeni; *Malanca*, a horse in Voloca, Hlyboka district; *Malanca* in Dinăuți, Novoselytsia district, etc. in his writings. The composition of the characters in the carnival ceremonies, according to I. Filip, is of particular importance: a goat (Crasna): a goat and a shepherd; a horse (Voloca): a horse guide and a grandfather; a bear (Cireș): a bear and an ursarul; a bear (Crasna): a bear, a smith, a musician; *Gruia lui Novac* (Văleni): *Voichița*, *Novăceasa*, *Gruia*, *Novac*, *Emperor*, *Anița* (alewife), two *Turks*; *Bujor* (Văleni): a *New Year*, an *Old Year*, *Bujor*, *Bujorița*, two *hajduks*, a *captain*, a *hunter*, a *shepherd*; *Codrenii* (Crasna): *Codreanu*, a *grandfather*, a *captain*, a *hunter*, *Sortolina*, and others.³⁹ Moreover, the researcher has presented *Malanca* in Crasna. According to the author's description, it consisted of more than 40 characters: 10 bears; 10 emperors; 6 empress; 3 ladies, 2 horses, commanders, doctors, devils, photographers, hairdressers, bakers, brides, and more. *Malanca* is accompanied by a huge crowd in the road that becomes an active component of the play, a source of new improvisations. The researcher even compared it with the Latin American carnival according to its external features. I. Filip described the composition of the Cireș *Malanca*, which has about 15-20 characters: a grandfather, a woman, gypsies, bears, etc.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 33, 48, 54-57, 105-111, 129-139.

Andrei Hîncu (1929) was born in the village of Mateuți, Orhei district. He graduated in 1957 from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Kishinev State University, and from the Institute of Language and Literature of the ASM, where he worked later for half a century. The range of scientific interests: the genesis of rituals and their ethnographic forms, poetry of family ceremonies, folk ballad, folklore history, problems of the theory of folk art. His famous monographs are: *Folk Ballad „Miorița”* (1967); *Epos of the Ballads in the Moldavians* (1977); *The Poetry of Family Rituals* (1981); *Genres and Types of Romanian Folklore* (2003), and his collection of articles is called *Problems of the genesis of Moldovan folk poetry* (1991). A. Hîncu was the compiler of two volumes from the series „Moldavian folk art” - *Balada* (1976) and *Folklore of Family Rites*, etc. He left 4 volumes of manuscripts from the series „Ethnographic Treasure of the Romanians of Moldova, Bukovina, and Transnistria” - *Balads, Family, Wedding, Funeral*. He was also a co-author of the collections *Folklore from the Land of the Beeches* and *Folk Art: the Theoretical Course of Romanian Folklore from Bessarabia, Transnistria and Bukovina*. In his publications on Moldovan (Romanian) folklore, he turned to material gathered in the territory of Chernivtsi region. For example, in the collective monograph *Moldavian Folklore*⁴⁰ (1976, in Russian) he was responsible for introducing family ritual poetry and ballads, estimating the quantitative and qualitative indicators of family folklore and classifying it by way of performance and by their functional purpose. In the corpus of authentic folklore, he used the material from the villages of the southern part of Bukovina: Ilișești (wedding ceremony), Stroiști (after bathing), as well as from the Chernivtsi region: exclamations from village of Dimca of Hlyboka district and from Mahala of Novoselytsia district (the song „What's the Best on Earth”).⁴¹

CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the contribution of Kishinev folklorists and ethnographers in the study of the traditional cultural heritage of the Romanian speaking population of the Chernivtsi region lies in the gathering of rich field material, which was obtained in the expeditions of the second half of the 20th century. It was represented according to the territorial-administrative principle and submitted in proportion to folklore from different regions of Moldova and Ukraine. The

⁴⁰ Г. Г. Ботезату, Н. М. Бэешу, В. М. Хацак, Е. В. Жунгиету, А. С. Хинку, І. Д. Чобану, В. А. Чиримпей, *Молдавский фольклор...*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 27-42.

researchers created their own source for Romanian ethnography in the northern part of Bukovina. Their publications show a good knowledge of Romanian historiography and source study of the problem, data from the territory behind the Prut in Moldova. It should be noted the widespread use of the mentioned materials in their numerous publications, as well as the fact that the theoretical understanding of the genesis and evolution of their ethnographic phenomena correspond to the current level of scientific understanding of the problem. As the traditions tend to change or disappear over time, the data accumulated by Moldovan researchers may also be used to develop various diachronic studies of the folklore heritage of Romanian speaking communities in the Chernivtsi region. The publications, which are devoted to the Moldovan (Romanian) oral folk art and translated into other languages, create a magnificent image of folk traditions. Yet, the implementation of complex studies, and the mechanical reproduction of the ethno-cultural heritage should be combined with the lexicological, semantic and etymological analysis of this authentic texts.

ETHNOCULTURAL IDENTITY OF KAZAKHS OF MONGOLIA IN EVERYDAY LIFE*

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Abstract: *The article deals with the mechanisms of functioning and reproduction of ethnic identity among Kazakhs living in the territory of Western Mongolia. The research, based on the field studies, presents the ethnography of everyday life of Kazakh diaspora. Preliminary analysis showed that it is the ethnic group united by the diaspora that is capable of consolidating the particularities and preserving its ethnic identity. Different conditions and mechanisms for the formation of ethno-cultural identity in a specific diaspora pre-determine its differences in structure, priority elements, and sustainability. The authors comes to the conclusion that the objects of traditional material culture, which are assigned the role of “ethnic markers”, as well as the articulation in public space of ethnic, tribal and religious identity contribute to the process of maintaining and representing the ethno-cultural identity of Kazakhs of Mongolia.*

Keywords: *Identity, ethnicity, ethno-cultural identity, Kazakh diaspora, Kazakhs of Mongolia, ethnic markers, everyday life.*

Rezumat: *Identitatea etnoculturală a kazahilor din Mongolia în viața de zi cu zi. Articolul se referă la mecanismele de funcționare și reproducere a identității etnice în rândul kazahilor care trăiesc pe teritoriul Mongoliei occidentale. Cercetarea, care are la bază studiile de teren, prezintă etnografia vieții de zi cu zi a diasporei kazahă. Analiza pre-*

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liminară a arătat că grupul etnic, unit de diaspora, este capabil să-și consolideze particularitățile și să-și păstreze identitatea etnică. Condițiile și mecanismele diferite pentru formarea identității etno-culturale într-o diaspora specifică își determină, în prealabil, diferențele în structură, elemente prioritare și durabilitate. Autorii ajung la concluzia că obiectele culturii materiale tradiționale, cărora li se atribuie rolul de „markeri etnici”, precum și articularea în spațiul public a identității etnice, tribale și religioase contribuie la procesul de menținere și reprezentare a identității etno-culturale a kazahilor din Mongolia.

Résumé: L'identité ethnoculturelle des Kazakhs de la Mongolie dans la vie quotidienne. L'article ci-joint fait référence aux mécanismes de fonctionnement et de reproduction de l'identité ethnique parmi les Kazakhs qui vivent sur le territoire de la Mongolie occidentale. La recherche, fondée sur des études de terrain, présente l'ethnographie de la vie quotidienne de la diaspora kazakhe. L'analyse préliminaire montra que le groupe ethnique, uni par la diaspora, est capable de consolider ses particularités et de garder son identité ethnique. Les conditions et les mécanismes différents pour la formation de l'identité ethnoculturelle dans une diaspora spécifique déterminent, à l'avance, les différences dans la structure, les éléments prioritaires et la durabilité. Les auteurs arrivèrent à la conclusion que les objets de la culture matérielle traditionnelle, auxquels on attribua le rôle de “markers ethniques”, ainsi que l'articulation dans l'espace public de l'identité ethnique, tribale et religieuse, contribua au processus de maintien et de représentation de l'identité ethnoculturelle de Kazakhs de la Mongolie.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the reduction of researchers' interest to the phenomenon of ethnicity for the last decades, the place and significance of ethnic component in the structure of human society in general, and Diaspora in particular, is still an important question. In anthropological science the discourse about ethnic identity is formed as situational, scatter, constructed and etc. However, it is being detailed as it is constructed seldom. In the researching of ethnicity by many anthropologists there is the tendency of its politicization, ideology, and we can observe that a specific role of the state (government), “ethnic entrepreneurs” and “ethnic communities” elite in construction is emphasized.

In case with the Kazakhs of Mongolia it does not work. We have a case from region where we can observe absence of ethnic tension in everyday life, powerful instruments and institutions that impose identities, ethnic organizations-centers that construct ethnic identity and thus contributing to consolidation of Kazakh people representing their interests, speaking on their behalf, etc. Kazakh people

have lived here for more than 150 years, they pastor cattle, bring their children up, they are engaged with everyday life not thinking, from the first sight, about their ethnic identity. However, living in the alien country with different cultural-value orientation but similar climatic conditions, Kazakh people could adapt there as well as save their language, and also original traditional folk arts and crafts and material culture, in short, everything that is included in the concept of ethnic culture, which in the conditions of the soviet Kazakhstan had been exposed to disappear as long ago as in 1950-60-ies.¹

It is possible that the functioning the traditional material culture of the Kazakhs of Mongolia is caused by general preservation of the archaic grounds of economic activity, in the given case of semi-nomadic pastoralism. Partially agreeing with this point, in the planning study we only want to understand whether the features of economic activity has facilitated the conservation of the culture. At the same time Mongols living next to the Kazakhs are nomadic. However, their material culture, their ethnic outlook of the world is very different from each other. Our case shows that the Kazakhs of Mongolia from year to year, from one generation to another reproduce “*their*” culture, and may, thus, construct and demonstrate their ethnicity.

The problem of the demarcation of ethnic groups as contrasting cultural units and connected with it the problem of determining the ethnic borders occupied many scientists.² So, H. Eidheim noted that “the identification of cultural components and their analysis can demonstrate that the concentration of those or other components are correlated with the group. ... People themselves do not experience definite difficulties in attributing the ethnicity that means, we can detect a high degree of “*homogeneity*” if there are indicators of ethnic diversity, expressed and articulated at domestic and interpersonal level”.³ As a result, the question of how ethnic distinction is socially reproduced, represent, and supported has been raised.

¹ S. Azhigali, N. Baigabatova, O. Oshanov, *Bayan-Olgii aymagindagy ethnigrafialyk zertteulerdin keibir natijelery* [Some results of ethnographic research in the Bayan-Olgii region], in “Kazakh diasporasy madenietin zertteleuy” [Study of the culture of the Kazakh diaspora], Almaty, 2004, p. 26.

² F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1969, p. 20.

³ H. Eidheim, *When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma*, in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, p. 49.

The aim of this article based upon the concrete fieldwork materials, collected in West Mongolia, is an investigation of perceptions of ethnicity among the Kazakhs of Mongolia and ways of their presentation in everyday life through a prism of the cultural practices. Possibly, it will help to find the answers to the following questions: where, how and why does ethnicity “appear”, “show” and “present” in the everyday life? What is the sign of “Kazakhity” for the Kazakhs of Mongolia? How do the cultural differences get their significance as ethnic? How are these signs presented in the space of Mongolia?

It is important for this research to point out that despite the Kazakhs of Mongolia were researched and still draw attention of anthropologists⁴, research of ethnicity itself in West Mongolia is still a poorly studied subject.⁵

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH STRATEGIES

Attempts to find the answers to these questions revealed a necessity of consideration of conceptual and theoretical problems of modern ethnology. It should be stressed that the structure and content of major research approaches to the description of ethnicity and culture representations are based upon the methodological premises of social constructivism.

The nature of “ethnicity” and its definition, despite their rather active discussion in the scientific area (in 1970-1980's - in the West, in 1990's - by Russian researchers) is still not clear. Consideration of ethnicity in the context of native and foreign social science finds different approaches to the understanding of ethnic problematic. At the present discussions about ethnic identity are filled with a standard set of indicators that point at that such identities are multiple, unstable, accidental, challenged, fragmentary, constructed, contractual ones.⁶ However, existing approaches in definition of ethnicity despite their opposition do not deny existence of cultural peculiarities in its characteristics⁷; they can be considered as

⁴ P. Finke, *Nomaden im Transformationprozess. Kasachen in der postsozialistischen Mongolei*, Köln, 2004, p. 364; A. Diener, *One Homeland or Two? The nationalization and Transnationalization of Mongolia's Kazakhs*, Berkeley, 2009, p. 405; A. Portisch, *Techniques as a Window onto Learning Kazakh Women's Domestic Textile Production in Western Mongolia*, in “Journal of Material Culture”, 2009, vol. 14, no. 4, p. 471-493.

⁵ P. Finke, *Nomaden im Transformationprozess...*, p. 305.

⁶ R. Brubaker, M. Feischmidt, J. Fox, L. Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 7.

⁷ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays*, New York, Basic Books, 1973, p.

significant ones by the group members.⁸ Otherwise stated, one can say that there is a real “*sum*” of some cultural distinctive features that help to join or separate people by means of them.

The basis for this statement is the differentiation between contents of “*cultural diversity*” and “*cultural difference*” offered by H. Bhabha. He states that the “*cultural difference*” reflects the process of culture presentation as “*realized*”, in the form of meaningful and authoritative strategy of adding the systems of group and individual identifications. Besides, cultural difference is the original mechanism of articulation.⁹

This theoretical reference is the basis of my hypothesis that is included in the following. In the public space a group can “*state*” about its presence by means of definite signs, symbols as “*ethnic markers*”. The latter can be more significant agents in the process of support and presentation of the symbolic “*imaginary*” ethnicity and make it “*visible*” for “*others*”. Reproduction of ethnicity through the visual signs and their presentation in public space is the dominant way “*appears*” and “*reflects*” of ethnicity at everyday interaction with representatives of ethnic communities as “*alien*” and “*their*” ethnic group.

According to the theory of *ethnic borders and significant cultural markers* (F. Barth), these markers can be the features of culture which are used as signals or emblems of the differences, so-called cultural markers or symbols. Discussions about the nature of ethnic symbols and their role in establishing the ethnic boundaries and ethnic identification are held in terms of the “*symbolic ethnicity*” concept. Its supporters have allocated a special concept of the ethnicity core (myths, memory, symbols, values), contents of which ensures the preservation of a people, and also is an internal source of ethnic continuity.¹⁰ For identifying and studying ethnic symbols one need to take into account that they perform as the function of indicating the ethnic group, replacing it with their hidden content, and so, accordingly, the function of separating it from the others. Therefore, the unity of symbolic system provides both the content and ethnicity boundaries and can serve as

470; Ю. Бромлей, *Очерки теории этноса* [Essays on the theory of ethnos], Москва, Наука, 1983, с. 418.

⁸ F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries...*; В. Тишков, *Реквием по этносу. Исследования по социально-культурной антропологии* [Requiem for the ethnos. Studies on socio-cultural anthropology], Москва, Наука, 2003, с. 544.

⁹ H. Bhabha, *Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences*, in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 155–157.

¹⁰ A. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, p. 312.

a distinctive (from other forms of social interaction) sign.

Previous experience of fieldwork has shown that it is not always concepts, existing in society, agree with the real picture. Informants depending on the age, sex, level of education, specific situation, their mood, and attitudes may say one thing, but in fact, in real life, things may be different. In this case, we do not rule out the possibility of a deliberate demonstration by some of our informants their "kazakhity" "unlike the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan who have lost all of these" – that is the conviction they had as a result of contacts with relatives and friends, who were in Kazakhstan or already moved to the "historical homeland" forever. Saying as T.O. Geertz, "we start with the interpretation of what involves our informants (or with the interpretation of their own perceptions about what they are involved in and then systematize it)".¹¹

Therefore, philosophy of this project was to use the following research strategy. The nature of social reality I study refers to the hierarchical ontology in which one can distinguish two levels:

1) *really existing and observable reality*. In our research that is really existing visual signs, including objects of material culture of the Kazakhs which differ from material artifacts of the Mongols. They are types of dwellings, their interiors, food, clothes, and objects of folk art;

2) *implied level of reality – a reality "under the surface" that creates "observable" reality*. This is the reality, through which these signs and artifacts are created, and the knowledge handed down from generation to generation facilitates the reproduction of ethnicity diaspora.

At the present times study of diaspora becomes an integral part of scientific knowledge. This interest is explained by the "diaspora" category itself, denoting the thematic space of discussion of extremely important anthropological problems, demonstrating the complex system of interrelations of nature and society, "ours" and "aliens", policy and economy, ideology and culture, and etc. The existing scientific and public discourse suggests a complex and far ambiguous nature of the diaspora phenomenon.¹² The content and cognitive boundaries of the majority of such works reflect, first of all, the political ambivalence of their applied aspects

¹¹ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures...* p. 15.

¹² В. Дятлов, *Дiaspora: попытка определиться в термине и понятии* [Diaspora: an attempt to define the term and concept] http://archipelag.ru/ru_mir/rm-diaspor/proposition/diatlov (Accessed on 1 May 2018); Ю. Семенов, *Этнос, нация, diaspora* [Ethnos, nation, diaspora], in "Этнографическое обозрение" [Ethnographic Review], 2000, no.4, p. 64-74; В. Тишков, *Реквием по этносу...*

(up to categorical statements that the diaspora is the essence of political phenomenon). Currently attention to the diaspora is attracted also in connection with strengthening the role of the factor of ethnic identity. *"Ethnic globalization paradox"*¹³, when the barriers between the nations are erased, but in connection with this growing opposition of the same cultural norms and standards to leveling, planting in all regions of the world, causes the desire to preserve the uniqueness of their culture and awareness of belonging to a certain ethnic group - their ethnic identity. In this respect, the diaspora plays an important role, as this very ethnic group united by diaspora is able to consolidate ethnos and preserve their ethnic identity. The process of formation and preservation of ethnic identity in the diaspora requires careful examination.

Besides, there are contradictions in the attempt to determine its ethno-cultural characteristics. On the one hand, it is stated that the diaspora is *"a separated piece of ethnic continent carrying in itself the main characteristics of this continent"* and *"an etalon, a true bearer of the nationwide qualities that are lost for some reason by the residents of the national home"*.¹⁴ On the other hand, it is also a widespread opinion that the part of society, which for some reasons lives for a long time outside of their *"historical motherland"*, in the process of adaptation to the new environment loses its ethno-cultural specificity. *"People living outside of their ethnic territory usually undergo the assimilation and, sooner or later, dissolve in the environment where the ethnic community prevails on the territory: they gradually lose their native language, culture, and then the feeling of the same ethnic origin"*.¹⁵

Therefore, one of the most important tasks of the groups' research, found them in the alien ethnic environment, in the isolation from the main ethnic mass, is the identification and analysis of the factors determining the ethnic peculiarities of their development and affecting their adaptation to the new external conditions and circumstances.

Since the purpose of research is finding out the perceptions and practices of the specific ethnic identity of the Kazakhs in Mongolia, the most optimal for revealing the meaning of ethnicity is the method of interview and method of participant observation. If the method of participant observation is adequate for the first

¹³ U. Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies*, in "Theory, Culture & Society", 2002, Vol. 19(1-2), p. 38.

¹⁴ Л. Абаева, *Диапоры в современном мире* [Diasporas in the Modern World], Хулун-Буйр, 2007, 290 с.

¹⁵ Ю. Семенов, *Этнос, нация, диаспора...*, p. 66.

level research, then using the method of interviewing is necessary for the second level, more difficult one. The method interviewing allows finding out the ways of construction of ethnicity as the identity is discovered by means of pronunciation, i.e. on the language of interpretation.

In the work *Ethnicity as cognition*, Brubaker, Loveman and Stomatov stated that “ethnicity – an interpreted prism, a way of explanation of social world”. Indeed, ethnicity cannot be studied as independently existing field of knowledge. Therefore ethnic ways of understanding, vision and an explanation of the social world can be studied only in combination with other non-ethnic ways of vision and existing. The Norwegian anthropologist T. Eriksen wrote that if a man goes outside in order to see ethnicity, he will find it, and thus, will contribute to its construction. Therefore it is necessary to bring ethnicity in “*non-ethnic context*” for studying the ethnicity.¹⁶ That is why our research strategy lay in the observation of daily life of the Kazakhs of Mongolia or “placing of people into the context of their own banalities”¹⁷ and fixation of possible presentations of ethnicity.

Ethnography of everyday life allows studying the ethnicity on the real and visible level of daily life and offers to add this knowledge to the analysis of complex abstractions of social systems, structures, social action and others constructs. It claims that such abstractions are embodied and realized in the episodes of everyday life.¹⁸ Therefore, they must be considered, observed and fixed exactly here. This research is regarded as attractive because the most part of life is visible on this level and it can be observed, and it allows studying everyday contexts in which ethnic categories and processes get their meanings and with the help of which ethnicity really functions in everyday life. So, in studying of the phenomenon of ethnicity is important to understand how the people reproduction of this type identity in the concrete context.

CONTEXT

Field research showed that the majority of inhabitants of Bayan-Olgii and Hovd Aimags are Kazakhs and Mongols who do not think always about their or alien ethnic identity. Everyday routine is interpreted very rarely and explained in ethnic terms. However, there is the ethnicity in everyday life of the Kazakhs of

¹⁶ T. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological perspectives*, London, 1993, p. 15.

¹⁷ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures...* p. 22.

¹⁸ P. Sztompka, *The Focus on Everyday Life: a New Turn in Sociology*, in “European Review”, 2008, Vol. 16, no. 1, p. 12.

Mongolia it is realized and shown. We can consider it's functioning as a practice of representation of cultural differences that to some extent approves our initial point – statement of F. Barth according to which the ethnicity is a form of social organization of cultural differences and significance; it belongs to those cultural characteristics that give marking value by group itself.¹⁹

One of the aspects of demonstration of ethnicity is that anthropologists call “*excessive demonstration*” (intended accentuation) or “*decreased demonstration*” (intended detracting) belonging to ethnic category.²⁰ From the standpoint of interaction of view of interaction of “*own*” not only with “*alien*”, but also from “*own*”, these signs are not only cognitive sources that might be decrypted by observers, they are also a discursive and interactive sources that might be used by people themselves. They are signs that can be consciously or unconsciously “*rendered*”.²¹

A. Artifacts of Kazakhs traditional material culture as ethnic markers

We would include the main artifacts of traditional material culture into “*consciously rendered*” ethnic markers in everyday life of the Kazakhs of Mongolia. By the way, our informants called them as identification symbols. Distinctive features belong to Kazakh nomadic dwelling – *yurt* (particularly its construction – is spherical cupola formed by specific shape of cupola poles – *uyk*, another shape of yurt pommel – *shanyrak*, especially the interior, placing of things, etc.).

According to Aidos Shavdan's report (48 years old, a resident of Olgiy), yurts of the Kazakhs and Mongols have significant external differences. First of all, thanks to *uyks* one can distinguish Kazakh *yurt* from Mongolian from a distance: “Mongolian *uyks* are straight; respectively dome of the yurt is a clear cone with a little cut top. Then the Kazakh yurts have *uyks* curved by the end which make the lower part of the yurt's dome curved as well”. Since all the details of the yurt is made manually, to make such *uyks* is much more difficult as the manufacture of the bending – *uyktin karyny* - requires the certain skills. To the question: why do the Kazakhs not do *uyks* straight as the Mongols do, because they are easier to produce, informants gave the following answers: “as we always do”, “so did our fathers”, “the Kazakhs are doing so”, “thanks to such *uyks*, our *yurts*, particularly, the dome is higher, so there is the more air”. In addition, *uyks* of the Mongols have rings at the ends, which cling to the *kerege* (wall), and then the Kazakhs' *uyks* are fastened with ropes, having a length of about 1 meter. Another important external

¹⁹ F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries...*, p. 16.

²⁰ T. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism...*, p. 47.

²¹ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, University of Edinburgh, 1959, p. 234.

distinctive sign of the yurts is a number of *beldeu* - belts located on the outer perimeter of the *yurt*. The Kazakhs encircle their *yurts* 2 times and as *beldeu* use strong *arkans* - ropes woven of wool and horse hair, but the Mongols use 3 belts, at the same time in the last years they use tarpaulin for this" (Kulyash Nurtaza, 70 years, Tsengel somon, 6 tank). When we asked questions to younger generation in order to find out whether they know about these external differences of *yurts*, the majority answered us that they know about it. In this case, the informant Sayabek Darzhanuly, 27 years old, noted that this knowledge is specially not handed up or told to other generations. "I just know about this, because since the very childhood I have seen all these differences, often while watching how people set yurts. Then I began to do exactly like that."

It would seem that these allegations about external difference of *yurts*, it may allow us to distinguish Mongolian and Kazakh *yurts* and count them as ethnic markers. However, conducted fieldwork in the Hovd Somon showed the absolute failure of the previous assumption. Having arrived here, we discovered that almost all of the *yurts* are Mongolian here, and the Kazakhs live in them! Local residents explain the fact by means of natural-climatic conditions, in particular the strong gusty winds, to which the Mongolian *yurts* are more stable, because they are lower and slightly smaller than Kazakh ones. This example is a bright sample of how ideas and practices may not be same in real life.

However, our personal observations all the same as cultural markers allowed emphasizing this element of a wooden construction of the *yurt* as a *shanyrak* (at the top of the yurt). In spite of the fact that is the Mongolian *yurt*, the Kazakhs are still trying to establish their Kazakh *shanyrak*, which represents a circle including 6 transversely installed, 3 on each side of the poles; the Mongolian top of the *yurt* reminds a wheel with spokes. Probably, it is not by chance the Kazakhs have a saying: "*Shanyrykka kara!*" (Look at the top!). One should pronounce it in the case when there is a wish to remind the guest who is the host of the house. We dare to assume that, perhaps, it appeared precisely in those days, when there were "Kazakh" and "Mongolian" *shanyraks*, and when this difference can be determined in whose *yurt* you are.

It is interesting that this proverb is quite often used by modern Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, in the absence of *shanyraks* themselves, because there is no *yurt* at all. In the present time, the *shanyrak* is considered to be a house, a family's hearth. It is very important that at the state symbol - emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan - *shanyrak* occupies one of the central places in the overall composition.

In general, it should be noted that the *yurt* is of great importance in the life of not only the nomadic population, but also among the population of stationary

settlements (and not only from the point of view of its functionality). According to Gulbarsha, a 56-year-old resident of the Olgiy, “regardless of season the deceased is placed, and then taken to the funeral only out of the *yurt*. Therefore, in such cases, even in the cold winter, the inhabitants of the town set a *yurt* in the yard of the house. The deceased is placed on the left side of the *yurt*, where it has laid for the first time, only where he or she was born - *ozi en algash zhatkan zherine zhatkызady*”.

And yet the interior of *yurt* is actually an important and significant distinctive feature, in our opinion. Although Mongolian spots in the form of wooden cabinets for dishes meet in the decoration of the Kazakh *yurt*, especially among the Kazakhs of the Hovd Aimag, yet having entered the tent you would undoubtedly discover significant differences. Firstly, it is color of the interior as a whole. The Kazakhs prefer various shades of red and brown, while the Mongolian interior is marked by orange and blue. The latter have very little furniture, there are almost no items of national applied art, the walls are covered with transparent cloth, and there is almost no floor decking. Completely different picture appears when visiting Kazakh *yurts*. In its interior it is surprisingly easy to integrate traditional and modern subjects such as iron beds, TV. We can see the traditional bed “*kaikybas tosek agash*”. Floors are covered with colorful bright carpets *syrmaks*. On the walls there are (at least 3-4) hanging wall embroidered carpets *tus kiis* above each bed.

It should be noted that the cultural difference of the interior, first of all, is seen in the ornament. Certainly, what we today call the “Kazakh” or “Mongolian” ornament has its ancient roots and traditions. However, in the conditions of modern Mongolia we can interpret them that way. Kazakh objects of decorative-applied art adorned with ornaments, which is dominated by zoomorphic and plant motives, visibly differ from the Mongolian geometric forms. And this is the first thing that catches the eye when visiting any *yurt*.

On the basis of this it can be assumed that the ornament is one of the main ethnic markers in the everyday life of the Kazakhs. Proof of this can also be validated by the following fact. In recent years, local residents of stationary settlements, both Mongols and Kazakhs, very often do ornament on their fences and gates, through which it is possible to conclude how the people living behind these fences identify themselves.

Observing everyday life as well as taking a direct part in the normal social interactions in family, between neighbors, between the Kazakhs and the Mongols including in joint meals, and we found that in this area there are also significant differences. They are also introduced in assortments and cooking (slaughtering the animal, assortment and specificity of cooking).

Many informants noted that the first thing that distinguishes the Kazakhs from the Mongols is the fact that “the latter do not cut, but simply kill sheep, in other words, do not let the blood. “*Maldy bauyzdamaidy!*” (Kabył Kaiypuly, resident of Ulanhuus, 54 years). In addition, the process of cooking the meat has its differences. “If the Kazakhs cook meat from 1.5 to 2 hours inclusive, the Mongols consume meat, having boiled it for 30-40 minutes, and some even consider it ready as soon as water boils in which meat is cooked” (Kauila Zaishkyzy, a resident of Hovd, 52 years). According to the opinion of Baitei Babiakeli, Ulanhuus’s inhabitant, 75-year-old, the Kazakhs also do not eat *tarbagan’s* (*suur’s*) meat because they are considered to be *aram* (unclean).

Clothes have significant and visible differences. In everyday life, we observed the wearing of almost all men older than 40 years of headdress - *kepesh* and *kimesheks* and *zhaulyks* (by women of the older generation). It should be stressed that a complete set of ethnic clothing is available in each house. However, people wear it very seldom nowadays, only in cases of mass gatherings or big events. It is necessary to mention, that Mongols are more “ethnic” than the Kazakhs in appearance of nomadic dwellings, wearing the dress, food preferences.

As it is known, the mark characteristics of an ethnic group are the result of historical, political, economic conditions, and specific situations. In our case, economical, first of all. Exactly peculiarities of the management and functioning of culture in the specific conditions of environment are resulted in the accumulation of specific features, properties and attributes, which, ultimately, identified a unique combination of ethnic stereotypes and self-consciousness of the Kazakh diaspora.

Material artifacts of Kazakhs of Mongolia act not only as the means of keeping and the channel of communication of difficult complex of information (collective memory and cultural knowledge), but they are also the way of reproduction and demonstration of diaspora ethnicity. Semi-nomadic pastoralism stipulated the environment, determined the way of the life and models of cultural of life support of Kazakhs of Mongolia, following which used to be the compulsory condition of the social life of group. We asked them why they saved these differences, for example, in construction of yurt, in dress, in meal preferences and they answered: “Our ancestors – *ata-baba* did it so, that is why we also do it the same way”. Automatization of reproduction and unconscious realization of underlying model of traditional ethnic culture is determining factor of their stability in these days.

The materials of researches of Kazakh collections in museum funds in Mongolia are of specific interest. In this case the purpose was to discover what material artifacts introduced on the expositions of museums are demonstrated like Kazakh ones. Museums of towns Olgiy, Hovd, the National museum in Ulan-Bator

have been researched in order to discover if there were Kazakh exhibits. Preliminary results show that more detailed researching of them can give very valuable material for searching the answers to such important questions: Which objects of material culture act like ethnic markers? Who determines what artifacts can be introduced like ethnic ones and how? And consequently to solve the problem – how are ethnic images constructed?

There is the most complete complex of things of traditional material culture of the Kazakhs is introduced in the museum of town Olgiy. There are 2 complete sets of dress (for man and women), 2 saddles, musical instruments, domestic utensils in the museum Hovd that have been presented like Kazakh ones. 2 pictures of local artists-Mongols with the image of the Kazakh life are of great interest. Game “*Kokpar*” is painted ones first picture, and the second picture is called “Evening village”. From our point of view, reproduction of Kazakh yurt and clothing of Mongol artists is extremely important. It indicates good knowledge of differential peculiarities of Kazakh culture. In the National Museum in Ulan-Bator there are following expositions: 1 full complete set of women costume, 2 items of head dress – *kepesh*, musical instrument – *dombra*. (NB: adding of some kind of artifact to Kazakh ones were carried out only at “Kazakhity” indication on museum tag of the introduced exhibit).

Analysis of the introduced things and items of traditional Kazakh culture exposition indicates about presence of ethnic differentiation of population of Mongolia at the institutional level. Thus, the “real” components of ethnic culture – a system of settlements, housing, food, clothing, utensils and furnishings – a component part of the traditional culture of people’s life-support which represents not only the result of centuries of its adaptation to specific conditions of eco-environment, but it is one of the factors affecting the ethnic self-identification, and, of course, they themselves are the indicator of an ethnicity scale.

B. Visualization of the Kazakh ethnicity in the public space

Ethnicity of Kazakhs of Mongolia has obvious external embodiment not only in the museum, but also in the area of stationary settlements, towns Olgiy and Hovd, and also in Somons. The analysis of our field data shows that it is lawfully to refer the productions of folk decorative and applied art to advisedly accentuated sings of presentation of Kazakh ethnicity. They are not only internal decoration of dwellings, but also the products of extensive trade.

Sign boards observed by us – «Art Shop. Handmade Kazakh Products» or «Altai-Kerei Shop. Kazakh-Handcraft» and many others are indicators of it. It is clear that the given articulation is directed, first of all, on foreigners (there are

many of them in Mongolia), but it also indicates about 2 obvious and interconnected facts of demonstration of own ethnic belonging: a) statement about the presence of items of the Kazakh domestic handcraft and business; b) statement of the more large-scale plan – about presence of other ethnic groups – Kazakhs in this space (space of Mongolia).

By the way, in case of “Altai-Kerey Shop. Kazakh-Handcraft” the territorial and tribal belonging of salesman’s can be shown. In this case, presence of ethnonym *Kerey* has specific significance here – it is the tribe which most of the Kazakhs of Mongolia belong to.

According to local Kazakhs, it is one of the main sings of their identity. References on “*Kerey*” have been kept till now in the titles of some items of traditional clothes – “*kerey tymak*” (*kerey hat*), “*kerey beldik*” (*kerey belt*). Last years, owners of automobiles also show their tribal belonging to tribe in public area. Their cars have an inscription “*kerey*” on the back of the car.

The observed historical and cultural tribalism is the preservation of the principles of activity of the past institutions created on the basis of descent division at the present stage. Modern tribalism of the Kazakhs of Mongolia is characterized by the participation of certain groups on the basis of family ties for the provision of social support to members of the generation through existing institutions of mutual assistance. Generation as an important social actor, based upon the feelings of kinship connectivity, represents a certain corporation, inside of which there is close and regular communication on the basis of established rituals. Thus, the Kazakh of Mongolia is always integrated in a small clan community. In the conditions of the country, where for the vast majority the tribal affiliation plays a role of the main marker by means of which it is determined who is “*their*” or “*alien*”, the use of such a group identity plays both constructive and destructive roles. On the one hand, there is the process of attributing and self-attributing, i.e. consolidation of an individual with a certain tribal group; and, on the other hand, - there is a separation process within the Kazakh society.

At the same time we would like to underline the following interesting fact. In the end of 90’s of the XX century, there was the change of civil passports in Mongolia. Since that ethnic belonging has not been shown in the new documents of identity cards, but the point of tribal belonging became the compulsory one. Reasonability of that was explained by boiled up necessity of regulation of family and marital relations as the population size of the country was low. The most part of Mongolia population is introduced by different ethnic groups of Mongolian origin – Khalkha’s, Zahchins, Myangats, Torgouts, Derbets and so on. In identity cards of Kazakhs of Western Mongolia looked through by me tribal belonging –

Kerey was not indicated, there was generic subdivisions of this tribe. It was connected with this fact: when taking passport young people tell their generic group that is included into of 12 clans *Kerey* tribe. Officials do not go deep into these details and just write what they have heard. So, in the result, at the present moment in time there is no ethnic categorization of Kazakhs as well as other ethnic groups of country population in state. Time will show how the ethnic component of Mongolia population will look like in future. This question requires further special researches.

According to local Kazakhs the most important component of their ethnicity is the religious identity. Kazakhs of Mongolia consider themselves Moslem of Sunni direction and think that this fact is the main difference from neighboring Mongols. Religious beliefs of the Kazakh Diaspora have sufficiently vividly shown visual expression – mosques, Moslem cemeteries, presence of holly book in dwellings – *Koran*, Moslem panels, compulsory bloodshed, etc. At present there are 20 mosques (17 of them are in Bayan-Olgii and 3- are in Hovd Aimags). From the experience of observations it is necessary to mention that despite the assurances of our informants, attendances of mosques, fasting - *oraza*, doing Moslem everyday ritual practices, in particular – reading *namaz*, is not widely spread phenomenon. Therefore, we would call local Kazakhs rather nominal Moslems.

Proof of this is the observation over mosques' attendance. For example, on the Friday pray (*namaz*), which is considered to be compulsory for all Muslims, not more than 40-50 men come to the mosque of Olgii town, while the number of the inhabitants of the city is about 30 thousand people. According to the imam of the city Hovd, Berikbol, the mosque is constantly visited by around 20 people, despite the fact that in Hovd there is the population of more than 3 thousand Kazakhs. The informant notes that now the mosque is attended, mainly, by young people of 20-25 years. In Ulanhuus, although the mosque was opened on Friday, prayer service was not even attended by the imam, whom we waited for more than 2 hours. All this testifies that the religious identity, which is emphasized by the informants as the key difference from the Mongols, is in practice a common declaration. However, growing number of Moslem members of mosque, including those who get their religious education abroad can change the present situation to one.

It is clear that both identities – tribal and religious have their own nature of origin and are not connected with ethnic sings, however in conditions of Mongolia informants interpret them as one of the main ethnic sings. Superimposition of one form of differentiation (identity) on the other one and showing it as something whole is strengthened considerably by the given context.

The most stable feature of "*Kazakhity*", in opinion of informants, is language;

it is acknowledged by its using it in many spheres of life, but only within the limits Bayan-Olgii Aimag. There is another situation in Hovd Aimag as Kazakhs are just a small part of population here. From time to time language features are visual. Being the criteria of ethnicity language can act an indicator, finding out more reliable practical features of ethnic belonging. In our case Kazakh language fulfils exactly this function. There are many cases when the titles of shops, hotels, cafes, hairdressers, photographic studios the owners of which are Kazakhs have been introduced in Kazakh language, but the words “shop”, “café” – on Mongolian. By this they emphasize their ethnic identity: “Kazakh people must name everything “their” in Kazakh” (Gulbarsha, resident of Olgii).

However, observations show that not only this factor is the basis for introduction of the Kazakh language in the public space. Names of public places, in our opinion, are somewhat a message directed to “their”. Important is the fact that, for example, in the city of Olgii actually the owners and the personnel of hotel with Kazakh names “Bastau”, “Duman” are the Kazakhs, and then as the hotel “Tsanbagarav” is “purely Mongolian”. The same case is with places of public catering. So, menu of “Mongolian” restaurants and cafes is made only in the Mongolian language. Although, more than 90 percent of Olgii’s population including visitors, are the Kazakhs.

The observed various signboards, signs, newspapers and magazines in Kazakh language can also be attributed to the visual signs of the language. And yet the majority of linguistic signs are acoustic. The most obvious is just heard language they speak. In this regard, Bayan-Olgiyskiy Aimag of Mongolia is more “Kazakh”, in contrast to the Hovd Aimag. While in Olgii, everywhere we can hear the Kazakh language, in Hovd Aimag, there is a common practice of communication in the Mongolian language, and here it is very rare to hear the Kazakh language in the public space. In process of removal from Olgii - main places of dense settlement of the Kazakhs - use of the Kazakh language gradually disappears. Aizhan Nurbek, 19 years old, resident of Olgii, a student of the University in Ulan-Bator stated: “In Ulan-Bator we do not speak Kazakh. The Mongols do not like, when we speak Kazakh. Even when you have to talk to parents, we try to find a place to where we are not heard. When we see the Kazakhs, we are very happy to see each other. Although at first glance it is very difficult to distinguish the Ulan-Bator Kazakhs from the Mongols. Especially, the Kazakhs from Nalaih. They even speak different Kazakh language. We have to live in Ulan-Bator on the Mongolian rules and the Mongolian proverb, the meaning of which is that in the stranger monastery not go with its charter”.

Thus, the examined cultural practices of everyday life and their location in the space allow concluding that they are the original objects of ethnic culture and contribute to the preservation of ethnic and cultural identity of the diaspora's members.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, there are many methods and ways with the help of which ethnicity is introduced and expressed in everyday life of Kazakhs of Mongolia. Members of this ethnic group state about their presence in "*alien*" area sufficiently clear through "*visual discourse*". Functioning items of the material culture that have the role of "*ethnic markers*", also observable articulation in public space of ornament, of tribal and religious identity contribute to the process of support and introduction of symbolic ethnicity of Kazakhs of Mongolia and make it "*visible*" for "*other*" (Mongols, foreigners).

Reproduction of ethnicity through visual signs and their presentation is the dominating ways of "*appearance*" and "*expressing*" the ethnicity while interaction of ethnic community with the representatives of "*alien*", as well as "*own ethnic group*". Research has shown that we can include 2 main components into the content of "*everyday ethnicity*": 1) ethnic identity, marked by system of markers, having important meaning as for "*own*", as well as "*alien*" (the question is: "Who are we?" – Kazakhs, Muslims, Kereis); 2) ethnic culture, used as a resource and giving sense meaning to ethnic markers (the question is: "How are we?" – ornament, artifacts, interior).

Thus, everyday ethnicity of Kazakhs of Mongolia on the present stage act likes combination of practical skills of symbolic using of signs of ethnicity (ethnonym, material artifacts and cultural practices, etc.) in order to make itself different as the representative of one group from representatives of other group. Signs used for marking the boundaries of "*own*" community can be different and depend on concrete social context. Therefore it is important to reveal and determine what signs are used for marking the boundaries of "*own*" community.

Summing up the results of our research we can say, that the factor in the preservation of the ethnic identity of the diaspora is not only and not so much foreign ethnic environment (and even living in the structure of other national state in the minority), how much prevalent in society type of economy and social interactions. If in Kazakhstan blurring of the former nomadic culture contributed to the processes of industrialization, collectivization, urbanization, expansion of education, modern medicine, the Kazakhs in Mongolia due to favorable enough

reasons (the similarity of climate and landscape, the ability to deal with cattle breeding farm, non-interference of the state) have kept the old nomadic way of life with all the consequences that the peculiarities of the cycles of life, rituals, beliefs and material conditions.

However, already today in the conditions of a globalizing world position of the Kazakhs of Mongolia, which is not only characterized by modernization, but also the activation of ethno-cultural contacts, the migration mobility of the diaspora and the planning of life strategies with a focus on Kazakhstan, indicates less probability of preserving the fullness of *“traditional”* culture in historical perspective.

**DIFFICULT RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE FAMILY OF CHODECZ AND BOGDAN III THE ONE-EYED**

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Abstract: *The present paper refers to the relations between the Polish noble family of Chodecz and the ruler of Moldova Bogdan the One-eyed. The aim of this paper is to analyse their mutual relations as well as to find the answer for the question, whether some of the Polish-Moldova conflicts between the years 1509 and 1517 weren't the result of the difficult relations between these people and were caused by their desire to revenge. The origin of the animosity between them goes back to the year 1505 when Bogdan the One Eyed made an offer to marry the sister of the Polish king Alexander, in exchange wanting to hand over Pokuttya to Poland. He counted on Stanislaus of Chodecz's support, and after the failure of his efforts he felt cheated. He lost Pokuttya, but didn't receive Elisabeth as a wife, and he blamed Stanislaus of Chodecz for this. From that time the relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan were growing worse.*

Keywords: *Bogdan the One-eyed, Alexander Jagiellon, Elisabeth of Habsburg, Pokuttya, Sigismund I Jagiellon*

Rezumat: *Relații dificile între familia Chodecz și Bogdan al III-lea cel Orb. Lucrarea de față face referire la relațiile dintre familia nobilă poloneză Chodecz și domnul Moldovei, Bogdan cel Orb. Scopul acestei lucrări este de a analiza relațiile lor comune, precum și de a găsi răspunsul la întrebarea dacă unele dintre conflictele dintre Polonia și Moldova între anii 1509-1517 nu au fost rezultatul relațiilor dificile dintre acești oameni, fiind cauzate de dorința lor de răzbunare. Originea animozității dintre ei datează din anul 1505, când Bogdan cel Orb a făcut oferta de a se căsători cu sora regelui polonez Alexander, în schimb predând Pocuția Poloniei. El s-a bazat pe Stanislav de Chodecz și, după eșecurile eforturilor sale, s-a simțit înșelat. A pierdut Pocuția, dar nu a primit-o pe Elisabeta de soție și l-a învinuit pe Stanislav de Chodecz pentru aceasta. Din acel moment, relațiile dintre familia Chodecz și Bogdan s-au înrăutățit.*

Résumé: *Les relations difficiles entre la famille Chodecz et Bogdan III l'Aveugle. L'ouvrage ci-joint fait référence aux relations entre la famille noble polonaise*

Chodecz et le prince régnant de la Moldavie, Bogdan l'Aveugle. Le but de cet ouvrage est celui d'analyser leurs relations communes, ainsi que de trouver la réponse à la question si quelques-uns des conflits entre la Pologne et la Moldavie des années 1509-1517 n'ont pas été le résultat des relations difficiles entre ceux-ci, étant causés par leur désir de vengeance. L'origine de leur animosité remonte l'année 1505, lorsque Bogdan l'Aveugle fit l'offre de marier la sœur du roi polonais Alexander, remettant en échange la Pocutie à la Pologne. Il se basa sur Stanislav de Chodecz et comme ses efforts échouèrent, il se sentit trompé. Il perdit la Pocutie, n'épousa plus Elisabeta et blâma Stanislav de Chodecz pour cela. A partir de ce moment-la, les relations entre la famille Chodecz et Bogdan ont empiré.

INTRODUCTION

The family of Chodecz, was one of the Polish noble families, members of which had their political careers directly connected to the South-East politics of Poland in the 15th and 16th centuries. As Poland had conquered territories to the South-East of Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, her political situation was changed because of the increasing threats from Turkey, Tatars and Moldova. But this situation caused not only further dangers. It created new possibilities for the Polish nobility lead their careers. Therefore, from the time of the reign of Wladislaus Jagiello it was quite common for the Polish noblemen, especially from Silesia but also from Lesser Poland, to hasten to Red Ruthenia to look for chances of making up a career. They received certain territories in this region from the Polish king as a reward for their duty. The phenomenon of the intensified migration of the Polish nobility from Silesia and Lesser Poland to Red Ruthenia and Podolia even increased in the second part of the 15th century. The reasons for this process were many-sided. First of all, because Poland annexed the territories to the South-East, it became necessary to organize there a Polish administration in order to incorporate these new areas to Poland. This required the establishing of Polish offices in these territories. Holding an office meant for the noblemen not only increasing their chance of career development, but also of increasing their incomes, and receiving from the king new lands or offices as a reward for their duties were much greater in the South-Eastern borderlands than in Poland, where there were not enough of the free lands for the king to dispense and vacating offices were rather a rarity. An another reason for the interest of the Polish noblemen in the career in the South-Eastern part of the country was caused by the fact that the continuous danger from the Moldova as well as from Tatar forced Poland to reform her army, and it was therefore necessary to form a

professional corpus of a regular army that would always be ready to protect the South-East borders of Poland. In the existing need, the military service could give new and better possibilities for making a career.¹ Numerous campaigns that were organized against Moldova and Tatars even increased the opportunity to earn honours in a battle, to become famous for their military valour, and receive as a reward lucrative offices or be bestowed with land. The possibility mentioned last was the third – and crucial – reason for such an eager involvement of the Polish nobility in the Moldova's politics. The lands that were given by the king to the noblemen of his kingdom as a reward for their duties were in Poland much smaller than these in the South-Eastern borderland. The reasons for that were on one hand the fact that there was not enough land in Poland to be given for loyal service, and on the other hand the fact that the Polish king wanted to strengthen his control over the South-Eastern territories.² That was why the Polish nobility, who counted on gaining new offices or larger lands, so willingly took part in the Polish South-Eastern politics. One of these families, who made use of these new possibilities, was the family of Chodecz.

¹ The best example of making a career due to servicing in the army set Kamieniecki family, see K. Niemczyk, *Kamienieccy herbu Pilawa. Z dziejów kariery i awansu szlachty polskiej do roku 1535/6* [The Kamieniecki family, bearers of the Pilawa coat of arms. The history of the career and advancement of the Polish nobility until 1535/1536], Katowice, 2016, passim; J. Kurtyka, *Z dziejów walki szlachty ruskiej o równoprawnienie: represje lat 1426-1427 I sejmiki roku 1439* [The history of the struggle of the Russian nobility for equal rights: repressions from the 1426-1427 and the Polish sejmik's from 1439], in "Roczniki Historyczne", 2000, Vol. 66, p. 91-96; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich. Studia I materiały* [Podolia in the time of the Jagiellon's reign. Researches and writing materials], Kraków, 2011, p. 34-39.

² A lot about the migration of the Polish nobility from Silesia to Red Ruthenia wrote Jerzy Sperka, see: J. Sperka, *Początki osadnictwa rycerstwa śląskiego na Rusi Czerwonej* [The beginning of the Polish settlement in the Red Ruthenia], in "Княжа доба: історія і культура", Львів, 2010, s. 278-301; Idem, *Zarys migracji rycerstwa śląskiego na ziemie Rusi Koronnej w okresie panowania Władysława Jagiełły* [The migration of the Silesian nobilities to the Ruthenia during the time of the reign of Wladislaus Jagiello], in "Княжа доба. Історія і культура", Львів, 2011, s. 221-229; Idem, *Otoczenie Władysława Opolczyka w latach 1370-1401. Studium o elicie władzy w relacjach z monarchą* [Wladislaus Opolczyk and his court in the years 1370-1401], Katowice 2006, p. 84-90; Idem, *Z dziejów migracji rycerstwa śląskiego na ziemie Rusi Koronnej w końcu XIV i w początkach XV wieku (wstępne rozpoznanie)* [The history of the migration of knights from Silesia to the Red Ruthenia in the end of the 14th and at the beginning of the 15th century (initial research)], in *Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych*, Vol. 1, Kraków, 2012, p. 519-548.

THE DESCENT OF THE FAMILY OF CHODECZ

The family of Chodecz originated from Umień and Lubin in the Dobrzyński land.³ Nicolaus Parawa of Lubin was the first member of the family who noticed the possibilities given by the involvement in the South-Eastern politics of Poland. Being a knight of Wladislaus Jagiello he arrived in Red Ruthenia to look for possibilities of making a career.⁴ Quite soon he gained the first reward. The king gave him lands of Janczyn as well as Rohantyn and nine villages in Halych voivodship.⁵ In 1443, he got the office of the starost of Halych.⁶ He died in the battle near Vaslui.⁷ All his estates located in Lviv voivodship, Halych voivodship and Terebovlia voivodship was inherited by his nephew – Slanislaus of Chodecz⁸, who additionally received the office of the starost of Halych (1452)⁹, and later the starost of Kamienets (1461)¹⁰ and Terebovila (1471).¹¹ In 1460, he additionally assumed the office of the castellany of Lviv¹², in 1462 the voivode of Podolia¹³, and in 1465 the voivode of Ruthenia.¹⁴ He

³ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki* [Stanislaus of Chodecz], in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (**further: PSB**), Vol. 3, Kraków, 1937, p. 351; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza. Wojewoda krakowski: próba monografii historycznej* [Otto of Chodecz. Voievode of Cracov], Złoczów, 1911, p. 3; J. Bieniak, *Elita ziemi dobrzyńskiej w późnym średniowieczu i jej majątki* [Elite of the Dobrzyński land in the late medieval and their estates], in *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ed. O. Krutt-Horonzia, L. Kajzer, Włocławek, 1995, p. 36; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich herbu Ogon oraz ich związki rodzinne z Umieńskimi i Lubińskimi* [Descent of the Chodecki family and their connection with Uminski family and Lubinski family], in *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, ed. J. Sperka, B. Czwojdrak, Vol. 8 (12), Katowice, 2016, p. 241, 257.

⁴ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Urządnicy województwa ruskiego XIV-XVIII wieku (ziemie halicka, lwowska, przemyska, sanocka). Spisy* [The offices of Ruthenia in the 14th – 17th centuries], ed. K. Przyboś, Vol. 3, part. 1, Wrocław, 1987 (**further: Urz. Rus.**), no. 332; see also W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*, p. 352.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 351; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich...*, p. 257.

⁸ J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 3; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich...*, p. 257.

⁹ *Urz. Rus.*, nr 334.

¹⁰ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Main Archiv in Warsaw] (**further: AGAD**), *Metryka Koronna* (**further: MK**) 11, k. 542; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, Vol. 1, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warszawa, 1905 (**further: MRPS I**), no. 581; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich...*, p. 148.

¹¹ *AGAD*, *MK* 12, k. 44 v-45; *MRPS I*, no. 746; *Urz. Rus.*, no. 667.

¹² *Urz. Rus.*, no. 829.

