

NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE GOLDEN HORDE IN THE 13TH-16TH CENTURIES

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Abstract: *The article discusses the theoretical and conceptual approaches of modern historical science on the issues of the Golden Horde's political history, revealing research paradigms and principles concerning the existence and behaviour of the nomadic statehood. The authors present the progress of historical knowledge in studying the issues related to social and political changes and the transformation of the Golden Horde. The interaction and the mutual influence of political structures on the sedentary agricultural populations as well as the dynamics and continuity of ideological processes were identified on the basis of new methodological principles of research. At the same time, the actualization and extrapolation of previous historical experience are particularly important, allowing to adequately mark the place of the nomadic civilization in the world-historical processes as a part of world history. Modern historical thought is characterized by new theoretical and conceptual approaches and the removal of clichés on the political history of the Golden Horde.*

Keywords: *Methodology, political history, Golden Horde, Empire, nomads, scientific paradigm, power, ideology*

Rezumat: *Noi abordări metodologice privind studiul istoriei politice a Hoardei de Aur în secolele XIII-XVI. Articolul pune în discuție abordările teoretice și conceptuale ale științei istorice contemporane privitoare la chestiunile legate de istoria politică a Hoardei de Aur, relevând paradigmele și principiile cercetării privind existența și comportamentul statalității nomazilor. Autorii prezintă progresul cunoașterii istorice în studierea aspectelor legate de schimbările sociale și politice și de transformarea Hoardei de Aur. Interacțiunea și influența reciprocă a structurilor politice asupra populațiilor agricole sedentare, deopotrivă cu dinamicele și continuitatea proceselor ideologice au fost determinate pe baza noilor prin-*

cipii metodologice de cercetare. Concomitent, actualizarea și extrapolarea experienței istorice anterioare sunt extrem de importante, permițând plasarea adecvată a civilizației nomade pe scena proceselor istorice globale ca parte componentă a istoriei lumii. Gândirea istorică modernă este caracterizată de noi abordări teoretice și conceptuale și de înlăturarea clișeeilor asupra istoriei politice a Hoardei de Aur.

Résumé : Nouveaux abords méthodologiques concernant l'étude de l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or les XIIIème – XVIème siècles. *L'article ci-joint met en discussion les abords théoriques et conceptuels de la science historique contemporaine concernant les questions liées de l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or, révèle les paradigmes et les principes de la recherche faisant référence à l'existence et au comportement de l'État des nomades. Les auteurs y présentent le progrès de la connaissance historique dans l'étude des aspects liés des changements sociaux et politiques et de la transformation de la Horde d'Or. On y détermine l'interaction et l'influence réciproque des structures politiques sur les populations agricoles sédentaires, ensemble aux dynamiques et la continuité des procès idéologiques à la base des nouveaux principes méthodologiques de recherche. De plus, il est extrêmement important d'actualiser et d'extrapoler l'expérience historique antérieure, ce qui permet de placer de manière adéquate la civilisation nomade sur la scène des processus historiques globaux en tant que partie composante de l'histoire du monde. La pensée historique moderne se caractérise par de nouveaux abords théoriques et conceptuels, par l'écart des clichés sur l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or.*

INTRODUCTION

Historical science, as a rule, is closely related to the changes in the life of society. In this regard, modern historical science shows special attention to a wide range of issues related to the history of the Golden Horde. These issues concern the development of fundamentally new theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of historical processes and phenomena, generalizing the accumulated historical knowledge on a wide range of problems related to the Golden Horde statehood. They enrich the historiographic basis of the conceptual research conducted, confirming the achievements of the scientific research and determining the future prospects for creative research. The purpose of the research is to analyse new methodological approaches to the process of foundation and transformation of the political system and social structures of the Golden Horde. To achieve the goal of the research, the following tasks were completed: 1. Analysis of civilization discourse in studying the formation and development of the nomads' political system. 2. Analysis of the transformation of the political system

and social structures of the Golden Horde in historiography. 3. Modern approaches to the study of the interaction and mutual influence with the settled agricultural populations and the process of spiritual and ideological integration in the Golden Horde.