¹³ *Urządnicy województwa podolskiego XV – XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of Podolia in

died in 1474. With his wife, Barbara of Pilica, he had four daughters and eight sons: Nicolaus, Johannes, Stanislaus, Peter, Andreas, Spytek, Otton and Rafael.¹⁵ Just as did their father, his sons tied their careers to the South-Eastern politic of Poland. His son Stanislaus made an especially successful carrier. He became one of the trusted people of the queen Elisabeth of Habsburg, the wife of the king Casimir Jagiellon.¹⁶ In the years 1486-1490, Johannes Olbracht, still a prince at that time, was sent to Red Ruthenia to protect this land, and it was Stanislaus of Chodecz who accompanied him and was held in his trust.¹⁷ That is why, as soon as Olbracht assumed the power in Poland and started to build his party, Stanislaus of Chodecz was chosen to be one of the most important of the king's men. In 1492-1499 and 1501-1505, he was responsible for the protection of the South-Eastern borderland of Poland.¹⁸ In 1495 he assumed the office of castellany of Lviv.¹⁹ Then he assumed several other offices: the starost of Lviv²⁰, Halych²¹, Terebovila²², Lubaczow²³ and Podolia.²⁴ Together with

15th-17th centuries], ed. K. Przyboś, Kraków, 1994 (**further: Urz. Pod.**), no. 582, there is the false date of the assumption of the office: 26 August 1462; this date has been corrected in *Urządnicy podolscy XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of Podolia in 14th-17th centuries], ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik, 1998 (**further: Urz. Podol.**), no 623 and was changed into 25 November 1462.

¹⁴ Urz. Rus., no. 1234.

¹⁵ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*, p. 352; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 7.

¹⁶ K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium polsko-mołdawskiego w końcu XV i początku XVI wieku* [The issue of Pokuttya, a disputed territory on the Polish-Moldovan border in the 15th and 16th centuries], in "Studia Historyczne", 2014, no. 52, part. 2, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 378; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen polsko-mołdawskich* [The history of the wars between Poland and Moldova], in "Studia i Materiały do historii wojskowości", Vol. 11, part.1, p. 108.

¹⁷ W. Pociecha, *Otto Chodecki* [Otto of Chodecz], in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 3, Kraków, 1937, p. 352.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Urz. Rus., no. 834; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tzw. Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* [Town and land files from the time of the Republic of Poland from the archives of the so-called Bernardyński in Lviv], ed. O. Pietruszka, X. Liske, A. Prochaska, Vol. 15, Lviv, 1891, no. 2475; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота. Подільська шляхта в другій половині XIV-70-х роках XVI століття* [Elastic community. Podolsk gentry in the second half of the XIV-70th of the XVI century], Київ, 2012, p. 258.

²⁰ Urz. Rus., no. 1176; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота ...*, p. 258.

²¹ Urz. Rus., no. 337; В. Михайловський, *op. cit.*

²² Urz. Rus., no. 671; В. Михайловський, *op. cit.*

²³ *Urządnicy województwa bełskiego i ziemi chełmskiej XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of the Belz Voievodeship and Chełm Voievodeship], ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik, 1992, no. 979; Urz. Rus., no. 671

his brothers, Johannes and Peter, he took part in the Olbracht's crusade of the year 1497. During this expedition, Johannes, one of his brothers, died.²⁵ He was also sent to Moldova, as one of the Polish envoys, but because of the Polish political games, he didn't reach Suceava at that time.²⁶ He was also designated, together with Nicolaus of Kamieniec, to the meeting with Stephan the Great in Kolaczyn (1503), which in the end didn't take place.²⁷ But he played the key role during the Polish-Moldova conflict in the year 1505. This accident started his long and rather complicated relations with the ruler of Moldova, Bogdan the One-eyed.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CONFLICT

Pokuttya was the territory that belonged to Moldova since the year 1502, when Stephan the Great conquered it.²⁸ Bogdan the One-eyed assumed power in this country (1504) as his son and successor, but he had not such a strong position as his father had had. Therefore, his main goal was to strengthen his own position against the opponents he had in Moldova as well as against his foreign enemies (most of all Turkey). To achieve this goal, Moldova needed a strong ally and had above all to avoid a war. But Poland, which had already a lot of problems with the protection of the South-Eastern part of her territory, as well as with

²⁴ Urz. Pod., no. 522; Urz. Podol., no. 553 – there is the correct data of the moment when Stanislaus of Chodecz lost this office; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота...*, p. 258; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich...*, p. 148.

²⁵ W. Pociecha, *Otto Chodecki...*, p. 352; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 8.

²⁶ Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 83; I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* [Moldova and Wallachia towards Poland, Hungary and Turkey in the 14th – 15th century], Poznań, 1996, p. 185; K. Niemczyk, *Kamieniecki Geschlecht und seine Beziehungen zu Moldau am Ende des 15. Und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Überblick*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2014, Vol. 20, no. 2, p. 297-320; Eadem, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 155-174.

²⁷ AGAD, Libri Legationum (**further: LL**) 1, f. 154v-155v; *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego (1501-1506)*, ed. F. Papée, Kraków, 1927 (**further: AAleks**), no. 187; A. Jabłonowski, A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie za Jagiellonów. Akta i Listy. Akta Koronne*, [Wallachian issues at the times of the Jagiellon Dynasty: acts and letters], in *Źródła dziejowe*, Vol. 10, Warszawa, 1878, no. 23; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 96.

²⁸ A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie...*, no. 23; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 83; L. Fac, *Południowo-wschodni teatr działań wojennych w latach 1497 – 1509* [South-East theatre of the military actions 1497-1509], in "Rocznik Przemyski", Vol. 43 (2007), no. 1, p. 67–68; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI w., t. 1 (lata 1500–1548)* [Wars and the Polish army in 15th century], Zabrze, 2011, p. 150; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 169.

their own army, especially regarding the need of reforming it²⁹, wanted to use the new situation of Moldova for her own benefit, trying to weaken Bogdan's position. For this reason, the Polish envoy, Bernard Goławiński, was sent to Constantinople with an inquire about what would be the Turkish standpoint in the case of a potential Polish attack on Pokuttya. Also, Goławiński informed sultan that Bogdan the One-eyed harassed certain Polish and Turkish merchants in his territory.³⁰ On his way back from Constantinople, Goławiński made a stay in Wallachia to encourage her ruler to turn against Bogdan.³¹ The ruler of Moldova, who had already had enough problems in his own country, was afraid of a possible alliance between Poland, Wallachia and Turkey. Therefore, he decided to prevent it, and used Pokuttya to achieve this goal.³² In order to do so, he sent his envoy to the Polish *sejm* in Radom of the year 1505³³ with the proposal to hand over Pokuttya to Poland in exchange for the marriage with the sister of the Polish king Alexander.³⁴ He probably supposed that through this marriage he would win Poland as a strong ally, and this would also be a good way to

²⁹ The Polish nobilities didn't want to serve in army but also didn't want to pay taxes for the professional troops. That caused very difficult and dangerous situation for Poland. More about this theme see in K. Niemczyk, *Ein Paar Bemerkungen zur moldauischen Politik des Jagiellonen an der Wende des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *The Jagiellonians in Europe: dynastic diplomacy and foreign relations*, Debrecen, 2016, p. 77-89.

³⁰ AGAD LL 2, k. 18 – 20, AAleks, no. 261; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; A. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko – tureckie w latach 1500 – 1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* [Diplomatic relations between Poland and Turkey in the years 1500-1572 in the international context], Wrocław, 2005, p. 18; A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford, 1956, Table 28, Bayezid II and his Family.

³¹ AAleks, no. 262; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 375; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 155 – 174.

³² AGAD, LL 2, k. 18-20; AAleks, p. 261; I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna...*, p. 192; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 167.

³³ M. Bobrzyński, *Sejmy polskie za Olbrachta i Aleksandra* [Polish sejms during the reign of Johannes Olbracht and Alexander], Kraków, 1900, p. 244 – 257; F. Papée, *Aleksander...*, p. 100; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 108.

³⁴ AGAD, MK 21, k. 162; print: *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria* (further: **MRPS III**), ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warszawa, Vol. 3, 1908, no. 2048 (regest); AAleks, no. 257; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 105–108; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 167; Eadem, *Kamieniecki Geschlecht und seine Beziehungen zu Moldau am Ende des 15. Und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Überblick*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2014, Vol. 20, no. 2, p. 297–320; Eadem, *Mołdawia Bogdana III Ślepego w polityce Aleksandra Jagiellończyka* [Moldova during the time of the reign of Bogdan the One-eyed in Alexander's politic], in *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Dynastia królewska w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI wieku*, ed. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków, 2015, p. 181–183.

strengthen his position against his domestic enemies and to enhance the international position of Moldova. In the same way, he would solve the problem of a prospective alliance between Poland and Turkey, which he was afraid of. The Polish political elite found this proposal rather interesting, because of the possibility to annex Pokuttya without a war, what in the discussed Polish military situation was quite convenient. However, it was a dangerous step as well. Since Moldova remained in the orbit of interest of Turkey, the alliance between Poland and Moldova could result in a conflict or at least in a serious deterioration of mutual relations between Poland and the Osman Empire. On the other hand, if Poland had rejected the alliance with Bogdan the One-eyed, as a consequence he would have desperately looked for support from elsewhere and that would push him into the hands of Turks even further. Also, that might have been even more dangerous for Poland, and that was why Bogdan's proposal was at first accepted by the Polish king Alexander.³⁵ However, the problem was caused by the negative attitude of the mother of the princess Elisabeth, Elisabeth of Habsburg (Elżbieta Rakuszanka), who raised strong objections against this project. She was feared for her daughter's reputation as a wife of a ruler of state of such an insignificant prestige as, in her opinion, Moldova was. The princess Elisabeth wasn't well disposed to this marriage as well, and according to the Polish chronicle written by Bernard Wapowski she said that she would rather enter a monastery than marry an "one-eyed barbarian", as she called Bogdan.³⁶ Such an atti-

³⁵ The Polish king, who was occupied by the war against Moscow and was aware of the fatal condition of Polish army, as well as of the need of reforming it, was very pleased with the possibility of winning Pokuttya back, without a war. It was very common in the time of Alexander's reign, that rittmeisters, who were responsible for the defense of the south-east borders of Poland, complained to the king about lack of knights, see AAleks, no. 93, 119, 120, 121, and 123. More about these problems, see Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów...*, p. 91, 105; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 167 – 168; Eadem, *Mołdawia Bogdana III Ślepego...*, p. 175 – 177, 182; Eadem, *Kamienieccy herbu Pilawa...*, p. 188; F. Papée, *Aleksander Jagiellończyk*, Kraków, 2006, p. 97-98. So called "pospolite ruszenie" needed usually so much time to be prepared to war, that the Moldova's or Tatars army who attacked Polish territories got enough time to robbed it and left the country, see: K. Niemczyk, *Red Ruthenia and the risk of Moldovan and Tatar attacks at the breakthrough of the 15th and 16th century*, in *Dialogul civilizatiilor. Interferente istorice se culturale/ Dialogue of civilisations. Historical and cultural interferences*, ed. L. Zabolotnaja, Kiszyniów, 2015, p. 86–103.

³⁶ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki Bernarda Wapowskiego z Radochonic, kantora katedr. krakowskiego: część ostatnia czasy podługoszowskie obejmująca (1480-1535)* [Chronicles written by Bernard Wapowski: the last part including years 1480-1535], Kraków, 1874, p. 62–63, 279; G. Ureche, *Letopisețul țării Moldovei* [Chronicle of

tude of the queen was not what the ruler of Moldova expected, so he decided to incline Elisabeth of Habsburg more favorably to this project. To achieve this goal, he asked Stanislaus of Chodecz, the trusted man of the queen, for help. He hoped that Stanislaus would be able to intercede for him in the court of the Polish queen mother. Therefore, he sent his envoy, Lukas Dracz, to Stanislaus of Chodecz to invite him to Suceava, where the negotiations were meant to be undertaken.³⁷ We don't know much about this unofficial meeting, but it must have been successful, as in the near future there was made a mutual agreement between the both sides. Bogdan the One-eyed promised to give Pokuttya to Poland in exchange for the hand of the king's sister, Elisabeth.³⁸ In effect, on the 8th of December 1505, the ruler of Moldova sent his envoy to the Alexander with an official proposal of marriage.³⁹ As a response to this, three Polish envoys were sent to Moldova (on the 18th of March of 1506): Stanislaus of Chodecz, Nicolaus Firlej and Bernard Wilczek.⁴⁰ They all agreed that Bogdan was obliged to give Pokuttya to Poland as the condition for receiving the hand of Elisabeth.⁴¹ He accepted this demand, gave Pokuttya to Poland, and waited for the fulfilment of the agreement from the Polish side, for the hand of Elisabeth.

Unfortunately, because of the death of the king Alexander (1506), who supported the idea of marrying his sister to Bogdan, the case became complicated, and the marriage agreement was annulled. Poland, however, didn't return Pokuttya to Bogdan. Due to the annulment of their mutual agreement by Poland, Bogdan the One-eyed, who felt cheated, decided to take Pokuttya back by force in September 1506, without success, however.⁴² The person, who was responsible – in Bogdan's opinion – for this deceitful agreement, was Stanislaus of Chodecz. He was the man in whom he had put his trust and had counted on his help, and it was after the seemingly successful negotiations with him, when he gave Pokuttya to Poland, and shortly after then the Polish side suddenly broke the agreement off, but didn't return Pokuttya to Moldova. The ruler of Moldova had

Moldavia], ed. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1958, p. 112, 126.

³⁷ AGAD, LL, 2, k. 48 – 49; AAleks, no. 294; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 378; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 108.

³⁸ *Acta et epistolae relationum Transsylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia*, ed. A. Veress, Budapest, 1914, Vol. 1, no. 63.

³⁹ AGAD, MK 21, k. 314 v – 315; MRPS III, no. 2519 (regist).

⁴⁰ AAleks, no. 317

⁴¹ AGAD, no. 5407; AAleks, no. 298, 317; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 379.

⁴² Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 111.

right to felt cheated. He blamed Stanislaus for the outcome of their negotiations. This was only the beginning of their difficult relations. When the conflict between Poland and Moldova had broken out again in the year 1509, because of the influence of the Pope Julius II⁴³, Bogdan wanted to use this opportunity to avenge his humiliation.

THE CRUSADE OF THE YEAR 1509

Pope Julius II – who hoped for organizing a crusade against Turkey – wanted to weaken the Osman Empire and deprive it of its allies. First of all, he made an attempt to win Moldova, being a possible Turkey's ally, over to his side. To fulfill this goal, he wanted to use the unrealized treaty between Poland and Moldova regarding Bogdan's marriage with Elisabeth. Therefore, he obliged the Polish king Sigismund I to fulfil this agreement, but neither he nor his brother Wladislaus of Hungary wanted to become related to Bogdan. Also, even the ruler of Moldova didn't see any chance of fulfilling this marriage project, as he had already (in 1508-1509) made an effort to marry Ruxanda, a daughter of the ruler of Wallachia, Mihnea cel Rău⁴⁴, but he wanted to use the intervention of the pope

⁴³ E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* [Documents on the History of Romanians] (**further: Hurmuzaki**), București, 1891, Vol. 2, part 2, p. 583 – 584, no. 465; J. Smołucha, *Papieżstwo a Polska w latach 1484-1526. Kontakty dyplomatyczne na tle zagrożenia tureckiego* [The papacy and Poland in the years 1484-1526. Diplomatic relations and the Turkish threat], Kraków, 1999, p. 104-105; K. Baczkowski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie w pierwszych latach panowania Zygmunta Starego 1507-1510*, [Relations between Poland and Hungary in the time of the Sigismund I's reign 1507-1510], in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa*, ed. W. Bukowski, Kraków, 1995, p. 571; J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb 1504-1517* [Bogdan the Blind 1504-1517], București, 1910, p. 39.

⁴⁴ In the document, dated September 7th 1511, it was written that Voica – the widow of Mihnea duke – said that her husband donated the gold and silver to his daughter as her marriage portion. Since Mihnea lost his rule in autumn 1509, the concluding of the marital agreement should have taken place before this time. The marriage couldn't have been realised immediately as at March 12th 1510 in Sibiu Mihnea cel Rău was murdered and his family were in mourning. Than (at February 26th 1511) Bogdan's mother died, so the preparations to marriage should have been postponed again. However, the marriage project was still binding, as in 1511 Voica demanded from the town Brașov to return gold-plated cups, which should have been used as her daughter marriage portion. Bogdan married Ruxanda at 15 August 1513, see I. Bogdan, *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI* [Documents and regests regarding relations of the Wallachia with Brașov and Hungary in the 15th and 16th centuries], București, 1902, p. 143-144, no. 147; G. Ureche, *Latopisețul...*, p.

as a pretext and justification of his attack on Poland, to pay her back for this humiliation.⁴⁵ Therefore, in June 1509, Bogdan the One-eyed attacked both Pokuttya and Podolia.⁴⁶ During his expedition, he tried to take Kamianets-Podilskyi⁴⁷ and Halych⁴⁸, but without any success. Because of this, the army of

131; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 15, part 1, p. 215, no. 387; M. Costăchescu, *Documentele moldovenești de la Bogdan voievod (1504-1517)* [Moldavian documents of Bogdan the Voivode (1504-1517)], București, 1940, p. 367-369, no. 58; S. Nicolaescu, *Documente slavo-române cu privire la relațiile Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Ardealul în sec. XV și XVI* [Slavionic-Romanian documents on relations between Wallachia and Moldavia with Transylvania in the XV and XVI centuries], București, 1905, p. 13, 168; S. Gorovei, *O controversă: „doamnele” lui Bogdan al III-lea* [A controversy: the “ladies” of Bogdan III], in “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie”, 2009, Vol. 27, p. 151-152; C. Rezachevici, *Descendența nelegitimă a lui Vlad Țepeș: Mihneștii și mitropolia bucureșteană de la Radu Vodă* [The Illegitimate descendancy of Vlad the Impaler. Mihnea family and the Bucharest Metropolitan Church of Radu Voivode], in “Arhiva Genealogică”, 2000, Vol. 7 (12), no. 1-4, p. 229-238; A. Lapedatu, *Mihnea cel Rău și ungurii 1508-1510* [Mihnea the Evil and the Hungarians 1508-1510], in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională”, (1921-1922), Vol. 1, p. 70-71; A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană* [The History of the Romanians in Trajan's Dacia], București, 1986, p. 428.

⁴⁵ Fulfilling the former marriage contract was, of course, the official reason for Bogdan the One-eyed's expedition, since Bogdan strived in that time for the marriage with Ruxanda, it shouldn't have been the real reason for his expedition, see: *Acta Tomiciana: epistolarum, legationum, responsorum, actionum et rerum gestarum, serenissimi principis Sigismundi primi, Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae per Stanislaum Górski canonicum Cracoviensem et Plocensem collectarum A.D. 1532* (**further: Acta Tomiciana**), ed. T. Działyński, Poznań, 1852, Vol. 1, no. 39; *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, ed. M. Dogiel, Wilnae, 1758, Vol. I/2, p. 606-610; *Decjusz, De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber* (**further: Decjusz**), 1521, ed. W. Czermak, Kraków, 1901, p. 29-30; A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie za Jagiellonów...*, p. 14-15; K. Baczkowski, *Stosunki polsko - węgierskie ...*, p. 573.

⁴⁶ *Decjusz*, p. 36; J. Smołucha, *Papiestwo a Polska...*, p. 105; M. Morka, *Sztuka dworu Zygmunta I Starego. Treści polityczne i propagandowe* [The art of the Court of the Sigismund I the Old. Political and propagandist content], Warszawa, 2006, p. 69; O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate: gesture of power of Bogdan III of Moldavia (1509)*, in *Orient et Occident. Construction des identités en Europe médiévale*, ed. L. Diaconu, București, 2014, p. 155; L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț. Societate și putere în Moldova (sec. XIV-XVI)* [Between Rome and Byzantium. Society and Power in Moldavia (14th-16th centuries)], Iași, 2008, p. 224-227.

⁴⁷ J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb...*, p. 41; J. Besala, *Zygmunt Stary i Bona Sforza*, [Sigismund I and the Bona Sforza], Poznań, 2012, p. 147; A. Oțetea, *Istoria lumii în date* [World history in dates], București, 1972, p. 563.

⁴⁸ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p. 155; L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț...*, p. 224-

Moldova marched towards Lviv and attacked the town. Then, Bogdan the One-eyed attacked Rohatyn, a small town that belonged to the family of Chodecz. The ruler of Moldova destroyed it, robbed it and abducted a lot of its inhabitants, the mother of Stanislaus of Chodecz and his two brothers: Rafael and Peter among them.⁴⁹ In *Letopisețul țării Moldovei* (written by Grigore Ureche) it was additionally written that Bogdan the One-eyed during his attempt to conquer Lviv hit the gate of the castle with his spear and stole the bell from the church in Rohatyn. He took this bell as booty to Suceava.⁵⁰ Ovidiu Cristea had thoroughly analysed the symbolism of these gestures⁵¹. According to him, both of Bogdan's actions – hitting at the gate of the castle with his spear and stealing the bell from the church in Rohatyn – were deliberate, making his power more visible. In this way, Bogdan used the well-known symbolism of gestures⁵², by which he declared war against the entire Kingdom of Poland.⁵³ I fully agree with Cristea's point of view, but I would suppose that Bogdan's second action, the attack on Rohatyn and the robbery of the famous bell from the church in this town might have had one more reason. In my opinion, Bogdan the One-eyed's expedition should be considered rather as an attempt to avenge himself on Poland, and above all, on Stanislaus of Chodecz, the owner of Rohatyn, because of the failure of the marriage agreement promoted by Stanislaus. That is why he attacked Rohatyn, kidnapped

227; J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb...*, p. 41-42.

⁴⁹ *Cronica lui Macarie* [Macarie's Chronicle], in *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan* [Slavonic-Romanian chronicles from the 15th-16th centuries, published by Ioan Bogdan], ed. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1959, p. 91; *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego, syna jego wydana* [The Polish Chronicle written by Marcin Bielski and his son Joachim Bielski], Kraków, 1597, p. 513; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Diplomatics and Historiography: The Use of Documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas*, in: *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspect of Cross-cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M G. Parani, C. D. Schabel, Leiden-Boston, 2008, p. 293 – 323.

⁵⁰ G. Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 129.

⁵¹ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p. 153 – 172.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 168-169. Cristea mentioned a lot of examples of hitting with a spear at castle's gate, see: L. V. Marvin, *Man famous in Combat and Battle: Common Soldiers and the Siege of Bruges*, in "Journal of Medieval History", 1998, Vol. 24, p. 243-258; P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar – Slayer*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 51-52; P. Buc, *Dangereux rituel. De l'histoire médiévale aux sciences sociales*, Paris 2003, passim; Idem, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton 2002, passim.

⁵³ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p.171.

Chodecki's mother Barbara and his two brothers (Peter and Rafael) and stole the famous bell⁵⁴ from the church and took it to Suceava as a symbol of his might. Both Barbara and Peter died in Bogdan's captivity in Suceava.⁵⁵ By this action, Bogdan wanted to avenge the insult that had been made to him by the Polish dignitaries (and he especially blamed for this Stanislaus of Chodecz) and used every possibility to take Pokuttya back. The support from the Pope in case of this unfilled marriage agreement gave him only a pretext to attack Poland. Since Bogdan the One-eyed asked at that time for the hand of Ruxanda, it seems likely that he lost any hope for fulfilling the treaty with Poland, so I think that it was only a pretext and justification of his action and his main goal was to take revenge on Chodecki family.

THE SUBSEQUENT CONFLICTS BETWEEN FAMILY OF CHODECZ AND BOGDAN

After the campaign of the year 1509, the relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed grew even worse. Stanislaus of Chodecz as well as his brother Otton wanted to avenge the death of their mother and brother in Bogdan's captivity, so they (Stanislaus as the starost of Kamienets, and Otto who were the voivode of Podolia), made the borderland of Poland and Moldova a territory of continuous war. They didn't even hesitate to act in the opposition to the Polish king. The family of Chodecz didn't accept the Polish politics towards Moldova during this part of the reign of Sigismund. They didn't want to cooperate with Moldova, but to overcome the ruler of Moldova by all means. Since they didn't gain support from the king, they tried to act on their own. To improve the Polish-Moldova relations, the Polish king takes Stanislaus of Chodecz off the office of the starost of Kamienets and gives it to Stanislaus Lanckoronski.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the other offices of the Southern Polish borderland remained in the hands of the family of Chodecz (Otto of Chodecz was the starost of Halych, Kolomyia, Sniatyn, and also the voivode of Podolia)⁵⁷, therefore the situation didn't improve. Regarding this, Bogdan the One-eyed complained (on the 8th and 14th September 1510) to the Polish king that the family of Chodecz supported the

⁵⁴ The stolen bell was - because of its size - famous in the whole Ruthenia. See G. Ureche, *Letopisețul...*, p. 129; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza* [Otto of Chodecz], Kraków, 1911, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Only Rafael came back from Suceava, see J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 11

⁵⁶ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 60.

⁵⁷ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

opposing candidate to the throne in Moldova, Peter, and give him shelter.⁵⁸ What's more, the family of Chodecz welcomed the peasants that escaped from Moldova and let them settle in Ruthenia and Podolia. This caused severe difficulties for Moldova, because when Bogdan wanted to summon his peasants to war, they quite often escaped to Poland and the family of Chodecz let them pillage Moldova instead.⁵⁹ Bogdan complained also that Stanislaus and Otto of Chodecz tried to cause a civil war in Moldova, as they supported Bogdan's opponents and give shelter to refugees and outlaws from Moldova. Especially Otto of Chodecz, who was appointed as a peace envoy to take care of the Moldova's citizen living in Podolia, didn't respect their rights and didn't hear their complains.⁶⁰ The Polish king, who tried to lead peaceful politics towards Moldova, on the 7th of September 1510 (and later on the 5th and 8th November) rebuked Otto of Chodecz, the voivode of Podolia, that he should treat fairly the Moldova's citizen, and not to support Bogdan's enemies and not to let them organize expeditions against Moldova.⁶¹ But it didn't bring any effect. The situation became even worse, so far that the king's reprimands were completely ignored, although Sigismund I even threatened Otto of Chodecz that he intended to punish everyone who dared to break the peace between Moldova and Poland.⁶² The growing hatred between the family and the ruler of Moldova was nevertheless too fierce. The king resided far away from the boarder territory, and he couldn't control the family of Chodecz. That is why he ordered Stanislaus Lanckoronski to try to control Otto of Chodecz.⁶³ But even this decision couldn't solve the problem. The

⁵⁸ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, p. 46; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 484; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80-81.

⁵⁹ Family of Chodecz colonized the uninhabited territories in Ruthenia, so they summon the peasants from Moldova and gave them some territories to live. Because of the difficult situation of the peasants in Moldova at the beginning of 16th centuries, they came willingly to Poland, see Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81

⁶⁰ In Kolomyia Otto of Chodecz drove away the Moldova's citizens who trying to enforce theirs right, see J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 12

⁶¹ At 5 and 18 November the Polish king rebuked Otto of Chodecz that he should followed the agreement between Poland and Moldova, and not to summon the Moldova's peasants to Podolia and not to offer them some territory to live, see Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 99, 100, 139, 145; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 494, 495, 499, 504; *Corpus iuris polonici medii aevi (further: CIP)*, ed. O. Balzer, Kraków, 1906, Vol III, no. 62; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

⁶² Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 122.

⁶³ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. 1, no. 142; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 502; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81.

Polish nobility from Halych spread rumours that the agreement between Poland and Moldova had been broken, and they could organize official expeditions on Moldova's territories.⁶⁴ The family of Chodecz played a crucial role in spreading these rumours, as they keep the king's decrees, that explained that the rumours were false, from spreading.⁶⁵

For a long time, the Polish king was sure, that all the problems in the Halych land and all the abuses against Moldova's citizens were the result of the inaction of the starost of Halych in the face of the local conflicts. Therefore, since he wanted to help him, on the 1st of April of the year 1512, he ordered to organize a corpus of special boarder-guards who were meant to assist the starost of Halych with the execution of his duties. They were obliged to catch all thieves, robbers and other offenders and to deliver them to the starost who was given special rights to punish them.⁶⁶ It took a lot of time, until the king understood that it was not the helplessness of the starost that was the main problem, but rather a private animosity between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed. It was in the year 1513, when the Polish king began to understand it. When Bogdan the One-eyed married Ruxandra, the Polish king Sigismund I wanted to send Stanislaus of Chodecz as his envoy to congratulate him. Everything had been already prepared, the envoy had already had the gifts for the bridegroom, and then suddenly the king received the letter from Bogdan with the request to send to him someone else but the man of Chodecz. As a reason of this request the ruler of Moldova wrote "*odium vetus*".⁶⁷ Although the king at first hesitated to agree with the Bogdan's demands, as the ruler of Moldova strongly rejected the possibility to welcome the man of Chodecz, the king decided to send other as envoy, namely Jerzy Krupski, and Stanislaus of Chodecz had to come back to Poland.⁶⁸

After rather cold relations between Sigismund I and Otto of Chodecz, which were caused by Otton's attitude towards Moldova, the Polish king finally changed his attitude towards him. The Polish-Moldova relations were not so good anymore, because of the unsolved problem of the Pokuttya.⁶⁹ In the

⁶⁴ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 144; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 503.

⁶⁵ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...* p. 13

⁶⁶ CIP, p. 220; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza ...*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. II, no. 227; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. II, no. 296-298; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

⁶⁹ Bogdan counted on Wladislaus of Hungary, who, according to the treaty of Kamienets from the year 1510, should have decided to whom Pokuttya belonged. However, the decision wasn't easy for the ruler of Hungary, since Stanislaus I the Old married Barbara of Zapoloya and stayed in the opposition to Habsburgs, so Wladislaus couldn't

changed political situation, Otton's personal attitude to Bogdan guaranteed that in the case of the prospective agreement between the ruler of Moldova and the Tatar, the man of Chodecz will be the best person to protect this land. That is why in the year 1515 Otto of Chodecz received an office of the voivode of Ruthenia.⁷⁰ The relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan stayed unchanged till the death of the ruler of Moldova in the year 1517.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The relation between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed was a story about how the personal animosity had a strong influence on the history of the whole country. In my opinion both the expedition in 1509 as well as most of the further (till 1517) conflicts at the Polish-Moldova's border can be seen in large part as a result of the bad relations between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan. The beginning of the animosity between them was the year 1505 when Bogdan the One-eyed made a proposal to marry the sister of the Polish king Alexander and in exchange agreed to hand over Pokuttia to Poland. He counted on Stanislaus of Chodecz's support, but after all he felt cheated, when he failed him. He lost Pokuttia, but didn't receive Elisabeth as a wife, and for that he blamed Stanislaus of Chodecz. He used the Pope's support to the organizing of the expedition in the year 1509. His attack at Rohatyn, and the huge damage that his army made in the town, connected with capturing of the mother of Stanislaus of Chodecz as well as his two brothers and stealing of the famous bell from the church, should be, in my opinion, perceived as a revenge on the family of Chodecz. But this expedition made the relations between them much worse, as Stanislaus and Otto of Chodecz wanted to avenge this harm. Since they gained many offices at the border territory between Poland and Moldova, they made this land the territory of notorious war. Their goal seemed to be the removal of Bogdan from his throne. So, they supported his enemies, gave them shelter, let the peasants that escaped from Moldova to settle in Podolia and Ruthenia. Nothing could stop the animosity between them, not even the king's reprimands. The hate between them didn't end until Bogdan died in 1517.

acted to his disadvantage. But he couldn't also decide that Pokuttia should belonged to Poland, because he afraid of possible agreement between Moldova and Turkey. In this difficult situation, he played on time.

⁷⁰ AGAD, MK 30, k. 78-79; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 23.

⁷¹ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 85.

INFORMATION ON PAISIUS VELICHKOVSKY AND THE ROMANIAN MONASTICISM OF THE 18TH CENTURY IN THE PAGES OF “KIEVSKAIA STARINA” (1892-1896)

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Abstract: *The first Ukrainian scientific historical review “Kievskaiia starina” was a significant consolidating factor in the socio-political life of the Ukrainian nation at the end of the nineteenth century. It united Ukrainian intellectuals and laid foundations for a scientific research of many issues in the field of Ukrainian studies. In this journal, we may find the materials related to Ukrainian history and its well-known figures. Among these, articles about the great Ukrainian, outstanding ascetic, spiritual and cultural figure, Paisius Velichkovsky were printed. “Kievskaiia starina” describes the period of his life on Mount Athos, little studied due to the lack of documentary sources. For the first time, it was reported to the public about the most prolific period of Paisius’s life in the Romanian monasteries of Dragomirna and Neamț, where he created a large library, published a Slavic grammar, founded a famous school of translators and scribes of church and theological literature, wrote dozens of spiritual works. For the first time, a document on the close relations between Paisius, Moldavian monasticism and the Zaporizhian Sich, and its ataman Petro Kalnyshesky was published in the pages of this Ukrainian journal. We have proved that the Dragomirna Monastery was helped by the Zaporizhian Sich. Paisius Velichkovsky contributed to the transformation of the monasteries of Dragomirna and Neamț into prominent educational and spiritual centres. The sources, concerning Paisius Velichkovsky’s life and work, have not been sufficiently studied, and his contribution towards the culture of the Christian East is not adequately appreciated yet. Therefore, there is an urgent need to draw attention to this prominent person.*

Keywords: *“Kievskaiia starina”, Paisius Velichkovsky, Mounth Athos, Dragomirna monastery, Neamț monastery, Zaporizhian Sich.*

Rezumat. Informații despre Paisie Velicovschi și monahismul românesc din secolul al XVIII-lea în paginile revistei „Kievskaiia Starina” (1892-1896). *Prima revistă științifică istorică “Kievskaiia starina” (“Trecutul kievean”) a reprezentat un important factor de consolidare în viața socio-politică a națiunii ucrainene de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea.*

Ea a reunit cei mai buni reprezentanți ai inteligenței ucrainene și a pus bazele cercetărilor științifice în studii ucrainene. În această revistă, au fost publicate articole despre evenimentele glorioase ale istoriei ucrainene și despre personajele sale celebre. Au fost tipărite articole despre Paisie Velicovschi – un mare ucrainean, ascet, savant, reprezentant al spiritualității, de o cultură excepțională. “Kievskaiia starina” a descris viața acestuia la Muntele Athos, perioadă mai puțin cunoscută din lipsă de izvoare documentare. Pentru prima dată, marele public a aflat informații despre perioada cea mai fructuoasă din viața sa la mănăstirile Dragomirna și Neamț, unde a fondat o bibliotecă uriașă, a publicat o gramatică slavă, a organizat o școală celebră de traducători și de scriitori pentru cărțile de cult și de teologie, a scris zeci de opere cu conținut spiritual. Legăturile strânse între Paisie și călugării moldoveni pe de o parte, și cazacii zaporojeni de la Sici, cu conducătorul lor, Petro Kalnicevski, de cealaltă, au fost, de asemenea, scoase în evidență. S-a demonstrat că Sici a ajutat mănăstirea Dragomirna. Paisie Velicovschi a contribuit la transformarea mănăstirilor Dragomirna și Neamț în mari centre de cultură și de cunoaștere spirituală. Studiarea izvoarelor cu privire la viața și activitățile lui Paisie Velicovschi se dovedesc a fi insuficiente, precum și aprecierea la justa valoare a contribuției sale la cultura Orientului creștin. Această personalitate eminentă merită, așadar, atenția cercetătorilor.

Résumé: Informations sur Païssy Velitchkovsky et le monachisme roumain du XVIII-e siècle dans les pages de la revue “Kievskaiia Starina” (1892-1896). *La première revue scientifique historique “Kievskaiia starina” (“Le Passé kiévien”) représente un facteur de consolidation important dans la vie sociopolitique de la nation ukrainienne de la fin du XIX^e siècle. Elle réunit les meilleurs représentants de l’intelligentsia ukrainienne et jeta les bases des recherches scientifiques en études ukrainiennes. Dans ce magasin, on publia des articles sur les événements glorieux de l’histoire ukrainienne et ses personnages célèbres. On y publia des articles sur Païssy Velitchkovsky - un grand Ukrainien, ascète savant, homme spirituel d’une culture exceptionnelle. “Kievskaiia starina” décrit sa vie au Mont Athos, période moins connue faute de sources documentaires. Pour la première fois, le grand public apprit des éléments sur la période la plus fructueuse de sa vie aux monastères Dragomirna et Neamț où il créa une bibliothèque géante, publia la grammaire slave, organisa une école célèbre de traducteurs et de scribes pour les livres de culte et de théologie, écrivit des dizaines d’œuvres au contenu spirituel. Les liens étroits entre Païssy et les moines moldaves d’une part et les Cosaques Zaporogues de Sitch, avec leur chef, Petro Kalnychevskyi, de l’autre, ont été aussi mis en évidence. On y démontra, aussi, que Sitch était un donateur du monastère Dragomirna. Païssy Velitchkovsky contribua à la transformation des monastères Dragomirna et Neamț en grands centres de culture et connaissance spirituelle. Les études des sources concernant la vie et les activités de Païssy Velitchkovsky sont insuffisantes, ainsi que l’appréciation de sa contribution à la culture de l’Est chrétien à sa juste valeur. Cette personnalité éminente mérite donc l’attention la plus vive des chercheurs.*

INTRODUCTION

The first Ukrainian historical journal “Kievskaiia starina” played an important role in the Ukrainian public and scientific life, in its national cultural revival in the late 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. Scientists, researchers, ethnologists etc., wrote in and supported this publication.

“Kievskaiia starina” was founded as a monthly edition in 1882. A yearly kit consisted of 12 issues or 4 volumes (every three issues were combined to form a separate volume). 94 volumes (300 issues) of the journal had been published for 25 years (1882-1906). The amount of each issue was 10-12 printed sheets; the total amount of an annual kit was over 150 printed sheets.¹

Having highly appreciated the importance of “Kievskaiia starina”, the outstanding historian M. Hrushevsky noted that “for almost an entire quarter of a century the journal retained its central significance in Ukrainian studies and, to a certain extent, even in Ukrainian intellectual life of Russia.” At that time, amidst the impossibility of organizing Ukrainian societies and having Ukrainian news media, “Kievskaiia starina” was a body of ukrainophilia, acted as a voice of Ukrainian intellectuals, and at the same time, its circle was some sort of a scientific Ukrainian corporation, a scientific institution, which was unique”.²

The materials, related to the spiritual and cultural life of Ukraine and its relations with neighbours in this field in the second half of the 18th century, the history of the Cossacks, the Zaporizhian Sich, works about personalities of the glorious period of the Ukrainian history etc., were printed in “Kievskaiia starina”. These materials, overall, give the opportunity to retrace the biographies of outstanding figures of that time. Paisius Velichkovsky (1722-1794), being an Ukrainian ascetic, a philosopher, a theologian, a writer, a translator, belongs to such remarkable personalities, who had a tremendous influence on the spiritual and cultural life of Ukraine, Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, and Russia.

A contemporary Ukrainian historian, director of the International Institute of the Athos Heritage in Ukraine S. Shumylo notes, “Founded by the rev. Paisius, the monastic-ascetic school that toiled at the translation of patristic heritage into

¹ М. Г. Палієнко, “*Киевская старина*” (1882–1906): *Хронологічний показчик змісту журналу* [“Kievskaiia starina” (1882–1906): Chronological index of the content of the journal], Київ, 2005, с. 4.

² Ф. К. Волков (ред.), *Украинский народ в его прошлом и настоящем* [Ukrainian people in its present and past times], Санкт-Петербург, 1914, Т. 1, с. 30.

Slavic language gave a powerful impetus to the revival of not only the lost traditions of Orthodox monasticism, but also to the Orthodox Eastern Slavic culture in general, contributed to the return to traditional Christian values”.³

The famous Greek Slavic historian, professor of Thessaloniki University A. - E. Tachiaos proved that “starets” (the elderly monk) Paisius took the treasures of the forgotten Orthodox spiritual heritage from the Byzantine world and brought them to the whole Orthodox world ... Thus, it appears that all the “philocalian revival”, the echo of which has come to present days, is exclusively due to the elderly monk Paisius Velichkovsky’s personality and activity”.⁴

THE LIFE AND WORK OF AN ASCETIC MONK

Paisius Velichkovsky represents a magnificent image of an Ukrainian ascetic, illuminated by the odour of sanctity, the highest spiritual purity and exceptional morality. A modern society nurtures a few of such great people, which is why it is extremely valuable to us to have a memory of them, the more natural is the desire to get to know their moral virtues, the details of life and activity.

The future saint was born on December 21, 1722 as the eleventh child in the family of a priest in Poltava⁵. The newborn was named Petro. His father was a dean of the Assumption Cathedral, died early. When the young boy was 7 years old, his mother sent him to a cathedral school. Having learned how to read and write, the young boy took interest of reading books. He received education in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. During his studies, he became interested in monastic life, and for some time he settled in the monasteries of Liubech and Mezhyhirya. In 1741 he became a novice with the name of Plato. In 1743 he moved to Moldavia in Delheuts (Rom. Dălhăuți) and Traisten-Rymnik Serat (Rom. Trestieni-Râmnicu Sărat) hermitages. There, his mentor was the famous priest Basil (Rom. Vasile) of Poiana Mărului). In 1746 he moved to live on Holy Mount Athos where had stayed 17 years, gathering around himself a large number of monks, founded the Saint

³ S. V. Shumylo, *Преподобний Паїсій Величковський. «Повість про святий собор» та маловідомі листи* [The Reverend Paisius Velichkovsky. “Chronicles about Saint Cathedral” and little-known letters]. Kyiv, 2016, с. 7.

⁴ А.-Э. Тахиаос, *Возрождение православной духовности старцем Паисием Величковским (1722-1794)* [Revival of Orthodox spirituality by the elder monk Paisius Velichkovsky (1722-1794)], in *Тысячелетие крещения Руси: Международная Церковная научная конференция (Москва, 11-18 мая 1987 г.)*, Москва, 1987, с.266.

⁵ *Sfântul Paisie de la Neamț. Viata, Minunile și Acatistul* [St. Paisius from Neamț. Life, miracles and Acatistus], 3rd edition, Sihăstria Monastery Printing House, 2010, p. 7.

Elijah's skete (hermitage) and took monastic tonsures (the second degree of monasticism). This skete was under the patronage of the Zaporozhian Sich.

In 1763 he left Mount Athos together with 64 monks.⁶ The Moldavian *hospodar* (prince) provided a separate monastery to Paisius's brethren in the Bukovinian Carpathians, in Dragomirna. There, the monk acquired the Great Schema (the highest degree of monasticism) with the name of Paisius. This cenacle had long been connected with monasticism in Ukraine, in particular, with the famous Maniavsky Hermitage. Paisius stayed closely in touch with a *kosh ataman* of the Zaporozhian Sich. In Dragomirna he quickly set up a monastic life. Ever since his life on Athos he had begun to collect ancient manuscripts of Slavic books. In addition, he had a large library of books in Greek language, among which was a famous collection of ancient fathers of the Church "Philokalia", entitled "*Dobrotoliubie*" (The love of Goodness) that was translated into Church Slavic by the "starets" (the elderly monk).

The consequence of the Russian-Turkish war for father Paisius contributed to the forced resettlement of his monastery from Dragomirna to Secu (i.e. both were located in the principality Moldavia). However, the life in the monastery did not change at all. The elderly monk began to arrange a school of translators at the monastery. However, according to the decision of the Metropolitan, in 1779, father Paisius took the abbotship in the neighbouring large Neamț Monastery, remaining to be an abbot in the Secu Monastery at the same time. On August 14, 1779, the pious person was met by the community and the group of priests of the city Neamț in the courtyard of the monastery, under the sound of church bells. From there, he was escorted to a large church, established by Stephen the Great and the Holy (1457-1504), where he bowed with tears to the miraculous icon of the Mother of God that had defended this monastery for many centuries.⁷

Here, in Neamț, the most prolific period of father Paisius's life began. It lasted 15 years. During this time, the number of monks increased. Thus, there were 700 monks in Neamț, and 300 of them were in Secu. There was a whole school of translators and scribes of books. Since then, more than 300 manuscripts have been preserved, among which over 40 were written by Paisius Velichkovsky. The monks came from Ukraine, Belarus, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, Dobruzha and other places. The rules, introduced by Paisius, made a positive impact upon the Orthodox Romanian and Eastern European monasticism.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Initiated by Paisius, special training schools of translation and interpreting of church service and theological literature into Moldavian (i.e. Romanian) were organized. In 1773 he published Slavic grammar in the city of Iasi, and in 1776 the book "Medical advice on human diseases" in Romanian appeared. Thanks to Paisius Velichkovsky, the Neamț Monastery became an outstanding enlightenment and a spiritual centre of the Orthodox peoples living in the Danube region.⁸

In 1794 the elderly monk passed away at the age of 72. In the Neamț Monastery, on Velichkovsky's tomb, the following words are engraved: "Here lies our blessed father, a hieromonk and an archimandrite Paisius..." and there is "Funeral wail for the Starets Paisius from all his spiritual children" written in 72 lines (according to the number of his life years). The Romanian Orthodox Church celebrates the day of commemoration in memory of Paisius on November 15. At present, there is a reliquary with the remains of the Monk Paisius Velichkovsky in the Ascension church of the Neamț monastery.

The articles, published in the journal "Kievskaja starina" during 1892-1896, had a meaningful affect in the study of Paisius Velichkovsky's life and activities. Being little-known to the scientific community and the public, at the same time, they are a key source supplementing information both about Paisius Velichkovsky himself and the spiritual life of the 18th century on Athos, in Dragomirna and Neamț.

In 1893 was published in the journal "Kievskaja starina" the article *Little Russian cenacle on Athos*⁹, written by Aleksandr Dabizha (1860-1899), a diplomat, historian and artist. He received education in the St. Petersburg Aleksandrovski Lyceum and worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; later he was a secretary in the embassy of Russia in Cairo. Aleksandr Dabizha wrote for "Kievskaja starina" during 1885-1896. He was an author of publications on the issues of Ukrainian history, genealogy, heraldry. Aleksandr Dabizha wrote the article *Little Russian cenacle on Athos* after visiting the Saint Elijah's Skete on Athos on May 15, 1892.

From the beginning of the article, the author, who arrived at Holy Mount Athos, is an admirer of local nature, landscapes and the sea: "Under the sky, near azure waves of the archipelago, in the deep wooded pass, overgrown with undisturbed thickets, among mountain oaks and wild roses, from luxurious chaos of midday vegetation the domes of a lonely rises. They are surrounded by the dark walls of mighty greenery, as if being hidden from the world, covered from the

⁸ О. М. Dziuba, *Величковський Паїсій* [Velichkovsky Paisius], in *Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine*, Київ, Т. 1: А-В, 2003, с. 473.

⁹ А. Dabizha, *Малоросійська обитель на Афоні* [Little Russian shelter on Athos], in "Кієвська старина. Ежемѣсячний историческій журналъ", Київъ, 1893, Т. LX, с. 34-400.

south, west and north; only to the east they broadly parted to meet a dawn and sparkling offing; the strict outlines of Byzantine domes and bells of the ancient Pantocrator monastery stand out on the light blue sky. Dashing beat of the sea reaches the wild forest, playing the trembling leaves of Lombardy poplars; in the cool air filled with the fragrance of blossoming lavender and wild honey, one can hear frequent, harmonious blows of bells.”¹⁰

A. Dabizha noticed a number of common things in his native lands around the Dnieper and the cenacle on Athos. He felt something close and native in this hospitable gospel, which meets a traveller for thousands of miles from his homeland, in the silent deserted forest of Mount Athos; its white walls, hiding in bright greenery, become a poignant reminder of the familiar old type of churches, green tops of bell-towers and noisy pyramidal poplar trees with a windmill blinking behind them (the only one on the whole Mount Athos), and somehow one can hear the squeak of a sweep well, along with the sounds of a native language that seems so strange and unexpected under the foreign sky of Macedonia, and all of this is breath-taking and carries far to the north, to the peaceful hamlets of Little Russia.

According to A. Dabizha, a living corner of distant Ukraine, with all its characteristic features, with its traditional sincerity and deep hospitality, is completely transferred to the legendary ground of Athos to sacred spring wells, groves and rocks, where the classical myth of Daphne and Apollo live side by side with the tales of majestic feats of Christian humility and self-denial. This cosy cenacle, which had peacefully developed on the northeast slope of the holy mountain for one and a half century, was obscure to everyone. A very few people were interested in the fate of the Little Russian Illinsky Skete, a spiritual child of the Zaporizhian Cossacks, that arose in the Muslim East in the second half of the 18th century.¹¹

Describing the skete, A. Dabizha emphasizes that “its founder was well-known Paisius Velichkovsky, who belonged to a brilliant assemblage of those spiritual figures that Old Little Russia was blessed with, and where almost all the famous Russian hierarchs of the 18th century came from. Following Stefan Yavorsky, St. Dymytryi of Rostov, I. Krokovsky, F. Prokopovych, R. Zaborovsky and Ioasaf Horlenko, who were not called for spiritual service to the Country, Paisius had modest and unknown destiny of an ascetic and selfless life.”¹²

While reading the article in “Kievaskaia starina”, a reader learns that the native of Poltava, the son of a prior of a local cathedral church, a pupil of the Kiev

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Theological School, the young Velichkovsky had an irresistible craving for contemplating a hermit's life from a young age. At the age of 17, he was among the novices of the Liubech Monastery, and two years later, he was tonsured at the Saint Nicholas near Medvedivka (Kyiv Eparchy).

The author of the publication also mentioned the period of persecution, initiated by the Union supporters against Orthodoxy that forced the novice Platon to seek shelter in the Kyevo-Pecherska Lavra. Here Velichkovsky did not stay long. The yearning for loneliness and spiritual feats was not fully satisfied, thus it encouraged the young hermit to go to Moldavia and Wallachia first, later moving to Athos in 1746. A. Dabizha is convinced that those were the southern nature beauty and the enchanting silence of groves and bays, which sparkled with all the colours of midday shades, made an incredible impression on him. He decided to stay on Athos so that, being alone he could be away from the worldly vanity, to throw himself completely to a hermitical life. Having settled in one of the abandoned cells that belonged to the Greek Christ Pantocrator Monastery, here Velichkovsky took monastic tonsures with the name of Paisius.¹³

The ascetic's strict life and moral attractiveness resulted in the arrival of disciples. As noted in the article, those were Paisius's disciples who asked him to leave his private home. Together with his new followers, he first settled in a communal dwelling in the name of Saint Emperor Constantine *Isapostolos* ("Equal to the Apostles"), and in 1757 he began, with the permission of the leadership of Pantocrator, to set up a small skete, in the name of St. Prophet Elijah, in the picturesque woodland.