The presence of a number of hypothetical ideas about the historical stages of statehood formation on the territory of Eurasia, the interaction with the settled agricultural people, the formation of „alternative” historical research, expands our research problematic. One of the leading problems of modern historical research is the attempt to reconstruct the main stages of political genesis of the ancient and medieval nomads of Eurasia. The description of the systems of anthropological stratification of specific nomadic societies and the identification of their character has become the main line of theoretical developments. In the context of solving this matter, questions were raised and the main approaches were determined in order to solve further typological constructions of the nomadic state theory. Research into the period of formation of nomads’ state structures and their evolution to the state of „nomadic empire” in the territory of Eurasia is connected with the need to conduct a historiographical analysis of complex and pressing issues. These refer to the regularity and peculiarities of the historical process, the main stages of the ethnopolitical and ethnocultural development of nomadic associations, the phenomenon of nomadic statehood, the transformation of the political, legal and social system of the Golden Horde and subordinate agricultural peoples. The wide range of historiographic issues related to the interrelations between the nomadic and the sedentary agricultural societies refers to: tribal aristocracy – imperial confederation, the sacredness of the supreme power, the territorial control system, the imperial structure of the supreme power, the unified political terminology, spiritual and cultural foundations of the nomadic environment and its synthesis with the settled, agricultural world. The study of the history of the Golden Horde and its interaction with the settled agricultural peoples, the dynamics and continuity of ethnopolitical and ethnocultural processes is a directional process and the organization and management of this process is carried out through historically established methodological requirements and principles. At the same time, the actualization and the extrapolation of previous historical experience are matters of particular importance, allowing to adequately mark the place of the nomadic civilization in the world-historical processes as part of world history. The variability and controversy of the conceptual state of “nomadic empire” showed the insufficiently developed typology range of socio-political structures and the formation of state institutions in the Golden Horde, which makes researchers need

a diversified approach to the study of the political structures of the Golden Horde, requiring systematization and reconstruction.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The presence of a number of hypothetical ideas about the historical stages of statehood formation on the territory of Eurasia, the interaction with the sedentary and agricultural people, and the existence of „alternative” historical research makes the research problem topical. Research paradigms in their comparative analysis determine similar features in describing specific forms of power in a nomadic society, but accents are placed differently. The socio-cultural problems of the nomadic statehood were touched upon in the works of Peter Golden¹, Joseph Fletcher², Thomas Hall³, Thomas Barfield⁴, Rafis Abazov⁵, Uli Schamiloglu⁶. Dittmar Schorkowitz analysed the continuous interaction between the diverging cultures of European and Asian origin in Western Eurasia. In particular, he explored the cultural influences that the Mongols had on Eastern European countries bringing “more cultural forms and orientations from the East while accelerating or initiating the processes of acculturation and assimilation”.⁷ The field ar-

¹ П. Голден, *Кипчаки средневековой Евразии: пример негосударственной адаптации в степи* [Kipchaks of medieval Eurasia: an example of non-state adaptation in the steppes], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 103-136.

² Дж. Флетчер, *Средневековые монголы: экологические и социальные перспективы* [Medieval Mongols: ecological and social perspectives], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 212-254.

³ Т. Холл, *Монголы в мир-системной истории* [Mongols in the world-system history], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 136-167.

⁴ Дж. Т. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э. – 1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

⁵ R. Abazov, *The Palgrave concise historical atlas of Central Asia*, USA, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 125.

⁶ U. Schamiloglu, *The Liberation of Rus' from the Yoke of the Golden Horde by Iu. G. Alekseev*, in “American Historical Review”, 1992, Vol. 97, No. 1, p. 181-182. DOI: 10.2307/2164575 (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷ D. Schorkowitz, *Cultural Contact and Cultural Transfer in Medieval Western Eurasia*, in “Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia”, 2012, Vol. 40, no. 3, p. 84–94.

chaeologist German Fedorow-Dawydow made a great contribution to the research question. Under his supervision, the Volga regional archaeological expedition was organized, which conducted an archaeological study of the Volga Golden Horde settlements. A detailed stratigraphy of the monuments was developed, and the time of the emergence and fall of the Golden Horde cities and their historical geography were specified. The excavation materials from the Volga expedition were particularly discussed in his articles published abroad, such as *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger* (1972)⁸ and *Städte der Goldenen Horde an der unteren Wolga* (1984)⁹. Modern researchers such as Mirkasym Usmanov¹⁰, Damir Iskhaikov¹¹, Iskander Izmailov¹², Ilyas Kamalov¹³, Dmitry Vasilyev, Vladimir Ivanov¹⁴, and others consider, from the new methodological viewpoint, the place and significance of the Golden Horde as the first Eurasian empire of the late medieval period that rose to the same level as the great European states. Peter Jackson presented in his work an extensive survey of the books and most important articles published on the development of the Mongol empire during the period of 1986-1999 and identified the main issues of modern research. In particular, he pointed