It was the strict fellowship statute that was the foundation of the life of the cenacle: "all the monks were proclaimed to have a lonely, labour and active life, full equality, both in terms of clothing and the performance of universal obedience, from a prior to the last novice, equal duties combined with heavy physical labour - deforestation, land cultivation etc."¹⁴

The Little Russian skete on Athos was created at the same time when the Right-Bank Ukraine was going through a temporary ordeal. As A. Dabizha writes, "covered by the grid of gallows and prisons, it was suffocating under the double oppression of Poland and the Jesuits, reaching their greatest strength in the 60s of the last century, culminated in the large explosion of "Coliivshchyna". While many of its miserable residents, leaving everything, their homeland, following the example of their parents, fled to face freedom in the "Velyky Luh", "Sich-Mother"

¹³ А. Дабизжа, *Малороссійская обитель на Афѳонѳ...*, с. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

in order to return from there later and take revenge for committed desecration of faith and suppressed rights; others, less courageous ones, sought salvation and the exit from the unbearable bondage and poverty behind the monastery fence, fastened pleading the best fate for their unfortunate homeland. Eventually, both of them were exhausted, struggling to wait, being disappointed to have better future, persecuted everywhere, they converged in the deaf deserts of the rocky Thebais of the East, so that, they could get away from the world and people, being alone, receive spiritual calmness.”¹⁵

Precisely these refugees “from the world” gathered around father Paisius. They were from far Russia, from the Polish outskirts and the borders of Moldavia, from the Dnieper and the Danube. Soon the number of monks has grown to such an extent that the newly created hermitage was not able to support them within its modest means. Realizing the desperate situation, Paisius acrimoniously decided to leave Athos: he divided the monks into two parts, and, with most of them, he headed for seeking a new cenacle in Moldavia.¹⁶ Unfortunately, we cannot find any information about this period of Paisius Velichkovsky’s life. We find that he died in 1794, being a prior of the famous Neamț Lavra, which owes to him its prosperity.”¹⁷

Since 1794, for almost a hundred years, the orphaned little Russian cenacle had not been able to find a successor, worth of Paisius. The remaining monks consisted of almost exclusively Ukrainians that were lined up by old Sich riflemen, who scattered around the world after their family seat had been destructed. More than ever before, at that time one could feel the absence of a firm unceasing will and a huge moral authority of the founder of the cenacle, who would influence the coming monks.¹⁸ The end of the 18th - the beginning of the 19th century was the era of decay of the monastery, despite receiving the help provided by the Cossacks, who settled in Turkey and the Kuban, and loved the Illinsky Monastery. It inherited the fishing gear across the Danube from the Zaporizhians, and at the same time, they funded the construction of a cathedral temple; in its sacrarium there are rich alms of the valiant Black Sea troops (old vintage gowns, a shroud, embroidered with gold, pearls and precious stones, a large and small gospel in a silver frame, a sacred vessel etc.).¹⁹

The love of Little Russians to their native cenacle was the reason that released it from devastation; again, its renewed walls were filled with Cossack

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁹ А. Дабига, *Малороссійская обитель на Афѳонѳ...*, с. 38.

newcomers from the Danube and Black Sea coasts. Athos was reborn when the starets Paisius II appeared here in 1841. In accordance with monastic chronicles, it is claimed that he took the vows at young age and three years before his election he left for Athos, where he lived in deep seclusion.²⁰

As A. Dabizha notes in his article in "Kievskaiia starina", his traits of character, spirit resembled the first founder of the monastery Paisius Velichkovsky; his bright personality was a sort of confirmation of Paisius Velichkovsky's prophetic words of farewell: "In the course of time, another Paisius will enter the skete and in his presence the monastery will be settled up, magnified and glorified."²¹

Indeed, during Paisius's II thirty-year rule, the Illinsky Monastery was reborn both materially and morally: due to his hard work and care, the hermitage buildings were restored, spread vineyards and olive groves were created and new roads were laid. It was his great influence on the inner life of the monastery, where strict discipline was combined with the spirit of liberties and disposition still alive in the Cossack hearts of the brethren.²²

In summary, the article, written by A. Dabizha and published in the January issue of "Kievskaiia starina" in 1893, is crucial to explore the milestones in Paisius Velichlovsky's life and acts. Here we may find the story of the Illinsky monastery, that author describes as "a brainchild" of the Zaporizhian Cossacks. In the article, it was continually noted that the monks of the Illinsky cenacle comprised of many old Sich rifleman who scattered around the world after their Sich family seat had been destroyed. A. Dabizha concluded that the Zaporizhian Sich constantly provided assistance to the cenacle on Athos, without which the latter would be difficult to exist.²³ However, nothing is mentioned about the relations of the skete with the "Zaporizhian society" in the earlier period, the period of the initial history of the cenacle.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ZAPORIZHIAN COSSACKS AND DRAGOMIRNA MONASTERY

Nevertheless, the article in "Kievskaiia starina" written in 1894,²⁴ can fill up the historical gaps. Its author was registered under the cryptonym "P". We managed to investigate that it was Lev Padalka, a historian and a statistician

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²⁴ *Къ исторіи обителѣй Паисія Величковскаго* [To the history of shelters of Paisius Velichkovsky], in "Кіевская старина", 1894, Т. XLV, с. 345-350.

(1859-1927). He was educated in Lubensky Religious School (1869-1875), Poltava Seminary (1875-1879) and the faculty of history and philology of the University of Kiev (1884). This person wrote for "Kievskaiia starina" during 1885-1897. Also, he was an author of texts on the history of the Zaporizhian Sich and the Cossack ataman P. Kalnyshevsky and the churches that were built by him.

In the article, we found a document that can somewhat fill this gap in relation to the original history of the Illinsky Monastery on holy Mt. Athos and give the right to call it "a brainchild of the Zaporizhian Cossacks." The document that was discovered by the author of the publication in the archives of the Kyiv theological consistory is an extract of some "case". It is based on the testimony of a former monk of the Illinsky Monastery Havryil, given by him in the Kyiv theological consistory in 1769.

Revealing his biography in details, the monk presents valuable statements of the relations of the Cossacks with the Illinsky hermitage. According to his words, we discover that since the monastery was created, the Sich riflemen had already belonged to the brethren. Thus, being a 15-year-old boy, he became a pupil of "Mother Sich". In the Zaporizhian Sich, he was taught by his father for a short time, then got wise from various Zaporizhian Cossacks till the moment when he reached the age of majority – since that time he "had started doing different kind of craftwork by himself," and, finally, he left for the Illinsky Monastery on Athos, taking vows there. It becomes evident that the way from being a Cossack in Sich to a strict ascetic life in the Illinsky Hermitage was well known to the Sich riflemen, respectively they found a shelter not right after the destruction of the Sich but significantly earlier.²⁵

In addition, according to the monk Havryil's autobiography, told down on the pages of the article, one can learn about how Ukrainians treated the Illinsky Monastery and, in particular, the attitude of Sich brothers, who did not forget their "brainchild", provided it with financial assistance. After being sent to Little Russia to collect "merciful alms" for the hermitage, he lived together with a hierodeacon of the Illinsky Monastery Parfenii for the year. It is clear that the Zaporizhians had close and lively relations with the Illinsky Monastery, especially with its founder, the famous Paisius Velichkovsky, with whom they did not interrupt the relations, even after he moved from the Illinsky Monastery to Dragomirna.²⁶ In the article, L. Padalka states: "Their relations (by the Zaporizhians – the authors) to the Dragomirna Monastery were similar to the relations of people that know each

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

other well. Thus, the above-mentioned Havryil, being a monk of the Dragomirna monastery at that time, along with another monk Spiridon and novice Mikhail, collected alms on the Sich, and made themselves like at home there: they lived for a long time (more than two years), turned the Sich into their temporary their residence, which was their starting point to other cities (e.g. Romny, Kyiv). Here, on the Sich, they kept different things they had purchased for the monastery in Dragomirna (e.g. a bell).²⁷ Close relations between the Zaporizhzhia and the Dragomirna Monastery can be explained by the fact that a significant part of its brethren came “from the Orthodox glorious Zaporizhian country” according to the words written by Paisius Velichkovsky to Kish in 1768.

It is noted in the document that Paisius Velichkovsky moved from Athos to Dragomirna “together with the whole of the brethren” of the Illinsky Hermitage. In this case, the testimonies of the monk Havryil does not coincide with the statement of the Prince A. Dabizha that Paisius, “having decided to leave Athos, with the majority of the monks went to seek a new shelter in Moldo-Wallachia.”²⁸ The testimonies of Havryil, as a participant of the events described and a monk of the Illinsky Hermitage, is credible and, moreover, they find endorsement in the Paisius’s biography, compiled by his close and direct disciple, the elderly monk Mitrofan.²⁹ In this biography, it is said: “When Paisius prepared for his departure from Athos, he hired two ships where the first was assigned for him along with the Slavic language, and the second one was assigned for father Vissarion and the Moldavian language.”³⁰ Thus, all the brethren of the monastery were divided with the respect to these two languages, according to the biography.³¹ And so, all the brethren of the Illinsky Monastery together with Paisius Velichkovsky moved to Dragomirna. The time of this moving is indicated very accurately in the document, it was on June 1764.

In this case, the date indicated by the Prince A. Dabizha is of great importance, because the time of Paisius’s moving from Athos to Dragomirna is not mentioned in his life. Considering the value of the document, especially in the context of studying the history of founding monasteries by Paisius, we consider it necessary to present it in full in the **Annex 1**.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

²⁸ А. Дабизжа, *Малороссійская обитель на Афѳнѳ...*, с. 37.

²⁹ *Житіє и писанія молдавского старца Паусія Величковскаго* [The life and writings of Moldavian elderly monk of Paisius Velychkovsky], Издание Оптиной Пустыни, 1836, с. 15-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

In conclusion, the article provides important information about the Illinsky Hermitage on Athos, Paisius Velichkovsky and the relations between the Zaporozhian Sich and its “brainchild”. The data about the Dragomirna Monastery and its relations with the Zaporizhian Cossacks are particularly valuable. The researchers of Paisius Velichkovsky’s biography claim that the period in Dragomirna was one of the most difficult in his and his brethren’s lives. In addition, this period of the life of the Reverend is least described. It is completely omitted in the autobiography of Paisius Velichkovsky. Therefore, the article in “Kievskaja starina” sheds light on certain significant details pertaining to the status of Paisius’s brethren in Dragomirna.

In addition, on the basis of the article and the document, published in “Kievskaja starina” and the inscription on the bell itself, we found that the bell weighing 110 kg, which, at the request of the Cossacks, was cast in the workshop of Dimitrii Pirogov in Moscow and delivered to the hetman's town of Romny. Where, according to Paisius Velichkovsky’s request, was purchased for a price of 630 rubles by the monk Havryil at the expense of donors from the Zaporizhian Army in 1767. From there, the bell was delivered to the Zaporizhian Sich, and later transported to Dragomirna. Nowadays it is in the Dragomirna Monastery.

In “Kievskaja starina” (1892), the article *The Motherland of Kalnyshevsky*³² was published under the cryptonym “F. N.” (Fedir Nikolaichyk), basically a historian (1857-1920). He got a degree at the Chernihiv Gymnasium, St. Petersburg and Kiev University, where he graduated from 1882. Also, he was a member of the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler. This author wrote for “Kievskaja starina” during 1883-1898. He was the author of publications on the ethnology, in particular, about the Cossacks’ uprising of 1625 and the Kurukivsky Treaty, of works on prosperous class of Cossacks in 1725, their small motherland, the genealogy of a kish ataman of the Zaporizhian Sich, P. Kalnyshevsky etc.). While exploring the place of birth and the genealogy of the last kish ataman of the Zaporizhian Sich, Petro Kalnyshevsky, the author also emphasizes his charity activity.

The researcher stresses that P. Kalnyshevsky was actively engaged in church charity: “One must feel a purely people’s sense of living belief in the importance of donations to religion in order to, one can say, admire these donations as Kalnyshevsky did. From this perspective, he was not an exception in the Zaporizhzhia. Zaporizhians liked to donate to the church, they were proud of this, because they brought to Zaporizhzhia the feelings to the “founders and benefactors”

³² Ф. Н., *Родина Калнишевскаго* [The Motherland of Kalnyshevsky], in “Киевская старина”, 1892, Т. XXXVII, с. 249-277.

of the Houses of God, acquired in people's environment."³³ Historian F. Nikolaichyk made conclusions on the church charitable activity of P. Kalnyshevsky and writes that the Chief Ataman built churches: in Mezhyhiria, Lokhvytsia, Romny and Pustoviitivka, and, for instance, only an iconostasis of the Lokhvitsky church cost 10,000 rubles; for that matter, it is necessary to remember that Kalnyshevsky built a cathedral church in Lokhvytsia, which was very expensive. He donated a 500-ruble Gospel to the Pustoviitivska church; he made a silver gilt "shchata" (i. e. a framing – the authors) on the icon of the Mother of God that cost 161 rubles for the Samara Monastery; during his imprisonment he donated a silver sanctuary cross weighing 13 and a half pounds to the Solovetsky Monastery; there, after liberation, he made the gospel that cost 2435 rubles; while still being a kish ataman, he sent an expensive church plate to Jerusalem eparchy for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; he was also a benefactor for the monasteries outside of Ukraine, in particular, in Moldavia. The author is convinced: "Many of his (i.e. Petro Kalnyshevsky – the authors) donations aimed at meeting the higher needs of the national spirit will continue existing for ages. They will glorify his name..."³⁴

The above-mentioned articles are supplemented with materials from "Kievskaiia starina" and placed in the historical background of the Orthodox Church of Katerynoslav eparchy.³⁵ In the part "Pilgrimage Trips" we find important data on the Dragomirna Monastery and Moldavian settlements in the Zaporizhian liberties.

Thus, the unknown author of the publication notes that during the calm years Zaporizhzhia turned into almost empty and deserted area twice a year, only very old and sick people stayed here, the others left for Kyiv and to the Motronynskyi monastery, partly to the Samara, Lebedynsky and Moshensky Monasteries, and returned to the Zaporizhzhia before Easter; the same situation was repeated during September and October. In the monasteries, the Orthodox Cossacks visited sacred places, attended divine services and fasted before confession and Communion. The author emphasizes: "Zaporizhian Cossacks often went on pilgrimage trips to holy Mount Athos, and especially to Dragomirna, Moldo-wallachian Monastery, where the overwhelming part of monks came from

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³⁵ *Историческій обзоръ Православной Христіанской Церкви въ предѣлахъ нынѣшней Екатеринославской епархіи до времени формального открытія ея* [Historical survey of the Orthodox Christian church within the present Yekaterinoslav eparchy before its formal opening], Екатеринославъ, 1876, 80 с.

Rus', otherwise than from the Orthodox-famous Zaporizhian country. (The inhabitants of Moldavia professed the Orthodox religion, worshiped in the Church Slavonic, used Russian script, and, regardless of the local Romanian dialect, they spoke the language of the Dniester and Dnipro Rus' in many cities.

Most of the settlements of native Russians were moved to Moldavia during the period of Tatar rule and other misfortunes throughout 14th, 15th and 16th centuries: in other times, the Moldavians, persecuted by the Turks and despotism of their lords, left for Rus' and settled there. There were always a lot of native Moldavians in Zaporizhzhia, the Wallachians, as they were called at that time).³⁶ The journeys to the pilgrimage were carried out by the Orthodox Cossacks from deep, heartfelt, purely religious considerations – for God's piety, for purifying their conscience and salvation of their souls.

In terms of contribution of the kish ataman of the Zaporizhian Sich P. Kalnyshevsky to the economic development of Southern Ukraine, it is emphasized that he did a lot of work for the development of the economy, and he put a lot of effort into increasing the amount of people in Zaporizhzhia: "For this reason, many families of Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians were moved from New Serbia, Poland and Budzak; they settled in the Kaidak palanka, near the rapids, with the condition that the new settlers would be engaged in farming.

In 1770, the Cossacks released 673 people from the captivity of the Crimean khan; those were Wallachian and Jewish men and women who were brought to the Sich at the direction of Kalnyshevsky, where all the Wallachians were settled in the Kaidak palanka; they founded a settlement that had not existed there before, with the name of Volohs'ki hamlets.³⁷ In addition, "during 1771-1774 many Orthodox Greeks and Wallachians from Anatolia and the Archipelago, the Bulgarians and the Moldavians settled in the Cossack Zaporizhian Buho-hardova and Kaly mush palankas."³⁸

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the life and the ascetic path of the abbot Paisius Velichkovsky, that lived more than seven decades, ran from Ukraine (Poltava, Kyiv) to Athos, the Dragomirna and the Neamț monasteries and was described in the pages of the first Ukrainian historical journal "Kievskaiia starina". Its pages are for us a

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

resource of valuable information about the life of this great Ukrainian ascetic monk. The most fruitful period was Paisius's life in Dragomirna and Neamț. In Dragomirna Paisius acquired the Great Schema (the highest degree of monasticism) and in the Neamț Monastery, he received the title of an archimandrite. This was the place where Paisius created a large library, published Slavic grammar, founded a hospital, a school of translators and scribes of church and theological literature, and wrote over forty works. Paisius translated the famous multi-volume collection "Philokalia" into Church Slavic and published it under the title of "Dobrotoliubie" in 1793. According to the doctrine presented there, one should follow the spiritual path of God only under the leadership of "Starets" (the elderly monk). The formation of "starchestvo" (the way of life of an elderly monk) is considered the most important in Paisius's activities. According to his claims, the spiritual mind is fundamental virtue of the ones who followed the path of God. The main postulates of Paisius are a prayer to Jesus, faith, love, fasting, restraint, patience, vigilance, humility, selflessness, a true judgment. Due to Paisius Velichkovsky, the monasteries from Dragomirna and Neamț became prominent educational and spiritual centres. During Paisius's time, Athos and Moldavian monks had close relations with the Zaporizhian Sich and with its ataman Petro Kalsnyshevsky. Paisiy Velichkovsky had a huge influence on the spiritual and religious life of nowadays Ukraine, Romania, Moldavia, Greece, and Russia.

The intellectual and spiritual formation of Paisius Velichkovsky took place in the midst of a high Ukrainian Baroque culture, supported by the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The formation of Paisius's worldview was influenced by family values, traditions of the national revival of Hetmanate and the Zaporizhian Sich, especially in terms of a language. In his literary and theological activity Paisius used exclusively Ukrainian formulation of the Church Slavonic language. The phenomenon of a figure of Velichkovsky did not just consist in his piety, diligence, decency and humanity, but also in reflecting the important feature of Ukrainian community in general, i.e. aspirations for Christian ideals and life devoutness. His teaching is of great significance for the 21st century modern people, who are experiencing a spiritual crisis and seeking spiritual peace and grace.

ANNEX 1

"On February 18, 1769 in the office of the Kyiv theological consistory, by definition of that consistory, in the course of interrogation, the monk Havryil Petka said that his secular name was Hrihoriy; he was born in Myrhorod Regiment in the town of Sorochyntsi in the family of people with Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth roots: his father's name was Samuil Shevts, his mother's name was Zynoviia. He was christened and anointed by the priest Andriy, who passed away later, in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. His godfather Lazar Koval was from the same town of Sorochyntsi and his godmother was Daria Boriuvna Suschyha. Havryil lived with his parents until the age of fourteen; when his father left his wife and went to live in the Sich, his mother, unable to support him, sent Havryil to his sister, where he lived for nine months. He left his aunt to join the Sich Cossacks who were passing through to live with his father, that was not for a long time, so he was in service of the Cossack of Lower Stebliv with the nickname Malyi for 3 years, and then he did his duties under the guidance of the Cossack Hrytsko Bilyi from Kurenivsky kurin'; then two years later he started to do craftwork in the Sich until 1761. Afterwards he sold all his property and went to Mount Athos in order to take vows where, upon his arrival, he came to the Saint Elijah's Skete to meet the prior Paisius and announce his wish to take vows. Hence, the Paisius, permitting Havryil to be a novice, let him to stay secular until the Lent of 1762; on Saturday of the first week of the Lent, at Havryil's request, the Paisius gave him a name of Havryil Mandiyno who took the vows in the church of the Illinsky Hermitage.

After tonsure Havryil had lived in that hermitage for one year until the Holy Resurrection. After the holiday Paisius sent him and the hierodeacon Parfenii to see his Grace, Arsenii, the present metropolitan of Kyiv in order to receive the document to be a suppliant of Kyiv eparchy from the decent givers of merciful alms to the Illinsky Hermitage, which was mentioned in the letters to the Right Reverend of the present metropolitan of Kyiv from the Tsargrad patriarch Chiril and the prior Paisius, that they, the hierodeacon Parfenii and the monk Havryil, delivered in June 1762; a year later, from his Grace, they received the document of the merciful alms-giving for gathering alms for the Illinsky Hermitage and the book for the inscription of the detailed names of the donors, which, at the end of the year, in June 1762, the Havryil and the hierodeacon Parfenii gave back to the chancery of his eminence. Having returned this book, Havryil was taken ill so they went to the Sich to stay there until he felt better (July 1764). After his recovery, the monk Havryil and the hierodeacon Parfenii, with the help of a special representative from their superior Paisius, informed the Sich that the superior of the indicated Illinsky Monastery (and the reason of which was still unknown to the monk Havryil), left the monastery and moved to Moldavian region of Yassy eparchy, that is the Moldavian monastery in Dragomirna; they also went to the Dragomirna Monastery and upon the arrival, they gave Paisius 400 rubles, as it had been indicated in the specified book. After passing this money to the superior

Paisius, Havryil settled in the monastery of Dragomirna from 1764 to May, 1766. On May 17 Havryil and the monk Spiridon together with a novice Mikhail and two 3-horse-drawn carts departed from the monastery in Dragomirna to Little Russia to carry out the mission, using the document given by the hieromonk Paisius which indicated the permission of a kish ataman that he and the monk Spiridon could ask alms in the Zaporizhian Sich. Meanwhile, in April 1767 Havryil from the Sich, using a passport of a kish ataman left for the city of Romen to buy a bell that cost 6 hundred and thirty rubles at the expense of alms (four hundred and thirty) and two hundred rubles of his own, and this bell is now in the Sich, according to the description.³⁹ Havryil was on the journey till July, 1767; in July he arrived in the Sich to gather alms with his mate, the monk Spiridon, where they lived till July 7, 1768; since then using the passport of a kish ataman, he travelled to Kyiv to buy one hundred and fifty arsheens of cotton fabric that cost 16 rubles at the expense of alms. After leaving Kyiv, he travelled to Romen to visit the Illinska fair where he bought a thousand of cubits of *hryp* (i.e. strong fabric for cassocks – the authors) that cost 23 rubles collected from alms, later he left for Sich where he continued living from September to October last year (1768). As he failed to return to his monastery, he left his fellow monk Spiridon, and in October 30 he took the passport from a kish ataman and went to Kyiv by a 3-horse-drawn cart together with a novice Ivan to worship the holy relics so that they could leave Kyiv and come back to his monastery. After arriving to Kyiv on December 4, with the consent of Rafaiil, a hieromonk of St. Sophia Cathedral Monastery, he stayed in the horse stables for two days, then, at the request of the Rafaiil and with the permission of Roman, Podilskyi protopope of a priest Ivan from the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, he packed his things, together with the novice, they went by a 3-horse-drawn cart to visit Mykyta Perehrest, a resident of Kurin' where the novice and a cart with one horse stayed until now, whereas the two horses were sent with the help of the abovementioned collector of alms to his fellow Spiridon in the Sich. Havryil lodged in the priest's from the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross till then. He who truly gave testimony, I stand by every word. The monk Havryil Petka put his name to this interrogation, but as he was illiterate, at the request of the Consistorial Kyiv Chancellery, Ivan Kyianovsk, a copyist, signed the document."⁴⁰

³⁹ *Житіє и писанія молдавского....*, с. 349.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

“ORPHANS WITH LIVING PARENTS”.
CHILDREN’S LONELINESS IN RUSSIAN NOBLE FAMILIES
(THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX – BEGINNING
OF THE XX CENTURIES)*

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Abstract: *The article examines the relationship of children and parents specific to the Russian noble families. The greatest attention is paid to the evolution of the status of children. The state of the child, although living in a full family, but being in care of nannies or governesses, in the separate residences, is being studied. An analysis of the evolution of children’s status is given – from their „uselessness” to the moment when they and their interests are placed at the centre of family relations. In their study the authors come to the conclusion, that during the XIX century the main „disease” of the noble family was the psychological condition of children – loneliness, in which „orphans with living parents” were growing up. Only at the very end of the XIX century, nobility parents begin to acknowledge the value of a child.*

Keywords: *Russia, XIX- XX centuries, noble family, parents, orphan, child psychology, loneliness of the child.*

Rezumat: *„Orfani cu părinți în viață”. Singurătatea copiilor în familiile nobile ruse din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX. Articolul examinează relația dintre copii și părinți specifică familiilor nobile din Rusia. Cea mai mare atenție este acordată evoluției statutului copiilor. Este studiată condiția copilului care, deși trăiește într-o familie completă, este îngrijit de bone sau guvernante, în reședințele separate. Se analizează evoluția statutului copiilor – de la „inutilitatea” lor și până la momentul în care ei și interesele lor sunt plasate în centrul relațiilor de familie. În studiul lor, autorii ajung la concluzia că, în secolul al XIX-lea, „boala” principală a familiei nobile a constituit-o starea psihologică a copiilor - singurătatea, în care creșteau „orfanii cu părinți vii”. Abia la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, părinții nobili încep să conștientizeze importanța unui copil.*

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Résumé: *“Des orphelins avec des parents vivants”. La solitude des enfants des familles nobles russes de la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle – le début du XX-ème siècle.* L'article ci-joint examine la relation entre les enfants et les parents, spécifique aux familles nobles de la Russie. On y accorda la plus grande attention à l'évolution du statut des enfants. On y étudia la condition de l'enfant qui, quoiqu'il vive dans une famille complète, les nourrices et les gouverneurs le soignent, dans des résidences séparées. On y analysa, aussi, l'évolution du statut des enfants – de leur “inutilité” jusqu'au moment où ceux-ci et leurs intérêts commencèrent à être placés au centre des relations de famille. Dans leur étude, les auteurs arrivent à la conclusion que, le XIX-ème siècle, l'état psychologique des enfants – la solitude dans laquelle on élevait “les orphelins avec des parents vivants” – représenta “la maladie” principale de la famille noble. A peine à la fin du XIX-ème siècle, les parents nobles commencent à apercevoir l'importance d'un enfant.

INTRODUCTION

An important component of Russian society modernization, that took place in the second half of the XIX – early XX century, was a radical change of the noble family life. Evolution was carried out in two main directions. On the one hand, the nature of marriages changed. If in the middle of the XIX century parents of the bride couple acted as organizers of a new family, and it was created as an intergenerational union, then at the end of the century an increasingly important role was played by the personal choice of the spouses, and the marriage was supposed to be built not on the principles of house holding and economic expediency or family necessity, but on the basis of emotional intimacy and „love”.

On the other hand, evolution was subjected to the status of a child in a noble family. Occupying the lowest position in the family hierarchy, driven into remote rooms, the noble children of the mid-XIX century by the efforts of advanced pedagogy got to the beginning of XX the right to express their own „I”. Supporters of the concept of „free education” not only demanded the observance of the interests of children, but also the promotion of these interests – in family, in school, and in society as a whole – to the fore¹, with the goal of creating by the educators „conditions for spontaneous self-development of the child's

¹ В. А. Веремёнко, *Выращивание революционера: концепция «свободного воспитания» в элитных школах России конца XIX – начала XX века* [Raising a revolutionary: the concept of "free education" in elite schools of Russia in the late XIX – early XX century], in "Самарский научный вестник", 2018, no. 1(22), с. 165-171.

personality, which do not distort the potential possibilities inherent in it”.² A significant part of the „new parents” from the nobility-intellectual families actively supported these ideas, in practice forming a new reality – „child-centric families”.

At first glance, these two messages, which put the emotional relations between family members to the base of family life, democratized its structure, were in no way contradictory. And love that binds parents was even more evident in their joint concern for children, in their active participation in their lives. However, this was the case if love between the spouses persisted, and if it passed? If there is no love, then the marriage built on its basis could no longer continue. Yet, how to combine this thesis with the idea of the supremacy of children interests? This dilemma was first seriously discussed in Russian society at the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX century, symbolizing the transition to a new type of family relations.

Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyse the evolution of the relationship between parents and children in the noble families of Russia in the second half of the XIX – early XX centuries. Evolution, in which, despite the gradual change in the status of children in family, the problem of child loneliness continued to persist.

Historiography of this topic is extremely small – the evolution of noble motherhood at the turn of the XIX-XX century, mainly in the part of caring for small children, was considered by N. A. Mitsyuk.³ Various aspects of relationship between parents and children of the nobles were investigated by one of the authors of this article.⁴

The main materials for revealing the problem of child loneliness in the noble families of post-reform Russia were the sources of personal origin, largely

² С. А. Ганина, *Концепция свободного воспитания: опыт социально-философской рефлексии феномена детства* [The concept of "free education": experience of socio-philosophical reflection of the childhood phenomenon], in "Общество. Среда. Развитие (Terra Humana)", 2012, no. 1, с. 185.

³ Н. А. Мицюк, *Рождение матери: субкультура материнства в высших слоях общества индустриальной России* [Birth of a mother: subculture of motherhood in the upper strata of the society of industrial Russia], Смоленск, 2015.

⁴ В. А. Веременко, *Дворянская семья и государственная политика России (вторая половина XIX – начало XX вв.)* [Noble family and state policy of Russia (second half of the XIX – beginning of the XX century)], Изд. 2-е, испр. и дополн. СПб.: Изд-во «Европейский дом», 2009. 684 с; Eadem, *Дети в дворянских семьях России (вторая половина XIX–начало XX вв.)* [Children in noble families of Russia (second half of the XIX – beginning of the XX century)], СПб.: ЛГУ им. А.С. Пушкина, 2015, 204 с.

unpublished, clerical documents of the “Commission of Petitions for the Highest Name” of the second half of the XIX century. Fiction in the style of realism is used not accidentally. Its value as a source lies in the ability to reflect the mentality of its time and concrete nation, to contribute to the reconstruction of certain historical types of behaviour, thinking and perception.

“NO LOVE – NO PROBLEM...”

CHILDREN AND PARENTS IN A TRADITIONAL NOBLE FAMILY

In a traditional noble family, prevailing in Russia in the middle of the XIX century, parental involvement in the upbringing of children was of an episodic nature, and assumed the most general control, as well as organization of career of the young man and marriage party of the girl.

Children of early age were in care of fosterers and nurses, usually serfs. Parents rarely interfered in the order they established, limiting themselves (at best) to several visits to the nursery per day, or by polling the servants of everything was all right. Babies, sent in order not to interfere „to the distant rooms”, in turn, knew little and were afraid of their parents considering them as „strangers”.⁵ As a result, the emotional attachment of the child did not extend to the parents, but to the nannies. They became the most significant people for noble children. In hundreds of memoirs of noblemen kind words, addressed to his nurse, can be met. Such, for example, as M. S. Nikolaeva: „... All of us, except sister Elizabeth, are obliged to the good nurse, that we grew up in fear of God, in respect of parents, are all pretty well built up, without any outstanding physical defects”.⁶ Separation from the nanny, with transition to the care of a tutor (governess) and, especially, with admission to an educational institution, became for the noble children the main experience of childhood. And they tried, after returning home, to take the dearest person to themselves. There was even a certain tradition to give to a just-married noble girl with a dowry, among others, her nanny, who became the main assistant and confidante in a new house for the young housewife.⁷

At the age of 3-5 years, the child switched to the „use” of a governess or tutor. Various popular guides, quite adequately reflecting the place of home tutor

⁵ Отдел рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки (ОР РНБ) [Department of Manuscripts of the Russian National Library], Ф. 601. – *Половцовы*, Д. 1195, Л. 78.

⁶ М. С. Николева, *Черты старинного дворянского быта. Воспоминания* [Features of ancient noble life. Memories], in “Русский Архив”, 1893, no. 10, с. 159.

⁷ ОР РНБ, Ф. 601, Д. 1196, Л. 3.

in the house, argued that „the governess generally to some extent replaces the mother for children; so she must constantly be with them, caring not only about their education, but also about their physical well-being”.⁸ Mutual contacts of parents with their children who have left infancy, as before, did not differ with special frequency. As a rule, they assumed several „ritual” actions. In the morning children were brought to their father and mother, to greet. Sometimes during the day, if there were no guests in the house, and the parents were not very „busy”, the whole family met at the table. Finally, in the evening, the wish for „good night” was realized, and in special solemn occasions a common prayer was performed.⁹ For a reason in the course of the early childhood memories of the mid-XIX century, as in the preceding decades, father rarely appeared, and the image of mother „beautiful, distant, smelling perfume”, glancing into the nursery for a minute to kiss children before leaving for the ball, reception or elsewhere, rather comparable with a fairy, an unearthly being than with loved and close person.¹⁰

A rather typical picture of the „orphanhood” of children with parents in a noble family is painted by I.S. Turgenev in the „Noble Nest”: „Liza passed the tenth year, when her father died; but he did little about her. He was busy with affairs, constantly preoccupied with the increment of his financial position, bilious, harsh, impatient, he did not hesitate to give money to teachers, tutors, clothes and other children's needs; but could not stand, as he put it, to babysit with squeakies, Marya Dmitrievna [mother], in fact, did not much more than her husband deal with Lisa, although she bragged at Lavretsky that she had raised her children alone; she dressed her like a dolly, at her guests stroked her on head and called her into her eyes a clever girl and a darling – and only: the lazy lady was tired of all constant care. During the life of her father, Lisa was in the hands of a governess...”¹¹

F. M. Dostoevsky also did not ignore the topic of „fathers and children”, deepening into the inner world and childhood memories of his protagonist Arkady Makarovich in the novel „Adolescent”, he shows the relationship of parents to their son: „I was like a discarded and almost from birth placed in strange people... When my mother gave birth to me, she was still young and nice, and so, he needed her [father], and the screaming child, of course, was a nuisance at all, especially in travel. That's why it happened that until the twentieth year I hardly saw my

⁸ *Жизнь в свете, дома и при дворе* [Life in society, at home and at the court], Репринт, Москва, 1990, с. 94-95.

⁹ ОР РНБ, Ф. 326, Д. 15, Л. 2.

¹⁰ ОР РНБ, Ф. 601, Д. 1196, Л. 2-3.

¹¹ И. С. Тургенев, *Дворянское гнездо* [Noble Nest], Москва, 1983, с. 209.

mother, except for two or three cases in passing". And memories about his father further reflect the system of relations that was developed in society – „Versilov, my father, whom I saw only once in my life, for a moment, when I was only ten years old... who gave birth to me and thrown me in society, still not only didn't know me at all, but even never repented in it (who knows, maybe about my very existence he had a vague and inaccurate concept, since it later turned out that it was not he who paid money for keeping me in Moscow, but others)".¹²

Indicatively, despite the fact that both father and mother did not engage in their children equally, it was believed that in case of widowhood, a man himself cannot cope with children and he must attract any woman to their upbringing. This problem could be solved in several ways. It was not uncommon for the head of the family to invite a widowed or unmarried relative to his house; as a housekeeper, he had to supervise governesses and nannies. Noble memoirs contain numerous colourful descriptions of „aunties”, engaged in the upbringing of children of „dead sisters” (kinship with whom in fact could be very remote). And since the position of „dependents” required „working off”, then, as a rule, they really cared about children entrusted to them, becoming really close people for the latter.¹³ For example, for Misha Danchich it was a true tragedy when due to the repeated marriage of his father – the palace doctor K. M. Danchich – a kind and caring „aunt”, who lived in their house on the rights of „housekeeper” for over 15 years, left the family.¹⁴

On the other hand, children could simply be sent from home in order to save their father from this „burden”. Such a situation was often played out in children's Christmas literature: „Petr Savich..., decided to write to his wife's relatives in Siberia, asking them to come to Petersburg as quickly as possible and take Kolya [his son] on care. He admitted himself incapable of bringing up his son”.¹⁵ Finally,

¹² М. Ф. Достоевский, *Подросток* [Adolescent], <https://www.litres.ru/fedor-dostoevskiy/podrostok/> (Accessed on 17.04.2018)

¹³ В. А. Веремёнко, «Дура в доме» – женская домашняя прислуга в дворянских семьях России второй половины XIX – начала XX вв. [“Fool in the house” – female domestic servants in the noble families of Russia in the second half of the XIX – early XX centuries], in “Альманах гендерной истории «Адам и Ева»”, 2013, no. 21, с. 244-245; В. В. Каминский, В. А. Веремёнко, «...Я вышла замуж за любимого...» мемуары О. М. Меницкой-Зоммар (01.03.1874-31.01.1967) [“... I married a loved one...” Memoirs of O. M. Menitskaya-Zommar (01.03.1874-31.01.1967)], in “История повседневности”, 2017, no. 1, с. 118-119.

¹⁴ ОР РНБ, Ф. 163, Д. 313-324.

¹⁵ *Рождественские рассказы для детей, с рисунками. Вып. Второй. Два брата*

father’s repeated marriage was very often presented as a way of solving the issue of children from a previous marriage.¹⁶

At the age of 10-12 a significant part of teenagers went to schools. In traditional families preference was given to the closed educational institutions, which were believed to guarantee the „future” of children, providing boys with necessary knowledge to obtain a „place”, and girls with so much needed for a „profitable party” „purity and innocence”. This practice began to be negatively assessed in the noble-intellectual environment only in the last decade of the XIX century, when teachers began to talk about the consequences of separation of children from the family, which were deeply traumatic for the child's mind: „Parents, relatives and in general those people who, putting children in state institutions, were glad that they sold them off their hands, were guilty, and thought that if he is full, dressed and does not need anything else; but they are convinced of this, and they cannot even understand that such a life without leaving can lead to bitterness, so perhaps they are not to blame, because looking at everything deeply is not the quality of every person”.¹⁷

Before that period, many parents specially emphasized their detachment from children. This position is perfectly illustrated in L.N. Tolstoy novel „Anna Karenina”: „Children? In Petersburg children did not prevent their fathers from living. Children were brought up in institutions”.¹⁸

It is characteristic that even children sent to „institutions” rarely missed their parents. In numerous memoirs written both by the Cadets and the Institutes, the conditions of entry and life in an educational institution, relations with the administration, teachers and classmates are necessarily characterized, and even the place of „guests” is located.¹⁹ In the memories of house, „freedom”, nannies and aunts

[Christmas stories for children, with drawings. Vol. 2. Two brothers], СПб., Изд. ред. детского сада и Б. Белова, 1871, с. 15-16.

¹⁶ ОР РНБ, Ф. 163, Д. 313-324; ОР РНБ, Ф. 601, Д. 1196.

¹⁷ ИРЛИ РАН, Ф. 732, Оп. 1, Д. 121, Л. 19.

¹⁸ Л. Н. Толстой, *Анна Каренина* [Anna Karenina], Москва, 1985, с. 684.

¹⁹ В. А. Веремenco, *Особенности школьного быта дворян в государственных закрытых учебных заведениях России (вторая половина XIX – начало XX вв.)* [Specifics of the school life of noblemen in state restricted access educational institutions of Russia (second half of XIX – beginning of XX centuries)], in “Вестник Череповецкого государственного университета”, 2014, no. 8/61, с. 33-36; *Кадеты, гардемарины, юнкера. Мемуары воспитанников военных училищ XIX века. История воспитания* [Cadets, midshipmen, junkers. Memoirs of pupils of military schools of the XIX century. History of Education], <https://coollib.com/b/248625/read> (Accessed on 04.04.2018);

appear. And the child missed them, not the absent parents. And when the experiences were mentioned, in a context where there were no places for older members of the family: „Left alone in the corps, I did not cry, despite the terrible longing that seized me; I did not cry only because there were no tears in my character”.²⁰

In general, characterizing the „orphanhood” of noble children in a traditional family, their attitude to their parents, it is worthwhile to turn again to the „encyclopaedia of Russian life” – a novel by L. N. Tolstoy „Anna Karenina”: „Vronsky never knew a family life. His mother was in her youth a brilliant secular woman, who had during her marriage, and especially after, many affairs known to the whole world. His father he almost did not remember and was raised in the Pages Corps...

He did not respect his mother in his soul, and did not report himself he did not like her, although according to the concepts of the circle in which he lived, according to his upbringing, he could not imagine others relations to the mother, as highly submissive and respectful...”²¹

“LOVE AND HATRED”.

CHILDREN – „ORPHANS” IN SEPARATE FAMILIES: A NEW REALITY OF THE LATE XIX – EARLY XX CENTURIES

In post-reform Russia a new form of marriage, based solely on romantic attachment and community of personal interests of the family, begins to shape in the noble environment. It spread widely to the 1880s, and by the beginning of the XX century such a marriage became the only way to start a family, which was approved by society. Being married „love-match”, young people dreamed of maintaining an emotionally close relationship. High demands on the behaviour of a partner in family, unwillingness to put up with his „unworthy actions” significantly complicated interpersonal relations of the spouses. If love is gone, and it was „a stranger” near, then the family, formed according to the „inclination”, was expected by hard lines. In most cases, unrealized dreams of „personal happiness”, which became such a significant part of a person's life, spilled out in desire to create a new family, even if not consummated, but being built „on love”.²²

В. М. Боковой, Л. Г. Сахаровой, *Институтки: Воспоминания воспитанниц институтов благородных девиц* [Boarding schoolgirls: Memoirs of pupils of noble maidens institutes], Москва, 2001.

²⁰ В. Г. Бооль, *Воспоминания педагога* [Memoirs of the teacher], in “Русская старина”, 1904, no. 3, с. 620.

²¹ Л. Н. Толстой, *Анна Каренина...*, с. 75, 79.

²² В. А. Веременко, *Дворянская семья и государственная...*

For the first generation of Russian nobility, who survived the „revolution of feelings,” the fate of children, who mostly continued to be educated according to the traditional pattern, with the minimum participation of their parents, was not a really important reason to deny personal happiness. So, thinking of her son, after leaving her husband for Vronsky, Anna spoke of suffering, but „separation from her son, whom she loved, did not actually torture her the first time... Anna rarely thought of her son”.²³ Her son Serezha was told that his mother died, explaining to him „that she died for him, because she is not good...”. But he not believes in this, „during the walks was looking for her... Every woman, sonsy, graceful, with dark hair, was his mother. At the sight of such a woman, a feeling of tenderness rose in his soul, such that he gasped and tears came to his eyes”.²⁴ Serezha knew that there was a quarrel between his parents that he would stay with his father, and „tried to get used to this idea”.²⁵

In the case of family breakdown, children were often not needed for both parents. Such collisions were often played out in literary works of the last quarter of the XIX century. Thus, in the novel „Alien Sins” by A. K. Sheller-Mikhailov²⁶, it is told about the destruction of family because of betrayal, the uselessness of „native” children neither for father nor mother, „orphans” with living parents and their upbringing by the aunt, who was trying to create a new world for children.

The novel begins with descriptions of relationship between parents – mother Eugenia Aleksandrovna Khryumina and father Vladimir Arkadyevich Khryumin. Family drama, wife does not love her husband, has a lover (from whom she is pregnant) and is ready to leave her husband and two of her children, the boy Eugeny and the girl Olya, for the sake of a new life with a loved person. After Eugenia Alexandrovna left the family, children stayed with their father, who did not love them, because „they were the children of a woman who “spoiled his life”... For the father, Eugeny and Olya were a heavy burden, „he never loved them and he was not sad to be in separation from them”, he would like to adopt them out, „but he did not have facilities to give them anywhere to a full board in a good family. Truly, they could be put somewhere for a cheap fee, but „society”... what they say in the „society”, if they know that he almost dropped his „legitimate”

²³ Л. Н. Толстой, *Анна Каренина...*, с. 444.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

²⁶ А. Шеллер-Михайлов, *Чужие грехи* [Alien Sins], СПб., Тип. Императорской академии наук, 1880, http://az.lib.ru/s/shellermihajlow_a_k/text_1880_chuzhie_grehi_oldorfo.shtml (Accessed on 05.05.2017)

children". Vladimir Arkadyevich was not worried about children with their feelings and emotional experience; he cared about „status”, opinion of „society”. He threw hatred of his wife on children, considering them „the culprits of his needs and deprivations”.

Then the plot unfolds so that father gives children to their aunt Olympiada Platonovna. And only here in the new house, children receive love and care, everything they were deprived of in their own family, living with parents. The main character, boy Eugeny, through his internal dialogues and dialogue with his aunt Olympiada, characterizes his life with parents: „<...> His mother was absent for days, often he did not see her even five minutes a day, sometimes in the tone of a capricious girl she told children that „they bored her”, that they have to stop bothering her, that they have to go to the nursery, but he did not even think of the question: „does his mother love him?” He did not see and did not know any other relations of mother to children, and therefore he considered as natural these relations, existing in their family. Father, when he was not traveling abroad, lost his temper, screamed, got angry with children, nagged at them for every little thing, almost never caressed them, but it was also such a routine, such a constant event that children almost got over...”.

The materials of activities of the Commission of petitions²⁷, where requests submitted to the Emperor came for consideration, indicate that such stories were not an artistic exaggeration, but quite ordinary reality. The case of Captain Peter Gardenin, considered by the Commission of petitions in 1899, looks typical. The plot of this life drama is surprisingly similar to the novel above. After the couple estranged their daughter stayed with father. But the officer had neither financial opportunity, nor special desire to engage in a girl. The request to take care of the child was expressed by elderly relatives: the girl's grandmother – wife of Adjutant-General V. K. Gull and 2 grandmothers – state lady Countess E. N. Adelberg and the wife of Major-General Countess E. A. Adelberg. With the mediation of Commission officials, father agreed to hand over his daughter temporarily to the care of her grandmother, Countess Eugenia Aleksandrovna Adelberg, until the girl reached the age „when she could be placed in an institution of his choice”. But he set the conditions: „1/ that the mother of a minor must be completely eliminated from the care of spiritual and physical development of the child; 2/ that he, Gardenin, preserved a right to see his daughter at the place of her stay with grandmother at

²⁷ А. М. Семёнов, *История формирования Комиссии прошений в России* [History of formation of the Commission of petitions in Russia], *XX юбилейные Царскосельские чтения: материалы междунар. науч. конф.*, 20-21 апр. 2016 г., 2016, с. 91-95.

all times, when only he recognizes it necessary and possible; 3/ that he... was given the right to take his daughter to his place for a temporary stay up to three months per year; 4/ that the choice and change of nannies and governesses had to be carried out with his knowledge and consent; 5/ that he receives detailed information about the child on a monthly basis and 6/ that in case of any deviations from the normal course of the child's life he... must be immediately notified of this...”.²⁸ Thus, with both living parents „orphan” Irina appeared in the house of grandmothers...

Thus, by the end of the XIX century against the backdrop of the growth of personal happiness value in the nobility of Russia, the practice of separate living of the spouses was spread, in which the interests of children were almost not taken into account, and the parents were much more concerned with their problems than with the emotional experiences and hurts of their children.

“ALL FOR THE SAKE OF CHILD”.

DISPUTES ABOUT CHILDREN IN THE NOBLE FAMILIES OF RUSSIA

As the gaze on parenthood in Russian noble family changed under the influence of a complex of economic and social reasons, more and more often mothers were involved in the matter of raising their own children, actively participating in the care of infants and in education of the elder.²⁹ In the most advanced families fathers also sought to spend time with their children, playing with them, checking their homework, conducting serious conversations... Unwilling to be part of their children’s universe, fearing for their psychological health, many parents preferred education of adolescents in open educational institutions. Increasingly, the interests of children have become a priority in dealing with questions of the family's place of residence, diet and table menu, nature of summer holidays. The mutual affection of representatives of the older and younger generations increased.

In this situation, the question of whether it is worth preserving the appearance of family for the sake of children’s tranquillity proved to be much more important for many noble spouses than observing public decorum or career problems – „We [V. V. Rozanov] received and receive many private letters regarding divorce – letters, sometimes telling long family stories, which are filled with pleas for divorce, then with fear of divorce... A husband who has lived in unhappy

²⁸ Российский государственный исторический архив (РГИА) [Russian State Historical Archive], Ф. 1412, Оп. 212, Д. 47, Л. 3, 4, 17.

²⁹ В. А. Веременко *Дети в дворянских семьях России...*; Н.А. Мицюк, *Рождение матери...*

marriage for ten years, but does not consider it possible to dissolve it, because there is a daughter who is equally loved by his wife and him, writes to us”.³⁰ All the more, since the beginning of the XX century even the divorce of an officer for adultery, with declaration him the guilty party and discussion in the judicial session of the Spiritual Consistory of the „act itself”, had little effect on his career promotion.³¹

In many diaries written at the turn of the XIX-XX century and belonging to the pen of noble spouses (especially women) standing on the threshold of break-up, it were the children and their interests that acted as the main deterrent to the final decision. So, a caring mother and well-known artist Catherine Kavos, who nursed herself and cared for her children, having already made the decision to live separately with her husband Eugeny, with whom she had lived at that time for 15 years, finally changed her mind. And she was not stopped by the opinion of others around – in her environment, separating was a universal phenomenon, and not by material problems – as a portraitist she had a wide clientele and orders brought a quite steady income. But children... She did not trust her innermost feelings even to the diary, describing only the fear of possible influence of her intensions on children: „I became bad and made so much dark, sinful, criminal that I could not tell anyone, anyone and could not write this in the diary myself. I know that I must live for children and must be strong and good morally. But I consider myself unworthy, unworthy to live in moral way and my touch to them sometimes hurts my heart. Then, with this inner pain I lose my heart and have less force – to engage in them”.³²

But there also were such „advanced” parents in the nobility, who, although they raised children themselves, cared for them, yet they did not want to give up their personal happiness for them. On the other hand, they were unable to leave and forget about their children too. In this situation in the late XIX century a new line of family conflicts emerged – disputes about children. Separate living parents sought to regulate not only the material aspects of keeping children, but also tried to agree on the rules of their personal relationships.

Not infrequently it was not possible to reach an agreement peacefully, and then separate living noble spouses turned to the Commission for petitions for mediation. Sometimes even officials of this department could not convince parents

³⁰ В. В. Розанов, *Семейный вопрос в России* [Family issue in Russia], http://dugward.ru/library/rozanov/rozanov_sem_vop1.html#otkry (Accessed on 15.04.2018)

³¹ See, for example, the case of M. D. Bonch-Bruevich in В. В. Каминский, В. А. Веремченко, *М.Д. Бонч-Бруевич — один из основателей Красной армии: страницы биографии* [M. D. Bonch-Bruevich — one of the founders of the Red Army: pages of biography], in “Новейшая история России”, 2018, no. 1, с. 57-69; РГИА., Ф. 1412, Оп. 213, Д. 87.

³² ИРЛИ РАН (Пушкинский дом), Ф. 445, – Е.С. Зарудная-Кавос, Д. 16.

to give children the opportunity to maintain relations both with their father and mother. For example, L.S. and M.V. Baranovsky did not invent anything for it but to share the children – son left with father, and daughters stayed with mother.³³

A vivid reflection of new relations in noble families can be the „family case of Princes Prozorovsky-Golitsyn”, which was examined in the Commission of petitions in 1896-1901. The main reason for discord and break of the couple's relations was the strongest love of both parents for their daughter, which turned into jealousy for each other. Father – Alexander Alexandrovich constantly coddled little daughter, „allowed her everything she wanted”, mother – Maria Petrovna – tried to teach her to order. As a result, „any, even a reasonable remark made by the mother to the girl, always aroused displeasure from the Prince, which he uttered in extremely harsh form”. Officials of the Commission who studied the circumstances of the case stated that „...the Prozorovsky-Golitsyn spouses attach only minor importance to the issue of establishing a separate life and mainly seek to limit each other's parental rights, having in mind primarily the child's benefit... Thus, the whole matter boils down to the solution of the question: which one of the spouses should be recognized as the most desirable educator of the child?” At the same time, officials were constrained to admit that the most relevant to the child's interests would be *„the removal of the young Princess Mary from the sphere of direct joint influence of both warring parents [our emphasis – V. V., O. S.] and her placement, for upbringing and education, into a closed educational institution, ... with granting both parents equal rights to date with her”*. But since the girl was only 5 years old at the time of commencement of the trial, until she reached adolescence she had to take turns to live with her mother and father, in the estate, in Tsarskoe Selo, abroad (it is characteristic that choosing their place of residence parents had to take into account interests of the child, and not the reverse). Supervision of the princess was entrusted to one tutor, who carried out the order not of the parents, but a special tutelary council composed of relatives of both spouses.³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

During the XIX century the main „disease” of the noble family was the psychological state of children – loneliness, in which „orphans with living parents” grew up. For many generations the relationship between parents and children had

³³ РГИА, Ф. 1412, Оп. 214, Д. 15.

³⁴ РГИА, Ф. 1412, Оп. 226, Д. 140, Л. 123-124, 181, 222-223; РГИА, Ф. 1412, Оп. 226, Д. 142, Л. 34-61.

a formally-traditional nature, which did not include personal participation. And if there was a conflict between parents on the basis of adultery, then children were not needed at all.

Until the last decades of the XIX century the problem of isolation of children in noble families was not standing, it was not simply noticed. It was a habitual way of life. Therefore, there are not so many memoirs that would reveal this topic. But family relations were described in the works of Russian classical literature of the late XIX century, which described the tragedy of relations between parents and children, who little knew each other, and consequently could not love.

Only at the very end of the XIX century, noble parents begin to recognize their children, and at the same time, fear of separation and desire to keep them near appears. For some parents, especially for mothers, it was the danger of separation from children, and not the opinion of society, family-clan interests or even material factors, that becomes the main obstacle to leaving the family. The other side of this process is the wide spread of disputes about children, in which the separate living spouses sought to resolve numerous controversial issues from the place of the child's permanent residence, conditions of meetings with him of a separately living parent, to organizing the life and keeping children. Truly, not always in the course of such discussions, interests of the child were taken as a basis, very often parents, above all, cared about achieving *their own* material and soul comfort.

As the number of separate living families increased, the number of children living apart from one or even both parents upraised. But if in the second half of the XIX century „orphans with living parents” did not know about the distorted state in which they were staying, did not expect that it is possible to live differently, then at the beginning of the XX century „new children” wanted from their near ones, above all, emotional closeness, wanted and even demanded love and care. As a result, such “orphanhood” was perceived much more painful than before, especially if there were full, friendly families nearby. Loneliness of children with living parents was first recognized as a social problem in the noble environment in Russia at the beginning of the XX century, which symbolized the transition to a new form of family organization.

THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH CONFRONTATION IN VOLHYNIA IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR: HISTORICAL MEMORY TRANSFORMATIONS

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Abstract: *The conflict between Ukrainians and Poles in the period of the Second World War, known to the general public as „Volhynia tragedy/massacre”, is one of the most problematic and hotly debated issues of the common Polish-Ukrainian history. In recent years there have been a lot of controversial interpretations regarding the assessment of the causes and development of the conflict in Volhynia in 1943-1944, and especially the number of casualties of the conflict on both sides, including different approaches to presentation of the common history events. The problem in question has become the subject of political speculations, negatively affecting the inter-state relations, in general. The search for the ways to transform the historical memory of Ukrainians and Poles and to eliminate interethnic confrontations implies the multifaceted, unbiased elucidation of all aspects of the problem and surmounting the negative socio-historical stereotypes that occur in both societies.*

Keywords: *Ukrainians, Poles, confrontation, inter-ethnic conflict, World War II, transformation, historical memory.*

Rezumat: Confruntarea ucraineano-poloneză din Volhynia în al Doilea Război Mondial: transformările memoriei istorice. *Conflictul dintre ucraineni și polonezi în perioada celui de-al doilea război mondial, cunoscut de publicul larg drept „tragedia / masacrul din Volhynia”, reprezintă unul dintre aspectele cele mai problematice și mai dezbătute ale istoriei comune polono-ucrainene. În ultimii ani au existat numeroase interpretări controversate referitoare la evaluarea cauzelor și a dezvoltării conflictului din Volhynia în 1943-1944 și, în special, cu privire la numărul victimelor acestuia din ambele tabere, inclusiv abordări diferite ale prezentării evenimentelor istorice comune. Problema în cauză a devenit obiectul unor speculații politice, afectând negativ relațiile interstatale, în general. Căutarea modalităților de transformare a memoriei istorice a ucrainenilor și a polonezilor și de eliminare a tensiunilor interetnice implică elucidarea multiplă și imparțială*

a tuturor aspectelor problemei și depășirea stereotipurilor socio-istorice negative care apar în ambele societăți.

Résumé: La confrontation ukrainien-polonais de Volhynia pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale: les transformations de la mémoire historique. *Le conflit entre les Ukrainiens et les Polonais de la période de la seconde guerre mondiale, connu par le public comme «la tragédie/le massacre de Volhynia» représente un des aspects les plus problématiques et plus discutés de l'histoire commune polonaise-ukrainienne. Les dernières années, il y a eu de nombreuses interprétations controversées concernant l'évaluation des causes et du développement du conflit de Volhynia en 1943-1944 et, spécialement, au numéro des victimes de celui-ci des deux camps, y inclus des abords différents de la présentation des événements historiques communs. La question en cause devint l'objet des spéculations politiques, affectant de manière négative les relations interétatiques, en général. La recherche des modalités de transformation de la mémoire historique des Ukrainiens et des Polonais et d'élimination des confrontations interethniques implique la clarification multiple et impartiale de tous les aspects du problème, ainsi que le dépassement des stéréotypes socio-historiques négatifs qui apparaissent à l'intérieur des deux sociétés.*

INTRODUCTION

The history of formation and development of the inter-state relationships between Ukraine and Poland is quite controversial by its nature. Since the statehood inception Ukraine and the Republic of Poland have been constantly in the process of setting up mutual connections, which cannot be defined as being stable and neighbourly due to various historical events and factors. However, it can be asserted, with confidence, that under no circumstances either the Ukrainian or the Polish nation was able to develop separately or independently, without complementary influence.

Ukraine and Poland are closely connected by the common 700-year past, during which both peoples have experienced the periods of good-neighbourliness and rupture, open enmity and even conflicts. The explanation of it implies elucidating some definitely important factors. Firstly, for a long time the two nations had been the subordinates to the same states: the First and Second Rzeczpospolita, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires. Secondly, the Ukrainians and Poles were subjected to the violent inter-ethnic confrontation during the Second World War. Thirdly, both nations experienced the effects of the “socialism construction process”, the complexities of totalitarianism, the crisis of the communist regime and its collapse, and then the search for a new model of post-

communist development.¹ All these factors taken together in the context of a certain historical epoch united and, at the same time, disunited and confronted the Ukrainians and Poles. Common historical heritage has given rise to many socio-historical stereotypes and myths, predetermined by the specificity of each nation's historical memory. The historical memory has strongly influenced and still keeps influencing the bilateral relations. Under such conditions of historical coexistence relationships between Ukrainians and Poles obviously could not be balanced and non-conflict. The so-called "cornerstones" of the bilateral relations have led to many misunderstandings and even armed conflicts.

In the time of establishing the independent statehood in Poland and Ukraine, the level of patriotism in both countries was quite low. Historical memorable places that would have become the basis for the formation of a new national identity have been either disregarded or neglected at all. This factual absence of the so-called national collective memory can be argued as a consequence of the Soviet phase of the two nations' historical development. Therefore, it seems logical that in the national environments of both Ukrainians and Poles there has developed a strong, sometimes even hypertrophied, desire to elucidate many of the complex and vague issues of the past, largely those that are common for both nations. The "Volhynia massacre" appeared to be the most complicated issue in the bilateral relations, particularly owing to the fact that there are still living witnesses of the confrontation between Ukrainians and Poles in Volhynia during the Second World War. They live on both sides of the Ukrainian-Polish border and each of them has his/her own recollections and interpretation of those events. The ability to remember the past is an inherent feature of the humans.

One of the central issues of this study is the role of the historical memory in elucidation of the events of the Volhynian tragedy. In accordance with the traditional paradigm, we understand the "historical memory" as the ability of the human mind to preserve the individual and collective experience of interpersonal relationships; on the basis of it is constructed the individual understanding of history. In fact, it can be defined as the information available for the social identification of the individual and the community. Historical memory, both individual and collective, is the result of the interaction of an

¹ Л. В. Стрільчук, *Україна – Польща: від добросусідських відносин до стратегічного партнерства (кінець XX – початок XXI століття)* [Ukraine – Poland: from good-neighborly relationships to strategic partnership (late 20th – early 21st Centuries)], Луцьк, 2013, с. 9.

individual and the social environment. There is no historical memory without this interaction. In other words, historical memory is a kind of a human's identification with a certain culture.

In recent years many historians in the world have become increasingly interested in the problems of the historical memory. Among the many publications the following are worth mentioning P. Nora² and A. Kyrydon³, who have researched the theoretical aspects of the historical memory formation and its components. The works shed light on the events in Volhynia, contributing to a better understanding of their place in the domain of the historical memory content and providing clues to the social identification of an individual and the community. Polish and Ukrainian researchers, especially Eva and Władysław Siemaszko, G. Motyka, W. Wiatrowicz, M. Kuczerepa, V. Visyn, I. Pushchuk, V. Serhiychuk, B. Hud, Y. Hrytsak, and O. Kalishchuk lay emphasis on manifold aspects of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. The key findings of their studies reveal the causes and consequences of those tragic events.

The goal of this scientific research is the elucidation and balanced scientific interpretation of the causes, course, and consequences of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Volhynia during the Second World War, clarifying the influence of the historical events on the historical memory transformation in both Ukrainian and Polish societies. It is aimed at reconciliation of both approaches to the interpretation and evaluation of those events. True, unbiased coverage of historical facts, revealing the uncoordinated moments of the problem, and the disclosure of the facts to the general public is one of the ways of positive transformation of the historical memory concerning the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians in Volhynia, in 1943-1944.

THE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

In the years of 1943-1944 an unprecedented bloody conflict broke out on the territory of Volhynia, which (as a borderland for several centuries) was inhabited by Ukrainians and Poles. The long-existing conflict exacerbated greatly

² П. Нора, *Теперішнє, нація, пам'ять* [Present, Nation, Remembrance], Київ, 2014, 272 с.

³ Алла Киридон, «Історична пам'ять» у просторі політики пам'яті ["Historical memory" in the space of remembrance policy], in "Історичні та політологічні дослідження. Науковий журнал". Спеціальний випуск: доповіді на міжнародній науково-практичній конференції «Трансформації історичної пам'яті», Вінниця, 2018, с. 45-53 <http://jhpr.donnu.edu.ua/article/view/5112>

in the years of the war, reflecting the tense Ukrainian-Polish relationships of the previous decades. A brief historical analysis of the events that preceded that bloody conflict may contribute to better understanding of the ethnic confrontation between Poles and Ukrainians during the Second World War.

It is a commonly known fact that before the First World War, Volhynia was a part of the Russian Empire like most of the Ukrainian lands. At the end of the First World War, the political situation developed in such a way that since 1918 Volhynia had become the epicentre of the struggle between the two newly-formed states: the independent Ukraine and the Second Polish Commonwealth. In fact, the struggle for Volhynian land began in 1918, when the legions formed by Józef Piłsudski (with the support of the Entente) attacked the young Western Ukrainian People's Republic. Like the Western Volhynia and Western Belarus, this territory had become a part of the Second Rzeczpospolita.⁴ The Polish government tried to turn Poland into a mono-ethnic state by introducing “polonization”. According to the archival documents and memoirs of local residents, the Polish authorities confiscated the lands from the Ukrainians and handed them over to the Polish settlers.⁵ Commonly, they were soldiers and the retired officers of the Polish Army, as well as civilian volunteers from among Polish immigrants who lived in the so-called “crown lands” and received land plots on the territories of Western Ukraine (Western Volhynia, Polissia, Eastern Galicia) and Western Belarus during the interwar period. Probably, this fact by itself gave rise to the conflict between the Ukrainian and Polish population. The policy of “pacification” introduced by the Polish government strongly reduced its authority and had aggravated ethnic hatred of the indigenous ethnic groups (the Ukrainians) to the Poles. It also brought about mass arrests of the Ukrainian population in Volhynia and Galicia, violence against civilians, Ukrainian schools and Orthodox churches closure, and prohibition of the Ukrainian public-cultural institutions and organizations.⁶ The oldest and most respected (in that region) cultural public organization – “Prosvita” – was liquidated. This organization had been a promoter of the national

⁴ Л. О. Зашкільняк, М. Г. Крикун, *Історія Польщі: Від найдавніших часів до наших днів* [History of Poland: from the ancient times to present], Львів, 2002, с. 451 – 452.

⁵ *Трагедія українсько-польського протистояння на Волині 1938 – 1944 роки. Володимир-Волинський район* [The Tragedy of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in Volhynia in 1938 -1944. Volodymyr-Volhyniaskyi district], І. Pushchuk ed., Луцьк, 2011, с. 113–118.

⁶ Л. Стрільчук, В. Стрільчук, *Інституційні складові українсько-польських гуманітарних взаємин і співробітництва* [Institutional components of the Ukrainian-Polish humanitarian relationships and cooperation], Луцьк, 2013, с. 10.

interests of Ukrainians for more than half a century and carried out its activities on the territories of Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires.

The policy of “pacification” facilitated the radicalization of the Ukrainian resistance on these lands. The Second World War exacerbated relations between Ukrainians and Poles, having deepened pre-war strife and resulted in an inter-ethnic conflict. Yet, it would not be correct to assume that the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation in Volhynia during the war was purely interethnic. It was also strongly influenced by the intervention of the third forces: the Soviet partisans⁷ (among which there were Ukrainians who supported the Bolshevik ideology), the Polish Army Craiova (AK), Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).⁸ Each of the parties involved in incitement reinforced hostility between Ukrainians and Poles and did it purposely, hoping for political benefits.⁹ On the other hand, it was the civilian population of Volhynia, both Ukrainians and Poles, who suffered greatly of that interethnic hostility, some of them falling victim to this armed confrontation.

The above mentioned facts can be considered as powerful factors that caused escalation of the confrontation and development of the inter-ethnic conflict in Volhynia region in the context of the war. The German occupation exacerbated this interethnic dissension and enmity. The conflict between Ukrainians and Poles had turned into an armed one. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Polish Army Craiova appeared to be involved into it. The first priority goal of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Volhynia was to eliminate the Polish Government claims on the Volhynian land (once it had happened after the First World War)¹⁰. In addition, disloyal and opposing to UPA population was definitely reliable potential support for Germany and the USSR in implementation of their plans. By the beginning of the summer of 1943, UPA forces in Volhynia, according to various sources, numbered from 3 to 5 thousand fighters, and by the

⁷ О. Каліщук, *У тіні Волині? Історія vs пам'ять* [In the Shadow of Volhynia? History vs. Memory], Луцьк, 2016, с. 25–27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹ G. Motyka, *Od Parośli do Borodycy. «Antypolska akcja» OUN-B i UPA na Wołyniu I w Galicji Wschodniej 1943 – 1945* [From Parośli to Borodychy. «Anti-Polish action" OUN-B and the UPA in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia in 1943 - 1945], in S. Galij-Skarbińska (ed.), *Wołyń 1943. Pamięć złych czasów i symbol pojednania?* [Volhynia 1943. The memory of bad times and a symbol of reconciliation?], Toruń, 2014, p. 28.

¹⁰ B. Hud, *Ukraińcy I Placy na Naddnieprzu, Wołyniu i w Galicji Wschodniej w XIX i pierwszej połowie XX wieku*. [Ukrainians and Poles in Transnistria, Volhynia and Eastern Galicia in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries], Warszawa, 2018, p. 280 – 283.

end of the year this number had increased to 8-12 thousand.¹¹ The Polish partisan detachments in the region numbered 1,300 soldiers, and about 3,600 armed persons acted as self-defence bases. The Polish police collaborated with the Nazis and participated in the “pacification” of the Ukrainian villages. The police units numbered about 2,000 policemen. The 202nd battalion of the Polish “pomegranate” police arrived from the General Governorate, numbering 360 people to support them.¹² Dozens of nationally conscious Ukrainians of Podlaskie, Chełmszczyzna, Sian region and Łemkowszczyzna, who stood for the Ukrainian state revival, were decimated by the Poles in the first three months of 1943. As a matter of fact, it had happened before the bloody events in Volhynia started. Some of the illustrative facts of the case study are worth mentioning in this regard. On March 1, the representatives of Polish population killed a well-known Ukrainian leader Colonel Jakhov Voinarovskiy in Hrubieszów; on March, 19, the head of the local Support to Ukraine Committee, Mykola Strutynskiy was murdered, and on March 20 and 29, his assistants: Mikhail Novosad and Timofii Stakhurskiy.¹³ This list can be continued.

At that stage of the relationships exacerbation, Volhyniaians had not been involved into the bloody armed conflict of Ukrainian autochthons and Polish colonists. In their appeal to the Ukrainians of the Hrubieszów district on April 25, 1943, the Polish Underground claimed: “We recognize the Germans to be our common enemy, who, to satisfy their own goals, opposed Ukrainians against Poles in one neighbourhood, and the Poles against the Ukrainians in the other, and amuse themselves rejoicing the armed confrontation”. However, further we read: “Poland has always been here and will be. Ukraine has been and will be, but not on the land of Hrubieszów, because Ukrainians has never been masters there and will not ever be. Do not touch the lands of the Hrubieszów. It will not be either German or Ukrainian, but only Polish, and we will defend it until the last drop of

¹¹ В. В'ятрович, *Друга польсько-українська війна* [The Second Polish-Ukrainian War], Київ, 2011, 288 с.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 128-131.

¹³ В. Сергійчук, *Польсько-українське протистояння на Волині у роки Другої світової війни: причини, перебіг і наслідки*. [Polish-Ukrainian Confrontation in Volhynia during the Second World War: Causes, Evolution and Consequencies], in *У пошуках правди: 36. Матеріалів міжнар. наук. конф. «Українсько-польський конфлікт на Волині в роки Другої світової війни: генезис, характер, перебіг і наслідки* [Ukrainian-Polish Conflict in Volhynia during the Second World War: Genesis, Principal Features of the War, the Evolution and Consequencies], Луцьк, 2003, с. 162-191.

blood”.¹⁴ Moreover, the Ukrainians were warned and threatened: per each Polish village deported with the participation of the Ukrainian police, two Ukrainian villages will be burned down, and per each Pole killed by Ukrainians, two Ukrainians will be killed.¹⁵ These threats were quick to come true. On May 6, 1943, Polish gangs killed 6 peasants in Molakhov, 26 inhabitants of Striltsiv, and 4 – in Tuhan. Many patriotic-minded Ukrainians of the Hrubieszów region became victims of an outright terror on May 29.¹⁶

In April-October 1943, new victims from among the Ukrainians in Chełmszczyzna perished of the Polish attacks. Thus, on October 31, 1943, in Hrubieszów there was a memorial burial service to hundreds of peaceful Ukrainians who were murdered. The Ukrainian Central Committee made a statement in connection with these bloody events: “We do not want war with Poland. We did not conceive it. We argue that the Poles, being not provoked in any way by the Ukrainians, launched an imprudent attack on them. In Lublin and Krakow districts hundreds of Ukrainians perished of the attacks of the Polish terrorists, among them the heads and officials of the Ukrainian committees, the men of trust, teachers, priests, solicitors, policemen... In general, all the prominent authoritative citizens fall, and they fall from Polish bullets. Our people are being shot for many months, though we have not initiated that strife. Organized and tolerant Ukrainian citizenship has never allowed anyone to profit on such matters and we will neither allow nor accept expansion of anti-Polish moods, because we do not want a war with the Poles”.¹⁷ However, the repressive actions against Ukrainians in this region continued.

Indeed, we cannot ignore the fact that during the Nazi occupation, in the absence of legitimate power (either Polish or Ukrainian) there were retaliatory armed actions on both sides of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. The reports of the Soviet partisans mentioned that “many Poles voluntarily collaborate with the Germans, join the police units, and together with Germans destroy the Ukrainian villages, assassinate population, and fight against nationalists”.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Листування з радою Міністрів* [Correspondence with the Council of Ministers], in *Центральний державний архів Вищих органів влади та Управління у м. Києві* (ЦДАВО Укр.), [Central State Archive of the Highest State Power Bodies and Management in Kyiv (TsDAVO of Ukr.)], Ф. 3959, оп. 2, спр. 48, арк. 81.

¹⁵ *Листування з радою Міністрів...*, Ф. 3959, оп. 2, спр. 48, арк. 112.

¹⁶ В. Сергійчук, *Польсько-українське протистояння...*, с. 164.

¹⁷ *Листи та звіти по Українській РСР* [Letters and Reports on the Ukrainian SSR], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. 3833, оп. 1, спр. 136, арк. 1-3.

¹⁸ В. Сергійчук, *Польсько-українське протистояння...*, с. 165.

A careful study of the documents gives ground to argue that the armed conflict between the two peoples happened on the territory of Volhynia owing to the fact that the armed actions of the Ukrainians against the German invaders started just here, and the occupants managed to quarrel Ukrainians with Poles in Volhynia after the Ukrainian police units (under the orders of the OUN organization) were obliged to struggle against existing regime in the underground and joined the UPA ranks.

In April of 1943, the Nazis and Poles burned down 5 villages: Kostiukhnivka, Vovchits, Yablunka, Dovzhitsa and Zagorivka. And this is the result of only one action on the territory of the Lutsk district. At the same time, the Germans and the Polish "Shuts" Police attacked twice the Krasnyi Sad colony in Horokhivskiyi District, where 22 farms were destroyed and about a hundred of people were shot. In order to provoke the Nazis to anti-Ukrainian actions, the Polish policemen threw "compromat" into each hut – purposely put weapons and grenades into ovens, bunches of straw or some other places. Thus, in consequence of the Polish provocation acts the Germans committed the criminal massacre in several Ukrainian villages on the territory of the Horokhivskiyi district. On April 10, the inhabitants of Kniazhnyi were subjected to the most violent attack: 40 households were burned down and 172 people were killed. The occupants slaughtered the whole families using the lists compiled by the Poles.¹⁹

The Volhynia district delegate to the Government of the Republic of Poland in his appeal of July 28, 1943 clearly described the "true face" of the Polish population defenders in the western regions of Ukraine: "The Bolsheviks come to the Polish villages, offer their assistance in self-defence and in return, recruit Polish youths into their partisan detachments. If they fail in it, they sow panic among the population, rob the Polish defenders of weapons and kidnap people, then quietly escape to the forest. In a couple of days they can be seen at the head of the gangs that attack the same Polish population".²⁰

It happened so that during the Soviet era the very fact of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict was suppressed and disregarded. In the period of 90s of the twentieth century – early 21st century, the majority of historians, both Polish and Ukrainian, laid emphasis only on the losses of the Polish population. The issue of calculating the losses of the Ukrainian population of that time was not considered at all. The first study of the number of victims from the Polish side was carried out

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

by the Polish scientists Eva and Władysław Siemaszko²¹, but scientists in Ukraine began to elucidate this problem a little bit later. In fact, only in the last decade the problem of calculating the number of the Ukrainian victims of this interethnic conflict has become a hotly debated issue.

The complexity of the calculation is caused by the fact that some of the archival documents were destroyed during the Soviet regime period, and it is quite clear that during the Second World War no calculations were conducted. In addition, a rather long period of time (75 years) separating us from the events under question minimizes the survey data of the witnesses and participants of those events. The local regional studies and church metrical books partly provide an opportunity to count the number of Ukrainian victims of the conflict, and even these incomplete calculations confirm that the number of victims of the conflict on the Ukrainian side is measured by dozens of thousands.

It is important to emphasize that it is really hard to admit the truth of underlying causes of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict without each researcher's awareness of the fact that Volhynia is the Ukrainian land, and the Ukrainians have always lived in the majority here, and they definitely had the right to struggle for the revival of their own state during the Second World War. The recognition of this fact could help historians to comprehend those events as a historical rationale and therefore accept its consequences as a historical regularity. Unfortunately, modern Polish politicians and some of historians refuse to recognize the existence of a mass Ukrainian national liberation movement in Volhynia in the specified period, in particular prof. Władysław Filar²². They try to classify it as "a bandit

²¹ W. Siemaszko, E. Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia. 1939 – 1945*. [Genocide committed by Ukrainian nationalists on the Polish population of Volhynia. 1939 - 1945], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Von Borowiecky" T. 1-2, 2000-2008, 1460 s.

²² See: Władysław Filar, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Wołyniu w drugiej wojnie światowej* [Extermination of the Polish population in Volhynia in the Second World War], Warszawa, Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej, 1999, 149 s.; Idem, *Działania UPA przeciwko Polakom na Wołyniu i w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1943–1944. Podobieństwa i różnice* [UPA activities against Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia in 1943-1944. Similarities and differences], in Grzegorz Motyka, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Antypolska akcja OUN-UPA 1943-1944. Fakty i interpretacje*, Warszawa, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2002, s. 41-58; Idem, *Wołyń 1939-1944. Eksterminacja czy walki polsko-ukraińskie* [Volhynia 1939-1944. Extermination or Polish-Ukrainian fights], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003, 467 s.; Idem, *Wołyń 1939-1944*.

movement". This is a path to a deadlock, from which there is no way out. The communist ideologists, who described the activities of the "Polish Army Craiova" in this way, have already experienced the invalidity of such an approach.

CONTRADICTIONS IN CALCULATING THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT IN VOLHYNIA (1943 - 1944)

As it was mentioned above, today's Ukrainian historians are faced with the hotly debated number of victims in Volhynia in 1943-1944. In my opinion, the exact number of victims of the conflict cannot be absolutely determined; most likely it will be an approximate figure rounded up to tens of thousands on both sides. Polish and Ukrainian calculations are mainly based on pre-war census figures, and such data are far from perfect for several reasons. Firstly, the census was conducted not on the eve of the war, but several years before it, and consequently, the figures had changed, especially during the years 1939-1941, the period of the so-called "Soviet occupation". It is not a secret that the Soviet authorities carried out repressions, arrests, deportations of the civilian population to Siberia. Secondly, during the years of the war there was a large-scale migration of people: some left their homes escaping from military actions, some were killed during those hostilities, many were deported from the territory for the forced labour to Germany, etc. Thirdly, at the beginning of the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation, many Polish families left Volhynia voluntarily to save themselves. Therefore, we can talk about the number of victims only as approximated to the real possible.

There is every reason to assert that the Polish side operates with extremely inflated figures of victims from the Polish side of conflict. This is especially the point of view of Eva and Władysław Siemaszko, who claim that the number of Polish victims in the Volhynia Voivodeship is about of 60,000²³ (herewith acknowledging that it is quite an approximation) and Grzegorz Motyka²⁴, who

Historia, pamięć, pojednanie [Volhynia 1939-1944. History, memory, reconciliation], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Rytm, 2009, 271 s.

²³ W. Siemaszko, E. Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich...*, T. 2, s. 1056.

²⁴ See: Grzegorz Motyka, *Tak było w Bieszczadach. Walki polsko-ukraińskie 1943-1948* [So it was in the Bieszczady Mountains. Polish-Ukrainian fights 1943-1948], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Volumen", 1999, 551 s.; Grzegorz Motyka, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Antypolska akcja OUN-UPA 1943-1944. Fakty i interpretacje*, Warszawa, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2002, 165 s.; Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942-1960*.

announced 100,000 Polish victims on the territory of Volhynia, Eastern Galicia and Chełmszczyzna. Ukrainian historians and experts on region studies argue that the number of victims from the Ukrainian and Polish sides altogether range from 30 to 40 thousand people on each side.

In order to illustrate the exaggeration of the victim number of the conflict in Volhynia during the years of war, it is appropriate to mention some concrete real historical facts. The author of the article has carried out a partial inventory of the burial places of the conflict victims on the territory of the present-day Volhynia region. Thus, the Polish village of Dominopol, on the border between the modern Volodymyr-Volhynskiy and Turiisk districts of the Volhynia region, ceased to exist in 1943. It was burned down by the Ukrainian partisans as a revenge for the support of German punitive actions. As a matter of fact, according to the census made by the Germans in 1940, there were 54 estates in Dominopol, 45 of which were Polish and 9 were Ukrainian, and only 180 people lived in the village. Siemaszko²⁵ considers that in 1943 "250 people of the village were killed, probably Poles were in majority". The Ukrainian researcher I. Pushchuk, referring to a number of Polish sources, cites a number of 160 people. Nevertheless, on the site of the burned village there is a cross erected by the Poles, the inscription on which reads: "To 490 Poles, inhabitants of Dominopol, who died in 1943. Eternal Memory to You! The Compatriots". The number of the possible victims is almost doubled. Moreover, the cross has been erected without any permissive documents from the Ukrainian authorities, arbitrarily, and therefore illegally.

Another example is Okhnyvka, the village on the territory of modern Volodymyr-Volhyniyskiy district of the Volhynia region. Ukrainians lived in this village in the vast majority in the war time. According to the census of the population and the church metrical books there also lived three Polish families (8 persons). There is evidence that one of the Polish families left the village in 1939.

Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii [Ukrainian partisans of 1942-1960. Activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army], Warszawa, Rytm, 2006, 720 ss.; Idem, *Od rzezi wołyńskiej do akcji "Wisła". Konflikt polsko-ukraiński 1943-1947* [From the Volhynian Massacre to the "Wisła" action. Polish-Ukrainian conflict 1943-1947], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2011, 520 s.; Idem, *Cień Kłyma Sawura. Polsko - ukraiński konflikt pamięci* [The shadow of Kłym Sawur. Polish-Ukrainian conflict of memory], Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Oskar. Muzeum II Wojny Światowej w Gdańsku, 2013, 120s.; Idem, *Wołyń '43*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2016, 285 s.

²⁵ W. Siemaszko, E. Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich...*, T. 1, s. 914-916.

We cannot deny that there was an assassination of the Poles by Ukrainians in this village. It is a confirmed fact, indeed, but another fact strikes. When entering the village, you can see a memorial sign similar to the Dominopol cross, on which it is inscribed, that in the village of Okhnivka, 168 Poles perished “of the hands of Ukrainians” (in other words, they were killed by the Ukrainians). Unfortunately, there are no documents or evidence that could confirm the acceptability of this number. By the way, as in the first case, the local authorities did not give any permission to erect the cross, so it was installed arbitrarily, and accordingly, the figures on it do not have any certainty or credibility. In this case the number of victims is exaggerated at least 20 times.

We can offer dozens of such and similar examples, and they themselves testify to the far-fetched and obvious exaggeration of the figures of the victims of the conflict, at least from the Polish side. On the other hand, in Volhynia there are many villages, such as Krasnyi Sad of Horokhivskyi District, Honchyi Brid of Kovel District, Stenzharychi of Volodymyr-Volhynianskyi District, which were destroyed by the Poles, burned down, and all their inhabitants were killed. The historical memory does not recognize the one-sidedness in the elucidation and interpretation of the facts. Speculation on the tragic pages of history does not add credibility and reconciliation to either of the sides.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE UKRAINIANS AND POLES

It must be admitted that such a keen interest to the problems of the common history of Ukrainians and Poles have arisen only in the recent years. The study has revealed that during the last quarter of the century a lot of new mutually positive visions and stereotypes of two neighbouring nation attitudes to each other have been formed. Contemporary Ukrainians associate Poles with economic progress, successful reforms, prosperity, and stability. For the Poles, a Ukrainian is a good-natured, diligent immigrant worker, a hospitable and friendly neighbour: Ukraine is also a strategic partner. There is a noticeable tendency towards constant growth of positive mutual perception of Poles among Ukrainians and vice versa. The poll of 2000 in Ukraine showed that the Poles are in third place regarding the Ukrainians' adherence to them²⁶. In the period of

²⁶ О. Стогній, *Ксенофобією ми не страждаємо: українсько-польські відносини*. [We do not suffer from xenophobia: Ukrainian-Polish relations], in *Україна і світ сьогодні* [Ukraine and the world today], 2000, с. 7.

2001-2010 the number of those who perceive the Republic of Poland as a good neighbour has increased greatly in Ukraine; the typical Pole is perceived as a religious person and, at the same time, an enterprising one. It is evidenced by the results of a nationwide survey "The Perception of Poland and Poles in Ukraine".²⁷ Overcoming negative stereotypes in relation to each other and the formation of new, more positive in the minds of neighbouring peoples is an important component of the harmonious development of human relations²⁸. The institutional components of this type of interaction are quite diverse and multifaceted, and it is this fact that contributes to the spiritual convergence of Ukrainians and Poles and promotes integration of the two cultures.

Modern Ukrainian and Polish societies are experiencing a period of historical memory transformation, and the remembrance and reconsideration of the inter-ethnic Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Volhynia during the Second World War is an important element of it. Unfortunately, both societies have not yet managed to overcome and reject all the negative stereotypes. The main reasons for this, in our opinion, are the following:

- it is rather difficult to reverse deep-rooted prejudice syndrome in the minds of the older generation; it may take a long time, sometimes even generation change;

- the lack of economic and cultural attractiveness of Ukraine for Poland. The Republic of Poland has never considered Ukraine as a financial or technological partner; all the hopes and expectations of Poland for cooperation are definitely associated with the West;

- for the Polish society, the vast majority of which professes Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Greek Catholicism, the spiritual religious situation in Ukraine is alien and incomprehensible, and therefore the religious factor influences the public consciousness sufficiently;

- the issues of the common Ukrainian-Polish history have been in the focus of the political statements of the Polish political elite in the period from 2013 to 2016. Those claims exacerbated the historical accents of the Polish society on the conflict moments of the past and the events of the Second World War in Volhynia, in particular.

²⁷ Т. Градоблянська, *Відносини з Польщею – пріоритет для кожного четвертого українця* [Relationships with Poland – top priority for every fourth Ukrainian], in *Голос України* [Voice of Ukraine], 2010, с. 19.

²⁸ П. Нора, *Теперішнє...*, с. 168.

Let us consider the last item in detail to illustrate the problems of historical memory modern transformation. It becomes even more important in the context of the most recent statements made by the Polish political elite that caused great changes in the public opinion of the Poles concerning their eastern neighbours: the Ukrainians.

July of 2016 will enter the history of the Ukrainian-Polish remembrance discourse as a dividing line of disagreement, having nullified the achievements of the quarter-of-a-century dialogue of the intellectuals and political elite of the two countries. On July 22, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland voted for the resolution “On Determining July 11 the Day of Remembrance of the Poles, Victims of the Genocide Committed by the OUN-UPA”. The Sejm’s decision made the Ukrainian historians accept their defeat in the bilateral dialogue. As Yaroslav Hrytsak stated in his interview with one of the Internet publications: “I have to admit: it is too late to lock the stable-door when the horse has been stolen; and we have lost the «horse». I consider it a personal defeat and I am ready to take responsibility, but I am not going to give up. We lost the battle, not war. And this war seems to be quite long. Therefore, it is better to regroup forces and think of a new attack”.²⁹ The same decision of Polish authorities produced a kind of shock for the Ukrainian society, especially when we consider the quantitative results of the voting: 442 deputies voted for the resolution, 0 - against and only 10 deputies abstained. In fact, all the previous developments and progress in the domain of harmonization and interpretation of the common history appeared to be in vain. It concerns, first of all, the long-term dialogue of scientists on the issues of harmonization of the views on the common history. There were several significant events promoting this process: the joint statement of the presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland “To Mutual Understanding and Unity” of May 21, 1997, opening of the memorial to the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation in the Volhyniaian village Pavlivka in 2003, where the Presidents of both countries, L. Kuchma and A. Kwaśniewski were present; the elaboration of a common position concerning the creation of the “Eaglets' Memorial” in Lviv and later, on June 24, 2005 opening the memorial to the soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army, who perished in the battles for Lviv. The opening ceremony of “Eaglets Memorial” at the Lychakiv cemetery was attended by the presidents V. Yushchenko and A. Kwaśniewski.

²⁹ Я. Грицак, *Українсько-польські гуманітарні взаємини в 1991 – 2001 рр. шлях України та Польщі до прощення* [Ukrainian-Polish humanitarian relationships in 1991-2001: the Path of Ukraine and Poland to forgiveness], in “Новое время”, 2016, с. 2.

Another event worth mentioning is opening of the Monument-Memorial to the Ukrainians in the village of Pawlokoma in the Republic of Poland on May, 13 2016 (with the participation of the presidents V. Yushchenko and L. Kaczyński). On February 28, 2009 the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland took part in the ceremony of commemorating the victims of the inter-nation confrontation in the years of the Second World War at Guta Peniatska (Ukraine).

The Republic of Poland has not only always been a neighbourly state, a trade partner for Ukraine in the post-Soviet period, but also has become a strategic partner. It means deepening and expanding interstate cooperation in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres.³⁰ However, the human sphere and historical memory as its integral part appeared to be the most problematic and hotly debated issues in recent years. We provide a few examples to illustrate this statement.

1. Sharp aggravation of the issues of historical memory, their transformation toward the formation of negative socio-historical stereotypes is evidenced by the so-called “wars on the graves”, e. i. plundering places of national memory. The chronology of the last three years is a vivid illustration to this:

Year 2014: April of 2014 – at the Greek Catholic Cemetery a monument to the Ukrainian community of the village of Mołodycz of the Jarosław county of Podkarpackie voivodeship was destroyed; March of 2014 – the symbolic grave of the UPA soldiers was desecrated in Hruszowice of the Przemyśl county of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship; May 2014 – a repeated act of vandalism in Hruszowice; July 2, 2014 – at Wierzbica of the Tomaszów Lubelski County of the Lublin Voivodeship a memorial commemorating the Ukrainian victims of the communist repressions was damaged.

Year 2015: a commemorative sign for the UPA soldiers on the mountain Monastyr near the village Werchrata of Lubaczów County in Podkarpackie Voivodeship was profaned; a commemorative sign for the dead Ukrainians in the village Radruż, Lubaczów County of Podkarpackie Voivodeship was damaged; a commemorative sign to the UPA soldiers in the village Białystok Hrubieszów County Lublin Voivodeship was profaned; May 27, 2015 – a memorable sign on the symbolic grave of UPA soldiers in Hruszowice Podkarpackie Voivodeship was damaged.

Year 2016: March 5, 2016 – a monument to the Ukrainian community in the village Mołodycz of the Jarosław county of Podkarpackie Voivodeship was partly destroyed; May 15, 2016 – the graves at the Ukrainian military cemetery in

³⁰ Л. Стрільчук, *Україна – Польща...*, с. 205–206.

the village of Pikulice near Przemysl were plundered; October 9, 2016 – members of the ultra-right organization Obóz Wielkie Polski destroyed the monument on a mass grave of the UPA soldiers in the village Werchrata of Lubaczów County Podkarpackie Voivodeship.

Year 2017: January 8, 2017 – in the village Huta Pienyatska of the Lviv region unknown people destroyed the memorial to the dead Poles erected to commemorate the persons who perished during punitive actions in the Second World War; March 12, 2017, monuments to the victims of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict during the Second World War were painted in red in the village Pidkamin in Lviv region; March 14, 2017 - a commemorative memorial to the Poles in the village Huta Pienyatska of the Lviv region has been damaged the second time this year.

Acts of vandalism in places of national memory, of course, do not add any positive elements to the bilateral inter-nations relations. Their dynamics testifies the transformation of historical memory in both societies in the direction of exacerbation of contradictions in the interpretation and perception of the historical past.³¹

2. In autumn of 2016 a scandalous controversial feature film “Wołyń” by Wojciech Smarzowski was released on the Polish cinematography market. In this context, at least two conclusions can be suggested: the accents aggravation on the complex and negative pages of the common history of the recent past; attempts unilaterally distort the interpretation of the events of the Second World War in Volhynia, in particular the Ukrainian-Polish conflict.

Question arises: what is it aimed at and who benefits? Decree of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, dated July 22, 2016, and the release of the film “Wołyń” in October 2016, the two consecutive and powerful accents made by the Polish authorities and artists on the Volhynia events of 1943 – 1944, indicate to the aggravation of the problems of historical memory (at least from the Polish side). W. Smarzowski’s film ratings, the number of viewers who watched it, and the number of nominations that were awarded to it in March 2017 confirm that the problem of Ukrainian-Polish confrontation during the Second World War on the

³¹ Eadem, *Історична пам'ять українців та поляків: пошук шляхів примирення чи привід до конфлікту?* [Historical memory of the Ukrainians and Poles: searching the ways to reconciliation or pretext to a conflict?], in “Історичні та політологічні дослідження. Науковий журнал”. Спеціальний випуск: доповіді на міжнародній науково-практичній конференції «Трансформації історичної пам'яті», Вінниця, 2018, с. 179 – 180 <http://jhpr.donnu.edu.ua/article/view/5131>

territory of Volhynia went far beyond textbooks and has become a general social problem in the Republic of Poland. The greatest disappointment is that it happened after an agreement seemed to have been reached in this confrontation in 2003. Unjustifiably brutal scenes of the film, distortion of the historical facts, of course, do not add any positive features to the bilateral interstate relations, but more likely incite Polish society, instilling negative historical and social stereotypes into relationships with their Eastern neighbours -the Ukrainians. Due to the distortion of historical facts, the film "Wołyń" claims to be a leader in the nomination "A film that negatively affected interethnic relations". Nevertheless, the film has broken all the records of Poland over the last ten years. Judging from the number of viewers who watched it, we have to admit that it made a significant impact on the Polish society.³² According to the Polish statistics the consequence of the film release in Poland was mass negative perception the Ukrainians' role in the common history and negative attitudes to the state of Ukraine in general.

3. The assaults on the Ukrainian students in Poland are a vivid illustration of such state policy consequence. Not only the Ukrainian students but the Ukrainian migrant workers also have become objects of the open aggression. On January 17, 2016, local neo-Nazis attacked the workers in the town of Kutno in Łódź Voivodeship. The radicals attacked the hostel, shouting the slogans "Poland for Poles" and "Ukrainians, Get Out". Six Ukrainians came into view of the attackers. Witnesses say that the Poles broke into the room and crashed everything on their way. The attackers were armed with castes, stones and knives. Fortunately, the Ukrainians repulsed the attack, and the hooligans were taken to the police station.³³ These examples are only a small part of a series of similar cases. Such precedents become more and more frequent in Krakow, Przemysl, Lublin and other Polish cities, especially in the eastern provinces.

4. The shelling of the Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Lutsk. It is sad to state the fact that the "third force" arranges various provocations to exacerbate the confrontation in the Ukrainian-Polish relations. The most treacherous was shelling of the Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Lutsk from the grenade launchers on the night of March 29, 2017. As the media

³² А. Нінічук, *Концепт історичної пам'яті як чинник ускладнення українсько-польських взаємин* [Concept of historical memory as a factor of the Ukrainian-Polish relationships perturbation], in *VI Всеукраїнські політологічні читання імені професора Богдана Яроша* [VI All-Ukrainian Political Scientific Reading named after Professor Bogdan Yarosh], 2017, с. 78 - 80.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 78-79.

reported the unidentified people shot the building of the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Lutsk, and judging by the size of the hole in the roof, they could have shot from a grenade launcher or other serious weapons. The head of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin commented on the event: "I am confused by the provocation against the Polish Consulate General in Lutsk. This is quite a disgraceful action of those who oppose our friendship with the Republic of Poland".³⁴

The above mentioned examples negatively affect the bilateral Ukrainian-Polish relations and cast doubt on the achievements of the political and scientific elites of the two countries, risking complicating and again exacerbating the international confrontations. The transformation of the historical memory of the Ukrainian and Polish societies, overcoming negative stereotypes and the formation of new and more positive stereotypes in the minds of people, living in the neighbouring countries are important components of the harmonious development of the inter-state relations between Ukraine and Poland. The significance of historical memory in the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland is definitely increasing nowadays.

CONCLUSIONS

The centuries-long history of the Ukrainian-Polish relationships is saturated with many examples of mutual assistance, friendship and cooperation between the two peoples. Insufficiently explored pages of common history obstruct improvement and deepening of good-neighbourly relations between the two states and peoples. The Polish-Ukrainian confrontation in the 20s and 40s of the 20th century left a remarkable impact in the memory of both peoples. Ukrainian-Polish strife in the period of the Second World War was the culmination of the Ukrainian-Polish conflicts in the 20th century and it is particularly relevant to the events known as Volhynia tragedy of 1943-1944. They have caused significant social resonance, controversial assessments and interpretations in the national and Polish historiographies. Misinterpretations of certain historical facts still influence the socio-political life of both states and peoples, impeding the harmonious development of good-neighbourly relations between them. Some political forces, both in Poland and Ukraine, resort to various speculations, distortions, falsifications of events and facts, manipulate with the historical memory for the sake of short-term political benefits. Such tendencies have been

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

revealed in the course of preparation for “Volhynia Tragedy” anniversaries (60th, 70th and 75th anniversaries). The problem of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict has got a status of modern challenges that require thoughtful, balanced, reasoned responses, adequate in format and content. Moreover, some of them should be considered as the threats to the national security of the state. The factors that negatively affect the representation and well-balanced scientific interpretation of the events of the Second World War should be taken into account, including convergence of the approaches to their interpretation and evaluation by Ukrainian and Polish societies. Faithful, unbiased elucidation of the historical facts, revealing uncoordinated moments of the problem and disseminating them to the general public are one of the ways to facilitate positive transformation of historical memory concerning the inter-ethnic conflict between Poles and Ukrainians in Volhynia in 1943-1944. It is this way that seems to be the most effective and appropriate to smooth the confrontation between the Ukrainians and the Poles in their interpretation of the historical past.

CONTRIBUTION OF ARCHBISHOP VOLODYMYR STERNYUK TO THE EVOLUTION OF THE UNDERGROUND UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH

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Abstract: *This article analyses Archbishop Volodymyr Sternyuk's role in the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC). It explores the scientific and spiritual development of Volodymyr Sternyuk and his contacts with prominent personalities during his time as Church leader when the Church itself was abolished by the Soviet authorities. It examines his methods of pastoral and administrative work in the time when UGCC was restricted. The essay illustrates the interconnection of religious and national factors in Volodymyr Sternyuk's life. Research is based on interviews of parishioners and clergy close to Volodymyr Sternyuk as well as his own recollections.*

Keywords: *Archbishop, Volodymyr Sternyuk, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, underground Church, religious persecution, prison.*

Rezumat: *Contribuția arhiepiscopului Volodymyr Sternyuk la dezvoltarea Bisericii Greco-Catolice Ucrainene din catacombe. În acest articol este analizată importanța Arhiepiscopului Volodymyr Sternyuk pentru istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice Ucrainene (BGCU) din catacombe. Este analizată formarea spirituală și științifică a lui Volodymyr Sternyuk, legăturile sale cu diverse persoane ce au avut un rol decisiv în vremea sa, în cadrul bisericii "lichidate" de către puterea sovietică. Articolul pune în evidență metodele pastorale-sufletești și ale serviciilor administrative, pe care le folosea Arhiepiscopul Volodymyr Sternyuk în condițiile interzicerii activității BGCU. Este urmărită corelația factorului religios-național în viața lui Volodymyr Sternyuk. Acest material se bazează în principal pe interviuri prelucrate ale persoanelor apropiate de Arhiepiscop, al locțiitorului BGCU, ale unor mireni și clerici și pe memoriile acestuia.*

Résumé: *La contribution de l'archevêque Volodymyr Sternyuk au développement de l'Eglise grecque catholique clandestine d'Ukraine. Dans l'article il a été analysé le rôle de l'archevêque Volodymyr Sternyuk dans l'histoire de l'Eglise grecque catholique d'Ukraine clandestine. Il a été étudié la formation scientifique et spirituelle de Volodymyr Sternyuk, ses relations avec les personnes qui ont été déterminantes pendant la période de sa direction de l'Eglise "supprimée" par les autorités soviétiques. Il a été étudié les méthodes de l'activité pastorale et administrative qu'il a utilisées dans les conditions de*

l'interdiction de l'Eglise grecque catholique d'Ukraine. Il a été observé la corrélation des facteurs religieux et national dans la vie de Volodymyr Sternyuk. Le matériel est basé sur le traitement des interviews des personnes laïques et du clergé proche du locum tenens de l'Eglise grecque catholique d'Ukraine ainsi que des mémoires de Volodymyr Sternyuk.

INTRODUCTION

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is the world's largest Eastern Catholic Church. It plays a significant role in inter-church relations and the socio-political life of Ukraine. Since its establishment in 1596, the UGCC has been closely connected with the development of national spirit, patriotism and the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation. It is an important element in the relationship between the Catholic Church, the Constantinople Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. This is the status and significance which the UGCC acquired in 28 years following some 44 years of 'underground' existence.

After it was banned by the State authorities in 1946, the UGCC survived in the catacombs owing to Patriarch Josyf Slipy, Bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky and Archbishop Volodymyr Sternyuk, as well as the priesthood and parishioners of the small religious community. Josyf Slipy and Vasyl Velychkovsky were imprisoned and forbidden to stay in the USSR after their discharge; thus Volodymyr Sternyuk's leadership of the Ukrainian Underground Church was the most lasting. From 1964 he, as the Auxiliary Bishop, helped V. Velychkovsky to run the Church; from 1972 until 30 March 1991 he performed the responsibilities of acting Head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. It was Volodymyr Sternyuk who facilitated the process of the UGCC's legitimisation in 1989. He issued the authority to run the UGCC to Metropolitan Myroslav Lybachivsky, while remaining the Pontifical Primate.¹

ISSUES AND SOURCES

Archbishop Volodymyr Sternyuk is a symbol of the underground UGCC. However, there has been little research into the personality of one who was such a key figure in the movement. Studying his activities will contribute greatly to revealing the development of the world's greatest persecuted Church of 20th

¹ 29 вересня – 19-а річниця відходу у вічність Митрополита Володимира Стернюка [29th of September - the 19th anniversary of the passage to eternity of the metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk], <http://sobor-svyura.lviv.ua/12-lyutoho-%E2%80%95-den-urodyn-mytropolyta-volodymyra-sternyuka/> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

century. The research into Volodymyr Sternyuk's life reveals the truth about this outstanding personality who, while being persecuted for his faith, still kept the UGCC alive, led it from the catacombs, fostered people's devotion to their religion and promoted the Ukrainian national identity.

Analysing Volodymyr Sternyuk's leadership of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is important to identify the key problems between the UGCC and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which had been established on the basis of the Ukrainian exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, thus being beneficial to the ecumenical movement. Taking into account the global significance to the world community of the issues related to freedom of consciousness and faith, as well as the church-state relationship, it is very important to study the experience of Volodymyr Sternyuk's clerical management and the interconnection of Church and State power under conditions of religious persecution.

The author of the paper concentrates on the study of Volodymyr Sternyuk's activities, aiming to define his role in the history of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. It will enable the expansion of the issues raised in ecumenical, cultural and socio-political dimensions. Even today, a vast number of Soviet documents relating to Volodymyr Sternyuk are still inaccessible to researchers, which makes it difficult to study his activities. Oral history is the principal source for studying the development of the underground UGCC and Volodymyr Sternyuk's role in it. The most informative evidence has been provided by those closest to him – priests and bishops consecrated by him, stories of parishioners and monks to whom he delegated certain responsibilities, colleagues and people with whom he served terms of imprisonment. Therefore, the author used principally documents from the Archives of the Institute of Church History of the Ukrainian Catholic University.

As there has been little research into Volodymyr Sternyuk's life, papers and books dedicated to the underground period of the UGCC are of great value. Among them, it is worthy to note essays by authors such as Brett R. McCaw, T. Bublyk, S. Hurkina, A. Halemba and the books *Metropolitan Volodymyr: the 85th anniversary of birth and the 60th anniversary of pastorate of the Auxiliary Bishop of the Head Archbishop of Lviv Metropolitan Volodymyr Sternyuk*, *History of Religion in Ukraine: in 10 volumes. Vol. 4, Catholicism*. A significant role in the research belongs to the book *Passion and Resurrection – Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine 1939-1989* by Serge Keleher, which reveals many facts relating to the period of the underground UGCC. Its author, Serge Keleher, witnessed some of the events.

THE VOLODYMYR STERNYUK'S FAMILY AND CAREER

Volodymyr Sternyuk was born 12 February 1907 in Pustomyty, Lviv Region,

and died 29 September 1997. He is buried in St. George's Cathedral crypt, Lviv. He was brought up in religious and patriotic spirit. His father, Volodymyr Sternyuk (1870 – 1930), was a priest in Pustomyty (near Lviv) and Dean of Schyrets. His father's brothers, Petro (1880 – 1936) and Myron (1888 – 1977), as well as the future Archbishop's brother, Ostap (Yevstahy) (1909 – 1993, political prisoner), were Greek Catholic priests.² His mother, Yevhenia Konovalets (1873 – 1930), came from a clerical family.

Through family ties, Volodymyr was close to well-known representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. His father's brother, Ivan Sternyuk, married Emilia Krushelnytska, a sister of the world renowned singer, Solomia Krushelnytska. His mother was an aunt of a famous political and military figure, Yevhen Konovalets (1891 – 1938), of the Ukrainian Military Organisation and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The sisters of Acting Head of the UGCC, Orysa (Iryna) (1911 – 1987) and Oksana (1898 – 1960), the wife of professor Severyn Levytsky, Chief Ataman of Ukrainian Plast (Scouts), Head of Chief Plast Team, emigrated to the West.

Volodymyr studied in a state school in Pustomyty (where he completed two years) and the Lviv Academic Gymnasium; he was a member of Plast³ – Ukraine's National Scout Organisation. On completing the fourth year in the gymnasium in 1921, Volodymyr Sternyuk moved to Belgium under the guardianship of the Redemptorists⁴. He continued his education in Essen (Belgian province of Antwerp) and in 1925 entered the Monastery of Redemptorists. On 21 September 1926, he took his first vows and began studying in the seminary. He studied at the Universities of Beauplateau and Leuven. He took his eternal vows in Beauplateau on 21 September 1929.⁵

On 19 June 1931, in Leuven (Belgium), Volodymyr Sternyuk took priestly

² В. В. Гаюк, М. О. Гуменний, М. М. Омельчук, І. М. Петрів, *Митрополит Володимир: до 85-річчя від дня народження і 60-річчя пастирської діяльності Архієпископа Містоблюстителя Верховного Архієпископа Львова Митрополита Володимира Стернюка* [Metropolitan Vladimir: at the 85th anniversary of the birth and 60 years of pastoral activity of the Archbishop Vicar of the Supreme Archbishop of Lviv, to the Metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk], Львів, Логос, 1991, p. 4.

³ *Interview with Fr. V. Sterniuk*, Archive of the Institute of Church History (AICH) of Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU), no. 1664, p. 6.

⁴ Redemptorist – a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, a Catholic order devoted to the education of the poor (<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Redemptorist>).

⁵ *Велет Підпільної Української Греко-Католицької Церкви* [The titan of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic clandestine church], <http://www.cssr.lviv.ua/news/?article=2075> (Accessed on 25.11. 2017).

vows from the apostolic Exarch for Ukrainians in Canada, Vasyl Ladyka. On the initiative of the UGCC's Metropolitan, Andrey Sheptytsky, Volodymyr Sterniuk returned to Ukraine in summer 1932.⁶ He performed missionary work, holy services and duties in Kovel, as well as in Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil, under the guidance of Mykolay Charnetsky, Blessed Holy Martyr of the UGCC. Since 1942, he stayed in Lviv in the monastery of St. Klymentiy, Rite of the Holiest Deliverer (C.Ss.R.) in 56 Zyblykevych Street, (currently I. Franko Street); he was a Counsellor and Secretary to the Vice-Archegumen, a Belgian, Jozef de Vocht (1881 – 1956).⁷ On 20 March 1946, the Bolsheviks closed the monastery and the Redemptorists were taken to Holosko (together with the Redemptorists from Ternopil, Stanislaviv and Zboiyska).

VOLODYMYR STERNIUK'S IMPRISONMENT

During the time of UGCC's persecution, Volodymyr Sterniuk became a library assistant at the Lviv State Ivan Franko University, having been recommended by a professor of this University.⁸ He performed his pastoral duties unobtrusively. On 18 June 1947, Volodymyr Sterniuk was arrested in the library and accused of collaboration with Ukrainian nationalists. He was subjected to interrogation with torture at night. After one particular beating, Fr. Volodymyr could not return independently to his cell; he was carried there, thrown to the floor and was made to stand in cold water, while water dripped onto his head.