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aeae.2012.11.010>

- ⁸ G. A. Fedorow-Dawydow, *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger*, Germany, Koehler & Amelang Leipzig, 1972, p. 148.
- ⁹ Idem, *Städte der Goldenen Horde an der unteren Wolga*, Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie 11, München, 1984.
- ¹⁰ М. А. Усманов, *Состояние и перспективы источниковедения истории Улуса Джучи* [State and perspectives of the source study of the history of Ulus Jochi], in *Источниковедение Улуса Джучи (Золотой Орды. От Калки до Астрахани 1223-1556)* [Source study of Ulus Juchi (Golden Horde, from Kalka to Astrakhan 1223-1556)], Collection of papers, Казань, 2001, с. 428.
- ¹¹ Д. М. Исхаков, И. Л. Измайлов, *Этнополитическая история татар* [Ethnopolitical history of the Tatars], Казань, 2007, с. 356.
- ¹² И. Л. Измайлов, *Некоторые аспекты становления и развития этнополитического самосознания населения Золотой Орды* [Some aspects of the formation and development of the ethnopolitical self-awareness of the population of the Golden Horde], in *Из истории Золотой Орды* [From the history of the Golden Horde], Collection of papers, Казань, Изд-во «Фонд им. М. Султангалиева», 1993, с. 17-32.
- ¹³ И. Камалов, *Золотая Орда и русский улус (татарское влияние на Россию)* [The Golden Horde and the Russian ulus (Tatar influence on Russia)], Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АНРТ, 2016, с. 304.
- ¹⁴ Д. В. Васильев, В. А. Иванов, *Метаморфозы истории Золотой Орды в XXI веке* [Metamorphosis of the Golden Horde history in the 21st century], in "Golden Horde Review", 2015, Vol. 3, no. 3, p. 151-166. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/3-2015/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

out the linguistic issue as one of the great problems posed by the study of the Mongol empire.¹⁵ The American scientist Uli Shamiloglu suggested studying the environmental and climate observations; this is, in fact, a continuation of Lev Gumilyov's ideas on the geographical and environmental determinism. In addition, the scientific interpretations of the American researcher Uli Schamiloglu on the matter of clan structure in the Golden Horde society are interesting. In the modern historiography of the Golden Horde, the Tatar scientists Damir Iskhakov and Iskander Izmaylov are outstanding researchers with new conceptual viewpoints, who believe that a new ethnopolitical community was formed in the state because the military-feudal nobility committed to state ideology, using both traditional (Turkic and Mongolian) myths and Islamic ideas and symbols. The first problem raised by researchers is the ethnic-forming factor – the state. The second one is the ethnic-forming social stratum – the military-feudal nobility. Istán Vásáry provided another research direction. In his article, he attempted to illustrate how combined evidence presented by written sources and numismatics can be used to reassess some genealogical and chronological issues of the Golden Horde. He suggested that it would allow reinterpreting a series of events and eliminating many deep-rooted misconceptions.¹⁶

As modern historiography states, “the essence of the historical process, is centred on two fundamental scientific approaches in world history – universal-stadial and universal-pluralistic”. Throughout historical science, researchers evaluated directly the nomadic management structures, others gave particular importance to the essence of the entire military hierarchical organization of empires, which attempted to subjugate dependent people and withdraw a portion of the excess product from them. Discussions over the past decade have revealed two approaches in assessing the nomadic statehood of Eurasia. The prevailing viewpoint in modern historical science is that nomadic empires were super complex chiefdoms¹⁷.