At first Volodymyr Sterniuk was accused of receiving confessions from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's underground soldiers.⁹ Then another accusation followed - he was instrumental in procuring documents for the permission to leave the USSR for Lyuba Voznyak-Lemyk,¹⁰ wife of Mykola Lemyk who, in 1933, told the world about holodomor (starvation) in Ukraine. Lyuba Voznyak-Lemyk was a sister of Vasyl Bandera's wife, who was a Stepan Bandera's brother. Fr. Volodymyr Sterniuk was accused of collaboration with underground nationalists and was ordered to reveal information about the Head of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych.¹¹

⁶ 29 вересня – 19-а річниця відходу у вічність...

⁷ О. Шейко, *Слідами сповідника віри Володимира Стернюка* [Through the words of the witness of the faith Volodymyr Sterniuk], <http://www.hroniky.com/news/view/8454-slidamy-spovidnyka-viry-volodymyra-sterniuka> (Accessed on 25.11. 2017).

⁸ *Interview with Fr. V. Sterniuk...*, no. 934, p. 2.

⁹ В. В. Гаюк et al., *Митрополит Володимир...*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹ *Interview with Fr. V. Sterniuk...*, no. 934, p. 6.

Volodymyr Sterniuk was requested to renounce Catholicism and adopt the Russian Orthodox Church. "They knew that I would never deny my faith. They asked if I knew Kostelnyk. I said that I didn't know him. So I denied it. They suggested that I should go to him and betray my faith, like he betrayed his faith."¹² At USSR KGB emergency meeting, according to Article 5.33 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, he was sentenced to 5 years hard labour in Yertsevo prison, Arkhangelsk region of Russia. While serving his sentence, he worked cutting trees in the forest and later, owing to the assistance of a doctor co-prisoner, he became a sanitary attendant for prisoners. Despite provocations and denouncements during his imprisonment, he secretly held Holy Liturgies and performed sacraments. In particular, he received the confession of a prisoner who was expecting capital punishment. The sacrament of confession was carried out in a whisper while they were lying on a bunk.

On 13 June 1952, Volodymyr Sterniuk was discharged. He returned to Pustomyty; however, because of his conviction, he could not find any work. Later he was employed at the Lviv City Greenery Trust and as an accountant in Sknyliv.¹³ From 1955, he worked as an ambulance service attendant. Through his friend, a doctor from the East, he started studying as a doctor's assistant at the Correspondence Department of Medical College No 1, 70 P. Doroshenko Street. After his graduation in 1959, he worked as a doctor's assistant until retirement in 1967. He combined his work with pastoral duties.

VOLODYMYR STERNYUK AS A UGCC BISHOP

The Head of the UGCC, Josyf Slipy, was arrested by NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) on 11 April 1945; he spent 18 years in prison. In a short period of time, other Bishops were arrested, thus the Church remained without guidance. "In the face of torture and death, not one Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop renounced his loyalties to the Holy See nor signed into the state-imposed Orthodoxy".¹⁴ UGCC clergy and parishioners were persecuted.

Between 1945–1989, "twenty bishops were secretly consecrated (five of them were regarded as "titular bishops," who would start their episcopal duty only

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 934, p. 4

¹³ B. В. Гаюк et al., *Митрополит Володимир...*, p. 19.

¹⁴ B. R. McCaw, *Pro Deo et Patria: The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian National Life – Past and Present*, in "University of St. Thomas Journal of Law and Public Policy", Vol. 9, no. 1 (2014), p. 103.

in case of an arrest or death of an acting bishop). Almost all of them received a full seminary education in the 1930s and early 1940s (with the exception of five younger bishops), eleven of them belonged to religious orders (four to the Basilians (OSBM), five to the Redemptorists (CSsR), and two belonged to the Studites). All of the underground bishops were persecuted by the Soviet authorities. Moreover, seven of them of the pre-war generation (with the exception of Pavlo Vasylyk) were in Soviet prisons and labour camps during Stalin's regime in 1940–50s and five of them were arrested and sentenced a second time in late 1950s–1960s.¹⁵ In 1946 the Soviet authorities organised a pseudo-council at which they announced the 'reunification' of Greek Catholics of the Galician Metropolia with the Russian Orthodox Church, effectively banning the UGCC. The cathedrals and property of the latter were handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 1950s the Greek Catholic clergy began to return from imprisonment. In 1963 Pope John XXIII addressed the General Secretary of the USSR, Nykyta Khrushchov, requesting the release of Patriarch Josyf Slipy so he could participate in the Second Vatican Council. The American President, J. F. Kennedy, also requested his release. The Patriarch was released but he was forbidden to stay in the Soviet Union. Thus before his departure to Rome, Josyf Slipy sent a telegram to the Redemptorist Fr. Vasyl Velychkovsky (1903 – 1973, who had been freed in 1955), in which he asked him to come immediately to Moscow. During his three day stay in the capital, on 4 February he consecrated Velychkovsky as Lutsk Bishop and Titular Archbishop of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine.¹⁶

On 2 July 1964, Volodymyr Sterniuk was secretly ordained by Vasyl Velychkovsky as a Peremyshl-Sambir Bishop and was appointed as his assistant. In January 1969, Blessed Holy Martyr Vasyl Velychkovsky was arrested for the second time, and after his release in 1972, he was exiled from the USSR.¹⁷ Volodymyr Sterniuk then assumed the leadership of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Until Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lyubachivsky's (who was Josyf Slipy's successor on the Metropolitan Throne) returned to Ukraine on 30 March 1991, V. Sterniuk was acting Head of the UGCC.

¹⁵ S. Hurkina, *The Response of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics to the Soviet State's Liquidation and Persecution of their Church: 1945-1989*, in "Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe", Vol. 34, no. 4 (2014), p. 7.

¹⁶ Блаженний Священномученик Василь Величковський [The humble holy martyr Basil Velicicovschi], in <http://www.cssr.lviv.ua/saints/vasyl-velychkovskyy/> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

In Volodymyr Sterniuk's accommodation in 30/19 Chkalov Street¹⁸ (today Tuhan-Baranovsky Street), a communal flat with shared facilities, the principal issues of the UGCC life were decided. His room served as a Metropolitan's Hall. It was searched more than once. For fear of eavesdropping, V. Sterniuk carried on some of his conversations in writing, immediately destroying the notes.

Volodymyr Sterniuk was spied upon, there were searches, confiscations, interrogations and warnings.¹⁹ In particular, the consecration which he carried out on 9 May in Rudno near Lviv was discovered: "The sacrament was interrupted by security officers who filmed the event in order to blackmail the Bishop. This attempt at blackmail was not successful, and the film was not shown to the public, as it was 1986 – the 40th anniversary of Lviv pseudo-council. By making this video public, the Soviet authorities would have admitted their defeat, because it was considered that there were no notorious Uniats, but suddenly there was a consecration proving that there were still priests and bishops of a non-existent Church."²⁰

Within the underground UGCC there were disagreements concerning ritual issues and the patriarchate, as there was a lack of experienced clergy and education in seminaries was not systematic. The clergy and parishioners were divided into two groups– those who supported change and their opponents. Bishop Volodymyr Sterniuk and Vasyl Velychkovsky belonged to the first group. Fr. Dorotey, OSBM, pointed out that owing to them Greek Catholic clergymen received information about the course of the Second Vatican Council: "Bishop Sterniuk and Bishop Velychkovsky have extensive information. They actively introduced Eastern liturgical changes in the Lviv Region. At once there appeared some kind of division among priests."²¹

RUNNING THE UNDERGROUND CHURCH

During its underground existence, the key objective of the Ukrainian Greek

¹⁸ А. Колодний, П. Яроцький (eds.), *Історія релігії в Україні у 10-ти томах, Т. 4. Католицизм* [The history of religion in Ukraine in 10 Volumes, vol. 4, Catholicism], Київ, Світ знань, 2001, p. 492.

¹⁹ В. В. Гаюк et al., *Митрополит Володимир...*, p. 28.

²⁰ Н. Поліщук, *Interview with Fr. T. Vyblyk "Мені не потрібні отці, я не маю храмів. Мені потрібні мученики! До 110-ліття від дня народження Володимира Стернюка"* [I do not need Fathers, I have no cathedrals. I need martyrs! To the 110th anniversary of the birth of Volodymyr Sterniuk], <http://www.xic.com.ua/z-zhyttja/11-intervju/432-2017-02-11-15-50-40> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

²¹ *Interview with D. Shymchiiy (Fr. Dorotey, OSBM)*, AICH of UCU, no. 1644 (Buchach, 18 July 1999), p. 9.

Catholic Church was to preserve the Church hierarchy, which enabled the Church to exist. "The important land-marks of religious identification (as Catholics) for the underground believers were the underground priests, who were seen as those who remained faithful to the Vatican despite all diversity."²² As the UGCC had no churches, priests held Divine Liturgical services, carried out sacraments, provided education of seminarists and catechism in private houses of trusted followers.

One of Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniyuk's priorities was training future priests and assisting their further development. He revived the Andriy Pervozvanny Fraternity of Priests and amended its regulations regarding the conditions of pastoral care in the underground.²³ In 1990, it was mainly Archbishop Volodymyr who distributed religious literature which came from abroad,²⁴ but it was often confiscated. "The Roman Catholic Bishop Joseph Stimfle of Augsburg visited Metropolitan Volodymyr in September and gave him a hundred Catholic Bibles (in Russian); within minutes of the German bishop's departure two Soviet officials came to the Metropolitan's room and demanded that His Beatitude hand over the Bibles legally, and possession of Bibles in the USSR was not a crime."²⁵

As there were no seminaries, the training of seminarists was executed by individual priests. In Lviv, in particular, Fr. K. Panas taught history of the Church.²⁶ Seminar groups were created. One of the most numerous was the group of Vasyl Semenyuk (currently Archbishop and Metropolitan of Ternopil-Zboriv of the UGCC), who was appointed by Archbishop Volodymyr as Rector of the underground Holy Spirit Seminary in 1975. Tuition lasted 6-8 years. As there were no text-books in Ukrainian, Volodymyr Sterniyuk made translations from French and Latin. However, the first written copy of the text-book in moral Theology was burned by a seminarist under threat of being arrested; the second one was confiscated by KGB officers during their search and only the third one was copied.

Volodymyr Sterniyuk conducted the examination of candidates to the clergy and recommended priests for their pastoral work. The candidate had to be at least 24 years old before he could be consecrated but, owing to the conditions of the

²² A. Halemba, *Negotiating Marian Apparitions: The Politics of Religion in Transcarpathian Ukraine*, Budapest & New York, Central European University Press, 2015, p. 263.

²³ *Interview with Fr. I. Halimurka and Fr. B. Smuck*, AICH of UCU, no. 2209 (Sambir, 14 September 2001), pp. 2, 7.

²⁴ *Interview with Y. Zubrytskyy*, AICH of UCU, no. 1021-23 (Lviv, 28 February 1996).

²⁵ S. Keleher, *Passion and Resurrection – Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine 1939–1989*, Lviv, Stauropegion, 1993, p. 123.

²⁶ *Interview with Fr. P. Mendelyuk*, AICH of UCU, P-1-1-1115 (Lviv-Kryvchyci, 21 December 1999), p. 18.

underground Church, there were some exceptions. Consecration took place in the presence of witnesses, so that they could confirm the act of sacrament.²⁷ Following the instruction of the Patriarch Josyf Slipy, Volodymyr Sterniyuk kept no register of priests thus avoiding any possible discovery by the political authorities.

Consecrations of new bishops and priests were held in secret. Archbishop Volodymyr did not allow them to speak about it even to their relatives, except to their wives. The latter were asked for their permission for the consecration, because if the secret were revealed, the whole family could be arrested. Later on, recollections were held for them. "The way of consecrating Uniat Cult ministers and activists has been destroyed... The act of training of future consecration becomes actual after a priest starts his role. Thus, in 1986 Bishop V. Sterniyuk (Lviv) secretly consecrated four persons from Ivano-Frankivsk Region."²⁸

Before consecration, Archbishop Volodymyr personally examined the applicants. The priests, consecrated by him, noted that he was demanding. "There were cases when the Bishop postponed consecration of a particular candidate for a year, setting him the task of improving his academic standard. Sometimes, in the underground, a candidate's education was of no great importance, but Archbishop Volodymyr treated it as essential. He did not allow everyone to participate actively in work, instead he formed a reserve group in case one of the existing underground priests who were being monitored by security officials were imprisoned."²⁹ Archbishop Volodymyr gave great consideration to Ordination. Fr. Bohdan Smuk recalls that before his priestly consecrations in 1970, Archbishop Volodymyr said that he did not need priests, because he did not have cathedrals. "I need martyrs! If you want to die for Christ and the Church, I'll take you!" During his service in the underground Fr. Bohdan Smuk looked after 150 parishes.³⁰

In spite of the Archbishop being demanding in religious and organisational

²⁷ А. Колодний, П. Яроцький (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 505.

²⁸ *Постанова Ради у Справах Релігій при Раді Міністрів УРСР "Про роботу по подоланню проявів уніатства в Івано-Франківській області"* [The council decision on religious matters of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine "On the activity of removing the Uniatism's manifestations in the Ivano-Frankivsk region](26 May 1987), Державний архів Тернопільської області, no. 3241, оп. 2, спр. 125, pp. 42–45.

²⁹ Н. Поліщук, *Interview with Fr. T. Vybylyk...*

³⁰ "Висвячений на мучеництво". *У часи підпілля о. Богдан Смуk опікувався 150 парафіями* [„Anointed for martyrdom". During the clandestine period, Father Bogdan Smuka took care of 150 parishes], in <http://archive.catholicnews.org.ua/visvyachenii-na-muchenitstvo-u-chasi-pidpillya-o-bogdan-smuk#point> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

issues, his contemporaries characterised him as a sociable, kind, open and caring man. He united people around Christ by his charisma. He used to say, especially to priests, that a Christian should be joyful.³¹ In the community of clergy he was called “Father”, and addressed “Tatunyu” (Ukr. Daddy). The Archbishop helped those who needed it, frequently visiting the laity and parishes.

In 1990, Volodymyr Sterniuk restored the Holy Spirit Seminary of Lviv, which had been abolished by the Soviet authorities in 1945. During September-October, theological studies took place in the Cathedral of Transfiguration, then in half-ruined premises of a holiday camp “Hrenada” in Rudno, near Lviv. The first appointed rector was Bishop Philemon Kurchaba. As he could not fulfil his duties owing to poor health, the Archbishop appointed Volodymyr Chuchman to the position of Rector of the Holy Spirit Seminary of Lviv; he organised intensive training for a group of future priests.³²

Volodymyr Sterniuk took care of Greek Catholic communities not just in Western Ukraine. For example, he delegated a Studite, Fr. Sebastian Dmytrukh, to carry out pastoral services in Kyiv. Fr. Sebastian’s monthly trips to Kyiv took place between 1985 and 1990, when Archbishop Volodymyr allowed him to reveal his identity to a local underground priest, Valeriy Shkarubsky. The Archbishop also took care of the Greek Catholic community of the town Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Region of Russia: after priestly consecration on 28 August 1983, Fr. Yaroslav Spodar, C.Ss.R., began pastoral services for local Ukrainians. On the initiative of Volodymyr Sterniuk, until 1990 he visited him with annual reports and brought word of pastoral service in Siberia.³³ He was also addressed by people from Belarus, the Baltic coast and overseas diaspora. Bishop Isidore of Toronto carried out an historic Divine Liturgy with Metropolitan Volodymyr in Lviv on 21 September 1988 – the feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God.³⁴ At the end of 80s he consecrated into the priesthood married candidates from the USA and Canada, because the local bishops had no authority to do it.³⁵ In 1991, while on a visit to the United States of America and Canada, he met representatives of different confessions and political parties and he gave interviews.

In the process of organisation of Church life, Archbishop Volodymyr did not

³¹ *Interview with O. Krypyakevych*, AICH of UCU, no. 2467–70 (Lviv, 21 January 2003).

³² *Interview with Fr. V. Chuchman*, AICH of UCU, no. 1930–31 (Lviv, 23 August 2000).

³³ *Володимир Стернюк: служіння в підпіллі* [Volodymyr Sterniuk: serving in clandestinity], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lHoUB4AYFxU> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

³⁴ S. Keleher, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³⁵ *Володимир Стернюк: служіння в підпіллі...*

pay much attention to the formation of structures. In spite of obstacles to the centralised running of the Church, he was assisted by trusted people – clergy and laity – in developing communications. In particular, if it were not possible for the local clergy to solve some issues, an individual was elected who met the Archbishop; following this, his answer concerning ritual, moral or some other issue was passed to others. Owing to the lack of coordination outside Lviv, priests requested that Volodymyr Sterniyuk appoint Deans. As he did not have sufficient information about the clergy, he gave them the following answer: “I ask you to come together, to have a meeting and choose the Dean yourselves; the minutes of the meeting and recommendations of at least two priests should be sent to me.”³⁶ Fr. Yaroslav Chukhniy stated that there were no official positions, only counsellors: “He sought advice from different people, then he gave his opinion. His consultants never met together as a single group.”³⁷ The first person nominated for the position of His Grace, the Archbishop’s Secretary was Fr. Roman Shafran. This appointment came into effect after the St. George’s Greek Catholic Cathedral in Lviv was handed over to Greek Catholics on 19 August 1990.³⁸ As he required assistance in running the Church and preserving the apostolic heritage at the age of 78, Volodymyr Sterniyuk began apostolic consecrations. On 23 January 1985 the first to be given Ordination by Volodymyr Sterniyuk was a Redemptorist Protohegumen, Philymon Kurchaba. Earlier, he had been proposed to obtain the Archbishop’s consecration by Vasyl Velychkovsky.³⁹ On 30 September 1986 Yulian Voronovsky, M.S.U., hegumen of the Studite monastery, was ordained as an Auxiliary Bishop of Lviv Archeparchy by Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniyuk. On 11 October 1986 Fr. Sabryha was also consecrated to the Episcopate, however both he and Yulian Voronovsky were forbidden to reveal these Ordinations. The two Bishops began their service after the exit of the UGCC from underground in 1989.⁴⁰

Expansion of the laity movement was an important issue in Volodymyr Sterniyuk’s activities. He used every opportunity to meet people. He could, for example, visit a Ukrainian music concert in the Philharmonic Society wearing his “vyshyvanka” (Ukrainian national embroidered shirt). He collaborated with

³⁶ *Interview with Fr. I. Hovhera*, AICH of UCU, no. 2137 (Dobryany, Lviv oblast, 28 April 2001), p. 17.

³⁷ *Interview with Fr. Y. Chukhniy*, AICH of UCU, no. 1 (Lviv, 09 May 2000), p. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Interview with Bishop Ph. Kurchaba*, C.S.S.R., AICH of UCU, no. 1, sprava 142 (Lviv, 2–3 June 1993), pp. 30, 49.

⁴⁰ *Interview with Bishop M. Sabryha*, C.S.S.R., AICH of UCU, no. 1, sprava 321 (Ternopil, 30 March 1994), pp. 31, 47.

contemporary Lviv intelligentsia. He was an honorary member of Lviv Medical Community. He treated the young with special piety and took an active part in the revival of the Christian youth movement. In particular, he gave his blessing to "Plast" activities of the "Kyiv Griffons" group. At his blessing, a delegation of three people came to Lviv from Kyiv. On 6 May 1990 for the first time since the revival of the Ukrainian State, the Plast swore an oath in Bykivni (now part of Kyiv).⁴¹ On 12 August 1990, Volodymyr Sterniuk took part in the first oath of allegiance of a revived Plast in Lviv which was held in Shevchenko Grove and delivered Holy Liturgy there.⁴² The Archbishop blessed the 25th congress of "The Ukrainian Youth to Christ" which was held on 8 September 1990 after a break of fifty seven years. He greeted the audience and conveyed an address from Pope John Paul II and Myroslav Ivan Lyubachivsky. Forty thousand young people⁴³ took part in a symbolic march from St. George's Cathedral to the Druzhba stadium (now called Ukraine stadium).

The Church authorities and parishioners actively revived the UGCC. In the course of its legalization, Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk closely cooperated with public figures and politicians, defending the concept of an apolitical faith. In particular, he refused to give his blessing to setting up a Christian Democratic Party.⁴⁴ At the end of 1980s, he attempted to solve the issue of legalization of the UGCC in the Supreme Council of the USSR,⁴⁵ he organised trips of envoys to Moscow, delegating Bishop Philymon Kurchaba.⁴⁶ On 25-26 June 1990, an Extraordinary Synod of the UGCC was held in Rome, the first after the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church in 1946 in which all Bishops of the UGCC from Ukraine and abroad participated. Archbishop Volodymyr analysed the state of the Church at the time of its exit from the underground. The following information was made public: "The Church was served by an Archbishop and six Bishops (three more

⁴¹ А. Євтушенко, *Історія становлення Пласту в Києві* [The history of the formation of Plast in Kiev], <http://kyiv.plast.org.ua/new/plsen-volodymyr-skorobsky-hm-qistorija-stanovlennja-plastu-v-kyjeviq/> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

⁴² М. Дяків, *Знайдено архівне відео про відродження Пласту у 1990 році* [An archive video about the Plast resurgence in 1990 was found], <http://www.plast.org.ua/news?newsid=9896> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

⁴³ Х. Кутнів, *Історія* [History], <http://umh.org.ua/ua/events/82> (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

⁴⁴ *Interview with O. Kruyakevych*, AICH of UCU, no. 2467-70 (Lviv, 21 January 2003).

⁴⁵ В. Пащенко, *Греко-католики в Україні: від 40-х років ХХ століття до наших днів* [Greek Catholics in Ukraine: from the 1940s of 20th century until nowadays], Полтава, Видавництво Полтавського педагогічного університету, 2002, p. 489.

⁴⁶ *Interview with Bishop I. Marhitych*, AICH of UCU, no. 1911-14 (Selo Borzhavske, Zakarpatska oblast, 03 August 2000), p. 39.

Bishops worked on the territory of Mukachiv diocese), 456 priests, 258 of which came from the Russian Orthodox Church. There were about 1.5-1.8 million parishioners. Over 100 churches were registered, though 803 churches were actually functioning."⁴⁷ 14 points were discussed which had been promulgated by the UGCC Bishops on 22 March 1990. At the Synod, Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk's activities in the time of the underground Church were acknowledged.

CONCLUSIONS

At the time of his priesthood, Redemptorist monk Volodymyr Sterniuk fulfilled missions in the towns of Western Ukraine. One year after the abolition of the UGCC, he was imprisoned for 5 years for collaboration with Ukrainian nationalists. He did not join the Russian Orthodox Church. During his imprisonment, he secretly carried out spiritual services and performed sacraments risking his safety more than once. After his release, he worked in secular establishments and secretly performed his pastoral service. As Auxiliary Bishop he helped Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovsky. Volodymyr Sterniuk was acting Head of the UGCC in Ukraine prior to Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lyubachivsky's return to his country.

In spite of persecution, being spied upon and interrogated, he preserved the apostolic inheritance in the UGCC. He actively collaborated with parishioners, in particular, concerning the development of inter-church communication. He took part in cultural and socio-political events, including those for the young, which facilitated closer relations with laymen and fulfilled their religious requirements. He implemented decisions of the Second Vatican Council.

Archbishop Volodymyr coordinated the activities of bishops and priests; paid particular attention to educating seminarists and personally examined them. After the UGCC exit from the underground, he revived the seminary. He maintained ties with the UGCC communities outside Galicia and the USSR, in particular in Canada and USA. Volodymyr Sterniuk's activities were apolitical. He was a steady, consistent strategist. Together with the clergy and laymen, he contributed to the UGCC's exit from the underground.

⁴⁷ *Українська Греко-Католицька Церква. Історія (кінець 80-х років XX століття – до наших днів)* [The Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church. History (end of the 80's of the 20th century until nowadays)], https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/reference/major_religions/45455/ (Accessed on 25.11.2017).

**THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA
AND MOLDAVIA ON OTTOMAN FOREIGN POLICY
AT THE TIME OF SELIM III (1789-1807)**

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Abstract: *The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia had an important place in the relations of the Ottoman Empire with the Central and Eastern European States. From the second half of the 17th century, Greek families (Phanariot) from the Phanar area of Istanbul gained important function in the Ottoman foreign policy and diplomacy. The most important of these functions were the interpretation for the central administration and the Ottoman navy. Subsequently, they also carried out other interpreting services such as embassy translations. Instead of traditional Boyars, the Princes/Hospodars (Voivodes) of Wallachia and Moldavia were appointed by the Sultan from among these Greek families from 1711 onwards. The reign of these Greek families in Wallachia and Moldavia lasted about 110 years until the Greek Revolt of Mora in 1821. As source of information about Russia, Poland, Austria and Prussia, these princes played a key role for the Ottoman foreign policy. In this context, this paper will examine the role of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia on Ottoman foreign policy within the context of Europeanisation of Ottoman Diplomatic channels in the era of Selim III (1789-1807).*

Keywords: *Wallachia, Moldavia, Ottoman Foreign Policy, Selim III, the Phanariot.*

Rezumat: *Rolul Principatelor Țara Românească și Moldova în politica externă otomană din timpul lui Selim al III-lea (1789-1807). Principatele Țării Românești și ale Moldovei au avut un loc important în relațiile dintre Imperiul Otoman și statele din Europa Centrală și de Est. Din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea, familiile grecești (fanarioții) din zona Fanar din Istanbul au câștigat o poziție importantă în politica externă și diplomația otomană. Cea mai importantă dintre aceste funcții a fost cea de traducători în slujba administrației centrale și a marinei otomane. Ulterior, ei au efectuat și alte servicii de interpretariat, cum ar fi traducerea pentru ambasadă. În locul boierilor tradiționali, principii din Țara Românească și Moldova au fost numiți de sultani din rândul acestor familii grecești, începând cu anul 1711. Domnia acestor familii grecești în Țara Românească și Moldova a durat aproximativ 110 ani până la Revolta Greacă de la Mora din 1821. Ca surse*

de informație despre Rusia, Polonia, Austria și Prusia, acești principii au jucat un rol cheie în politica externă otomană. În acest context, lucrarea va examina rolul Principatelor Țării Românești și Moldovei asupra politicii externe otomane în contextul europenizării canalelor diplomatice otomane, în epoca lui Selim al III-lea (1789-1807).

Résumé : Le rôle des Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie sur la politique étrangère ottoman dans la période de Selim III (1789-1807) *Les Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie occupent une place importante dans les relations de l'Empire ottoman avec les États d'Europe centrale et orientale. Dès la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle, les familles grecques (Phanariote) de la région de Phanar à Istanbul ont acquis une fonction importante dans la politique étrangère et la diplomatie ottomane. La plus importante de ces fonctions était l'interprétation pour l'administration centrale et la marine ottomane. Par la suite, ils ont également effectué d'autres services d'interprétation tels que des traductions d'ambassade. Au lieu des boyards traditionnels, les princes (voïvodes) de Valachie et de Moldavie ont été nommés par le sultan parmi ces familles grecques à partir de 1711. Le règne de ces familles en Valachie et Moldavie dura environ 110 ans jusqu'à la révolte grecque de Mora en 1821. Sources d'information sur la Russie, la Pologne, l'Autriche et la Prusse, ces princes jouèrent un rôle clé dans la politique étrangère ottomane. Dans ce contexte, cet article examinera le rôle des Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie sur la politique étrangère ottomane dans le contexte de l'eupéanisation des canaux diplomatiques ottomans à l'époque de Selim III (1789-1807).*

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, the role of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia on Ottoman foreign policy will be examined within the context of Europeanisation of Ottoman Diplomatic channels in the era of Selim III (1789-1807). Under Selim III's reign the Ottoman Empire initiated to reorganise some of its basic institutions along European lines. One of the vital reforms of the period concerned with diplomatic practise and the benefit of the Europeanisation of the permanent Ottoman diplomatic representation. Therefore reforms in Ottoman foreign policy and its organisations are very important in the time of Sultan Selim III. In this paper, we try to examine the role of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia on Ottoman foreign policy through some Ottoman and British archival sources.

Some of the questions to be asked in this paper are: What were Wallachian and Moldavian principalities and how did they becomes one of the channels for Ottoman foreign policies with European countries? We shall try to demonstrate the importance of the reports of the Principalities on European political, economic, commercial, cultural and diplomatic affairs and their communications

with border countries such as Russia and Austria at that time. The paper will also be dealing with the background of the Principalities, their education systems and services as scribes in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Thus we aim to examine the appointment of the Principalities, their functions as Principals/Hospodars, and their social, commercial and cultural activities.¹

AN OUTLINE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

The Ottomans ruled their subject territories according to Islamic law. The interpretation of Islamic rule adopted by the Ottomans prompted the division of subject territories according to their relationship with the central authority. Vassal principalities were part of *dar-ül-ahd* (the House of Peace), an intermediary regime between that of *dar-ül-Islam* (the House of Islam) and *dar-ül-harb* (the House of War). The lands around the Black Sea did not all share the same status under Ottoman rule. Therefore, the territories mostly inhabited by the Muslims on this region such as Anatolia, Bulgaria and southern Georgia became parts of *dar-ül-Islam*, and were administrated as provinces of the Empire. Within the Empire, the *dar-ül-ahd* regime was applied to northern Georgia (Gürcistan), Wallachia (Eflak), Moldavia (Boğdan) and Transylvania (Erdel). In such situations a native ruler from a princely family occupied the throne, and the political, administrative, military, judicial, and ecclesiastic institutions were preserved. The boyars elected the prince (Dieta in Transylvania) and the Sultan confirmed this decision. After the consolidation of Ottoman power, the Sultan ceased consulting local landowners in the appointment of titular rules.²

From a political point of view, the Danubian principalities enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy under the Ottoman rule; they were not colonised by immigrants from other parts of the Empire, land was not confiscated from existing owners, and Muslims were prohibited from owning and building mosques in these lands. The rulers of the principalities were obliged to have the same friends and enemies as the Ottoman Sultan, and to take part in all military

¹ A general study on these Principalities' rulers and their backgrounds, lives, and activities in the Ottoman bureaucracy belongs to Zeynep Sözen, *Fenerli Beyler. 110 Yılın Öyküsü (1711-1821)* [Phanariot Princes. The Story of 110 Years (1711-1821), İstanbul, 2000.

² Viorel Panaite, *The Re'ayas of Tributary-Protected Principalities (the 16th-18th Century)*, in "Romano-Turcica", İstanbul, 2003, Vol. I, p. 83-116.

campaigns organized by him.³ Transylvania, which was to become an independent principality, enjoyed a superior status to compare to Wallachia and Moldavia, mainly because it was a neighbour of the Austrian Habsburg Empire.⁴ Compared to Moldavia and Wallachia during the period of Ottoman rule, Transylvania possessed more independence in the election of their princes. The principal pressures imposed by the Ottoman Empire on the region were military and fiscal. Important defence posts, such as the fortress of Ackerman, were occupied by units of Janissaries. In some cases, such forts also became the headquarters of a territorial unit, such as the *sancaks* created around Tighina fort in 1538, put under the authority of a *bey* (local Turkish ruler), and the transformation of the fortress Hotin into a *rayah* in 1716, which included not just the territory of the fortress, but also some villages from the vicinity of Soroca, Iași, and Cernăuți. The Turkish authorities encouraged the movement of Muslim Tatars into Moldavia and Wallachia. The number of Tatars was gradually raised from 30.000 in the second half of 16th century to 45.000 in the middle of the 18th century in Moldavia. They were called the Tatars from Bucak or Nogay.⁵

The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were obliged to pay *harac* (official tribute) and *peşkeş* (official gifts to the sultan and his magistrates). From the 17th century onwards, the principalities paid the Ottomans a new money tribute called “*mükerrer*”, which to start with was paid once every three years (the big *mucarer*), then annually (the small *mucarer*). The principalities were obliged to offer the Ottomans grain, cattle, wood for ship construction, and other commodities. The tribute for Moldavia was set at 10.000 florins, then increased to 15.000 in 1575, and by the end of 16th century, the *harac* paid by Moldavia had increased from 8.000 galbeni (gold money) to 65.000, while the tribute paid by Wallachia went up to 155.000. Meanwhile, the *peşkeş* were much reduced. The ownership of property was restricted. The property of princes, boyars, and

³ Aurel Decei, *Boğdan* [Moldavia], in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [I.A.], Vol. 2, p. 697-705; Idem, *Eflak* [Wallachia], in *İ. A.*, Vol. 4, p. 178-189; Kemal Karpat, *Eflak* [Wallachia], in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [TDVİA], Vol. 10. p. 466-469; Abdülkadir Özcan, *Boğdan* [Moldavia], in *TDVİA*, Vol. 6. p. 266-271.

⁴ The Ottoman legal sovereignty and the legal background of the Principalities are studied by Viorel Panaite in his article *Power Relationships in the Ottoman Empire: The Sultans and the Tribute-Paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, in “International Journal of Turkish Studies”, 2001, Vol. 7, no. 1-2, p. 26-53.

⁵ “15th-18th Centuries”. *The Black Sea: A History of Interactions*, Council of Europe, Gyldendal Publications, Norveç, 2004, p. 95.

monasteries was requisitioned by the Ottoman Empire, and divided among the military victors. New territorial divisions were created for fiscal purposes (*rayahs*). The local leaders of Christian Orthodox church answered directly to the Metropolitan Church in Istanbul.⁶

The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia gained an important situation due to the change imbalance of powers at the end of the 17th century. After the Siege of Vienna in 1683 and the Peace of Carlowitz, the 17th century ended in the turmoil represented by a significant change in the patterns of power around the Southeast Europe and the Black Sea. The golden age of Poland as a great power, linked Baltic Sea and Black Sea, came to an end. Instead, the Ottoman Empire continued its wars with the Habsburgs on the Danube and the fringes of south Eastern Europe, and with Spain in the Mediterranean, although serious defeats at the end of the century checked further advances in that region. Two new powers appeared at the extremities of Europe. Hohenzollern Dynasty, the electors of Brandenburg, turned Prussia into secular fiefdom of the Polish kingdom, made the enlarged territory into an independent state in the middle of the century. Russia (Muscovy) expanded significantly, acquiring Kiev and Western Ukraine, as well as exploring eastwards into Siberia. Although the Russia of the new Romanov Dynasty had yet to assert itself on the shores of the Baltic Sea, it had an active role in the South Eastern Europe through its religious and cultural links with most of the peoples in the region.⁷

The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia had to carve out a policy of their own between these growing states. They were subjects, albeit with a degree of international autonomy, of the Ottoman Empire. But these principalities were also Christian states with a long tradition of conflict with their sovereigns. In the leadership of Austria, Russia, Venice, Poland and Papal State set up a Holy Alliance against the Ottoman Empire after the Siege of Vienna in 1683. The Austrian offensive after the Siege of Vienna, and their seizure of Transylvania, represented an important message for the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. Some of them even had secret contacts with them, although first of them was obliged to accompany the Ottoman army to the siege of Vienna. After the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), the orientation of some political groups in Wallachia and Moldavia

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95-96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96. See also Michal Wasiucionek, *Placing the Danubian Principalities within the Composite Ottoman Empire*, in *Turkey & Romania, A History of Partnership and Collaborations in the Balkans*, Istanbul, 2016, p. 167-180.

towards an alliance with Austria and Russia grew stronger.⁸

This period was also one of significant cultural development. The last echoes of the Renaissances, and the first signs of the Baroque, were observed in the architecture of the period. Printing activity increased. Great personalities were in active in this period, and the princes were sponsoring cultural activities such as printing, the opening of new schools, and the bestowal of promising young people to study abroad, invitations to illustrious teachers to visit the country. Some of them, like Dimitrie Cantemir, were in contact with other important European intellectuals and had a thorough knowledge of the region. But all of them were also involved in politics. Constantine Cantacuzino, the brother of Serban Cantacuzino and the uncle of the Hospodar Constantine Brâncoveanu, was even beheaded for his involvement in politics, while Dimitrie Cantemir, winner of a Berlin Academy prize, ended his years in exile, in Russia, as a close friend of Czar Peter I, and Chancellor of the Russian Empire. This developing intellectual life of principalities ended with Russian aggrandizement against the Ottomans. The ambiguous attitude to the imperial government of Constantin Brâncoveanu, who was executed for having alleged treachery against the Ottoman Empire, and the outright alliance of Dimitrie Cantemir, the prince of Moldavia in 1710-1711, with Peter I against the Ottomans, persuaded the Ottoman authorities to change their attitude towards the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. From 1711 onwards in Moldavia and from 1715 in Wallachia, the princes were no longer to be elected in the traditional way by the boyars. Instead, they were selected and appointed by the Sultan from among the Greek families from the Phanariot area of Istanbul. Some of them, at least those who enjoyed a longer reign, proved to be rulers with a special interest in the cultural development of the Principalities, promoting activities such as the translation and printing of new books; the development of the school system; increasing the number of principalities students abroad, and the encouragement of foreign teachers to the principalities, the construction of monasteries, which acted as cultural centres. These were the main areas of cultural evolution during the 18th century. Principalities involvement in regional politics had to be restricted and closely watched by the Sultans. These princes were valued by the Ottoman authorities not for their culture, but their fidelity and loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, which could not be taken for granted, particularly in view of the fact that Austria was beginning to expand her own Empire towards South-eastern Europe. Such as, in 1716, Austrian troops enter Walachia, with the aim

⁸ "15th-18th Centuries". *The Black Sea...*, p. 96.

of occupying it. The then Prince of Wallachia, Nicola Mavrocordat, father of Constantine, decided to retreat towards the Danube, hoping for a swift response from the Ottomans. Not only the prince but also the entire court including metropolitan Antim retreated. But later on Antim left Bucharest, probably wanted to reach an agreement with Austrians. As legal representative of the prince, during a possible vacancy of the throne, he would have had a major role to play. Prince Mavrocordat decided that Antim had acted as an enemy, and deposed him. Later, Antim was confined to a monastery, thus the ruler decided on a drastic way of getting rid of a troublesome cleric.⁹

In the 18th century antagonism between Russia and the Ottoman Empire continued to develop. The Ottomans generally tried not only to preserve their territories on the northern coast of the Black Sea, but to expand them. In Russia, Peter I made an access to the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea the main goal of his foreign policy. After Peter I this policy became Russians traditional foreign policy to expand against the Ottoman territories. In the 18th century the absence of any compromise in the situation caused four wars starting from 1710-1711, 1736-1739, 1768-1774 and lastly 1787-1792. The result of the Russo-Turkish wars of the 18th century was the annexation of the northern coast of the Black Sea, from the Dniester to Kuban including Crimea, to Russia. Thus, active economic and cultural development began soon afterwards in this annexed territories. The Black Sea coastal steppes were colonized by Russian settlers and opened to the spread of Russian culture at the expense of Muslim Turkish and Tatar people. Russians built a number of new towns, including Odessa, Sevastopol, Nikolaev, Ekaterinoslav and Kherson, appeared on the coast. Since the consolidation of Russia's power in the Azov Sea and on the northern coast of the Black Sea, foreign trade began to develop via southern ports especially Taganrog, Odessa, Sevastopol and Kherson. The proportion of the Black sea trade was not large, because the Ottoman Empire did not let any foreign ships pass through the straits, but later wheat export in the Black Sea became very important. Since 1774 Russian trade ships got the right of free navigation in the Black Sea, and it led to the growth of Russian Black Sea trade. For the next 20 years, to the end of the 18th century, its turnover grew from 400.000 to 2.000.000 roubles.¹⁰ Especially the port of Odessa, which was founded in 1794, and had an advantageous geographical position, was closely connected with the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97-99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 104-105.

agricultural development of the northern coast of the Black Sea.¹¹

In the second half of the 18th century Russian-Turkish relations grew very complicated. The main reason for this was annexation of Crimea, Bessarabia, and Kuban by Russia. The Crimea was an object of the Ottoman Empire's recover of the plans. The first war of the second half of the 18th century between Russia and the Ottomans began, in 1768, with the invasion of Poland by Russians. It ended in 1774 with the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, under which the Ottomans acknowledged the ceding of Bessarabia, Kuban and Crimea. After Küçük Kaynarca Russia made favourite trade treaty in 1783 and declared annexation of the Crimea in 1784. In 1780, Russian Czarina Catherine II signed a 'secret treaty' with and Austrian Emperor Francis I and that act obliged it to become a member of anti-Ottoman coalition. Carrying out its obligations, Russia organised political campaigns against the Ottomans in the European capitals. The origins of the war were the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from Europe and division of the spoils among the secret treaty signatories in a mutually satisfying way. According to this agreement Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia would be united in a new independent Orthodox state to be called Dacia. Russian influence over it would be assured by the appointment, as the first prince, of the Count Potemkin, Catherine II's old favourite and commander of his southern armies. Russian annexation continued towards the great fortress of Hotin on the Dniester as well as the area lying between the Dnieper and the Bug. In addition, the Great Greek Project and the Russian presence in the East Mediterranean would be established by the occupation of a few strategic Ottoman islands. Austria would take over the western part of the Balkans – Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the strips of land along the Dalmatian coast still under the control of the dying Venetian Republic, which in compensation would receive the Morea and the strategic island of Crete and Cyprus. The Ottoman Empire responded to this harmful initiation by declaring war against Russia in 1787.¹²

¹¹ After the treaty of of Küçük Kaynarca, the Black Sea was firstly opened to Russians merchant ships, later to the other European countries. A. Üner Turgay, *Trade and Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Trabzon: Elements of Ethnic Conflict*, in B. Braude, B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, New York, 1982, Vol. I, p. 287-318.

¹² Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden Bir Padişahın Portresi. Sultan I. Abdülhamid (1774-1789)* [Portrayal of a Sultan from his own Pen. Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789)], İstanbul, 2001, p. 201-233; K. Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar –XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı – Prusya Münasebetleri* [The Great Friedrich and the Ottomans – The Ottoman-Prussian Relations in the XVIIIth Century], İstanbul, 1985, p. 97-169.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE HOSPODARS OF THE PRINCIPALITIES ON OTTOMAN FOREIGN POLICY

The result of the Ottoman-Russian and Austrian War of 1787-1791 was the annexation of the Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia to Russia. When Selim III came to throne on 7 April 1789, the Ottoman Empire embroiled in a disastrous war with Russia and Austria for more than over a year. At the beginning of the Ottoman and Russian-Austrian war, in April 1788 Austrian force captured Jassy without resistance as the result of the help of Alexander Ipsilanti, who deserted the Grand Vizier at a crucial moment in the campaign. Therefore, Ottoman rule in northern Moldavia came to an end, and the way was opened for the Austrian Armies and Russian armies to Bessarabia and Wallachia. Russia and Austria had an advantageous situation in that area; during the rest of the war, most of these territories were occupied by Russia. Russian occupation ceased with the conclusion of peace treaties with Austria Sistova and with Russia Jassy. At the beginning of the reign of Selim III these principalities were mostly under the control of Russian occupation and thus there was not any role of these principalities on Ottoman foreign policy. After the conclusion of mentioned peace treaties with Russia and Austria, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were in action again in their posts Bucharest and Jassy. During this war, the prince of Walachia was Nicola Mavroyeni 1786-1790 and Michael Sutzo I 1791-1793. After Alexander Ipsilanti's desertion, in April 1788, the Moldavian Principality was vacant until the appointment of Aleksander Morusi in 1792.¹³

Especially with the conclusion of Jassy Peace Treaty, the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia had taken their duties on internal and external affairs of their territories. Out of the six Phanariot families ruled in Wallachia and Moldavia in the time of Selim III (1789-1807). Mavroyeni, Sutzo, Mourisi, Ipsilanti, Hançerli and Kalimaki's were remarkable for their representatives to occupy the principalities' throne.¹⁴ Before coming to the Prince of Principalities, these Phanariot families were mostly served as a dragoman or chief interpreter of the

¹³ Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New. The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971, p. 21-68; Filiz Bayram, *A Wallachian Lord in 1787-1792 Ottoman-Russian-Austrian War in Ottoman Sources: Nikola Mayroyani, in Turkey & Romania. A History of Partnership and Collaborations in the Balkans*, Istanbul 2016, p. 297-308.

¹⁴ Zeynep Sözen, *Fenerli Beyler...*, p. 117-175.

Sublime Porte communicating with foreign countries. The Secretary of Ottoman Foreign Office, Reis Efendis, were rarely ever well-informed regarding European politics, or even frequently, the location of European states, thus, they were forced to rely on the Phanariot dragomans of the Porte dealing with western diplomats. The position of dragoman of the Porte was a very minor functionary who spent much of his time in the ante-chambers of the Ottoman officials whom he served. However, gradually, as Ottoman foreign relations and policy became more complex and the dragomans came to be indispensable in the conduct of diplomacy. So their lot improved radically; they acquired honours, titles, authority, influence, fame and wealth. Before the Phanariot families, up to the middle of the 17th century, the dragomans were usually Jews or Europeans converted to Islam. After that period, however, leading Greek Orthodox Families of Phanar of Istanbul began to Europeanise themselves by educating their sons in Italian universities, such as Padua, Rome, Venice, Florence and Milan. They were able to provide the requisite talents. Some of the earliest Phanariot dragomans served as interpreters for both the Ottomans and European embassies. At the same time, the Ottoman ruling elite probably became aware of the full worth of their talents as a result of skilful performance of Alexander Mavrocordat at the negotiations for the Treaty of Carlowitz. They also became prepared linguistically and intellectually to receive the new western ideas which penetrated the Empire during Selim III's reign. As we already mentioned above that starting from 1711 onwards in Moldavia and from 1715 in Wallachia, the Porte began to appoint the Phanariot dragomans regularly as Hospodars/Princes/Voivodas of the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. The posts of dragoman and Hospodar were monopolized by a half -dozen or so Greek families.¹⁵

The dragoman's function was to translate notes exchanged between foreign representatives and the Sublime Porte, and to interpret for the Reis Effendi during

¹⁵ Thomas Naff, *Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807*, in "Journal of the American Oriental Society", 1963, no. 83 (3), p. 295-315. Of 31 princes from 11 different families who ruled in Wallachia and Moldavia during the Phanariot period, seven sentenced to death, and a few were executed at their own courts of Bucharest or Iasi. The first deposed Wallachian Phanariot Hospodar was famous Alexander Mavrocordat's son, Nicola, in 1709. From the same family Constantin Movrocordat six times appointed to this post after five times deposed and exiled to Limnos. For detailed information see, Cafer Çiftçi, *Bâb-ı Ali'nin Avrupa'ya Çevrilmiş İki Gözü: Eflak ve Boğdan'da Fenerli Voyvodalar (1711-1821)* [Two Eyes of the Sublime Porte in Europe. The Phanariot Hospodars in Wallachia and Moldavia (1711-1821)], in "Uluslararası İlişkiler", 2010, no. 26, p. 27-48.

negotiations and whenever the latter, The Grand Vizier, or the Sultan received European emissaries. When the Reis and the Grand Vizier accompanied the army on campaign, he or one of his chief subordinates went with them. Starting from the second half of the 17th century, 18th and a part of the 19th centuries, dragomans used often to conduct negotiations under their own direction, but not on their own initiative; generally, they were accompanied by an Ottoman official who observed their work. Most of the diplomatic exchanges which took place at the Sublime Porte were between the dragoman of the Porte and the interpreters of the various embassies; minutes were taken by a chancery scribe and/or an embassy secretary or second interpreter. Also he was occasionally sent for by an envoy for talks, or he might go to an embassy charged by the Reis, with a particular mission. The dragoman of the Porte had his own small staff and subordinate interpreters to assist him in his duties, the latter usually being younger members of the leading Phanariot families training for the post.¹⁶

Thus the dragomans were persons of some importance in the hierarchy of the Sublime Porte and were treated accordingly by the diplomatic corps. Moreover, because their duties brought them into frequent contact in both an official and an unofficial capacity with the resident envoys in Istanbul, the interpreters became vital channels of the information for Ottoman officials. However, while the dragomans for the most part served the Ottoman government well and loyally, there were some who amassed large fortunes through divulging state secrets to foreign representatives. In some cases revealing government secrets by a dragoman occurred during the time of Selim III and this kind of incident caused the Sultan to issue an edict ordering all officials to take an oath of silence about affairs of state. But similar problems persisted into this period and also manifested themselves among the interpreters who served Ottoman Embassies in their new posts in European capitals. After the establishment of the permanent embassies in major European capitals, some of the interpreter's treachery came to light such as the first permanent ambassador to Paris, 1797-1800, Morali Esseyid Ali Effendi, had a Greek interpreter named Codrika, who had been subverted by French Foreign Secretary Talleyrand; Codrika had passed on to him all communications arriving from the Porte to the embassy. Thus, some of the Ottoman ambassadors like Halet Effendi, Ottoman ambassador in Paris, 1802-1806, disliked and were suspicious of Greek interpreters.¹⁷

¹⁶ Thomas Naff, *Ottoman Diplomacy and the Great European Powers, 1789-802*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1961, p. 66-67.

¹⁷ Idem, *Reform and the Conduct...*, p. 300-301.

However, the dragomans and the Hospodars were the primary source of information on Ottoman Foreign Office prior to the establishment of permanent Ottoman Embassies in the major European capitals until Selim's reign. Actually, before this date, the Ottomans depended primarily upon two sources for information about events in Europe. One was the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, the other was the dragomans of the Porte. The Hospodars maintained agents in the capitals of the central and Eastern Europe who provided them with unsifted and often inaccurate reports which they in turn transmitted to Istanbul.¹⁸ After the treaty of Küçük Kainarca, during the reign of Abdülhamid I and Selim III, communications between the Principalities and the capital were unreliable and at times even impossible, owing to the breakdown of central authority and resultant disorders and brigandage. Petty brigands and powerful rebels like Pasvaoglu Osman Pasha of Vidin, Yillikzade Süleyman Ağa, Tirsinklioglu İsmail Ağa controlled nearly all the major routes in the Balkans and at times cut off the capital by land for weeks. When they were isolated, the Porte had to rely for news on the dragomans and on a secondary source, which was often, useful although biased—the European envoys. The Reis Effendi might tap them directly or, frequently, the envoys themselves volunteered information, which was usually shaded to suit their political objectives. When the Ottomans felt strong enough or so long as the Empire had little fear from European powers, these arteries of diplomatic communication sufficed to furnish Ottoman officials with all they cared to know about west. However, even before Selim III's reign, this system had become lambently inadequate, and after 1789, with crisis mounting upon crisis, its retention was intolerable to the security of the Empire. Thus, the problem of communications bulked large in generally program of reforms and specifically diplomatic reforms of Selim III.¹⁹

The main stone of diplomatic reforms was based on establishing of the permanent embassies at the capitals of European countries. Selim III set out to renovate the diplomatic machinery of the Empire at the start of his reform program. He realised that keeping abreast of events in Europe was indispensable

¹⁸ Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçinkaya, *The Meeting of the Foreign Envoys by the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in the second Half of the 18th Century: The Case of the Embassy of Reprin to Istanbul (1775-1776)*, in *Turkey & Romania. A History of Partnership....*, p. 237-258; Hacer Topaktaş, *What Happened Beyond the Border: Some Reports of Moldavian and Wallachian Voivods Related to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1764-1795)*, in *Turkey & Romania. A History of Partnership....*, p. 271-286.

¹⁹ Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New....*, p. 338; Thomas Naff, *Reform and the Conduct....*, p. 302-303.

to the security of his state. His first major move constituted a break with unilateralism. In 1792 he began modernizing diplomatic communications and techniques by assigning the first of several resident missions to the major European capitals. The first permanent Ottoman ambassador Yusuf Agah Effendi was appointed on 13th July and arrived to London on 21st December 1793. Following Yusuf Agah's missions in London, the new Ottoman embassies opened in Paris, Berlin and Vienna in 1797. Apart from the establishment of the embassies, the Porte had adopted other diplomatic rules and machinery of Europe. Despite all these diplomatic changes, the accounts of permanent Ottoman ambassadors in general reflected their incompetence as observers and information as gathers. These deficiencies, combined with the Porte's failure to create effective lines of postal communication on both land and sea routes, thus beggared the Ottoman government of new.²⁰

The activities of the Ottoman Foreign Department and their replacements were taken into consideration by diplomatic missions of European countries. Such replacements were reported by British ambassador Sir Robert Liston on 26th August 1794 and on 9th May 1795. In his first report he notes that Mehmed Dürri Effendi replaced Mehmed Raşid Effendi as the Reis Effendi and Prince Callimachi replaced as the Dragoman of the Porte on 20 August 1794. Dürri Effendi was third Plenipotentiary at the congress of Sistova and of Jassy. Callimachi worked in the Chancery office before the Russian war. In his report of 26 August 1794 Liston states that "They are neither of them esteemed to be men of ability; but they have high character for integrity, and have a sincere regard for religion, circumstances which in the present moment may possibly operate in our favour".²¹ Another report of Liston dated on 6th May 1795 notes that the Dragoman of the Porte

²⁰ Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, *The First Permanent Ottoman Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Agah Efendi to London (1793-1797)*, Istanbul, 2010; Idem, *Mahmud Raif Efendi as the Chief Secretary of Yusuf Agah Efendi, The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Ambassador to London (1793-1797)*, in "OTAM 5", 1994, p. 385-434; *Bir Avrupa Diploması Merkezi Olarak İstanbul, 1792-1798. Dönemi İngiliz Kaynaklarına Göre* [Istanbul as an Important Centre of European Diplomacy. According to British Sources During the Period, 1792-1798]; Kemal Çiçek-Cem Oğuz, *Osmanlı I: Siyaset*, Ankara, 1999, p. 660-675; Idem, *Pax-Ottomana: Studies in Memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, Haarlem-Ankara, 2001, p. 381-407; *Türk Diplomasininin Modernleşmesinde Reisül-küttab Mehmed Raşid Efendi'nin Rolü* [The Role of the Foreign Minister Mehmet Raşid Efendi in the Modernisation of Turkish Diplomacy], in "The Journal of Ottoman Studies-Osmanlı Araştırmaları", 2001, Vol. XXI, p. 109-134.