Nikolai Kradin characterized these formations as “tribal confederations”. He identified three types of nomadic empires:

¹⁵ P. Jackson, *The Mongol Empire, 1986–1999*, in “Journal of Medieval History”, 2000, Vol. 26, no. 2, p. 189–210. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181\(99\)00016-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(99)00016-0)

¹⁶ I. Vásáry, *The beginnings of coinage in the blue horde*, in “Acta Orientalia Hungarica”, 2009, Vol. 62, no. 4, p. 371–385. <https://doi.org/10.1556/AOrient.62.2009.4.1>

¹⁷ Б. В. Базаров, Н. Н. Крадин, Т. Д. Скрынникова, *Введение: кочевники, монголосфера и цивилизационный процесс* [Introduction: nomads, the Mongolian world and the civilizational process], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 3–20.

- 1) typical empires - nomads and farmers co-exist at a distance;
- 2) tributary empires - farmers depend on nomads;
- 3) conquering empires - nomads conquer an agricultural society and migrate to its territory¹⁸.

According to the researcher, the Mongols subsequently created the first world-system by uniting large regional centres (Europe, the Islamic world, India, China, and the Golden Horde) into a single chain. In this regard, Daniel Waugh, based on the archaeological approach, discusses the controversial impact of Mongol conquests across Eurasia. He believes that the Mongols' impact differed in relation to "the location and the priorities of the new conquerors"¹⁹. While Nikolai Kradin offers a civilization approach in order to solve the question of whether the nomadic empires and medieval society were consistent with the state and civilization level, Sergey Klyashtorny²⁰ applies the method of linear evolution of nomadic societies, according to which power developed from tribal and military-democratic institutions to an early state – an over-tribal political organization. According to Christopher Kaplonski, the Mongols established the world's largest contiguous land empire as well as opened new trade and information routes between Asia and Europe.²¹

Modern theories draw parallels between the histories of continental empires. Using the example of Russia's state building associated with the repolarization of Muscovy's power in relation to the Golden Horde, Pavel Osinsky explores an alternative, continental pathway of the empire building, drawing on a theory of fields and an agency theory.²² Alfred Rieber states „Empires are state structures in which

¹⁸ Н. Н. Крадин, *Кочевники, мир-империи и социальная эволюция* [The nomads, world-empires and social evolution], in *Раннее государство, его альтернативы и аналоги. Сборник статей* [Early state, it's alternatives and analogues], Волгоградский центр социальных исследований, 2006, с. 490-511.

¹⁹ D. C. Waugh, *The 'owl of misfortune' or the 'phoenix of prosperity'? Re-thinking the impact of the Mongols*, in "Journal of Eurasian Studies", 2017, Vol. 8, no. 1, p. 10-21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2016.11.004>

²⁰ С. Г. Кляшторный, *Основные этапы политогенеза у древних кочевников Центральной Азии* [The main stages of political genesis in the ancient nomads of Central Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 2, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2005, С. 23-31.

²¹ С. Kaplonski, *The Mongolian Impact on Eurasia: A Reassessment. The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe*, In: A. Bell-Fialkoff (ed.), *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2000, p. 251–274.

²² P. Osinsky, *The Rise of Muscovy in the Late Middle Ages: Interpreting Russia's State-Building through the Lens of a Field Theory*, in <http://www.appstate.edu/~elorantaj/>

one ethnic group establishes and retains control over other ethnic groups within the boundaries of a certain territory.”²³ The author considers that „the imperial system consists of a set of symbols, institutions and spatial links that determine the power of the ruler and the ruling elite”²⁴. As follows from the development of historical thought, the imperial idea embodied the image of the ruler, and the author focuses on three circumstances: the concepts of power became part of moral and religious ideas, they were associated with traditions and myths, the language of politics turned them into visible symbols and written texts. The concept of power became part of moral or religious ideas and they were associated with traditions and myths²⁵. Modern literature shows that border management in empires was not a one-line process. Andreas Kappeler in the article “The Formation of the Russian Empire in the 15-18 Century: The inheritance of Rus, Byzantine and the Horde” shows the empire’s stages of development under the influence of the Byzantine-Orthodox, Norman-pagan, Roman-Latin, steppe, and Islamic civilizations²⁶. Thus, modern civilization theories emphasize the ideological basis of imperial constructions. Russian researcher Lorina Repina points out: “Exactly from this perspective, we should consider mental stereotypes, historical myths, different processes of transformation of ordinary historical consciousness, mechanisms for the formation, transformation, and transfer of historical memory turned to the future ...”.²⁷

Vadim Trepavlov²⁸ believes that the characteristic features of the state system of the Golden Horde include the following: a) monarchical power of the khan;