²¹ PRO Liston to Grenville, FO 78/15 no. 16, 26 August 1794.

Callimachi was promoted to Prince of Moldavia in the place of Michael Sutzo, who retired. It also informs us that M. George Morusi, who was the previous Dragoman of the Porte, resumed his place on the same day. Liston describes Morusi as “a man of uncommon abilities and information”.²² In general in this period when the Reis Effendis were replaced with new one, the dragomans also were replaced with the new ones. Mustafa Rasih Effendi replaced Ebubekir Ratib Effendi as the Reis Effendi and Constantine Ipsianti replaced Morusi as the Dragoman of the Porte on 17th August 1796. British charge de’affaires Spencer Smith’s report dated 25th August 1796, informs us that he had good character and a good education.²³

During the whole period of Selim III, both Danubian principalities had no major influence on Ottoman foreign policy. They still sent some reports dealing with Austrian Habsburg domains, Russians and Poles to the Grand Vizier. One of these reports was dated 30th April 1794, Wallachian Hospodar Alexander Morusi wrote to the Grand Vizier Damat Melek Mehmed Pasha, in general dealt with Russian forces and their activities in Poland and naval activities of Russian fleet in various Black Sea ports. In another report of Morusi to the Grand Vizier dated 30th April 1794, gave information about Russian, Prussian and Austrian forces activities in Polish border and in the palatinates of Galicia and Krakow the victory of the Poles over the Russians. This report also gives the influence of French revolutionary activities in Poland such as the Poles were propagating the Jacobin sect and they carried the markings of this sect on their cockades.²⁴ Morusi also reported to the Porte that the Russian Empress Catherine II was greedy as regards the throne, and of late her relations with her son, the heir Paul I, had been strained. On this matter the State Officials had tried to reconcile mother and son. In this report Morusi, the Russian General Potocki had pretensions, according to some sources, to the Polish throne and at the first opportunity to crown himself King. In order to achieve this, he managed to convince the Empress to have Russian forces stationed permanently in Poland. In the same report he also gave information about derogating relations between Russia and Iran after some Russian tradesmen were killed at a site near the Caspian Sea. Hence Russian troops were sent to Iran.²⁵

²² PRO Liston to Grenville, FO 78/16 no. 16, 9 May 1795.

²³ PRO Smith to Grenville, FO 78/17 no. 17, 25 August 1796.

²⁴ Nigar Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) Arasındaki Münasebetlerle İlgili Tarihi Belgeler* [Historical Documents Concerning Relations Between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan/Poland], İstanbul, 1979, case 231, p. 91-92.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, case 232, p. 92.

Moldavian Hospodar Michael Sutzko's report dated 1st December 1794, deals with the annexation of Poland by Russian, Prussian and Austrians. This report gave information about under the General Suvorov Russian forces how bloodily the capital city of Poles was annexed and about the crushes of Russians and Polish in Warsaw. At the end Poles surrendered themselves to Warsaw and six members of high rank Polish officers left the country, but they could not persuade the King to leave with them. The King refused to leave. General Suvorov had informed the King of Poland that he was expecting orders from St. Petersburg on how to act as regards Poland. As is seen, most reports are concerned with Poland's occupation by Russia and her allies Prussia and Austria.²⁶ Another report dated 24th March 1795 of Wallachian Hospodar Aleksander Morusi dealt with the situation of Poland after the occupation. According to this report the Swedish Attaché will continue to be at his post in Warsaw, and this has been made known to the other envoys in Warsaw. The King of Poland is still in the city of Gradnova as a prisoner and is being very ill-treated by the Russians. The Russians have again commenced to organize and arrange their forces along the Dniester River, Lithuania, Ukraine and occupied Poland, there are more than 200.000 Russian forces. It is also stated in this report that recent development of European politics on news has been received to the effect that Russia and England have initiated discussions for an alliance.²⁷

The Wallachian and Moldavian Hospodars' role became very important after the occupation of Ottoman Egypt by the French forces under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte. Following the occupation of Egypt by the French forces in July 1798, some big European countries reacted quickly to support the Ottoman Empire and thus modern term of the Eastern Question had been started. Especially at the end of 18th century and early 19th century, in the context of the Eastern Question, the stance of and role played by Ipsilanti family in Russia's policy in South-eastern Europe is a great interest. When Alexander Ipsilanti was the Hospodar of Walachia 1796-1797, his son Constantine Ipsilanti was First Dragoman of the Porte (1796-197). English charge d'affaires Spencer Smith's report to Lord Grenville, dated 25 August 1796, gives the first information about the appointment. According to Smith's report he had good character and a good education. Smith also noted that "he is at least less tempted by predilection for the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, case 233, p. 92-93.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, case 235, p. 93; Valeriu Veliman, *Relațiile Româno-Otomane (1711-1821). Documente Turcești* [Romanian-Ottoman Relations (1711-1821). Turkish Documents], București, 1984.

destructive principles of French politics than his predecessor".²⁸

The Ipsilantis were highly educated in general and knew many foreign languages. Father Alexander Ipsilanti and son Constantine Ipsilanti were known pro-Russian orientation and had already become a universally acknowledged truth. Despite this, it cannot be said that Russia had promptly occupied a special place in their political activity. Thus the Ipsilantis were oriented at the great powers whose policy at that stage of international relations much more corresponded to their own interests. Sometimes Alexander Ipsilanti, the Hospodar of Wallachia, was an Austrian spy and his sympathies and obedience to Austrian government. Therefore Alexander Ipsilanti ascended the Moldovan throne on 15 January 1787, with the assistance from the Habsburgs and further on, during the 1787-1791 Russian-Austrian- Ottoman War he moved to Austria with the whole of his family staying in Moravia until the very end of the war. In this context, it should be noted that at the very beginning of his last reign Alexander Ipsilanti seemed to seek a new source of support in the autumn of 1796, taking into account the new balance of forces on the international arena. How could he otherwise explain his declarations of loyalty and affection towards the French Republic made to French diplomats in Istanbul in October 1796. However, this fact also attests to the resourcefulness characteristic of the Ipsilanti diplomats. Alexander Ipsilanti asked for French protection in the most unambiguous manner; however, the political situation and the rise of Russian influence in South-eastern Europe later determined his choice in favour of the eastern neighbour. Probably since 1797, when Constantine Ipsilanti served as the Dragoman of the Porte, he started his secret collaboration with Russian court. Diplomatic sources of the period attest to the fact that Constantine Ipsilanti's aim was to re-orient the Ottomans towards the Russian court and London. Although the Ottomans had always considered France its "old and faithful friend", the situation changed following Napoleon's campaign in Egypt. Thus, French occupation of Egypt gave Russia an opportunity with the help of Constantine Ipsilanti who both gained Russian support and rendered valuable services to Russia. He was considered one of the principal "architects" of the Ottoman-Russian treaty concluded on 3 January 1799, which for the first time united the two empires. This union treaty was qualified by contemporary diplomats as an unprecedented striking event in the context of the 18th century Russian-Turkish relations. Followed by the union treaty between the Porte and Britain, concluded on 5 January 1799, the document dealt a heavy blow to France. It's worth

²⁸PRO Smith to Grenville, FO 78/17 no. 17, 25 August 1796.

mentioning that French diplomats themselves considered Constantine Ipsilanti “instigator and author” of these treaties.²⁹

Constantine Ipsilanti as the first dragoman of the Porte maintained close contacts with Russia’s diplomatic representatives in Istanbul. As for the other dragomans, he promoted to the Moldovan throne (1799-1801). Although his bias towards Russia became evident as early as in the period of ‘allied’ relations between the empires, however, certain precautions were still necessary. The demise of the Wallachian Hospodar Constantine Hançerli, on 18th February 1799, served as a confirmation of this necessity, as in his decree Selim III openly warned the Phanariot from both Principalities against spreading rumours and disloyal behaviour detrimental to the Ottoman Empire, as otherwise “all of them would be mercilessly killed”.³⁰ This warning did not stop Constantine Ipsilanti and some others. Constantine Ipsilanti during his two and a half years reign in Moldavia, maintained tight ties with Russian diplomats and did his utmost to serve the interests of Russia. Especially his residence became a meeting place for Russian agents and he himself ignored any precaution referring to himself as “partisan of Russia”.³¹

INCREASE OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE ON THE PRINCIPALITIES AFTER THE EASTERN QUESTION

Nevertheless, Constantine Ipsilanti seemed to ultimately prove his diplomatic and political talents, having become the most prominent figure in Russia’s Eastern policy during his last reign in Walachia firstly 1802-1806 and secondly 1806-1807. It should be noted that the 1802 hatt-ı şerif was a major interstate agreement between the Russian and Ottoman Empires regulating the position and status of the Principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The fact that the Russian protectionist policy as regards the Principalities was gaining momentum in the period is explained by Russian’s aspiration towards retaining its domineering influence in the region by diplomatic means, taking advantage of the hardships survived by the population and political situation there.³²

²⁹ Vladimir Mischevca, Periklis Zavitsanos, *Principele Constantin Ipsilanti, 1760-1816* [Prince Constantin Ipsilanti, 1760-1816], Chişinău, 1999, p. 141-143.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

Between 1802 and 1807, the progress of the great powers' international relations was observed against the background of the growing influence of France in the Ottoman Empire. Having concluded a peace treaty with Istanbul in 1802, Napoleon spared no effort to break the Russian-Ottoman union and undermine Russia's influence in the Balkans. French diplomacy was trying to prevent the signing of the 1802 hatt-ı şerif and later sought to annual it. In order to stop the advancement of Russia and Austria to the Lower Danube and fearing lest Britain took the advantage of the partition of the Ottoman Empire, in 1802-1807, Napoleon abandoned the idea of the partition. Until the autumn of 1806, the Petersburg court also considered it necessary "to postpone drastic measures as regards the Ottoman Empire", while political balance was kept and the Russian-Ottoman agreements were observed.³³

In spite of growing influence of France, Russia insisted on the appointment of Constantine Ipsilanti and Alexander Morusi to the thrones of Wallachia and Moldavia. The former was widely referred to as the leader of the Russian party in the Principalities. The latter was insistently recommended by Constantine Ipsilanti who guaranteed a change in the system previously adhered to by this family as a partisan of France in favour of a constant devotion to the Imperial court of Russia. Russian ambassador V. S. Tamara to Istanbul reported that the new Hospodar of Moldavia, Alexander Morusi is no less devoted a partisan of Russia than any of his compatriots. Russian Foreign ministry ordered A. Ya. Italinski, the new ambassador to Istanbul who had replaced V. S. Tamara in 1802 to "to outwardly show A. Morusi the same preference as enjoys Prince Ipsilanti, but beware to extend your trust in him and try to be well informed about all his secret relations". Actually the candidacy of Constantine Ipsilanti to the throne of Wallachia supported by Russia and the King of Prussia was naturally opposed by French diplomats who tried to lobby their "own favourite" – Prince Callimachi. Thus Russian diplomacy insistently demanded from the Porte that Constantine Ipsilanti should be appointed Hospodar in one of the Principalities. Due to external support, on 29 August 1802, Constantine Ipsilanti was appointed Hospodar of Wallachia for a 7 year term. The prescribed term longevity was an unheard of thing for the Phanariot epoch. It should be noted, however, that his father Alexander Ipsilanti had occupied the throne for more than 7 years (1774-1782).³⁴

³³*Ibid.*, p. 145-146.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 146.

Constantine Ipsilanti's activity served as an important factor also in Russian court's policy as regards the First Serbian Uprising of 1804-1813. Wallachian Hospodar maintained with the Serbians from the very start of the uprising permit to elucidate his special role in the insurgents' contacts with Russia in 1804-1807. Thus he helped the policy of the Russian government as regards the national liberation struggle in the Balkans. Being the Hospodar of Wallachia, a country adjacent to Serbia, was closely watching the progress of the 1804 Serbian Uprising. Russian diplomacy tried to make the most of the Wallachian Hospodars' competence, as he was well informed about all the events taking place in South-eastern Europe. So he was given support in every possible way. However, support was rendered to him only as far as it suited the interests of the Russian Empire. The insurgent Serbians wished to reach a situation under which their homeland could become a Serbian Principality like Moldavia and Wallachia and have Hospodars chosen from among local knezes, under protection and safeguard of the Russian imperial court, as every Serbian regards Russia as his saviour. Ipsilanti's secret relations with the Russian government and Serbian insurgents, as well as the military preparations were conducted by the Wallachian Hospodar could not but be long neglected by the Porte. Bearing in mind a possibility of Ipsilanti's dethronement, the Russian governing elite were taking preliminary measures aimed at his security and a possible emigration to Russia. At the beginning of January 1806, Russian Foreign minister Adam Jerzy Czartoryski secretly ordered to issue passports to Ipsilanti and his family in case he would be compelled to leave Wallachia for Russia or Austria. The Hospodar Constantine Ipsilanti himself also conducted secret preparations for a possible emigration. Therefore, Wallachian Hospodar had transferred to deposit a sum of money to banks of Petersburg and Vienna.³⁵

On the eve of the 1806-1812 Ottoman-Russian War, Constantine Ipsilanti became extremely active as a political figure and diplomat. He concentrated in Bucharest on all kinds of information from Turkey, Russia, Moldavia, Serbia and other European countries. During the same period he regularly and efficiently informed Russia about the Porte's military plans, the situation in the Balkans, the actions of Kara George, Pashas of Rumelia and Bosnia. The role he played in the Serbian Uprising was especially important. Wallachian Hospodar assisted the Serbians not only materially, but diplomatically as well, and was their adviser in political and military-strategically matters. At the same time, Constantine Ipsilanti

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 147-148.

warned them about Turkish military actions and acted as an intermediary link between them and Russia.³⁶

Apart from Wallachian Hospodar Constantine Ipsilanti, now we can look at the activities of Moldavian Hospodar Alexander Morusi and his role on Ottoman foreign policy. When Alexander Morusi was appointed as Hospodar of Moldavia, the Sublime Porte circles assumed he was a French sympathiser. His appointment was meant to counterbalance the presence of Constantine Ipsilanti, an admirer of the Russian Tsar, on Wallachian throne. Russians were suspicious about Alexander Morusi's appointment. The Russian Chancellor Alexander Vorontsoff's instruction, dated 14th October 1802, to Andrei I. Italinsky, the new ambassador to Istanbul reveals Alexander Morusi as "wholly French-leaning" and Italinsky was told not to trust him and to try "to learn about all his secret liaisons".³⁷ In September-October 1802, under Russian pressures, the Ottoman Empire had approved the so-called hatt-ı şeriffs- statute-codes which acknowledged several older privileges Moldavia and Wallachia had. But they also introduced a few fresh provisions, which meant the Hospodars of two principalities were now dependent on both the Ottoman Empire and Russia. They could rule for only seven years and could be punished only if found guilty to both parties. Petersburg's suspicion towards Alexander Morusi could be lethal since the very moment he took on the throne.³⁸

The first letter of the Russian consul in Jassy, V. F. Malinovsky, dated 14 September 1802, sent to Morusi caused a diplomatic scandal. In this letter, after congratulating him for the job, Malinovsky reminded the Hospodar that he had to respect the new hatt-ı şeriffs and to stop the administration's abuses. The conflict that started between Alexander Morusi and the Moldavian boyars also triggered by the abuses made the tax collectors (caimakam), which he sent to Jassy in order to raise to taxes. According to the new hatt-ı şeriffs were trying to regulate taxes, they had to be fixed "together with the Council boyars". Thus boyars asked for help from Russia, the only one who could force the Hospodar to respect the new regulations. For the political elite, appealing for Russian intervention, in order to make law respected in the principalities, became a political behavioural norm. Therefore, Russian diplomacy was very shrewd in

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148-149.

³⁷ Armand Goşu, *The Political Elite in the Danubian Principalities and Russia at the Beginning of the 19th Century. A Case Study: The Moruzi Brothers*, in "Romano-Turcica", İstanbul, 2003, p. 169-185.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

using these circumstances for extending its influence and imposing its control over the Danubian principalities. For some times, Petersburg itself originated such crises, building opportune for a new intervention. Thus, Russia was not anxious about the law not being respected, but it kept a close interest in maintaining a solid influence over the Hospodars of the two principalities. As a sign of Russian diplomatic manoeuvres, right after the incident Malinovsky was dismissed. Alexander Murusi's brother Demetrius Murusi had an important role in getting his conflict settled with Russian side.³⁹ British ambassador Robert Liston's observation on D. Murusi of particular interest:⁴⁰

... the Interpreter of the Porte, George D. Morusy, who may fairly be numbered among the effective Ministers of this country.- He is the son of the late Interpreter of the Porte (who came afterwards to be Prince of Moldavia) and brother to the present Prince of Wallachia. The father was a man of ability, and gave his sons (four in number) a distinguished education ...

... His father was the Clerk in the Chancery (or Foreign Department) who was charged with the affairs of France: He himself was bred up in the same office, and in the same division of political business; and he had great influence with the successive Reis Efendi, who come to power at the head of the department ...

While Demetrius Morusi was in Istanbul, he intervened several times to both Tamara and Italinsky, trying to convince Russian envoys that Morusi family was deeply attached to Russia and his brother was determined to respect the new regulations with regard to the Principalities. At the same time Demetrius Morusi had several contacts with the Fantons, the interpreter of the Russian Embassy to Istanbul, and who had worked, not long before, for France.⁴¹

Alexander Morusi had also a wide support from Wallachian Hospodar Constantine Ipsilanti, who was held in high esteem in Petersburg. As one of Russian ambassador Italinsky's letters dated 28 December 1802 to Constantine Ipsilanti reveals that Russia had approved of Morusi's appointment was the assurances made by Wallachian Hospodar. Indeed, Some of Constantine Ipsilanti's letters to Russians informs us that he defended Alexander Morusi trying to calm Russia's suspicions. When Alexander Morusi asked the French government to send a diplomatic agent in Moldavia in spring 1803, this move went on provoking

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

⁴⁰ PRO Liston to Grenville, FO 78/15 no. 16, 26 August 1794.

⁴¹ Armand Goşu, *The Political Elite...*, p. 171.

new crisis in his relations with Russia. He had used the French embassy in Istanbul, and even sent his own directly to Paris. Therefore, the Russian government often reminded his ambassador in Istanbul that in the past Morusi's had very good relations with France. Observations of Russian ambassador Italinsky on Alexander Morusi is very interesting that he never was in his inner self an enemy of Russia and he tried to present himself as a friend who deserved Russia's protection, without which the intrigues of the Phanariot Greeks could easily make him lose his reigning position.⁴²

Indeed, the Russian representatives in the Porte were very familiar with the intrigues that were made by the Phanariot families against each other when they were rulers of the principalities, especially Constantine Ipsilanti and Alexander Morusi. Russian ambassador Italinsky stated that French diplomats were behind this manoeuvre. On the other hand, Russia's support was one of the most important conditions to get somebody appointed on the thrones of the two principalities or to keep them. The competition between the Phanariot families to get Russia's sympathy for one of theirs was very harsh. In this period, Russia's influence was much higher than other European embassies in Istanbul, which could somehow equal, even go beyond the Porte's influence. It is most probably the reason for the action Demetrius Morusi took in order to prove his family's attachment towards Russia. By way of consequence he could have Petersburg's support for his brother ruling in Jassy. At that time, the most important thing D. Morusi could offer the Russian embassy, was intelligence – details about the often secret discussions in the Moldavian Council and government, about the relations between the Porte and Western Powers. And in a short while after his brother was installed in Jassy, Demetrius Morusi became one of the main intelligence resources the Russians had in Istanbul. Actually, he could easily access state information, because the Ottomans, who believed he was close to France trusted him, and because he was the advisor of the Reis Efendi.⁴³

On the other hand the most important fraction of the information dragomans, those which Hospodars and their families delivered were not really secret, while some other pieces could be acquired, most probably, from other sources. What is more, sometimes the Porte itself was interested in sending certain information to the European embassies in Istanbul, through non-diplomatic channels. The Sublime Porte also used the Phanariot families as non-diplomatic channels. Anyhow, the Porte did not encourage the great families to

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 171-172.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 172-173.

approach Russia, but none of them stopped their tendencies. During those times of weakness, the Porte had chosen a similar double play, balancing between the great powers. It was the kind of play that the Phanariot Greeks did too, on another level, and the Ottomans tried to use them to their own goals.⁴⁴ In general Moldavian Hospodar Alexander Morusi was balancing the powers of the Porte and Russia and sometimes inclined to France. So he had good relations with the Porte comparing to Constantine Ipsilanti.

Simultaneously, Constantine Ipsilanti remained the leading political agent in the Principalities, reporting the Sublime Porte about international events in Europe. He used to interpret the news from the European political scene to his own benefit, sometimes even misinforming the Porte. Thus the French diplomats in Istanbul claimed that the ties the Ipsilanti and Morusi families maintained not only with Russia, but with Prussia, too. By the summer of 1806, the situation in the Balkans grew considerably less favourable for Russia. General Sebastiani, French ambassador in Istanbul, instead on a treaty with the Porte aimed against Russia. He tried to persuade Selim III that after the defeat at Austerlitz on 1 December 1805, the might of Russia had been finally undermined. The change of balance in Europe was a favourable moment for the Ottoman Empire to drive the Russians out of the Crimea. Napoleon's letter dated 20 June 1806 forwarded to Selim III through Sebastiani, *inter alia*, called upon the dethronement of the Hospodars Alexander Morusi and Constantine Ipsilanti of the Principalities describing them as "Russian agent". French diplomacy's actions were successful on the Porte's decision and on 24th August 1806 the Russian-oriented Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were deposed. Selim III declared that these two Hospodars on the grounds of treasonable complicity with Serbians and Russians. Constantine Ipsilanti joined openly the Russians, but Alexander Morusi, Moldavian Hospodar, chose the other option and remained a humble servant of the Porte. Ipsilanti's properties were confiscated and his father Alexander Ipsilanti executed. Morusi fled to Alemdar Mustafa Pasha at Ruscuk and joined entourage. But that was not enough to save the Alexander and Demetrius Morusi, which in April 1807 had to face the Ottomans' punishment. Alexander was arrested and thrown into jail, while Demetrius was only sent into exile. They were replaced by their long-standing rivals – Scarlet Callimachi in Moldavia and Alexander Sutzo in Wallachia, both of them loyal to the Ottomans and considered French partisans. These dismissals were clear violation of the Ottoman-Russian convention of 1802. Then the Ottomans decided to close the Straits of Bosphorus

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

and Dardanelles for the Russian Navy, thus cutting the shortest communication line between Black Sea ports and the Mediterranean.⁴⁵

The Ottoman's French oriented policy and dethronement of the Russian oriented Hospodars were protested by Russia with support of England. Russia's protests were against such an obvious violation of the 1802 Treaty by the Ottomans and demanded the restoration of Constantine Ipsilanti and Alexander Morusi on their thrones. Under this pressure Selim III restored the Hospodars' rule in the Principalities on 15 October 1806. However, Russia was not satisfied, as the Ottoman Empire had not fulfilled a number of other demands. As a result, on 23 November 1806, the Russian troops crossed the Dniester with no formal declaration of war. Thus, in the autumn of 1806 the complicated diplomatic struggle revealed all the intentions of the acting parties to the first stage of the Russian-Ottoman-French antagonism in the Eastern Question on the eve of the 1806-1812 the Russian-Ottoman War. Constantine Ipsilanti was closely connected with both the unleashing and further progress of the war. Especially the dethronement of the Hospodars of the Principalities in the summer of 1806 served as a mere pretext for the Russian government to enter Wallachia and Moldavia. The official ceremony of restoration of the Hospodars was held in Istanbul on 16 and 17 October 1806, in the presence of Alexander Morusi and in the absence of Constantine Ipsilanti who had already left for Russia. Constantine Ipsilanti accelerated the Russian policy of Occupation of Danubian Principalities during his trip to Petersburg in the autumn of 1806. During his visit to Russian capital, he had long conversations with Alexander I, trying to convince the latter of the existence of a favourable situation for the occupation of Principalities and even subjugation of all the European possessions of the Ottoman Empire. He insisted upon a lack of money and strength with the Ottomans who thus "would be unable to resist". Constantine Ipsilanti was evidently trying to achieve his own goal at a decisive stage of his career. Adherent to the traditional policy, he sought to simultaneously secure Russian protection against the Turkish domination and to consolidate his own rule by exploiting the solvation of the Eastern Question.⁴⁶

Russian Czar Alexander I decided to invade the Principalities and ordered his General Michelson to cross the Dniester as soon as he was ready. On 24 November 1806, the Russian army began to move in two divisions. A force under General Meyendorff crossed directly into Bessarabia and moved down Dniester, taking Hotin and Bender on 8 December, then completing its occupation of the

⁴⁵ Vladimir Mischevca, Periklis Zavitsanos, *Principele Constantin Ipsilanti...*, p. 149.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149-151.

province by capturing Ackerman on 16 December and Kilya on 18 December without meeting any serious opposition. Michelson led the main Russian force through Bessarabia and across the Pruth into Moldavia, and by 30 November 1806, Jassy and the northern part of the Principality were entirely under his control. He then issued a proclamation which was sent to Alemdar Mustafa Paşa at Ruscuk in the hope of securing his support, but Alemdar Mustafa Pasha had his own plans for Wallachia. He informed the Sultan of the Russian action and he himself crossed the Danube into Wallachia to defend it against Russian attack. His lieutenant Pehlivan İbrahim Agha, rode with a large force through the Dobrudja and reached Ismail just in time to save it from Meyendorff's attack; Ismail thus remained the only part of Moldavia not in Russian hands.⁴⁷

Constantine Ipsilanti came to Moldavia with the Russian army, and Michelson appointed him Russian governor of both Principalities, with the duty of getting the cooperation and assistance of the local boyars and notables. But Alemdar Mustafa Paşa moved quickly to organize resistance. Morusi had fled to Ruscuk after his deposition. Alemdar Mustafa Paşa now used him and Reichard, French consul in Bucharest, to get the cooperation of a large number of the boyars against the Russians. All Balkan ayans' forces and the central Ottoman army was no match for Russians in an open conflict. In a six week campaign, the Russians conquered most of Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia and they were able to go into winter quarters with the assurances that victory would be theirs in the spring. After Russian invasion of these lands, on 22 December 1806, the Porte declared the war against Russia and circulated to the foreign embassies in Istanbul. Constantine Ipsilanti and Alexander Morusi were dethroned once again, and Alexander Sutzko was appointed to rule both Principalities, both dismisses were received with great popular enthusiasm.⁴⁸ After Wallachia and Moldavia had been occupied by the Russian forces, Hospodar Constantine Ipsilanti returned to Bucharest in mid-December 1807 bearing a new title of "Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia". In January 1807, he demanded that the local population take an oath of allegiance to Russian Emperor and himself. At the initial stage of the Ottoman-Russian War Constantine Ipsilanti organized a local army; however, further on, there arose a growing irritation between him and Russian army command.⁴⁹ Therefore the Ottoman rule had ceased from December 1806 till the end of the Ottoman-Russian War, had concluded by

⁴⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New...*, p. 353.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁴⁹ Vladimir Mischevca, Periklis Zavitsanos, *Principele Constantin Ipsilanti...*, p. 151.

Bucharest Peace treaty on 28 May 1812. According to this treaty, Wallachia and Moldavia returned to the Ottoman Empire.

CONCLUSIONS

The Danubian Principalities had an important place in the relations of the Ottoman Empire with the Central and Eastern European States during the reign of Selim III. Especially Greek families (Phanariot) from the Phanar area of Istanbul had important function in the Ottoman foreign policy and diplomacy in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in this reforming period. They were served as an intermediary between the Porte and the European countries especially Russia, Poland and Austria. Also the Danubian Principalities had very important role on Ottoman foreign policy gathering information from the European countries as well as with border countries such as Russia. They were also in charge of arrangements for the Ottoman missions and European missions from their capital seats to the border lines including the quarantine and reception. All in all, the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia played an important role on Ottoman foreign policy within the context of Europeanisation of Ottoman Diplomatic channels in the era of Selim III (1789-1807).

ROMANIA IN THE SOVIET SECRET POLICY OF THE EARLY 1920s

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Abstract: *The article reveals the essence of the Soviet foreign policy towards Romania, whose purpose was the establishment of the Soviet power in this state. The methods and instruments (mechanisms) used by the Bolsheviks to promote the Communist revolution in Romania are indicated. The researcher reveals that, in order to attain the above objectives, the special secret service was set up under the command of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which was engaged in organizing subversive, reconnaissance, and terrorist activities on the territory of Romania. The circumstances of the largest terrorist attack in Romania, organized by this Soviet special service, are outlined, and the reasons for its liquidation are set forth.*

Keywords: *Romania, Foreign Policy, Soviet Power, Bolshevik revolution, Communist Party, Ukraine, Secret Service*

Rezumat: *România în cadrul politicii externe secrete sovietice la începutul anilor '20 ai secolului XX. Studiul oglindește esența politicii externe sovietice față de România, politică ce urmărea instaurarea regimului comunist în această țară. Articolul prezintă metodele și instrumentele (mecanismele) folosite de bolșevici pentru a promova revoluția comunistă în România. Autoarea arată că, pentru a atinge aceste obiective, sub coordonarea Comitetului Central al Partidului Comunist al Ucrainei a fost înființat un serviciu secret special ce avea ca misiune organizarea, pe teritoriul României, a unor activități subversive, de spionaj și teroriste. În studiu sunt prezentate circumstanțele realizării celui mai amplu atac terorist pe teritoriul românesc de către Serviciul Secret sovietic, precum și motivele desființării acestei structuri speciale.*

Résumé : *La Roumanie dans la politique étrangère secret soviétique au début des années 1920. L'article révèle la politique étrangère de l'Union soviétique à l'égard de la Roumanie où l'URSS avait pour le premier objectif d'établir son autorité. Il annonce les moyens d'action et les instruments (mécanismes) auxquels les bolcheviques ont recouru pour faire progresser la révolution des bolcheviques en Roumanie. Il constate qu'en vue de réaliser tous ces projets, on a institué un service secret, auprès du Comité Central du Parti*

Communiste des bolcheviques de l'Ukraine, qui mettait sur pied les activités subversives et terroristes ainsi que les activités de renseignement sur les territoires roumains. Il met en évidence les circonstances de l'attentat terroriste le plus important en Roumanie, organisé par ce service secret soviétique, ainsi que les raisons de la dissolution de ce dernier.

INTRODUCTION

The establishment in 1917 of the Soviet power in Russia became a prerequisite for the spread of Bolshevism in the post-imperial territories. In Ukraine, the Soviet power was established in 1920. At that time, the Bolsheviks had illusions that they could Sovietize the neighbouring Poland and Romania. But with desperate efforts and with the military and technical as well as financial support of the Western allies, the Poles still managed to stop the Red Army in the Battle of the Vistula River. The persistent attempts of the Bolsheviks to seize Poland should be explained by their desire to 'approach' the border with Germany. According to the Bolsheviks, the establishment of the Soviet power in Germany was to trigger the 'world revolution', which in its turn would lead to the creation of a 'world socialist state'.¹ In a statement to the Second World Congress of the Comintern (July-August 1920), the Soviet General Semyon Budyonny, the commander of the 1st Cavalry Army, said: "We will be happy on the day when, together with the proletariat of the West, we will enter into a decisive battle with the world bourgeoisie, when our army will receive its operational orders from Red Paris, Berlin, or London".² But the defeat on the Vistula crashed their plans for a breath-taking "world revolution".

Therefore, in the early 1920s, the Bolsheviks made some tactical changes to

¹ Сергей Пивовар, Олег Купчик, *Взаимоотношения между Украинской ССР и Польшей в контексте Рижского мирного договора* [Relations between the Ukrainian SSR and Poland in context of the Riga Peace Treaty], in *Геополитические трансформации в Восточной Европе между двумя мировыми войнами (к 90-летию подписания Рижского мирного договора): сб. материалов междунар. науч.-практ. конф.; Брест, 17-18 марта 2011 г.*, Брест, БрГУ, 2011, с. 116; Фелікс Кон, *Польша на службе международного империализма* [Poland in the Pay of International Imperialism], Москва, 1927, с. 8; Іванна Лісна, *Становлення української державності в Галичині (1918-1923 рр.)* [Establishment of Ukrainian Statehood in Galicia (1918-1923)], Тернопіль, 2001, с. 64; «Красная Армия придёт в Германию с запозданием» [«The Red Army Will Come to Germany out of Time»], in "Источник", 1995, No. 2, с. 30.

² Thomas Fiddick, *Russia's Retreat from Poland, 1920: From Permanent Revolution to Peaceful Coexistence*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990, p. 290.

their foreign policy: they adopted the concept of peaceful coexistence with Western 'bourgeois' countries, but they did not completely abandon the idea of establishing the Soviet power in them.³ To reach this goal, the Bolsheviks actively engaged the Comintern, set up in 1919, which by that time had established an intelligence and sabotage network.⁴

Soviet Ukraine directly contributed to exporting the Bolshevik revolution to its neighbouring countries. On March 18, 1921, the Russian and Ukrainian Councils of People's Commissars made a peace treaty with Poland in Riga. According to the treaty, the parties established official relations, dispatched diplomatic missions and committed 'not to conduct a hostile policy toward the counterparty'.⁵ Under these conditions, extreme caution had to be exercised in reconnaissance and subversive activities on the territory of Poland.

However, the Bolsheviks did not even have formal barriers to export the revolution to Romania. Official relations were not established between Soviet Ukraine, Russia and the Kingdom of Romania. Romania refused to include the so-called 'Bessarabian issue' in the political agenda. According to the Saint-Germain Treaty of 1919, the territory of Bessarabia became a part of Romania.

The Councils of People's Commissars of the RSFSR and the UkrSSR, in their note to Romania, Great Britain, France and Italy, emphasized that the 'Bessarabian issue' was resolved by the Entente countries without notifying them thereof. For this reason, the RSFSR and the UkrSSR did not consider themselves bound by the treaty made by other governments on the Bessarabian issue and, consequently, on the eastern border of Romania.⁶ Thus, the territorial dispute between Romania, the RSFSR, and the UkrSSR remained unresolved.

³ Alastair Kocho-Williams, *Engaging the World: Soviet Diplomacy and Foreign Propaganda in the 1920s*, in http://www2.uwe.ac.uk/faculties/CAHE/HPP/staff/stafflist/A_Kocho-Williams_sovietdiplomats1920s.pdf (Accessed on 02.09.2017).

⁴ Олег Купчик, *Деякі аспекти відносин між УСРР і Румунським Королівством (1920-1923 рр.)* [Some Aspects of Relations Between the UkrSSR and the Kingdom of Romania (1920-1923)], in *Часопис української історії: Зб. наук. ст.*, Київ, 2006, вип. 5, с. 101; Алексей Богатуров (отв. ред.), *Системная история международных отношений в 4 т. События и документы. 1918-2000* [System-Defined History of International Relations], т. 1. События 1918-1945, Москва, 2000, 516 с.

⁵ *Мировий договір між Україною й Росією з одної сторони й Польщею з другої* [Peace Treaty Between Ukraine and Russia, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other hand], Рига, 1921, с. 4-5.

⁶ *Нота Правительств РСФСР и СССР Правительствам Великобритании, Франции, Италии, Румынии. 1 ноября 1920 г.* [Note from the RSFSR and UkrSSR Governments addressed to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italia, Romania, November 1,

In the Kingdom of Romania, the Soviet government tried to actively use the anti-Romanian sentiments to spread the ideas of ‘socialism’, that is, “the socially just society”. And this, according to the Bolsheviks, would only be possible in the event of Sovietization of Romania. It is obvious that the Red Army’s ‘liberation’ campaign in Romania was to begin in Bessarabia and Bukovina, the most favourable territories for that, given the controversial views of the population and the territorial dispute.⁷

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RESEARCH SOURCES

Scientists have studied the issue of export of the Bolshevik revolution to Europe at different times. However, they mostly paid attention to Poland, since the shortest route to Germany was through the Polish territory. The Bolshevik leaders were convinced that the establishment of the Soviet power in Poland would be the start of the world socialist revolution.⁸ Yet, the issue of export of the revolution to Romania was not thoroughly studied.

According to the author, in studying the intention and the very process of spreading the revolution to the West, it is very important to understand the phenomenon of the revolutionary movement and the establishment of the communist

1920], in *Документы внешней политики СССР*, т. 3., Москва, Государственное издательство политической литературы СССР, 1959, с. 312.

⁷ *Nota Народного Комиссара Иностранных Дел РСФСР и Председателя Совета Народных Комиссаров и Народного Комиссара Иностранных дел УССР Министру Иностраных дел Румынии Ионеску. 29 апреля 1921 г.* [Note from the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR and the Council of People’s Commissars Chief addressed to Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ionescu, April 29, 1921], in *Документы внешней политики СССР*, т. 4, Москва, Государственное издательство политической литературы СССР, 1960, с. 89; *Телеграмма народного комиссара Иностраных дел РСФСР Председателю Российско-Украинской делегации в Смешанной Российско-Украинско-Румынской комиссии по Днестровскому лиману В. И. Яковлеву в Одессе. 14 июня 1921 г.* [Telegram from the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR to the Chair of Russian-Ukrainian Delegation in the Mixed Russian-Ukrainian-Romanian Dniester Estuary Commission V. I. Yakovliev in Odessa, June 29, 1921], in *Документы внешней политики СССР*, т. 4, с. 178-179.

⁸ Ziven K. Chinburg, *Halting the Revolution: Poland and the “Miracle at the Vistula”*, in “Constructing the Past”, Vol. 16, No.1, article 4, 6 p., in <https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/constructing/vol16/iss1/4/> (Accessed on 10. 09. 2017); Фелікс Кон, *Польша на службе международного империализма...*, с. 8; Іванна Лісна, *Становлення української державності в Галичині (1918-1923 рр.)* [Establishment of Ukrainian Statehood in Galicia (1918-1923)], Тернопіль, 2001, с. 64.

regime in Russia. In this context, the research by American historian Richard Pipes, who for many years has been studying the history of the Russian state, is valuable for this study.⁹ The scientist comes to the conclusion that the origins of communism stem from the historical past of Russia, namely from the fact that people living there had no notion of private property. This directly influenced the formation of a specific mentality of the Russians, making them strikingly different from the population of European countries. In addition, Chapter 4 of his work provides a comparison of the communist and Nazi regimes, finding a lot in common and explaining why the Bolsheviks failed to export the revolution to Europe.

The Comintern was an important instrument of the Soviet foreign policy at an early stage of its activity and up to its formal dissolution in 1943. Alastair Kocho-Williams, professor at the Bristol University, in his article *Engaging the World: Soviet Diplomacy and Foreign Propaganda in the 1920s* emphasizes that the place and role of the Comintern were so important that, in a sense, the word 'Comintern' can be considered a universal synonym for both the Soviet foreign policy in general and the Soviet intelligence agencies' classified operations, aimed at strengthening the influence of the Bolshevik regime on a global scale. This mainly concerns the spread of the Bolshevik propaganda and the subversion information operations by the Soviet special services.¹⁰

The Comintern activities are studied in detail in the relevant sections of the fundamental monograph by K. McKenzie *The Comintern and the World Revolution of 1919-1943*¹¹, where the author emphasizes the special role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the world revolution, highlights the stages of the establishment of the Communist international community, analyses the strategies and tactics employed by the Bolsheviks to capture global domination. The author invites special attention to the relations of the Soviet Union with the Communist Parties of other countries and with revolutionary movements.

In this regard, the Comintern's role is a key to setting up the Communist Party of China (CPC), which is still in power in the 21st century. The monograph by American historian Liu Jianyi, professor at the University of York, *The Origins of the Chinese Communist Party and the Role Played by Soviet Russia and the Comintern*¹² covers this issue.

⁹ Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, New York, Knopf, 1990.

¹⁰ Alastair Kocho-Williams, *Engaging the World...* (Accessed on 21.08.2017).

¹¹ Кермит Маккензи, *Коминтерн и мировая революция. 1919-1943* [Comintern and the World Revolution. 1919-1943], Москва, Центрполиграф, 2008.

¹² Liu Jianyi, *The origins of the Chinese Communist Party and the role played by Soviet Russia*

The Comintern also played a very important role in the purely military aspect of the Soviet foreign policy, for example, in organizing armies or subversive operations. The chapters of the monograph by American military historian Earl F. Ziemke *The Red Army 1918-1941: from Vanguard of World Revolution to US Ally*¹³ are devoted to this issue.

The general concept of the doctrinal evolution of the Soviet foreign policy and the Comintern's role in it are reflected (as a detailed analysis of the sources) in the article by Gleb Albert *From the 'World Council' to 'The Motherland of the Proletarians'*.¹⁴ The evolution of the Soviet foreign policy is also described in Warren Lerner's article *The Historical Origins of the Soviet Doctrine of Peaceful Coexistence*, where the author, despite an apparent paradox, considers the idea of 'peaceful coexistence' to be inseparable from that of 'world revolution'.¹⁵

The Comintern was dissolved by Stalin in 1943, just a year before Stalin was ready to occupy Eastern Europe. At first glance, this also seems to be a paradox. However, Gary Blank in his article *Security, Sovietization, and Stalinism: Stalin's Plan for Post-War Eastern Europe*¹⁶ shows the role and legacy of the Comintern in transforming Stalin's policy during the transition to real domination in Eastern Europe.

As for the spread of the revolution to the West, it should be noted that the Soviet historiography¹⁷ concealed the active involvement of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks and the CP(B)U, as well as Russian and Ukrainian

and the Comintern, University of York, March 2000, 418 p.

¹³ Earl F. Ziemke, *The Red Army 1918-1941: from vanguard of world revolution to US Ally*, London and New York, Frank Cass, 2004, 415 p.

¹⁴ Gleb J. Albert: *From the "World Council" to "The Motherland of the Proletarians"*. *Anticipated World Society and Global Thinking in Early Soviet Russia*, in "InterDisciplines. Journal of History and Sociology, Vol. 3, 2012, No 1, p. 85-119.

¹⁵ Warren Lerner, *The Historical Origins of the Soviet Doctrine of Peaceful Coexistence*, in "Law and Contemporary Problems", Vol. 29, Fall 1964, No. 4, p. 865-870; <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol29/iss4/4/> (Accessed on 14.09.2017).

¹⁶ Gary S. Blank, *Security, Sovietization, and Stalinism: Stalin's Plan for Post-War Eastern Europe*, in "Saber and Scroll", Vol. 1, Fall 2012, No. 3, p. 77-90 (Edited and Revised April 2015); <https://digitalcommons.apus.edu/saberandscroll/vol1/iss3/8> (Accessed on 14.09.2017).

¹⁷ Владимир Дембо, *Бессарабский вопрос* [Bessarabian Issue], Москва, 1921; Станіслав Пархомчук, *Великий Жовтень і революційне піднесення в Румунії* [Great October and Revolutionary Inspiration in Romania], Київ, 1967; А. Новак, *Великий Октябрь и зарождение коммунистического движения в Румынии (1917-1921)* [Great October and Genesis of Communist Movement in Romania (1917-1921)], Кишинев, 1987; Г. Гологинков, *У Днестра*, пер. с болг. [Near the Dniester, transl. from Bulgarian], 2-е изд., Кишинев, 1966, 357 с.

Councils of People's Commissars, in the attempts to establish the Soviet power in Romania. It linked the struggle of local workers and peasants against the 'bourgeois oppression' with the Romanian Communist Party. There is also the book about Max Goldstein, one of the masterminds of subversive and terrorist activities in Romania.¹⁸ The main character of the book is certainly a victim of Romanian jailers and executioners, who carried out bourgeoisie's 'social orders'.

Nevertheless, modern Ukrainian historians V. Sidak, V. Kozeniuk, M. Vivcharyk, on the basis of archival documents that were declassified and published in the second half of the 1990s - the beginning of the 2000s prove the opposite.¹⁹ The researchers studied the activities of the Soviet state and party special services aimed at spreading the 'fire of the world revolution'. As a result, they managed to establish that in addition to state security services such as the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission and the State Political Directorate, there was another deeply conspiratorial state party intelligence service²⁰ whose function was to carry out reconnaissance and subversive activities in other states. It was called the 'Foreign Department'.

Russian historians focus mainly on the territorial dispute of the Soviet government with Romania at that time; therefore, a significant part of the Russian historiography is dedicated to the 'Bessarabian issue'. Although the chronological scope of these studies covers the early 1920s, there is no mentioning of the activities of the Soviet special services such as the Foreign Department, and their sabotage activities. We are talking only about incidents that happened on the demarcation line along the Dniester (Soviet-Romanian border). Thus, the Soviet-Romanian diplomatic correspondence of the time was filled with mutual claims about

¹⁸ Макс Гольдштейн, *Замученный в Дофтане* [Tortured in Doftana], Москва, ЦК МОПР СССР, 1931, 40с.

¹⁹ Валерій Козенюк, Михайло Вівчарик, *Предтеча органів держбезпеки* [The Forerunner of National Security Service], in "Військо України", 1996, No. 5-6, с. 48-49; Михайло Вівчарик, Валерій Козенюк, «Закордон» – агентурно-розвідувальна організація більшовиків України ["Foreign Department" as the Spy Ring of Ukrainian Bolsheviks], in "Український історичний журнал", 1997, No. 1, с. 144-149; Валерій Козенюк, «Закордон» у системі спецслужб Радянської України ["Foreign Department" in the Soviet Ukrainian System of Special Agencies], in "Воєнна історія", 2002, No. 1, с. 16-25; Владимир Сидак, Валерий Козенюк, *Революцию назначить... Экспорт революции в операциях советских спецслужб* [Revolution is to be Set... Export of Revolution in Campaigns of Soviet Special Agencies], Киев, Генеза, 2004, 248 с.

²⁰ Л.В. Шпаковські, *Радянська Україна як інструмент експорту більшовицької революції в Румунію (початок 1920-х рр.)* [Soviet Ukraine in Export of Bolshevik Revolution to Romania (Early 1920-ies)], in "Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць", 2017, No. 44, с. 94-95.

such incidents.²¹

It is noteworthy that the contemporary Russian historiography in this matter follows the traditions of the Soviet historiography, ignoring the active engagement of the Soviet special services that was aimed at exporting the revolution to Romania.

Moldovan historians²² paid further attention to the activities carried out in the early 1920s by the Odessa branch of the Foreign Department of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee. In their works devoted to the establishment of the Soviet power in Moldova, they disclose aspects of life and activities of the immediate leaders of the Odessa branch and the main organizers of reconnaissance and subversive operations in the Kingdom of Romania.

As for the sources, the author refers to the minutes of the meeting attended by members of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and related to the work of the Foreign Department, as well as reports, reviews, letters from the Foreign Department of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee on its activities in 1921, deposited in the Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine, namely: f. 1, inv. 20, d. 408. These sources make it possible to clarify the organizational structure of the Odessa branch of the Foreign Department, the tasks and methods of reconnaissance and subversive activities undertaken by this branch on the territory of Romania, namely in Bessarabia and Bukovina. Special operations and main actors in the export of the Bolshevik revolution to Romania are studied.

²¹ Михаил Мельтюхов, *Бессарабский вопрос между мировыми войнами 1917-1940* [Bessarabian Problem Between the World Wars 1917-1940], Москва, Вече, 2010, 464 с.; Денис Мальцев, *Бессарабский вопрос в годы Гражданской войны в России* [Bessarabian Issue During the Civil War in Russia], in “Проблемы национальной стратегии”, Москва, 2011, No. 4 (9), с. 162-183; Василий Каширин (ред.), *Восточная политика Румынии в прошлом и настоящем (конец XIX – начало XXI вв.): Сб. докл. Междунар. науч. конф.* [Western Policy of Romania in the Past and Nowadays (Late 19th – Early 21st cent.): Papers of Intern. Scient. Conf.], Москва, 2011, 320 с.

²² Олег Галущенко, *Евреи в составе руководящих кадров Молдавской АССР: Иосиф Исаакович Бадеев* [The Jews in Executive Staff of the Moldavian ASSR (Case of Iosif Isakovici Badeev)], in *Сборник научных трудов Института иудаики, Кишинев, Ин-т Иудаики*, вып. 5, 2013, с. 90–99; Олег Галущенко, *Образование Молдавской АССР: современный взгляд историка* [The View of Contemporary Historian on Genesis of the Moldavian ASSR], in “Проблемы национальной стратегии”, 2014, No. 5 (26), с. 202-218; Олег Галущенко О. *Участие евреев в создании Молдавской АССР* [Jews' Participation in Establishment of the Moldavian ASSR], in *Евреи Молдовы и их вклад в развитие молдавского государства. Республ. конф. (Кишинэу, 2012)*, Кишинэу, 2013, с. 102-110.

Published documents²³ are equally important in studying this issue. Having studied these sources, we determined the role and importance of the 'Romanian' trend in the Soviet secret foreign policy, and learned about the cooperation of the Soviet party and state institutions in exporting the Bolshevik revolution to Romania. Thus, the role of the Ukrainian SSR in exporting the Bolshevik revolution to Romania in the early 1920s has not been the subject of a separate study before. At the same time, the sources made it possible to determine the role of the Ukrainian SSR in the attempts of Sovietization of Romania.

ARGUMENTS

The establishment of the Soviet power in Romania created conditions for its further spread in the Balkans. Obviously, the Bolshevik leaders counted on the support of the Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, etc., who remembered the Russian aid in their national liberation struggle against the Ottoman Empire. The Bolsheviks (like the Russian Empire) were interested in taking control of the Black Sea straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles, which provided the shortest route from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Therefore, the Sovietization of the Balkan countries, in its turn, enabled the export of the Bolshevik revolution to Turkey, at least to its European part. But the 'Romanian' campaign of the Red Army was to be launched from the southern part of Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina.

Obviously, the Bolsheviks tried to exploit the anti-Romanian sentiments of Ukrainians in Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, due to the Romanian government's centralization of power and the abolition of local self-government, appointment of Romanian citizens to most administrative posts, settlement of Romanian colonists, the policy of making education more 'Romania-oriented', etc. With the slogan of protecting the ethnic Ukrainian population, the Bolshevik leaders, typically, hoped to obtain their support in the war against the 'Romanian monarchy' and identified the latter as the second (after 'bourgeois' Poland) enemy. The Bolsheviks regarded the above-mentioned peace treaty with Poland as temporary, since they had plans to start revolutionary struggle in this region as well. In this context, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian SSR D. Manuilsky stated that even though the Soviet authorities had to give away part of Volyn and Galicia when making the Riga Treaty, 'we as Ukrainians will protect the population of these territories'.²⁴ This meant applying the same scenario of using anti-Polish sentiments

²³ «Закордон» в системі спецслужб Радянської України: зб. док. ["Foreign Department" in the Soviet Ukrainian System of Special Agencies: Collection of Documents], Київ, 2000, 213 с.

²⁴ Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Сен-

among local Ukrainians with the slogans of their protection.

Acts of terror against the Romanian leaders, representatives of the administration, police and court were aimed at destabilizing the situation in the state. This campaign, organized on the territory of Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, was part of the Bolsheviks' aggressive plans. Moreover, the common state border with Romania predetermined the role of Soviet Ukraine in exporting the revolution to this country.²⁵ Thus, the Red Army's campaign against the Kingdom of Romania was to begin with a so-called undeclared war, that is, with subversive terrorist acts that would destabilize the situation in the state as a whole and become an introduction to the 'Romanian campaign' of the Red Army.

It is noteworthy that the expert on the propagation of revolutionary ideas in Romania was the then chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars Christian Rakovsky, who held the post of Chief of the Romanian Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR. His 'mature' revolutionary activities were associated with Romania, whose citizen he was until 1917 (then he moved to Russia). Being the state leader of the Ukrainian SSR, Rakovsky described his practical experience and theoretical knowledge about the revolutionary movement in this country in his historical works. In particular, a book about Romania, written by Ch. Rakovsky and L. Trotsky, was published in one of Moscow's publishing houses in 1922.²⁶ Three years later, Rakovsky, while working in the diplomatic sphere in Great Britain, published a book devoted to the 'Bessarabian issue'.²⁷

The party-state special service – established in May 1920 and named the 'Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine' – was in charge of exporting the Bolshevik revolution. It was subordinated to the CCCP(b)U and the Executive Committee of the Comintern.²⁸ The Odessa branch of the Foreign Department, led by A. L. Grinshtein, was directly engaged in the implementation of this task with respect to Romania.

tral State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine] (hereinafter: ЦДАВО України), Ф. 1, оп. 2, спр. 29, л. 9.

²⁵ Владимир Мельниченко, *Христиан Раковский: неизвестные страницы жизни и деятельности* [Unknown Moments of Christian Rakovsky's Life and Activities], Киев, 1992, с. 43.

²⁶ Лев Троцкий, Христиан Раковский, *Очерки политической Румынии* [Essays about Political Romania], Москва, 1922.

²⁷ Христиан Раковский, *Румыния и Бессарабия* [Romania and Bessarabia], Москва, 1925.

²⁸ Михайло Вівчарик, Валерій Козенюк, «Закордон» – агентурно-розвідувальна організація більшовиків України, с. 145.

Abram Grinshtein was born in Bessarabia. He was engaged in revolutionary activities in his youth in Odessa, where in 1905 he became a member of the BUND. In 1917, he actively participated in revolutionary activities in Petrograd, but soon moved to Chisinau. There he began his career. In fact, he was the leader of the clandestine Bolshevik activities in Bessarabia, so it is not surprising that the Romanian court in absentia sentenced him to life imprisonment.²⁹

According to Russian researcher of the establishment of the Moldavian ASSR O. Galushchenko, the French counterintelligence described Grinshtein as 'The chief of the Foreign Department (section of communist propaganda and espionage abroad), a former lawyer in Bălți and a teacher of the Hebrew language in Chişinău'. Grinshtein was also referred to as 'the leader of terrorists in Odessa'.³⁰

Former member of the Foreign Department I. Baddiev recalled that Grinshtein had been his 'immediate chief in the Foreign Department'. Grinshtein was also mentioned by *Staryi* (pseudonym of Gregory Borisov, a participant of the revolutionary movement), who wrote that they had 'worked together in the Foreign Department'.³¹ It is noteworthy that in 1924 Grinshtein was among those who organized the establishment of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (hereinafter – the MASSR) within the Ukrainian SSR. Yet, the Soviet historiography ignored this fact since he was a convinced 'Trotskyist'. After the establishment of the autonomous republic, he worked as a 'permanent representative of the MASSR under the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR'.³²

As a result of the 'foreign activities' carried out by the special service', Bessarabia, with its centre in Chisinau, and Bukovina, with its centre in Chernivtsi, became separate 'districts'. At the time of the establishment of the Odessa branch, it took over from the military intelligence service of the Soviet Army the 'crossing points' located near Tiraspol and Ovidiopol. In May 1920 – December 1921, another 12 'crossing points' were created. 'Authorized' members of the Foreign Department on the Black Sea coast (Greenblat) and in Ochakov (Luke) assisted Grinshtein in doing that.³³

²⁹ Олег Галущенко, *Евреи в составе руководящих кадров Молдавской АССР: Иосиф Исаакович Бадеев*, с. 116-122.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *Образование Молдавской АССР: современный взгляд историка*, с. 211.

³¹ Дмитро Мришук, *Григорій Іванович Старий* [Grigore Ivanovich Staryi], Київ, 1974, 151 с.; Олег Галущенко, *Участие евреев в создании Молдавской АССР*, с. 107.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³³ Олег Купчик, *Закордонний відділ ЦК КП(б)У – спецслужба українських більшовиків* [Foreign Department of the CC of the CP(b)U as a Special Service of Ukrainian Bolsheviks], in "Вісник Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка.

At the same time, the Odessa branch had its own 'passport and technical division', which issued Romanian documents for the needs of the special service (passports, university diplomas, seals, stamps, etc.), as well as printed propaganda materials and literature.³⁴ For underground activists and partisans, the Odessa branch sent weapons to the Romanian territory; for example, from April to May 1921, they sent two carloads of weapons and a carload of explosives, in particular, Lewis guns (29 units), Shosha guns (50 units), machine gun cartridges (256,500 pcs.), rifles (250 units), rifle cartridges (270,000 pcs.), grenades (310 pcs.), Novitsky bombs (400 pcs.), gun spare parts (5 pcs.), field binoculars (5 pcs.), pyroxylin with capsules (20 poods*), dynamite with capsules (15 poods), TNT with capsules (over 30 kg), pyroxylin grenades with capsules (100 pcs.), detonators (337 pcs.).³⁵

The Odessa branch was funded through the local branches of the State Bank. In particular, it received money (including Romanian Lei), and jewellery. As a result of such operations, during three months of 1921, the department received money equivalent to 114,550 golden rubles.³⁶ Thus, all necessary materials and all methods of exporting the revolution to Romania, from propaganda materials to large amounts of money and weapons, were provided and applied.

On October 30, 1921, after the Polish secret services disclosed in the summer of the same year the activities of the Kyiv branch of the Foreign Department in Volyn,³⁷ the Soviet leaders discussed the issue of 'New Organization of Work Abroad'. As a result, they made a decision to liquidate the Kharkov and Kiev branches of the Foreign Department. The Odessa branch was not liquidated. In the future, it would function as part of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, as the Secret Department thereof. Its tasks included: 1) managing foreign activities of the party in the specific area (Northern Bukovina, Southern Bessarabia and Romania); 2) carrying out reconnaissance work there. However, the party activities for the 'secret department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission' were determined as a priority and conducted exclusively under the control of the Central Committee, while the reconnaissance sector was supervised by the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission. The chief of the Secret Department of the

Історія", Київ, 2002, вип. 62, с. 45.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

* A Russian unit of weight equivalent to about 16.4 kilograms.

³⁵ Валерій Козенюк, Михайло Вівчарик, *Предтеча органів держбезпеки*, с.48-49.

³⁶ Олег Купчик, *Закордонний відділ ...*, с. 47.

³⁷ Олександр Гісем, «Закордон» у системі дипломатичних відносин між Польщею та УСРР (1921–1923 рр.) ["Foreign Department" in the System of Diplomatic Relations between Poland and UkrSSR], in *Україна дипломатична*, 2007, вип. VIII, с. 160.

All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission was appointed by the Central Committee of the CC CP(b)U, and his assistant was designated by the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission upon consultation with the Central Committee. Generally, the chief was responsible for party and reconnaissance activities. His assistant was in charge of reconnaissance. The 'Secret Department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission' was funded by the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission: the former funded party activities, and the latter financed reconnaissance activities. The overall guidance of the Secret Department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission was entrusted to one of the members of the Party Central Committee. No 'technical department' was established. Its functions were performed by the 'secret directive division' of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine.³⁸

The final decision on the 'Secret Department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission' was not approved at that time, because on December 30, 1921, a meeting was held at the CC CP(b)U, which was attended by chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars Ch. Rakovsky, members of the Central Committee F. Kon, D. Liebied, V. Zatonsky, chief of the Ukrainian 'Foreign Department' F. Markus, and chief of its Odessa branch A. Grinshtein. At the meeting, the attendees discussed 'issues related to the activities of foreign entities'. The following decisions were made: '1) to stop the externally organized partisan activities in Bessarabia and Bukovina; 2) to support and develop the internally organized subversive activities; 3) to strengthen the internally organized partisan activities in Bessarabia and Bukovina; 4) to transfer the center of party activities to Romania and organize there publication of propaganda literature to be distributed in Bessarabia and Bukovina; 5) to pay special attention to the training of field agents and leading employees to be sent abroad; the nominations must be agreed upon in the secretariat of the Central Committee; 6) to 'purge' the staff of the crossing points; 7) to refer the issue of the new organizational structure of the 'Foreign Department', in relation to the Kharkov branch liquidation, to the secretariat of the Central Committee for resolution, jointly with A. Grinshtein and F. Markus, 8) to deem the Kiev branch of the Foreign Department liquidated'.³⁹

Thus, the organization of export of the Bolshevik revolution to Romania was fully delegated to the Odessa branch, reorganized into the Secret Department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission.

It is also important to note the following results of the operative and subversive activities of the Foreign Department: in April 1921, its employees in the

³⁸ «Закордон» в системі спецслужб Радянської України: зб. док., Київ, 2000, с. 165.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Akkerman County killed Fadenko, an agent of the Romanian political police (Siguranța) and village head, and carried out an armed attack on the police outpost in the village of Nedoboivtsi. In addition, their plans were to attack Chisinau prison in order to free convicted communists. However, the arrest of the head of this group prevented them from fulfilling the plan.⁴⁰ Despite this, on May 1, 1921, members of the Foreign Department blew up the building of the local branch of the political police in Chișinău. On June 1-3, they carried out an armed attack on police checkpoints near the town of Khotyn. In July, trains were derailed in the Bendery district. Around the same time, in this county they tried to blow up a bridge across the Ialpukh river. Yet, due to technical malfunctions, the explosive devices did not work. In each village located near the railway, a 'secret agent' was recruited.⁴¹ On July 31, an armed attack was carried out on the Khotyn gendarmerie in order to kill the chief of the local police and gendarmerie. On August 3, in the village of Lenkovtsy of the Khotyn county, two agents of the Romanian Siguranța were killed, and in September a bridge across the Ialpukh river was blown up. In Bendery, a Siguranța agent and an executioner of the Orhei Siguranța were killed. In addition, there was an explosion in the administration of the gendarmerie of Ackerman in October. Three gendarmes were killed. Around the same time, there was a failed explosion attempt at the Northern Railway Station in Bucharest. Also, preparations were made to launch an armed attack on the Jilava prison to free convicted communists. Nevertheless, the Romanian police revealed and prevented the attack.⁴² Thus, over a relatively short period, the operational groups of the Foreign Department organized and carried out a significant number of operations, which, naturally, drew the attention of the Romanian security agencies.

The most successful terrorist operation organized by members of the 'Foreign Department' was led by Max Goldstein. In the autumn of 1920, he was one of the three members of the group sent to Romania to commit acts of terror. In October of the same year, there was a general strike, suppressed by the authorities. Goldstein tried to kill the Interior Minister C. Argetoianu, who directly led the pacification of the strikers. He failed to detonate the train of the minister. The Minister was lucky enough to survive: the explosion was in the front part of the wagon, and

⁴⁰ О. Купчик, *Зовнішньополітична діяльність уряду УСРР (1919–1923 рр.): між українською формою та радянським змістом* [Foreign-Policy Activities of the UkrSSR (1919–1923): between Ukrainian form and Soviet essence], Київ, Тернограф, 2011, с. 208.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Сергій Пивовар, Олег Купчик, *Діяльність Закордонного відділу ЦК КП(б)У (1920–1921 рр.)* [Activity of Foreign Department of the CC of the CP(b)U (1920–1921 pp.)], in "Українська революція 1917–1921 років: погляд із сьогодення", Київ, 2013, с. 518.

the minister was in its back part. However, the apotheosis of the activity of the Goldstein group was the bomb attack in the building of the Romanian Senate on December 8, 1920⁴³, where the senator, Bishop D. Radu, was killed, and the Minister of Justice D. Greceanu and Senator G. Spiru being wounded died in hospital. The chairman of the Senate, General C. Coandă, and Bishops Nifon and Roman Ciorogariu were injured, as well. There could have been more victims if the senatorial seats had been at the level of the presidium. A powerful explosion shook the windows of the local university and frightened the students and lecturers. They rushed to the exit and saw smoke and dust coming from the window of the Senate Hall. King Ferdinand I visited the site soon after the explosion. The police identified the terrorists and their role in the explosion, but the bombers managed to escape from Romania.⁴⁴

Taking advantage of the fact that the terrorist attack was strongly condemned by the public, the authorities immediately accused the Romanian communists. Although chief of the Communist Party of Romania G. Cristescu rejected all the accusations, a great trial took place, and members of the Communist Party as well as trade union leaders and others were brought to justice.

The investigators had information about Goldstein as an anarchist communist and about his left radical views; at the same time, they had sufficient evidence that he had acted with the help of the Bolshevik special services.⁴⁵

In 1921, Goldstein made several failed attempts to get to Romania through Bulgaria. His route lay from Odessa to Varna and then to the Bulgarian-Romanian border. At that time, the Ukrainian-Romanian border, 'though quite long ... had already become unreliable for the transition ... there were a lot of failures ... new ways through Bulgaria had to be found'.⁴⁶

⁴³ Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons. A Political History of Romanian Communism*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2003, p. 49.

⁴⁴ *The violent beginnings of Communism in Romania: a portrait of Max Goldstein*, in <https://tourofcommunism.com/2013/12/02/the-violent-beginnings-of-communism-in-romania-a-portrait-of-max-goldstein/> (Accessed in 29.01.2017).

⁴⁵ Miruna Munteanu, *Confesiunea unui terorist comunist* [Confessions of a Communist Terrorist], in <http://bucuresti-strictsecret.blogspot.in/2007/11/confesiunea-unui-terorist-comunist.html> (Accessed in: 7.02.2017).

⁴⁶ *Протоколы совещания членов ЦК КП(б)У по вопросам работы Закардонного отдела. Доклады, обзоры, письма Закардонного Отдела ЦК КП(б)У о его деятельности (1921 г.)* [The Minutes of the CC of the CP(b)U Members' Consultation about the Work of Foreign Department. Reports, Overviews, Letters of Foreign Department of CC of the CP(b)U (1921)], in Центральный державный архив громадських об'єднань

One such attempt was made in July 1921, when Goldstein landed on a Bulgarian beach near Varna, accompanied by two more persons (Chirițescu, Hagiū) 'in the daytime'.⁴⁷ They were noticed by local fishermen. The Foreign Department members found no surveillance. Thus, the fishermen managed to steal their chest with dynamite. The Bulgarian communists were able to buy this chest from the fishermen before they transferred it to the police. Interestingly, Goldstein and his accomplices wrote in a report addressed to the leaders of the special service that the fishermen had also stolen their documents and money (which they are likely to have appropriated by themselves - *Author*).⁴⁸ It is obvious that the members of the 'Foreign Department' tried to get to Romania to carry out their task. The Bulgarian Communists wrote about this to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (hereinafter – the Central Committee of the BCP) but they had no idea that members of the 'Foreign Department' were in Bulgaria. Notably, the letter said that they had had an argument about which of them was 'the leader'. Thereafter, 'they were deported from Bulgaria by the local party organization. They were forbidden to return, of which they were informed by comrade Popov, a member of the Central Committee of the BCP'.⁴⁹

Secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP V. Kolarov, who was in Moscow to attend the Third Congress of the Comintern in late July 1921, wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the RCP(b) about the above situation. According to the letter, the Bulgarian coast was used by the Foreign Affairs Department of the Comintern for 'communication with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece and even Italy ... And if there is another landing of the same kind, the shore will certainly be closed for all sorts of intercourse with Russia'.⁵⁰ Thus, the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party protested against the actions of the Foreign Department which could lead to negative consequences for the BCP and the communist movement in Bulgaria.

Despite this, a month later, Goldstein, accompanied by Maria Simoiu, again tried to get to Romania from the Bulgarian border town of Ruschuk. Previously informed of this, the police searched the house where the members of the Foreign Department were living, and seized dynamite chests and valuables worth over 2 million Bulgarian Levs.⁵¹ Although Goldstein and Simoiu managed to escape, the

України [Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine – hereinafter: ЦДАГО України], f. 1, inv. 20, f. 408, p. 112.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112-114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114-117.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

police searched local communists and arrested them. Again, the Central Committee of the BCP (letter dated October 4, 1921, signed by Comrade Popov, a member of the Central Committee) protested against such actions of the Foreign Department. The letter said: 'These Romanians, the Goldstein brothers, come again with a woman, Maria Simoiu, and they again have explosives and jewels worth two million. Despite our protests, these people are now organizing their base in Varna'.⁵² Bulgarian communists once again protested against the attempts of members of the Foreign Department to involve the local party organization. They strongly recommended organizing their base in Romania, justifying it by the fact that the activities that had led to the defeat of the Romanian Communist Party could contribute to the liquidation of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

However, in October 1921, Goldstein again attempted to illegally enter Romania from the territory of Bulgaria, but when he was crossing the border near the Bulgarian city of Rousse he was arrested by the Romanian police. Despite the tortures he suffered, he denied the involvement of the Romanian Communist Party in the Soviet special services and his personal role in the act of terror. Goldstein claimed that he had organized it as an anarchist and head of the terrorist group of Romanian anarchists.⁵³

After the trial on June 28, 1922, Goldstein was sentenced to life imprisonment in Doftana prison (in the Prahova County), where he died in 1924. Soviet historians associated the death of the prisoner to his second hunger strike, which lasted 32 days. According to the Romanian version, Goldstein died of disease (pneumonia or tuberculosis).⁵⁴ His brother Lupu Goldstein (sentenced to 5 years of penal servitude), was also arrested by the police.⁵⁵

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

To export the revolution to Europe, the Bolsheviks paid special attention to neighbouring countries such as Poland and Romania; their intention was to

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Петр Шорников, Павел Ткаченко во главе бессарабского подполья [Pavel Tkachenko as a Leader of Bessarabian Underground Movement], in "Русин", 2008, no. 1-2 (11-12), с. 172.

⁵⁴ Miruna Munteanu, *Confesiunea...* (Accessed on 07.02.2017); *The violent beginnings of Communism in Romania: a portrait of Max Goldstein* (Accessed on 20.03.2017).

⁵⁵ *В боярской Румынии (очерк белого террора в Румынии за последнее десятилетие)* [In Boyar Romania (Essay about White Terror in Romania During the Last Decade)], Москва, Издание И. К. МОПРа, 1924, с. 68.

spread the revolutionary ideas through these countries and further to the West. The Bolsheviks paid special attention to Romania, with which the Soviet government did not have diplomatic relations.

For the so-called 'liberation' campaign of the Red Army in neighbouring Romania, the Soviet special services organized reconnaissance and sabotage work, as well as subversive and terrorist activities on the territory of Romania. To this end, they tried to use various social, economic and national contradictions between the Ukrainian population and the Romanian authorities of Bessarabia and Bukovina to create a generally destabilizing situation in the state. Moreover, various acts of terror were carried out, which claimed many human lives.

The special service organizing such activities was the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine. Its most successful terrorist attack was the explosion on December 8, 1920 in the building of the Romanian Senate. It caused the death of the chairman of the Senate, the Minister of Justice and two more senators. The explosion was carried out by Max Goldstein, a member of this organization who was previously trained for this type of activity. The failure in 1921 of the members of the 'Foreign Department' in Poland and arrest of M. Goldstein by the Siguranța led to changes in the organization of export of the Bolshevik revolution to Romania. From December 31, 1921, the Odessa branch of the Foreign Department operated within the system of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission as the Secret Department of the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, but its activity related to export of the Bolshevik revolution to Romania is the subject of further scientific research.

**THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ROMANIAN REFUGEES (1948-1960)
AND THE U.S. OFFICE OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS IN ROMANIA**

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***Abstract:** Although after 1989 historians tackled the issues of the Romanian exile, there has been no exhaustive study done so far analyzing the main periods of the Romanian political exodus that started in 1947 and how this was organized in the fight for the liberation of the country from under the Communist Soviet Regime. Most studies dedicated to the exile preponderantly looked at aspects related to the Romanian cultural exile and the role of the Romanian intellectual diaspora in preserving and passing on the Romanian values unaltered by the Communist regime. This study will analyze the role and the activity of the Office of Strategic Services/Central Intelligence Agency of the United States in Romania between 1945 and 1947 and their involvement in helping the Romanian political class "escape" from under the Soviet authoritarian regime imposed after 1947. Special attention has been given to the different refugee's categories and to the main international organizations who were involved in supporting them. If there has been no study performed so far about the plight of the emigrants from the concentration camps from Yugoslavia and Trieste, the author makes a detailed analysis of this situation and of the involvement of the American secret services and of the International Refugees Organization in assisting the refugees. The climax of the organization of the Romanian exile was that of the Romanian National Committee being formed. RNC was the only political entity that was recognized by the main Western offices as the only political body qualified to coordinate the movement of the Romanian diaspora in their fight for the liberation of the country from under the Communist guardianship.*

***Keywords:** U.S.A, Romania, refugees, Diaspora, Office of Strategic Services, CIA, Romanian National Committee*

***Rezumat:** Organizațiile internaționale pentru Asistența Refugiaților Români (1948-1960) și Biroul de Operațiuni Speciale al S.U.A. în România. Deși istoricii au abordat după 1989 problemele exilului românesc, nu s-a realizat până în prezent nici un studiu exhaustiv care să analizeze principalele perioade ale exilului politic românesc – care a început în 1947 - și cum acesta a fost organizat în lupta pentru eliberarea țării de sub regimul comunist sovietic. Cele*

mai multe studii dedicate exilului s-au axat preponderent pe aspecte legate de exilul cultural românesc și rolul diasporei intelectuale românești în păstrarea și transmiterea valorilor românești, nealterate de regimul comunist. Acest studiu va analiza rolul și activitatea Biroului Serviciilor Strategice/Central Intelligence Agency din Statele Unite ale Americii în România între 1945 și 1947 și implicarea lor în "evadarea" clasei politice românești de sub regimul autoritar sovietic impus după 1947. O atenție deosebită a fost acordată diferitelor categorii de refugiați și organizațiilor internaționale care s-au implicat în susținerea acestora. În cazul în care nu s-a realizat până în prezent nici un studiu cu privire la starea emigranților din lagărele de concentrare din Iugoslavia și Trieste, autorul face o analiză detaliată a acestei situații și a implicării serviciilor secrete americane și a Organizației Internaționale a Refugiaților în ajutorarea acestora. Punctul culminant al organizării exilului românesc a fost dat de constituirea Comitetului Național Român. Comitetul Național Român a fost singura entitate politică care a fost recunoscută de către principalele birouri (cancelarii) vestice drept singurul corp politic capabil să coordoneze acțiunea diasporei române în lupta ei pentru eliberarea țării de sub tutela comunistă.

Résumé: Les Organisations internationales pour l'Assistance des Réfugiés Roumains (1948-1960) et le Bureau d'Opérations Spéciales des Etats Unis de l'Amérique en Roumanie. Quoique les historiens aient abordé après 1989 les problèmes de l'exil roumain, on ne réalisa point jusqu'à présent une étude exhaustive qui analyse les périodes principales de l'exil politique roumain – qui commença en 1947 – et comment on organisa celui-ci dans la lutte pour la libération du pays du régime communiste soviétique. La majorité des études dédiées à l'exil se sont axées de manière prépondérante sur des aspects liés de l'exil culturel roumain et le rôle de la diaspora dans la préservation et la transmission des valeurs roumaines, pas altérées par le régime communiste. L'étude ci-jointe analysera, aussi, le rôle et l'activité du Bureau des Services Stratégiques/ Central Intelligence Agency des Etats Unis de l'Amérique entre 1945 et 1947 et leur implication dans «l'évasion» de la classe politique roumaine du régime autoritaire soviétique imposé après 1947. On y porta une attention tout à fait particulière aux différentes catégories de réfugiés et aux organisations internationales qui se sont impliquées dans leur soutien. Le cas où on ne réalisa point jusqu'aujourd'hui aucune étude concernant l'état des émigrants des camps de concentration de l'Yougoslavie et de Trieste, l'auteur y fit une analyse détaillée de cette situation et de l'implication des services secrets américains et de l'Organisation Internationale des Réfugiés à leur aide. La constitution du Comité National Roumain constitua le point culminant de l'organisation de l'exil roumain. Le Comité National Roumain a été l'unique entité politique que les principaux bureaux (chancelleries) d'ouest ont reconnu comme le seul corps politique capable à coordonner l'action de la diaspora roumaine dans sa lute pour la libération du pays de la tutelle communiste.

INTRODUCTION

Following the political events that took place in Romania in 1945, along with the Soviet troops occupying Romania, the Communist regime in Moscow succeeded

over a short period of time in installing their own repressive system and annihilating any form of Romanian political resistance. A considerable part of the Romanian political and intellectual class found their refuge in the great European capitals or in the United States. The deepening of the international political crisis following the division of the new zones of influence that were established by the Paris Peace, lead the United States to react “vehemently” by openly supporting the fight for the liberation of the Eastern Europe from under the Soviet Russian occupation and influence. The declaration made by General Nicolae Rădescu on October 30, 1947 before his leaving Portugal for the USA, sums up the objective of the East European emigration, namely that of continuing the liberation efforts on the American soil: “I go to America because all the countries under Russian Soviet subjection put all their hopes in the people and government of America and in U.N.”¹ On December 30, 1947, King Michael was forced to abdicate and leave the country and on the next day a “People’s Republic” was proclaimed.² According to Romanian Communist historians and political theorists, the advent of the Groza Government on March 6, 1945, signified the installation of the “popular democratic” regime in Romania, to be followed by the second phase of conquest, the dictatorship of the proletariat starting on December 31, 1947.

The issue of the Romanian political exile after the Second World War began to be analyzed by the Romanian historians only recently. Until 1989 this subject could not be investigated due to the anticommunist character of the exile and the orientation of the Romanian historiography at that time. The writings which could have been written on this subject belonged to Romanian refugees too from the West, the United States of America or other parts of the world. Most of them have a rather memorial role. Among these we mention Leontin Constantinescu³, Mircea Ciobanu⁴ or Virgil Ierunca.⁵ After 1989 their works were able to see the light of the printing

¹ *Spicuiiri din cuvântările și scrierile Generalului Rădescu* [Sayings from General Rădescu's speeches and writings], Brutus Coste (hereafter BC), box 27, folder 1, Hoover Institution Archive (hereafter HIA); General Rădescu statement on leaving Portugal for U.S.A., BC, box 26, folder 6, HIA.

² *O pagină de istorie. Generalul Rădescu despre împrejurările în care comuniștii au pus mâna pe putere în România* [A History Page. General Rădescu about the circumstances in which the Communists took power in Romania], BC, box 27, folder 1, HIA.

³ Leontin Jean Constantinescu, *Jurnal (1947-1958)* [Journal (1947-1958)], Bucharest, Jurnalul literar Publishing House, 1998.

⁴ Mircea Ciobanu, *Convorbiri cu Mihai I al României* [Conversations with Mihai I of Romania], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1992; respectively *Nimic fără Dumnezeu. Noi convorbiri cu Mihai I al României* [Nothing without God. New conversations with Mihai I of Romania], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1992.

⁵ Virgil Ierunca, *Trecut-au anii* [The years have passed], Bucharest, Humanitas, 2000.

in Romania too. Other sources have also made use of documents from exile organizations or articles and materials belonging to their press. Among these are the volume signed by Vasile C. Dumitrescu⁶ or those of Aurel Sergiu Marinescu.⁷ Many other studies and articles have appeared in disparate reviews and periodicals⁸. A first work attempting to synthesize the problems was signed by the historian Ion Calafeteanu.⁹ Relatively more recently began the publication of collections of documents coming from exile or from the funds of the Romanian archives. However, the history of exile is still at the "site" stage, the historiographic debate of the issue having numerous white pages. This article aims to bring to light such a page, on a subject with reference to the early years of exile in American space.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF ROMANIAN REFUGEES

The Office of Strategic Services/Central Intelligence Agency of the United States Balkans Office had knowledge about the legal and ideological punitive measures taken by the Communist Party, and they permanently informed Washington about the transformations and actions undertaken by the Special

⁶Vasile C. Dumitrescu, *O istorie a exilului românesc (1944 -1989) în eseuri, articole, scrisori, imagini etc.* [A History of Romanian Exile (1944 -1989) in essays, articles, letters, pictures, etc.], edition realized by Victor Frunză, Bucharest, 1997.

⁷Aurel Sergiu Marinescu, *O contribuție la istoria exilului românesc* [A Contribution to the History of Romanian Exile], vol. I-X, Bucharest, 2001-2011.

⁸See for instance Costăchescu, Tiberiu Dumitru, *Tineretul național-liberal între anii 1946-2000 în țară și în exil. Acțiuni, mentalități și destine* [National Liberal Youth between 1946-2000 in the country and in exile. Actions, mentalities and destinies], în Vasile Ciobanu, Sorin Radu (Coordinators), *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* [National Political Parties and Minorities in Romania in the 20th Century], Sibiu, University Publishing House, 2006; Florica Dobre, *Organizații în care au activat români din exil: Comitetul Național Român și adunarea Națiunilor Europene Captive* [Organizations in which Romanians activated in exile: Romanian National Committee and European Captive Assembly], in „Revista Arhivelor”, Year LXXXIII, vol. LXX, no. 3/2006; Vasile Mălureanu, *Comitetul Național Român – un pseudogovern în exil* [Romanian National Committee - a pseudo-government in exile], în „Vitrallii. Lumini și umbre”, no. 14, Bucharest, 2013 or Nicolae Videnie, *Scopurile, metodele și mijloacele exilului românesc postbelic* [Purposes, Methods and Means of the Romanian Post-War Exile], în „Dosarele Istoriei”, Year XI, no. 11 (123), 2006.

⁹Ion Calafeteanu, *Politică și exil. Din istoria exilului românesc, 1946-1950* [Politics and Exile. From the History of Romanian Exile, 1946-1950], Bucharest, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 2000.

Intelligence Service of Romania. The events in Romania after March 6, 1945 and the impact of Frank Wisner (one of the prominent figure in the birth of the American intelligence during the Cold War) made the historian Ernest Volkman to argue that “the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States began in Romania”.¹⁰

The main coordinators of the U.S. intelligence structures in Romania after March 6, 1945 were Burton Yost Berry, Minister Plenipotentiary-U.S. political representative in Romania, General Cortland Van Rensselaer Schuyler, the chief U.S. representative in the Allied Commission control-head of the American Military Mission in Romania and Frank R. Shea, head of the U.S. information Office (Press and Information service).¹¹ The U.S. Press Office in Bucharest was hiding the Counterintelligence Department of U.S. Information Service, whose objectives were: tracking Soviet agents in Romania, monitoring the Romanian Communist Party and its leaders and monitoring activities of the Special Intelligence Service of Romania.

On June 10, 1946, General Hoyt Vandenberg became the second director of central intelligence. He set out to get the United States back into the intelligence business. He created a new Office of Special Operations (OSO) to conduct spying and subversion overseas. Vanderberg’s Office of Special Operations set out to create an underground resistance force in Romania. Frank Wisner had left behind a network of agents in Bucharest desperate to work with Americans but deeply infiltrated by Soviet intelligence.¹² Charles Hostler, was the first station chief in Bucharest for the OSO. Vanderberg ordered Lieutenant Ira C. Hamilton and Major Thomas Hall, based at the tiny American military mission in Bucharest, to organize Romania’s National Party into a resistance force.¹³ The secret meeting on September 18, 1946 between Grigore Buzescu, Baron Ion Stârcea and the representatives of the American Mission in Romania, Hall and Hamilton, set the foundation of a secret action of organizing the Romanian parliamentary resistance and extending the cooperation with the other organizations in Poland and Yugoslavia.¹⁴ During this meeting they also forecasted the establishing of three

¹⁰ Dinu Alimăneștianu, *Rumanian underground leader against the Nazis and Communists 1939-1947*, box 1, folder 1, HIA; Sorin Aparaschivei, *Spionajul american în România 1944-1948* [American espionage in Romania 1944-1948], Bucharest, Millenium Press, 2013, p. 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Tim Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes. The History of the CIA*, New York, Random House, 2007, p. 18.

¹³ *Procesul conducătorilor fostului partid Național Țărănesc, Maniu, Mihalache, Penescu, Niculescu-Buzescu și alții* [The process of the leaders of the former National Peasant Party, Maniu, Mihalache, Penescu, Niculescu-Buzescu and others], BC, box 31, folder 3, HIA.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

committees for organizing the military plan for the liberation of Romania. When Hamilton asked about collecting information regarding the Russian troops stationed in Romania and the secret espionage networks, Buzești replied that: "In order to collect information we need to have three committees - a secret committee, a public committee, and a military one. Regarding the secret committee, the plan we propose has the great advantage of being very simple and adaptable during the development of the international situation.¹⁵ Lieutenant Hamilton's guide was the one important agent Wisner had recruited two years before: Theodore Manacatide, who had been a sergeant on the intelligence staff of the Romanian army and now worked at the American military mission, translator by day and spy by night.¹⁶ Manacatide took Hamilton and Hall to meet the National Peasant Party leaders. The Americans offered the clandestine support of the United States - guns, money, and intelligence. On October 5, 1946, working with the new Central Intelligence station in occupied Vienna, the Americans smuggled the former foreign minister of Romania, Constantin Vișoianu and five other members of the would-be liberation army into Austria, sedating them, stuffing them in mail sacks, and flying them to safe harbor.¹⁷ After this operation the American agents had to leave the country as soon as possible, since they had been identified by the Soviet agents. Hamilton reached the headquarters of the Office of Special Operations in Wien, where, among other activities, together with Colonel John R. Lovell from the American Military Mission in Bucharest, he would coordinate the espionage activity of supporting the Romanian agents and refugees from the headquarters in Salzburg and Wien.¹⁸ Although U.S. propaganda purposes in Romania had been different, the dramatic political and economical situation of the Romanian citizens brought serious problems to the image of the Bucharest regime. In 1946, the U.S. Consulate reported that Washington got from the Romanian citizens from all over the country, a veritable avalanche of applications for emigration to the United States - a total of 418,058! Obviously surprised by the circumstances, Helen Heyden, from the American Mission would say: "At this rate, the U.S. Consulate will leave Romania without citizens".¹⁹

The significant political changes that marked the Romanian history between 1945 and 1948 led to an unprecedented emigration of the Romanian population.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Tim Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes...*, p. 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Dinu Alimăneștianu, *Rumanian underground leader...*

¹⁹ Sorin Aparaschivei, *Spionajul american în România 1944-1948...*, p. 237.

At the beginning of 1948 the situation of the Romanian deportees constituted a delicate problem for the international political circles and for the international organizations assisting refugees. The **Victims of the Nazi Regime** were the first category of deportees. There are several categories of Romanian displaced persons: *The deportees for slave labor to Germany and Austria, Deportees for Nazi Indoctrination, Hebrews deported for slave and destruction*. A special group of displaced persons includes the *Romanian political refugees during the Nazi regime* that nearly all were members of the former "Iron Guard" of Romania and who, after the 1941 rebellion against the Antonescu government, fled Romania with the help of the German Army, thus trying to escape punishment.²⁰ To this group may be added a smaller number of Nazi sympathizers who did not actually belong to the Iron Guard but fled because of fear. They lived in Salzburg, Linz, Innsbruck, Heidelberg, Munich, Berlin, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Hannover, Hamburg and other localities, the number ranging by estimation between 5,000 to 10,000 persons. A certain number of them succeeded in establishing themselves in Italy, France and Argentina.²¹

Finally there is a group of *displaced persons composed of Germans possessing Romanian citizenship*. During the war nearly all the Saxons and Swabs from Romania joined the German Armed Forces in a voluntary capacity, retaining at the same time their Romanian citizenship so as to have their personal properties safeguarded in Romania. The communist regime pronounced these people as aliens of Romania, although their families continued to enjoy Romanian citizenship. The persons belonging to this group lived in concentration camps under the control of the Occupation Forces and were helped by various religious welfare organizations.²²

Of a very different nature were the **refugees from the Communist Regime**. They may be placed in the following categories: a) Persons who fled because they did not wish to live under the Terror of Communism; b) Political refugees who were considered as enemies of the "People" by the Communist State; c) Romanian subjects in foreign countries with passports but who would not obey the orders

²⁰ *Scrisoarea lui Horațiu Comaniciu către Grigore Niculescu-Buzești din 6 Mai 1949* [Horațiu Comaniciu's letter to Grigore Niculescu-Buzești of 6 May 1949], Sabin Manuilă (hereafter SM), box 20, folder 1, HIA; More information on the Iron Guard members in exile can be found on the CIA archive page http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/PAPANACE,%20CONSTANTINE_0020.pdf [October 1, 2017].

²¹ *The problem of Romanian Displaced Persons*, SM, box 20, folder 8, HIA; Jacques Vernant, *The Refugee in the Post-War World*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. 81-84.

²² *Ibid.*

of the Communist Government to return to Romania and thus lost their citizenship becoming displaced persons. The number of the refugees from the Communist Terror was around 10,000, half of them being Jews located mostly in the West.²³ The situation of many of the displaced persons belonging to this group was truly pitiful. Being hunted by the Russian trained Secret Police, they were forced to live underground, barely securing the minimum requirement of food to maintain life. When such persons succeed in escaping the Iron Curtain they, as a rule, had no personal documents whatsoever, and therefore they could not obtain coupons, nor shelter. It was only in the last part of 1948 that they became eligible for International Refugee Organization relief.²⁴

The first committees that would help the refugees were founded in Europe by the refugees themselves. Among such committees, the most important were: The Romanian Relief Committee in Salzburg, Section Roumaine du Service Social of the Occupational Forces in Innsbruck, The Romanian Welfare Committee in Heidelberg and Foyer Franco Roumaine in Paris.²⁵ In order to support these committees, new organizations were founded, that were involved in obtaining financial rights and legalizing the resident statute of the refugees. Thus, in July 12, 1948 **The American Romanian Relief Inc.** was founded, which was incorporated in the State of Ohio and was filed for Overseas Aid with the Advisory Committee on Foreign Relief of the State Department. Its constituents were the representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Churches, Romanian Greek Catholic Churches, Romanian Baptist Churches and The Union and League of all the Romanian-American Cultural and Beneficial Organizations. Besides this, the **Church World Service to Romanians**, The **Catholic Relief for Romanians** and **Comite d'Assistance aux Roumains** from Paris also had a notable contribution.²⁶ In May 1948 a legally established Romanian relief committee known as "**CAROMAN**" (**Romanian Red Cross of the Free Romanians**) was registered with the French authorities. This organization was under the leadership of Nicolae Caranfil and consisted mostly of former diplomats. It was a big step in the relief work of the Romanian displaced persons in Europe to have a legally established

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Aaron Levenstein, *Escape To Freedom. The Story of the International Rescue Committee*, New York, Freedom House, 1983, pp. 35-37.

²⁵ *Organizații de asistență care se preocupă de asistența refugiaților români în Europa* [Assistance organizations dealing with the assistance of Romanian refugees in Europe], SM, box 20, folder 7, HIA.

²⁶ *Dare de seamă* [Statement]. *American Romanian Relief Inc. New York Branch*, SM, box 20, folder 8, HIA.

organization to fight for their rights. However, in view of the fact that this organization based its work on aid from European sources, which were all being supplied with help from United States, financial difficulties and insecurity soon developed. As a consequence, "CAROMAN" was forced to seek the necessary funds in the United States and, therefore, in December 1948 he obtained incorporation under the name of **Romanian Welfare Inc.** which is not to be confused with the American Romanian Relief Inc. described above.²⁷

ROAD TO FREEDOM

One of the most delicate problems that the Romanian refugees' relief organizations had to deal with was the situation of the Romanians in the transit camps or in the forced labor camps from Yugoslavia. About 800 Romanians entered Yugoslavia between July and December of 1948, being first enticed by the Cominform act (which was excommunicating the party lead by Marshal Tito from among the lines of real communists). The refugees were also influenced by the propaganda and promises made by the Yugoslavian government, according to which they were going to be welcome and would be helped to find jobs depending on everybody's skills and qualifications, thus having the assurance of being able to make a living, a better one than that which they were leaving behind. The Government press release that was broadcasted all over the world through radio and newspaper, was enforced by agents that were weekly entering Romania making the same propaganda.²⁸

The result was that Romanians were crossing the frontier in large groups belonging to all social classes and different professional categories, starting from ex-ministers, ex-generals, colonels, professors, doctors, clerks and ending with workers and farmers. After being interrogated in the locality where they would turn themselves in, the Romanians were taken to the so-called refugee camp in Kovacica, which was situated 55 km away from Belgrad. The camp regime was that of ordinary prison, the refugees were locked in cells containing 20 or 25 persons and were guarded by armed police. Until November 13, 1948, most

²⁷ *Organizații de asistență care se preocupă de asistența refugiaților români în Europa*, SM, box 20, folder 7, HIA; See the annex: The International Romanian Relief Organizations 1947-1955.

²⁸ *Memoriu asupra situației din România și a Românilor aflați pe teritoriul Republicii Iugoslaviei* [Memorandum on the situation in Romania and the Romanians that were on the territory of the Republic of Yugoslavia], BC, box 31, folder 4, HIA.

refugees were given a job in the coal mines, salt mines or asbestos mines from Banovici-Tuzla, Mladinovatz, Kraliovo, Rasca, Toplice, without anybody taking age or profession into account. The mines in Banovici-Tuzla employed around 250 Romanians, especially professors, lawyers, doctors, engineers and students; the mines from Mladinovatz, near Belgrad, received 150 Romanians that were mostly priests, clerks or from military background. Those who managed to find jobs in factories had a better life than those in the camps. One person could earn between 3,000 and 4,000 dinars per month and was free to travel around the locality where they were assigned.²⁹

Since June 1948, when Tito was branded as an enemy of the Soviets, and until December 1950, some 2000 Romanians had escaped by crossing the frontier into Yugoslavia. Following the protests of the leaders of the Romanian National Committee and National Committee for Europe, the Yugoslavian authorities, also under the pressure of the American and French Embassies in Belgrade and of the International Red Cross, agreed to free the refugees by bringing them near the Trieste or Greece border and letting them cross it "unlawfully".³⁰

Besides the refugee reception center from Paris, founded in May 1948, refugees assisting centers were founded in Salzburg, which was the main spot for crossing the frontier for refugees who were fleeing the country. This center's report of its three month activity for the months of June-October 1948 shows that more than 400 persons were helped by CAROMAN.³¹ Another center functioned from 1948 till April 1949 in Istanbul. This one also had a dormitory, which was later closed because all refugees had been helped and they left Turkey going westward. In July 1949 another center was founded in Trieste to receive and help refugees who escaped Yugoslavia.³²

Trieste represented, for most refugees from South-Eastern Europe, the gate towards liberty and the hope of the fulfillment of their dreams that had been crushed by the Soviets and the Communist Party. Starting in the fall of 1947, when the Free Territory of Trieste was found, there was also another organization functioning in Trieste: the 17th Detachment of the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps (CIC) under Burt Lifshultz's command, who worked under cover. The Detachment was providing basic counterintelligence support for the US military mission, doing some work against the Yugoslav military

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Memo Romanian Refugees Center in Belgrade*, BC, box 12, folder 4, HIA.

³¹ *Comite d'Assistance aux Roumaine (CAROMAN)*, SM, box 20, folder 7, HIA.

³² *Ibid.*

mission in Zone B, debriefing East European refugees in the camps and vetting prospective “war brides”.³³

From 1947 and until later 1960’s in OSO, there was a Southeast Europe Division (SE), the follow-on to Foreign Division “P”, a West Europe Division (WE) and an East Europe Division (EE). SE had responsibility for Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and the FTT. The tasks of the SE was: a) Intelligence collection on Yugoslavia, b) Cross border operations to collect intelligence from the other countries of Eastern Europe, c) Refugee debriefing for intelligence gathering, d) Penetrations of communist and fascist parties.³⁴

The Office of Special Operations also had relations with the directors of the refugees assistance Romanian centers from Wien, Salzburg or Trieste. For example CAROMAN kept information consisting of brief personal files of all the refugees who passed through Austria, France or Italy and there were times when the American Department of State asked for its cooperation in order to open cases amongst Romanian refugees investigating the facts they had knowledge about regarding human rights not being respected in the Soviet Romania, as well as information about personal data.³⁵

Another delicate matter the RNC brought to the attention of the State Department was the situation of refugees who could not be registered on the lists of the International Refugees’ Organization (IRO), which was going to be liquidated on June 1, 1950. According to its provisions, refugees who applied after October 15, 1949, could not be registered. This would impact Romanian refugees who had left Romania from July through October 1948 and had been detained by the Yugoslavian authorities. Those who reached Trieste - the free zone, after October 15 - would not be accepted by the IRO authorities in Italy. The Committee proposed two solutions to the US government. One was that the IRO in Italy be authorized to handle these cases directly, and another was to make an agreement with the International Red Cross to take these refugees under its protection.³⁶

³³ Richard Stolz, *Assignment Trieste. A case officer’s first tour*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no1/pdf/v37i1a04p.pdf> [October 1, 2017].

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Comite d’Assistance aux Roumaine (CAROMAN)*, SM, box 20, folder 7, HIA.

³⁶ *The Displaced Person’s Act of 1948 and the Romanian Refugees*, BC, box 12, folder 4, HIA; *Dare de seamă asupra activității Comitetului Național Român în cursul lunii Octombrie 1949* [Statement on the activity of the Romanian National Committee during the month of October 1949], CNR, box 1, folder 1, HIA; *Proces-Verbal al ședințelor Comitetului Național Român din 12 și 13 octombrie 1949* [Minutes of the meetings of the Romanian

In addition to assisting refugees in the United States, the RNC also had relations with the Romanian refugee organizations in Western Europe. When he visited Italy in 1956, Augustin Popa, one of the prominent figures of the Romanian exile, wrote in his report presented to the National Committee at the November 14 meeting that he had met with representatives of the Romanian refugees in Rome. Monseigneur C. Capros, the head of the Vatican department that dealt with assistance for Romanians, told him that 312 refugees located in 8 cities were listed in his registers. In addition, in Italy there were about 22 000 “Italians” repatriated from Romania, most of whom were Romanized and were Romanian citizens who were organized into the “Association of Italian Refugees from Romania”, whose president was Antonio Dozzi.³⁷ Popa also learned that over 300 copies of the Committee’s newspaper, *Romania*, were distributed among the members of that association.

Popa arrived in Germany on October 9, 1956, where he had contacts with the leaders of the Free Europe Committee and the Romanian department of Radio Free Europe and later with German authorities and the leaders of the organizations of German refugees from Romania, as well as with the leaders of the Romanian organizations in Germany. Among the German public figures Popa met in Munich were Dr. Wagner, a member of the Bavarian parliament (born in Bucovina), Prof. Hans Koch, principal of the East-European Institute, Hans Hartl, a famous journalist (born in Transylvania), and the leaders of the organizations of Germans born in Romania, namely Blass and Hans Prelitsch, brothers from the *Landsmannschaft der Bukovinaer Deutschen*, and a Mr. Plesch, the spokesperson of the Saxons from Transylvania.³⁸

In Bonn, Popa met with Minister Teodor Oberlaender of the Ministry of Refugees, with whom he discussed the problems that Romanian refugees in Germany were facing. He also had meetings with the leaders of different organizations of Romanian refugees from Germany, among them George Racoveanu, the president of the Free Romanians Association from Germany, founded in 1955 and comprised of more than 2500 Romanian refugees, and Colonel Alexandrescu, Virgil Popa, and Aureliu Lepădatu.³⁹

National Committee on 12 and 13 October 1949], CNR, box 3, folder 2, HIA; *Scrisoarea Generalului Nicolae Rădescu către John Davis Lodge din februarie 12, 1949* [Letter of General Nicolae Rădescu to John Davis Lodge from the 12th of February 1949], BC, box 27, folder 2, HIA.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 165.

³⁹*Ibid.*

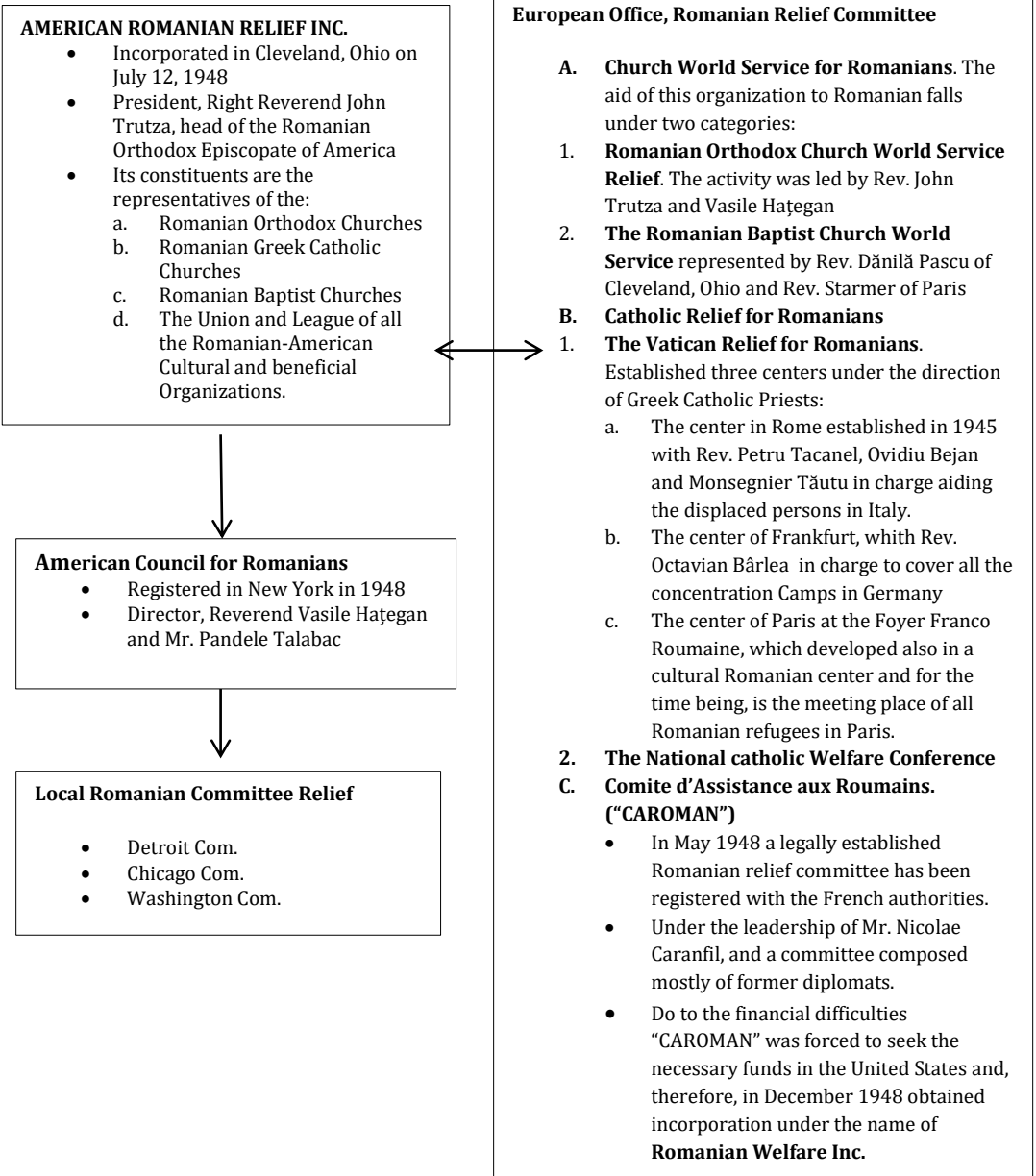
CONCLUSIONS

The beginnings of the Romanian exile created and fortified the steps for the formation and for the activity of the Romanian National Committee, based on the hope of liberating Romania from under the communist terror and of returning to the homes and families left in mourning behind the Iron Curtain. The creed and message of the Romanian exiles towards the Western world at the beginning of the Cold War can be easily deciphered in the confession of the famous politician Grigore Gafencu, who in 1949 stated that: "We did not come abroad looking for a better living... we are driven by the belief that we will be given the power to spread everywhere the news about the offense and terrible injustice that the Romanian people have to suffer, to constantly bring reminders about its suffering, about the torture of its best sons, about the mourning and humiliation that burdens a country which is traditionally and especially kind. We came to say unceasingly, again and again, that a country who has fought for centuries for liberty, and which, with its sincere hopes and thoughts was an asset for the European world, is lying with all its hopes crushed, in the most horrible slavery..."

The history of the post-war Romanian political exile is a dramatic one. After 1945, a large number of people chose the way of exile to escape the communist totalitarian regime. Most of them had been integrated, sometimes with great efforts in the adoptive countries. In the new estate they contributed to the economic, scientific or cultural development of the new countries. At the same time, they kept in a conscious form the memory of the country of origin. Through the various actions they have prepared, organized and led, the people who formed the Romanian emigration tried to do everything they could to discredit the communist regime in Romania. Under these circumstances, they had set up their own organizations and sought to maintain contact with the authorities of the countries in which they lived. The United States of America was one of the main centers where Romanian exiles could carry out their activities. The Romanian Diaspora was, however, the depositor of a great suffering: that of being incapable of returning to its native country in order to be of its service. But they chose to live in a liberal space where they could use their intellectual and physical capabilities with maximum efficiency.

Annex

The International Romanian Relief Organizations 1947-1955



**THE CIA'S ESTIMATES AND FORECASTS ON SOVIET ECONOMIC
AND FOREIGN TRADE POLICY IN COMECON
(EARLY 50^s – MID 60^s OF THE XXth CENTURY)***

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Abstract. *In the years since the end of the Cold War, the role and place of US intelligence community in shaping governmental decision-making process on the USSR and Communist Bloc affairs during the Cold War period have come into the centre of special historiographical trend in both the USA and Europe. Based on the CIA documents recently available to researchers, the article examines the analysis and forecast on the economic and foreign trade policy of the USSR in the COMECON, produced by the American intelligence since the early 1950s until the mid-60s. The author traces the evolution of the US economic intelligence, engaged in researches and submitting reports on the topic, and the views of CIA analysts on the nature, forms and methods of the USSR to maintain relations with her Eastern European allies within the COMECON. The paper defines several stages in the institutional and cognitive development of US economic intelligence on «intra-bloc» developments and the USSR - Eastern Bloc affairs.*

Keywords: *CIA, CMEA, Cold War, COMECON, Eastern Bloc, economic intelligence, Romania, USA, USSR.*

Rezumat: *Estimările și previziunile CIA privind politica economică și comercială a URSS în cadrul CAER (începutul anilor '50 – mijlocul anilor '60 ai secolului XX). În anii de după încheierea Războiului Rece, un curent istoriografic distinct ce s-a manifestat atât în SUA, cât și în Europa, s-a concentrat pe evaluarea rolului și locului comunității americane de informații în modelarea procesului de luare a deciziilor guvernamentale cu privire la URSS și Blocul Comunist de-a lungul Războiului Rece. Întemeindu-se pe documentele CIA devenite recent accesibile cercetătorilor, studiul examinează analizele și previziunile asupra politicii economice și de*

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comerț exterior a URSS în cadrul CAER, generate de serviciile americane de intelligence în perioada cuprinsă între începutul anilor '50 și până la mijlocul anilor '60 ai secolului trecut. Autorul urmărește evoluția intelligence-ului economic al Statelor Unite, implicat în cercetări și în elaborarea unor rapoarte pe această temă, precum și a opiniilor analiștilor CIA cu privire la natura, formele și metodele URSS de menținere a relațiilor cu aliații săi din Europa de Est în cadrul CAER. În cadrul studiului de față, sunt definite mai multe etape ale dezvoltării instituționale și cognitive a intelligence-ului economic al Statelor Unite privind evoluțiile „intra-bloc” și chestiunile referitoare la relațiile dintre URSS și Blocul Estic.

Résumé: Les évaluations et les prévisions de CIA concernant la politique économique et commerciale de l'URSS au cadre du CAEM (le début des années '50 – le milieu des années '60 du XX-ème siècle). Les années d'après la fin de la Guerre Froide, un courant historiographique distinct qui se manifesta aux Etats Unis, mais aussi en Europe, se concentra sur l'évaluation du rôle et de la place de la communauté américaine d'informations et comment celle-ci influença le processus de prise de décisions gouvernementales regardant l'URSS et le Bloc Communiste le long de la Guerre Froide. Se fondant sur les documents CIA devenus récemment accessibles aux chercheurs, l'étude ci-jointe examine les analyses et les prévisions sur la politique économique et de commerce extérieur de l'URSS au cadre du CAEM, générées par les services américaines d'intelligence dans la période comprise entre le début des années '50 et jusqu'au milieu des années 60' du siècle passé. L'auteur suivit l'évolution de l'intelligence économique des Etats Unis, impliqué en recherches et dans l'élaboration de rapports sur ce thème, ainsi que celle de opinions des analystes CIA concernant la nature, les formes et les méthodes de l'URSS de maintien des relations avec ses alliés en Europe d'Est au cadre du CAEM. On définit dans l'étude ci-jointe plusieurs étapes du développement institutionnel et cognitif de l'intelligence économique des Etats Unis en ce qui concerne les évolutions « intra-bloc » et les questions liées aux relations entre l'URSS et le Bloc de l'Est.

INTRODUCTION

The role and place of intelligence community in shaping policy by the US Government towards to the USSR and the Communist bloc during the Cold War have already acquired distinct and important place among newly born trends in American and European historiographies. The researchers focus their studies on the US intelligence assessments as a whole and of the Soviet military power, political developments and foreign policy of the USSR, including particular Soviet and its allies' actions in the international affairs. At the same time the economic aspect of the Western intelligence on the USSR–Eastern Europe economic relations

turned out less “attractive”, and first publications on this topic still very rare occurred only in the mid-1990s – early 2000s.¹ For the most part, the “intelligence studies” in Central Eastern Europe concentrate attention on involvement of national state security and intelligence bodies under Communist regimes in the domestic affairs. Although scarcity in the field of new studies on economic intelligence is still preserved, some publications on the theme, and predominantly on the US economic intelligence assessments of Soviet political and economic perspectives during the Cold War, including Soviet economic and foreign trade policy in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) or COMECON, gradually come to light. Newly available archival materials make possible to explore this theme in detail.

The establishment of the COMECON in 1949 and signing of the Warsaw Pact (WTO) in 1955 paved the way for strengthening of the Communist Bloc and Soviet grip on it.² The tight conjunction of political, military and economic aspects of newly created “Commonwealth of fraternal countries” left no doubts in the West. This complex phenomenon seriously influenced evolution of the US economic intelligence over the long span of time since the early fifties and until the mid-sixties. At the initial stage, lasted until the mid-fifties, the economic intelligence primarily concentrated on Soviet economic development, the industrial potential and foreign trade of the USSR both with the outside world and with members of the Eastern Bloc. The focus of the analysis concentrated on the USSR ability to wage long-term hostilities on one or several theatres of military operations. The Soviet economic and foreign trade policy within the Eastern Bloc has been discussed in the US intelligence community to a lesser extent as a special separate

¹ Bruce D Berkowitz, *U. S. Intelligence Estimates of the Soviet Collapse: Reality and Perception*, in “International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence”, 2008, Vol. 21, no. 2, p. 237-250; Daniel M Berkowitz, Joseph S Berliner, Paul R Gregory, Susan J Linz, James R Millar, *Survey Article: An Evaluation of CIA's Analysis of Soviet Economic Performance 1970-1990*, in “Comparative Economic Studies”, 1993, Vol. 35, no. 2, p. 35-37; Gerald K. Haines. Robert E. Leggett (Eds.), *CIA's Analysis of the Soviet Union, 1947- 1991. A Documentary Collection*, Washington, DC, Center for the Study of Intelligence. Central Intelligence Agency, 2001; Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Washington, DC, CQ Press, 2011, p. 386; Marc Trachtenberg, *Assessing Soviet Economic Performance during the Cold War: A Failure of Intelligence?* October 9, 2014, in https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/soviet_economic_performance_marctrachtenberg_.pdf (Accessed on 06.01.2018).

² Laurien Crump, Simon Godard, *Reassessing Communist International Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of COMECON and the Warsaw Pact in relation to their Cold War Competitors*, in “Contemporary European History”, 2018, Vol. 27, No. 1, 85-109.

topic of important political meaning.

NASCENT ENDEAVOURS: ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE IN SEARCH OF ITS FACE

One of the first analytical documents of the CIA, which analysed the relations between the USSR and the countries of the Bloc separately as part of a broader topic mentioned above, was the classified material called *NIE 3 – Soviet Capabilities and Intentions*, dated on November 15, 1950. It was addressed to the narrow circle of the US political and military leadership. It noted, particularly, that one of the Soviet leaders task in ensuring the global position of the USSR was consolidation of the “control over the European and Asian satellites (including Communist China)”.³ The assessments by the CIA analysts of socio-political aspirations in the Eastern Europe were too critical in respect to Soviet policy, since the authors stated, “The majority of the population in the satellite countries are intensely nationalistic, and large proportions resent the domination of the Kremlin and the present Communist Governments with which they are burdened”.⁴ The close interrelation between the economic and military-political components that determined the prospects of the USSR and its allies the Eastern bloc actions, having in mind Soviet economic and foreign trade policy within the Bloc, became obvious by the beginning of 1951. This fact was emphasized in the sixth draft of the secret analytical material prepared on January 13, 1951 by the CIA specialists, and called as *Vulnerability of the Soviet Bloc to Economic Warfare*. The document examined the possibility of economic measures to hold back the USSR against the backdrop of ongoing Korean War and Soviet attempts to expand influence in the world. In particular, the report noted that “the effect of a program of economic warfare on the economic and political stability of the USSR and its Satellites and upon relations between the USSR and its Satellites would not be decisive, though such a program would intensify popular discontent, particularly in the Satellite states and would aggravate problems of commodity distribution throughout the bloc”.⁵ This document, although presented under the auspice of the CIA, was the

³ *NIE 3 – Soviet Capabilities and Intentions*. 15. 11. 1950. CIA-RDP86B00269R00030004 0009-5, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP86B00269R000300040009-5.pdf> (Accessed on 10.01.2018).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ *Vulnerability of the Soviet Bloc to Economic Warfare (6 Draft)*. NIE-22. 13.02. 1951. CIA-RDP79R01012A000500030016-8, p. 4, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01012A000500030016-8.pdf> (Accessed on 2.02.2018).

result of conjoint analytical efforts undertaken by several US governmental agencies. Eventually, the draft of the final version of earlier document dated on February 15, 1951, was presented by the CIA on February 19, 1951 and called as *National Intelligence Estimates – 22*. The material reiterated all the provisions of the sixth version of the draft of February 13 and admitted inability of economic measures to reduce military capabilities of the Soviet bloc at the initial stage of possible military conflict, but, at the same time, the analysis affirmed the effectiveness of such efforts coordinated by the Western Bloc's members in order to prevent a long-lasting war on the part of the USSR and its satellites.⁶

The in-depth enquire in Soviet economic and foreign trade policy within the framework of the Bloc headed by the USSR has objectively forced the US intelligence community, and above all, proponents among analysts who shared the views of importance of integrated approach to defence and security issues, to hail the idea of more active institutional change within the community in order to amplify economic intelligence as distinct direction of the work and who considered necessarily settle a problem how to distribute responsibility among the US governmental agencies in collection, research and production of economic intelligence. In order to implement the systematic approach to economic intelligence, the Intelligence Advisory Committee (IAC) recommended on May 29, 1951 the establishment of the Economic Intelligence Committee (EIC).⁷ However, the final decision has been taken by the US National Security Council on June 13, 1951, in accordance with its directive “Coordination and Production of Foreign Economic Intelligence”. The role of the Office of Research and Reports as the CIA branch increased. It happened largely due to the exceptional punchy efforts of the famous American economist M. Millikan, who worked earlier in the intelligence, and who took a year's leave at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) to take in the post of Assistant Director of the CIA.⁸ The Director of Central Intelligence W. Smith supported him in his mission.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ *Eight Annual Progress Report to the USIB of the Economic Intelligence Committee. 1959 July.* CIA-RDP92B01090R000200010030-5, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B01090R000200010030-5.pdf> (Accessed on 12.01.2018).

⁸ Ludwell Lee Montague, *General Walter Bedell Smith as Director of Central Intelligence, October 1950-February 1953*. University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992, p. 150-156; Philip Zelikow, *American Economic Intelligence: Past Practice and Future Principles*, in Christopher Andrew, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Eds.), *Eternal Vigilance? 50 years of the CIA*, Portland, Frank Cass, 1997, p. 164-178.

USSR-COMECON RELATIONS AS A SEPARATE SUBJECT FOR THE US ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE

The difficulties in obtaining information from behind the “closed” Soviet bloc, the actual lack of verified complex statistical data both about intra-block trade relations, and about the COMECON particular members, including the USSR, seriously hampered this work. At the same time, even the scarce data received through the intelligence channels has forced the economic intelligence analysts to attach greater importance to the political component of such cooperation including the Soviet leadership role in determining the regulations for the COMECON functioning. In June 1952, they drew attention to Moscow’s decision “to bring to an end the system hitherto adopted in working out mutual economic problems between the members of the Soviet bloc, whereby discussions took place in the capitals of the member countries... In the future all such discussions will take place in Moscow”.⁹ The deficit of information from inside COMECON did not prevent the CIA from determining the essence of this organization in the report on February 1953 when analysts wrote “although its [CMEA] activities have been less publicized than in the year of its foundation, the CMEA... has continued to evolve as an integral part of the machinery of Soviet control over the economic life of Eastern Europe”.¹⁰

With appointment of A. Dulles as the Director of the CIA and his simultaneous coming to the post of the Director of Central Intelligence, the work on the Soviet affairs gained serious impetus. Economic intelligence on the USSR relations with its allies has been amped up, although not to the extent that M. Millikan insisted during his times in the CIA. In June 1953, the economic situation within the Eastern Bloc came under scrutiny of the CIA analysts due to urgent need to forecast situation in the Communist world aftermath the Stalin’s death that ensued in March of that same year. In the document of the Agency, which was the quarterly supplement to 1952-year annual report on intelligence on the Soviet Bloc and Communist China, the authors of the material drew attention to weakness and vulnerability of the Communist economies as

⁹ *Changes in CMEA Organization. Information report. 13.06. 1952. CIA-RDP82-00457R012200320001-4*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00457R012200320001-4.pdf> (Accessed on 2.02.2018).

¹⁰ *The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Information Report. Central Intelligence Agency. 26. 02. 1953. CIA-RDP80-00810A000100540004-0*, p. 1, in <https://cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80-00810A000100540004-0.pdf> (Accessed on 12.01.2018).

the whole and separate sectors of them in particular.¹¹ In late July 1953, the CIA analysis of the post-Stalin stage in the USSR and the prospects for the developments in the Communist Bloc took into account both political situation “behind the iron curtain” and the Kremlin's economic and foreign trade policy towards its allies. In this connection, the document *Current Trends in Soviet Foreign Policy*, compiled by the CIA on July 30, 1953 stated, albeit in a politicized tone, but reflecting the main trends of the situation, that “the USSR itself is not the only concern of Soviet rulers... The political and economic situation in the satellite countries is far worse; the living standard is falling and, consequently, mistrust toward the Soviet system is increasing. If Moscow wants to keep these states in submission, she will sooner or later be compelled to make certain concessions, especially of an economic character, which will raise the living standard of the local population. The question is whether or not the USSR is able to solve these difficulties at all. It is apparent already today that the establishment of the Economic Council (Council for Mutual Economic Aid - CMEA) in Moscow brought to the satellite states only disadvantages and not advantages”.¹²

Such an unequivocal challenge was not only economic, but also political one. In fact, the analysts of American intelligence have noticed main vector in the Soviet policy towards the Eastern Bloc in nearest future. The tight connection between economic and political aspects in Soviet world positions and the USSR place among Eastern European allies demanded more active and productive role and place of the economic intelligence among the American intelligence community. Gradual strengthening of its significance has become evident by the beginning of 1954. Thus, in particular, the directive issued by the Director of Central Intelligence A. Dulles, who was simultaneously the head of the CIA, tasked to intensify economic intelligence on the Soviet Bloc. To achieve this goal, all state institutions involved, required to coordinate efforts in producing intelligence on economic matters. It was argued “no one agency is considered to be the final authority in any field; conclusions may be questioned by other IAC [Intelligence Advisory Committee] agencies and dissents recorded”.¹³ The State Department was responsible for research on

¹¹ *Economic Intelligence Survey. Quarterly Supplement (January 1953-31 March 1953) to 1952 Annual Report of the Status of Economic Intelligence Research Projects on the Soviet Bloc. CIA. 1.06.1953. CIA-RDP92B01090R000600010010-0*, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B01090R000600010010-0.pdf> (Accessed on 12.01.2018).

¹² *Current Trends in Soviet Foreign Policy. Information Report. 30.07. 1953. CIA-RDP80-00810A001900420005-0*, p. 2, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80-00810A001900420005-0.pdf> (Accessed on 06.01.2018).

¹³ *Director of Central Intelligence Directive 15/1 Responsibility for Production of Economic*

economic policy of the Eastern Bloc, assessing the “future course of the economic development in the Soviet Bloc” and for intelligence “in fields in which economic and political analysis are interdependent.” The Department of Defence should have concentrate attention on researches and assessments “the economic aspects of logistics”, military facilities and other military aspects connected to economic affairs. The most extensive were the tasks of the CIA. As it followed from the text of the directive, it was required to perform all functions that other intelligence agencies were not endowed with, and therefore must be responsible primarily “for research on the operations of all producing sectors of the Soviet Bloc economies, except the production military end-items” with the goal to detect limits of productive possibilities of the Eastern Bloc members.¹⁴ Against this backdrop the role and functions of the IAC as the centre of coordination for economic intelligence has increased.¹⁵ The effectiveness of the carried out reform affected the quality of the analytical materials on economic and trade policy of the USSR in the Eastern Bloc, compiled by the CIA. Thus, in particular, according to the thoughts of the intelligence analysts, expressed in August 1954, there would have not expected serious and long-term increase in the volume of the USSR foreign trade with non-members of the Bloc until the late 1950s. This was explained by the authors of the report *Soviet Capabilities and Probable Courses of Action through Mid-1959* by the lack of dependence of the Soviet Bloc countries on any other sources outside this alliance. At the same time, the authors of the material stated, “its [CEMA] policy of autarky will tend to prevent any large expansion of trade based on ordinary economic considerations”. Analysts predicted difficulties for the Soviet allies, which searched for markets outside the boundaries of the Bloc and noticed that even “a small increase in the volume of trade which certain non-Communist countries now carry on with the Bloc could have an appreciable economic effect in those countries and possibly a more significant psychological effect”.¹⁶

In this connection, the economic intelligence has been assigned to follow future changes in Soviet approach to foreign trade both with the members of the

Intelligence: Soviet Bloc. 25.01. 1954. CIA-RDP75-00662R000200110006-5, p. 1. in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP75-00662R000200110006-5.pdf> (Accessed on 11.01.2018).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 2, 3.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁶*NIE 11-4-54 - Soviet Capabilities and Probable Courses of Action through Mid-1959. 11.08.1954. CIA-RDP79R01012A003500030009-3, p. 7, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01012A003500030009-3.pdf> (Accessed on 02.02.2018).*

COMECON and non-Bloc countries. The need to expand intelligence work on the Soviet-Eastern European economic and foreign trade relations demanded increase in its cadres and organization. The Office of Research and Reports has staffed almost 500 employees by 1955 and turned into CIA's largest unit.¹⁷ By dint of the agreement reached between the CIA and the US Department of State, a division in the field of economic intelligence has been drawn. The analysis on the so-called Soviet-Chinese, or more precisely the Eastern Bloc, would have been conducted in the former institution, or rather its subdivision, the aforementioned Office of Research and Reports, while the State Department would have been responsible for economic intelligence in the countries and regions outside the Soviet Bloc.¹⁸ Since February 1956, the working group under the aegis of the Economic Intelligence Committee presented regularly detailed bi-weekly reports. This group consisted of representatives of the State Department, the CIA, the Department of Defence, the International Cooperation Administration, the Treasury, the Department of Trade and Agriculture. This unit also compiled special quarterly report to the President's Council on Foreign Economic Policy and semi-annually analytical report.¹⁹

SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE COMECON IN THE CIA NEW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL APPROACHES

Despite the strengthening of the political component in the analysis of economic intelligence, however, the traditional approach to it as an integral part of the intelligence interest focused on finding out the military component continued to exist and often had its trace in the theoretical work of the CIA specialists. In this connection, it should be mentioned one of these publications, which appeared in the spring of 1956 in a secret CIA publication. The article called *Economic Intelligence* argued that this direction in intelligence was "in sum, the appraisal of the capability of a nation to support a war, also an estimate of its vulnerabilities and of its intentions".²⁰ By mid-1956, the American intelligence required urgent necessity to conduct qualified intelligence in the field of economic and foreign trade

¹⁷ Philip Zelikow, *American Economic Intelligence: Past Practice...*, p. 167.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Edward Allen, *The Assessment of Communist Economic Penetration*, in *Studies in Intelligence. A collection of articles on historical, operational, doctrinal, and theoretical aspects of Intelligence*. Washington. Winter 1959. DOC_0000607342, p. 16, in https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000607342.pdf (Accessed on 07.02.2018).

²⁰ Paul Howerton, *Economic Intelligence//Studies in Intelligence*, in *A collection of articles*

policy of the Soviet Bloc due to de-Stalinization measures initiated in the USSR and several allies. In this connection, the cooperation with certain American academicians engaged in researches of those themes has been planned within the framework of the "Research Project on the Soviet System of Foreign Trade (ORR-9111)".

Meanwhile, among the new trends that have manifested in the foreign trade of the USSR both with countries of the Communist Bloc and Western nations, as noted by analysts of American intelligence since 1953, the presence of consumer cooperatives' organizations in the foreign trade operations of the USSR has expanded. The CIA promptly reacted to this fact, and in a secret document *Requirements for Sources of Information on Foreign Trade Between Soviet Cooperative Society and Cooperative Organizations in Certain Bloc and Non-Bloc-Countries*, dated on April 5, 1957, it was noted that "the intelligence significance of this increased inter-cooperative trade of the USSR is twofold first, to what extent does it reflect current Soviet political objectives in the Free World and the Bloc, as opposed to the internal objective of obtaining more and better consumer goods for the Soviet population? Second, how will this decentralization of Soviet foreign trade affect its pattern, structure, and size?"²¹ The questions raised in the document were of fundamental importance for determining the role and place of the USSR "economic leverage" in her relations either with satellites or with the Third World countries. At the meeting of the Intelligence Advisory Committee, that has been sitting on May 7, 1957, where besides other issues the participants discussed the fulfilment of the IAC directive, dated on April 18, 1957 and called *Priority National Intelligence Objectives in the Field of International Communism (IAC-D-50/11)*, it was stated that economic intelligence should have the same importance as the scientific and technical intelligence had.²² In order to present a general overview of the USSR's intelligence assessments on a wide range of issues, including economic

on historical, operational, doctrinal, and theoretical aspects of Intelligence. Washington. Spring, 1956. DOC_0000606535, p. 21, in https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000606535.pdf (Accessed on 02.02.2018).

²¹ *Requirements for Sources of Information on Foreign Trade between Soviet Cooperative Society and Cooperative Organizations in Certain Bloc and Non-Bloc Countries*. 5.04.1957. CIA-RDP61S00527A000100030151-7, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP61S00527A000100030151-7.pdf> (Accessed on 15.01.2018).

²² *Minutes of Meeting Held in IAC Conference Room, Administration Building Central Intelligence Agency, at 1045, 7 May 1957*. CIA-RDP85S00362R000600100002-2, p. 3, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85S00362R000600100002-2.pdf> (Accessed on 20.01.2018).

matters, under the auspices of the CIA, but with active participation of other members of the US intelligence community, the special report *A Study of National Intelligence Estimates on the USSR 1950-1957* has been compiled. It included a review and analysis of previous findings and forecasts printed in the earlier editions of the secret CIA *National Intelligence Estimates* series, covering the period from 1950 to 1957. Latterly, in the first lines of the document the intelligence analysts, both from the CIA and other US intelligence agencies, noted in plain form that “most of our estimates cannot be labelled as either valid or invalid, because we still do not know the «facts» about the USSR even as they were five or ten years ago”.²³ Turning to the analysis carried out by the economic intelligence, the compilers of the report emphasized usage “different base years” in presenting statistics and different mode of measurement.²⁴

By March 1958, the CIA together with other intelligences agencies has prepared new special information and analysis material on the foreign trade of the USSR. Its authors called special attention to the essence of the Soviet economic relations with the Bloc countries. The forecasts concerning the policy of autarky in the Eastern Bloc made earlier by the analysts of economic intelligence were laid under serious examinations. It found its way in the references to certain facts. Firstly, it was noted, “recent Soviet statements seem to indicate that Soviet trade with the bloc in 1957 showed little if any increase over 1956 while trade with the Free World experienced an increase of upward of 55 percent”.²⁵ In this connection, referring to the statements made earlier by the Soviet officials about expected increase in the volume of trade between the USSR and the countries of the Soviet Bloc by 13%, analysts have already reported a clear failure of those plans, the reasons of which, in their opinion, were the events in Hungary and Poland in 1956. Secondly, they noted that the current situation was affected by the economic reforms in the USSR itself. Thirdly, pointing to the CMEA decision to postpone long-term plans from 1956-1960 to 1959-1965, the authors of the report came to

²³ *A Study of National Intelligence Estimates on the USSR 1950-1957*. Central Intelligence Agency. 1. 05. 1958. CIA-RDP79R00971A000300050001-8, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00971A000300050001-8.pdf> (Accessed on 8.02.2018).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁵ *Soviet Foreign Trade in 1957*. Current Support Memorandum. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of Research and Reports. 13. 03. 1958. CIA-RDP61S00527A000200120033-7, p. 2, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP61S00527A000200120033-7.pdf> (Accessed on 2.02.2018).

the conclusion about the difficulties in specialization and integration of the Eastern Bloc states. The intelligence analysts concluded, “the year 1957 thus appeared to be of reassessment and readjustment in both the USSR and the satellites”.²⁶ However, it was stressed once again in a special report of the CIA dated on April 23, 1958, *Exports from Soviet-Bloc Foreign Trade*, that while the volume of foreign trade of the USSR with the countries of the Bloc exceeded previously from 76% to 82% of the total Soviet foreign trade volume, in 1957 it dropped to 71%.²⁷

The process of de-Stalinization, despite its inconsistency and first serious political crises in the Bloc, gave grounds to analysts to make certain conclusions. By the second half of 1958, under the guidance of the CIA, an analytical document entitled *Soviet Economic Policy in Eastern Europe: The Impact of the Satellite Revolts* has been prepared. The authors of the material pointed: “a new Soviet policy, evolving over the years since Stalin’s death, crystallized after the Polish and Hungarian revolts of 1956”.²⁸ According to the conclusions made by the authors of the report, Soviet policy pursued three main objectives: first, to prevent of uprisings in Eastern Europe by improving the well-being of the population; second, and in full accordance with the first goal, to increase “coordination and integration” of the Bloc countries, bearing in mind “that the Bloc’s resources may be used more effectively in the future”. The third goal of aforementioned changed Soviet policy, as assessed in the CIA, was maintaining Soviet economic “leadership of the Bloc” despite “granting the Satellites a larger degree of economic independence”.²⁹ By noting the flexibility and diversification of new Soviet economic policy towards the countries of the Eastern Bloc, the intelligence analysts were inclined to conclude that the Soviets planned to pursue their policy by taking into account different circumstances existed in each of the Soviet Bloc members and to accept “the principle of voluntary economic cooperation”.³⁰ At the same time, according to the authors’ thoughts, this development could contribute to support new Soviet foreign economic course in the Eastern Bloc by the Eastern European states since “it

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Exports from Soviet-Bloc Foreign Trade. 23.04.1958. CIA-RDP61S00527A000200140083-0*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP61S00527A000200140083-0.pdf> (Accessed on 10.01.2018).

²⁸ *Soviet Economic Policy in Eastern Europe: The Impact of the Satellite Revolts. 12.08.1958. CIA-RDP79R01141A001100100001-6*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01141A001100100001-6.pdf> (Accessed on 15.01.2018).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

would be in the self-interest of the European Satellites to maintain their Soviet Bloc membership, each Satellites has been given a greater economic stake in the Bloc than it had previously”, and all of them “have received important economic concessions from the USSR”.³¹ The authors of the report were not hastening to make a final conclusion about the Soviet leadership’ new approach to the recognition of these principles.³² They also considered impossible any Soviet step back to its former policy because of expected resistance of the satellites. The report singled out ideological “innovation” in the Soviet rhetoric when Moscow used the term “socialist commonwealth”,³³ which actually replaced well-known definition “camp of people’s democracy”.

The detailed studies of official Soviet economic statistics including the USSR’s foreign trade relations with both the CMEA member countries and other states, carried out by the American intelligence analysts, revealed obvious contradictions in the open data presented by the Soviet authorities. Undoubtedly, it was the result of the Soviet desire to hide information that in Moscow’s opinion was not subject to disclosure. However, in October 1958, statistical discrepancies turned out to be so remarkable that they were noted by the CIA. In a special note *Discrepancies in Soviet Handbook on Foreign Trade*, with the reference to the Soviet foreign trade handbook on 1956 statistics published in the USSR,³⁴ the authors of the document drew attention to the “two important discrepancies” that were discovered. Meticulous analysis of the data has led the intelligence specialists to the conclusion that Soviet authorities attempted “to hide” in the statistical data the arms and gold sells.³⁵

The changes that were undergoing both the Soviet foreign economic activity and in the economic and trade policy of the USSR towards the Eastern Bloc members have pressed US intelligence community to diversify researches. The task and activity of the Economic Intelligence Committee that remained unaltered until June 10, 1958, has been revised and clarified by the Director of Central Intelligence in the directive *Production and Coordination of Economic Intelligence*. Since

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁴ *Внешняя торговля Союза ССР за 1956 год. (Статистический обзор)* [Foreign trade of the Union SSR for 1956 year. (Statistical overview)], Москва, Внешторгиздат, 1958.

³⁵ *Discrepancies in Soviet Handbook on Foreign Trade. 6.10.1958. CIA-RDP61S00527A000200100032-0*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP61S00527A000200100032-0.pdf> (Accessed on 20.01.2018).

September 10, 1958 it started to bear the title the Committee of the United States Intelligence Board (USIB). During 1958–1959, it prepared 2 semi-annual reports on the economic activity of the Soviet-Chinese Bloc in developing regions and 26 semi-monthly reports on a similar topic.³⁶ The tight interrelationship between the political and economic aspects of Soviet foreign trade with the Eastern Bloc countries was under scrutiny of the CIA analysts and it was manifested on June 3, 1959 in the document designed by the Agency for the National Security Council. The authors stated, firstly, that the USSR's foreign trade with the countries of the Bloc reached 72% of the total volume of Soviet foreign trade and was considered to bolster Communism and intra-Bloc communication. Then, secondly, the intelligence analysts described the Soviet foreign trade policy towards Eastern Europe as a tool designed to help Moscow in securing its political and economic domination over Eastern European satellites. Thirdly, according to the conclusion of the CIA specialists, Soviet trade with the members of the Bloc gave opportunities to unite resources and production capacities of the Bloc.³⁷ According to the researches conducted in 1959 by the analysts of the economic intelligence, some positive features in the dynamics and specialization of Soviet foreign trade with members of the Moscow-led Bloc have been revealed.³⁸ The conclusions reached earlier by analysts of economic intelligence found evidences of the continuing trend in the Soviet foreign trade. It was obvious strengthening of intra-Bloc economic activity and remaining extremely low level of foreign trade operations with the West.³⁹

The situation has been described in a special article of the secret CIA bulletin. Its author was aforementioned E. Allen, who occupied positions in the Office of Report and Researches. The material was called as *The Assessment of Communist Economic Penetration* and devoted to the tasks of the US economic intelligence during Cold War. The author emphasized “What the Soviets call «peaceful competition» with the West, particularly Sino-Soviet Bloc trade and development aid to underdeveloped countries, has presented a new challenge to the West and,

³⁶ *Eight Annual Progress Report to the USIB of the Economic Intelligence Committee. 1959 July.* CIA-RDP92B01090R000200010030-5, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B01090R000200010030-5.pdf> (Accessed on 02.02.2018).

³⁷ *Soviet Foreign Trade. 3.06. 1959.* CIA-RDP79R00890A001100060019-9, p. 2, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00890A001100060019-9.pdf> (Accessed on 10.01.2018).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

from our own professional viewpoint, imposed new tasks upon economic intelligence. The increases in Bloc trade have been spectacular... It became clear to US three years ago that the USSR and other members of the Bloc had embarked upon a long-run program of economic penetration".⁴⁰

The attempts of CIA analysts to define the "cost" of political goals for the USSR and USA met with some difficulties. In a secret report prepared by the CIA in cooperation with the State Department and the Department of Defence on June 17, 1960, the intelligence researchers referred to the complexity of such a comparison because of "asymmetric" nature of two systems.⁴¹ The authors of the document came to the conclusion, that, on the one hand, both the US and its allies and the USSR with her own derive a lot economically, politically and militarily of the very existence of such blocks, despite certain losses, but, on the other hand, when comparing the two systems, "Western powers gain more from their alliance than the Soviet bloc does from its bloc and pact system".⁴² By noting possible direct pressure that the Soviets could exercise upon the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe with the view to achieve economic goals, the analysts paid separate attention to different methods that varied from one to another country in the region.⁴³ But, in general, they pointed out common feature of the Communist regimes and their resemblance to the Soviet "sample", when "most of the means of production and central planning of the economy" were combined with attempts to accentuate "the rapid development of heavy industry" with the help of the "development of intra-bloc trade".⁴⁴ Besides this, the analysts stated that "satellite plans are neither closely integrated with the Soviet plan nor can the Soviet Union now utilize the economic recourses and production of the Satellites as though they were its own".⁴⁵ The increased volume of Soviet credits given to the Eastern European countries on favourable and long-term conditions was pointed out in the report separately.⁴⁶ In this regard, as it occurred, while the members of the Bloc pursued

⁴⁰ Edward Allen, *The Assessment of Communist Economic Penetration...*, p. 15.

⁴¹ *Comparison of the United States and Soviet Economies. Supplemental Statement on Costs and Benefits to the Soviet Union of its Bloc and Pact System: Comparisons with the Western Alliance System. 17. 06. 1960. CIA-RDP66B00403R000400250004-5*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP66B00403R000400250004-5.pdf> (Accessed: 2.02.2018).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

their own economic goals, they became automatically “surreptitiously” involved in the Soviet plans aimed to strengthen control over satellites.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF THE USSR TACTICS IN EASTERN EUROPE: THE CIA’S FORECASTS OF THE SLUMPS

The dynamics of changes in the Soviet foreign trade indicators that happened in the early 1960s and noticed by the CIA analysts, made the intelligence researchers possible to conclude that, firstly, the growth rates of the USSR foreign trade operations with countries not included in the Eastern Bloc had been increased. Secondly, after the deterioration of relations between the Peoples Republic of China and the USSR, the volume of Soviet foreign trade within the so-called Soviet-Chinese Bloc has declined seriously. Finally, thirdly, the volume of the USSR foreign trade with members of the Bloc has been suffering from the stagnation since 1959.⁴⁷ In February 1963, the CIA analysts involved in economic intelligence, in the secret material *Trends in the Soviet Economy 1950-1963*, dated on February 1963, wrote: “The acceleration of the arms and space races, especially in 1961 and 1962, has had an appreciable retarding effect on the growth of the civilian economy of the USSR”.⁴⁸ The authors of the analytical report forecasted growth of the Soviet foreign trade over the next few years, most likely due to foreign economic relations with the Eastern European members of the Bloc and the developing countries. In this regard, they singled out two main reasons for the growth of Soviet foreign trade with the Eastern Bloc states. First of them, was that “plans for economic development of the European Satellites through 1965 call for a continued high rate of growth in national income, about 6 to 7 percent a year”. The second reason, mentioned in the report, was that “the Satellites (other than Albania) and the USSR will form an increasingly closely knit economic community within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) framework”. The essence of foreign economic relations between Moscow and Eastern European allies was defined as trade of the Soviet side with fuel, as well as with industrial and

⁴⁷ *Current Support Brief. Financing of Soviet Foreign Trade 1961. Current Support Brief. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of research and Reports. 12.06.1962. CIA-RDP79T01003A001200250001-0*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01003A001200250001-0.pdf> (Accessed on 10.01.2018).

⁴⁸ *Trends in the Soviet Economy 1950-1963. Economic Intelligence Report. Office of research and Reports. February 1963. CIA-RDP79R01141A002600090001-2*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R01141A002600090001-2.pdf> (Accessed on 12.02.2018).

agricultural raw materials in exchange for industrial machinery manufactured in these countries, equipment and food products.⁴⁹ In a specially compiled on January 15, 1964 by the CIA report for personal information of J. McCone, the Director of the CIA, who traditionally simultaneously served as Director of Central Intelligence, analysts ascertained stressing that “in recent years Soviet authority in Eastern Europe has declined, and the Satellite leaders have felt able to behave in a less subservient manner”. They noted internal political stability in Eastern Europe, save Czechoslovakia, while at the same time, “most of the other states have also begun to experience chronic economic difficulties, which they would like to alleviate by expanding their economic relations with the West”.⁵⁰ In their turn, the authors of the document pointed out Moscow’s resort to close economic ties with allies in order to exercise Soviet influence upon them. Referring to the Romanian posture in the COMECON that has come evident already to the CIA analysts, the authors pointed out this new feature as one of the serious manifestations on the road to more independent positions of the Soviet satellites. Thus, the response of the Romanian leadership to the so-called Valev plan in April 1964 was in no way unexpected to the US economic intelligence. Under the prevailing conditions the economic nature of the Soviet relations with the countries of the Eastern Bloc, as it had been clear, was acquiring character that is more political. In July 1964, the CIA analysts, who were the authors of the National Intelligence Estimates Report, forecasted the differences in Eastern Europe would increase in coming years, what would have made strenuous to non-regional forces, including the USSR, to produce any general overview of the situation and to conduct policy in region in general. At the same time, by forecasting the emergence of political reformist movements in Eastern Europe and their search for better managing economy but without serious political evolution,⁵¹ the analysts had to conclude “economic progress, while likely to show some improvement over the generally dismal record of the last two years, will not be such as to diminish dissatisfaction and impatience in the near future”.⁵² Moreover, the CIA researchers assumed that in the foreign

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁰ *Recent Trends in Eastern Europe*. Memorandum for the Director. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of National Estimates. 1964-01-15. CIA-RDP79R00904A001000050030-5, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00904A001000050030-5.pdf> (Accessed on 15.01.2018).

⁵¹ *NIE 12-64 Changing patterns in Eastern Europe. 22.07.1964. DOC_0000012082*, p. 1, in https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000012082.pdf (Accessed on 23.01.2018).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

relations of those countries a similar evolution could come to the agenda and it would demonstrate their desire to get rid of the USSR tight control and to establish closer relations with members of the Western Bloc. In that case, as the analysts portended, Moscow could resort to a direct military intervention only if threat to vital Soviet interests would be obvious.⁵³ The authors figured out one of the important factors that could influence the situation in the region, and predictable perspective of economic deterioration in Eastern Europe in the sixties unlikely quiet sustained fifties.⁵⁴ Among the most politically affected economies, Czechoslovakia and Poland have been mentioned, where the crisis, though with different results, eventually unfolded in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Half a year later of the appearance of this document, the CIA compiled in February 1965 a special memorandum which introductory singled out “the trend toward independence in Eastern Europe has survived the overthrow of Khrushchev and has continued to gather momentum” while the economic factor turned into a political one, representing one of the reasons for the ever decreasing Soviet influence on Eastern European societies due to “a general disenchantment with the traditional forms of the Marxist economics and harsh Soviet-style politics”.⁵⁵

The evolving situation in Eastern Bloc attracted the attention of the American intelligence cause the first apparent crisis manifestations in the region. The economic component of the Bloc that the COMECON was represented particular interest to the CIA after the emergence of the prospect of serious changes in intra-Bloc economic relations and possible political consequences it could cause. In February 1964, the CIA charted a special report devoted to this issue in which the main theme was “the unsuccessful efforts of Khrushchev to give CEMA an important role in coordinating economic development”. Just several months later in July 1965 the CIA produced new report called *Voluntary Cooperation Under CEMA? An Adjustment to Nationalism*, where the growing tendencies of greater independence in economy in the COMECON members were examined “since the rejection of Khrushchev a proposal”.⁵⁶ By the spring of 1966, the economic researches provided the CIA with credible complex of information, including open statistical data

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Prospects for Independence in Eastern Europe. Special Memorandum N 10-65. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of National Estimates. 18.02.1965. DOC_0000427965*, p. 1, in https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000427965.pdf (Accessed on 19.01.2018).

⁵⁶ *Dear Allan. 26. 07. 1965. CIA-RDP71T00730R000600100168-1*, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP71T00730R000600100168-1.pdf>

and intelligence obtained through operational channels, and enabled the intelligence analysts to make the relevant conclusions already not as some sort of assumptions, but with certainty. Thus, in particular, in a specially prepared material with the title *Economic Problems Increase Policy Differences in Eastern Europe* they stated "The Eastern European regimes appear generally less hopeful about economic prospects than they were a year ago...There are new signs of doubt and disagreement within the regimes over economic policy, especially with regard to decisions on reform, foreign trade, and goals for 1966-70".⁵⁷ Turning to the Soviet foreign economic policy in the Bloc and its role in the current situation, the CIA analysts pointed to the difficulties, quite unexpected earlier, the Eastern European Communist regimes have been facing during negotiations with Moscow on the conclusion economic and foreign trade agreements for 1966-1970. Although the Soviets satisfied the most demands of the industrial development in the satellites, the new agreements were reportedly "less favourable" than in the past and it has led the Eastern European regimes "to learn to fend more for themselves, as the Rumanians have already begun to do".⁵⁸

CONCLUSIONS

Evolution of estimates and forecasts that US economic intelligence that has passed since early fifties until mid-sixties reflected the changes in views existed both in the intelligence community, and in political and, in some cases, even in US academic circles. The economic aspect of the Soviet policy in the Bloc, earlier interpreted by the intelligence in purely utilitarian way and with strong stress on military-technical and economic capabilities of the USSR and her satellites to wage war has been drastically changed to more complex understanding of Moscow's practice in usage the economic methods to achieve political and ideological goals in the Eastern Europe. Institutional changes of the US economic intelligence structure, undertaken in accordance with the need to "work more in depth" than earlier on the Soviet Bloc and intra-Bloc relations, made the CIA's position stronger and helpfully assisted to achieve "primes inter pares" place among American intelligence community in producing economic intelligence. This reform provided US

8-1.pdf (Accessed: 18.01.2018).

⁵⁷ *Economic Problems Increase Policy Differences in Eastern Europe. Special Report. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of Research and Reports. 8.04.1966. CIA-RDP79-00927A005200090003-5, p. 1, in <https://www.cia.gov/library/reading-room/docs/CIA-RDP79-00927A005200090003-5.pdf> (Accessed: 23.01.2018).*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

economic intelligence with more detailed understanding how since mid-50s the Soviet way of dealing with the Eastern European countries has been starting to transform. The appearance and existence of so-called Communist maverick, as Romania viewed outside the Communist Bloc, was the first sign of impending crack within the Eastern Bloc. In producing economic intelligence, the CIA analysts now peered into foreign trade and economic policy of the USSR towards the COMECON members with the expectations of future changes in the Bloc as a whole.

**AN OUTSTANDING RECENTLY EXAMPLE
OF “WOMEN'S HISTORY” IN MOLDAVIA¹**

“Women's History” is a new trend in European and world social history, which has asserted itself a quarter of a century ago. The call of the British writer Virginia Woolf to write a story, seen by the female eyes, recorded by the female pen, read by women researchers, is finally heard on almost all continents and certainly in all European countries. Moldavia is no exception. Thanks to the books and articles of experts in the field of gender studies in history, the European reader will now be able to read something about the life of ordinary and exceptional women in different life circumstances, in the city and in the countryside, in different national states. The main character of the book under review is Princess Maria Cantemir (28.04.1700, Jassy – 09.09.1757, Moscow), the eldest daughter of a Moldavian noblewoman Cassandra Cantacuzino and Dmitry Cantemir, Moldavian and Russian statesman and scientist, the ruler of the Principality of Moldavia, the prince of Russia and the Holy Roman Empire, the Russian senator and secret adviser.

How little had we known about the children of this wonderful family and how much is opened when reading the book! What a superficial was our knowledge about Maria Dmitrievna, who in the second half of the 19th century became one of the central heroines of the works of historians and writers enthusiastically ready to support the legend that this beautiful woman was not only the sister of the outstanding Russian poet (Antiochus Cantemir) and the daughter of a well-known Russian official, but also the emperor Peter the Great's intimate friend, who had been unsuccessfully delivered of a child and unable to give him the long-awaited heir.

According to the opinion of the outstanding Moldavian specialist in source study, the gender historian and daily life student Lilia Zabolotnaia, mysteries, secrets and myths around the figure of Maria Cantemir have always been explained by the lack of necessary documentary material, the scarcity of reliable knowledge and the free interpretation of numerous speculations. As before, so

¹ L. P. Zabolotnaia, *История жизни Марии Кантемир в письмах и документах* [History of Maria Cantemir's life in letters and documents], Chişinău, Lexon Prim Publ., 2018, 271 p. (Series *Women's History*)

now the researchers did not much trouble themselves with archival work, believing that the figure of one of the women of the Russian elite of “the insane and wise century” is not the most indicative for describing the social layer or cultural and everyday practices that were significant for that time. That's why Lilia Zabolotnaia's study is unique. It differs from previous editions in that it introduces into the scientific circulation unique historical and legal documents of the first half of the 18th century discovered as a result of painstaking research in the collections of Russian archives, including materials of correspondence between Maria and her younger brother, the above-named poet Antiochus Cantemir. Being fascinated by the reconstruction of the women's history of the country in which she is currently working, Lilia Zabolotnaia set out to publish all documents that relate to the life and work of Maria Cantemir, both those published (including excerpts) and new ones found in archives. This is done in strict chronological order, which allows us to enter the social portrait of an educated noblewoman into the socio-cultural constellation of the epoch, and at the same time to represent Maria's personality in dynamics and development.

The collected materials are read in one breath, allowing (in new frames of the biographical history) to comprehend the personality of M. D. Cantemir, who was a student of Anastasios Kondoidi (a Greek monk who became a secret informer for the Russian ambassador in Istanbul), who taught her not only to freely master Greek, Latin, Italian, the basics of mathematics, astronomy, rhetoric, philosophy, ancient and Western European literature and history, but also to achieve success in drawing, and in music. This upbringing in childhood taught Maria to conduct conversations with educated people, and the natural tact (so clearly manifested in her letters ...) gave her the skills to get along with people. Brilliant education was, as we see from the peer-reviewed publication of sources, the basis of her way of thinking and acting, including in the field of complex property relations (and when, in what times they were simple?), and interpersonal relationships in the family.

The structure of the book consists of two parts, uncomplicatedly called *Documents of a general nature* and *Documents of a private nature* (in the second part, copies of the letters of Maria Cantemir to her brother Antiochus were published). In the first part, the reader will find 26 texts. These are originals and unique copies of the 18th century of a property-legal nature (among them spiritual/testamentary) deeds (nos. 2, 7, 9-10), testamentary letter (no. 8), examinations of wills (nos. 13, 14), petitions (nos. 11, 21), inventories of land, houses, jewelry, household goods and art objects (nos. 6, 25-26), certificates and confirmations for possession of movable and immovable property (nos. 15-16,

21), notes about the beginning of coming into the rights of inheritance (nos. 17-18, 20.) In this same part one can find the texts of imperial decrees and petitions addressed to Empresses Anna Ioannovna, Catherine II, reports from the Collegium of Justice etc. Some of these documents have never been introduced into scientific circulation, they were discovered by the compiler of this collection in the archives and libraries of St. Petersburg, in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In addition, in the L. N. Maykov's Archive Lilia Zabolotnaia found "Preparatory materials for the essay «Princess Maria Kantemirova»", which turned out to be a unique repository of copies of the documents of the middle and second half of the 18th century, which until now were considered irretrievably lost. The Fund no. 166 (Pushkin House, Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences) have preserved unique and still never described evidences of the life of Princess Maria Cantemir: her two spiritual deeds (of 1725 and 1757), a spiritual (testamentary) letter to her brother Sergei, two petitions addressed to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-1762) for her estates previously owned by the Cantemir family, and the letters to her brother.

Inspired by the success of archival searches in St. Petersburg, Lilia Zabolotnaia continued her work in Moscow, in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) and libraries, where she found the originals of copies and other texts that related to various pages of the amazing life of Maria Cantemir, who (it seems) was rather focused on managing the immense property of the family, than on secular entertainments and communication with the emperor of all-Russia. L. P. Zabolotnaia paid special attention to sources in which it was possible to trace the history of property, legal and personal relations in the family – with her father, Dmitry Cantemir, brothers – Konstantin, Matvei, Sergei and Antiochus, with her stepmother, Anastasia Trubetskaya, cousins and relatives on the part of the mother, in particular Constantin A. Cantakuzino. From the point of view of women's history, documents of financial and economic dispositions of this amazing representative of the epoch, which was just beginning to reveal such female talents, are of special interest. Documents about Maria's litigation in the courts, evidence of how she defended her own interests and her brothers' interests in a long lawsuit with her stepmother are the most important proof of the competence and legal enlightenment of educated women in the "centenary of the Russian matriarchy" (in the 18th century, women were on the throne in Russia for more than 73 years). Very significant in this sense are the last wills of M. D. Cantemir, especially the testament of 1757. After several centuries the reader finally finds out who of the close relatives was her heir, who inherited her

lands, how the brothers of Maria and her executor fulfilled the conditions of her will, whether they worthily disposed of her property. In conclusion, we should add that the land in the village of Chornaya Gryaz' near Moscow is at present a place for elite summer cottage construction, and it was there that representatives of modern Russian show business (singer Alla Pugacheva and her young husband Maxim Galkin) built their house resembling a castle: as we see, three centuries of the history of Russian land use and careful care of the soil in the Cantemir family estate, which Maria mentioned in her wills, were not in vain. In the book under review, the unique texts of the wills of Maria Cantemir are supplemented with the descriptions of the houses of Prince Sergei Cantemir on Pokrovka. All this makes it possible to vividly imagine not only what property the family of Maria had, but also their life and customs.

Tactically bypassing legends and fiction around the theme of the love relationship between Maria Cantemir and Peter the Great, the compiler of this collection put the focus on sociality, the publicity of the life path of Maria Cantemir, the circle of her communication, which is represented by dozens of Maria's letters and petitions to various statesmen of the era: Count Ernst J. von Biron, Burkhard Münnich, various members of the Stroganov family, diplomat Artemy Volynsky and others, from which it follows that the soul of Maria was occupied by the problems of relations with her stepmother and her brother Constantin, of granted peasant households, and not at all by the desire to become the mistress of the Russian Tsar.

The peculiarity of this approach of the compiler becomes even more pronounced when the second group of sources published in the collection is subjected to examination, and this is 38 letters from personal correspondence between Maria and Antiochus Cantemir (1733-1743), which were found in the L. N. Maykov's Archive (Pushkin House, Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences). These letters, their language, their amazing wisdom are an exceptional narrative monument of female subjectivity that allows us to analyze the strategies of women's behavior and decision-making in matters of family, private, spiritual and moral life. The "female texts" by Maria Cantemir to Antiochus, with their literary writing (not for nothing Maria was taught the Russian language by a writer and translator Ivan Ivanovich Ilyinsky, who served at the court of her father), style, text structures, character and manner of presentation make it possible to consider the heroine of this scientific work an outstanding personality of her era. The small traits of the feminine everyday life of the 18th century, the essence of brotherly and sisterly love and devotion, the fineness and nobility of their characters, the wisdom of actions and the

reasonableness of the chosen way of life, the attitude to relatives. What a multifaceted picture opens to the researcher of the life and customs of the 18th century! How similar are the noble and educated people of that time to today's people with their current daily worries, joyful and sad events, love and disappointments, and how different are they!

The significance of the book under review is so indisputable that there is no reason to look for shortcomings or omissions. The researcher's focus on the presentation of her own version of the life of Maria Dmitrievna Cantemir and her contribution to the social history of the Russian elites, to the history of their daily life and private life, her deliberate distancing from the theme of the heroine's love relationship with the emperor deserves recognition and respect. The goal pursued by the publisher, compiler and author of the preface, is achieved. Collected and published sources showed the reader a completely new image of the legendary Maria Cantemir².

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² The review was written within the research work topic “Gender systems and gender relations in the past and the present” of the Ethno-gender Research Sector of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

The Journal welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. "Codrul Cosminului" does not accept papers that have been published or are under consideration for publication elsewhere. Electronic submission of manuscripts is strongly encouraged.

I. TECHNICAL INDICATIONS

The text written in English must be provided in Cambria font, 11 pts, maximum 20 pages: Abstract (in Romanian, maximum 20 lines, and English, maximum 20 lines), introduction, argumentation, results and conclusions, figures and photos, references; review papers and scientific chronicles, maximum 5 pages. The manuscript must be the final version. The text should be single-spaced and placed on one sided pages 170 mm X 250 mm. The margins will be: Top 28 mm, Bottom 23 mm, Left 18 mm, Right 18 mm, Header 19 mm, Footer 18 mm. Notice that the header and footer are different for the odd and even pages.

Recommended fonts and line spacing

Item	Font	Size	Style
Title of paper, in English	Cambria, UPPERCASE	12	Bold, Centred
Line spacing	-	12	-
Authors	Cambria	11	Bold, Righted
Affiliation and E-mail address for the corresponding author	Cambria	10	Normal, Righted
Line spacing	-	10	-
Abstracts (10-20 lines)	Cambria, Italic	10	Normal, Justify
Line spacing after each Abstract	-	10	-
Keywords (5-10), in English	Cambria, Italic	10	Normal, Justify
Double-space after Keywords	-	11	-
Sections Title (introduction, argumentation, results and conclusion, references etc.)	Cambria, UPPERCASE	11	Bold, Centred
Line spacing before and after each Section Title	-	11	-

Text (single - spaced)	Cambria	11	Normal, Justify
Figure's Title (figures in either black and white or colour, high contrast)	Cambria	10	Bold Centred below the figure
Table's Title	Cambria	10	Bold Centred at the top of the Table
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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 internaționale în istoria lumii* [International Systems In World History], Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 62-63.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4. Stelian Tanase (coord.), *Cioran și Securitatea* [Cioran and Securitatea], Iași, 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 internaționale...*, 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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