Osinsky.pdf (Accessed on 4.03.2019)

²³ А. Рибер, *Сравнивая континентальные империи* [Equating Continental Empires], in *Российская империя в сравнительной перспективе* [The Russian Empire in a Comparative Perspective]. Сборник статей. Москва, Новое издательство, 2004, с. 34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ А. Каппелер, *Формирование Российской империи в XV – начало XVIII века: наследство Руси, Византии и Орды* [Formation of the Russian Empire in the 15 - beginning of the 18 century: the inheritance of Russia, Byzantium and the Horde], in *Российская империя в сравнительной перспективе* [The Russian Empire in a Comparative Perspective], Сборник статей, Москва, Новое издательство, 2004, с. 95.

²⁷ Л. П. Репина, *Историческая память и современная историография* [Historical Memory and Contemporary Historiography], in “Новая и новейшая история” [New and Contemporary History], 2004, no. 5, p. 39-40.

²⁸ В. В. Тrepавлов, *Административное устройство. Организация управления* [Administrative device. Organization of management], in *Золотая Орда в мировой истории* [Golden Horde in world history], Collective monograph, Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, 2016, с. 148-157.

b) participation of Karachi-beks - representatives of several (usually four) aristocratic Tatar families in the administration; c) the division of the nomadic population and territory into right and left wings; d) the ulus system - a set of contingents of the lieges and territorial domains granted by the khan to the administration of military commanders and „civilian” dignitaries; e) the institution of governors (Mongolian *daragachi*, *daruga*, Turk *baskak*) in the management of the urban and rural settled population; f) collecting taxes; g) combination of public administration with traditional local government. Anthropologist Thomas Hall proceeds from the world-system approach; therefore, if we consider nomadism in terms of this methodology, then, in the pre-industrial era, the nomads took the place of the „semi-periphery”.²⁹ Altogether, various regional economies (local civilizations, „peace empires”) united in a single space. He shares Thomas Barfield's opinion that there are synchronous cycles of ups and downs of agricultural civilizations and nomadic empires. Certain opinions and hypotheses of modern historical science reflect the features of the phenomenon that has not been fully studied. In the course of historical discussions, even opposing theories rather do not exclude each other, but reflect the important structural parameters of the object being studied. Joseph Fletcher³⁰ emphasizes that statehood is not an institution that is vital for a nomadic society, and in turn, P. Golden³¹ is sceptical of the idea that nomads can independently create statehood, but does not deny that under the influence of the Chinese civilization the steppe empires took the form of early state societies. The representative of Kazakhstani historiography, Zardykhan Kinaiyatuly, believes that, in order to understand the nature of nomadic statehood, it is necessary to turn to the sources of the ancient Turkic term „ulus”. The researcher pays attention to the Turko-Mongolian terms „el”, „ulus”, which convey the meaning of state, as the English „state”, the Chinese „go” were known long before the appearance of the Euro-Slavic „state”, „republica”, Arabic „mamlakat”, Persian

²⁹ Т. Холл, *Монголы в мир-системной истории* [Mongols in the world-system history], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 136-167.

³⁰ Дж. Флетчер, *Средневековые монголы: экологические и социальные перспективы* [Medieval Mongols: ecological and social perspectives], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 212-254.

³¹ П. Голден, *Кипчаки средневековой Евразии: пример негосударственной адаптации в степи* [Kipchaks of medieval Eurasia: an example of non-state adaptation in the steppes], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 103-136.

„dawlat”³². In Mongolian, an ulus meant an organizational entity involving a number of kin groups united by allegiance to their leader. Stephen Kotkin believes that the efforts made by the Mongols to build an administration and streamline taxes are “an impressive example of a general pattern”.³³

Modern historians focus their attention on another problem, such as the imperial structures of power of the Golden Horde. This aspect of the matter was reflected in the study of Nicola Di Cosmo.³⁴ The sequence of historical thinking and especially historical analysis by modern methodological approaches shows that related structures and genealogies caused „dispersity” and centrifugal nomadic societies. However, the military hierarchical bodies of political management in nomadic empires such as the Golden Horde were closely intertwined with the tribal segments, at the same time they outranked them, controlled them, and organized their effective use in accordance with the goals of the imperial leadership. Thus, the Kazakh researcher Kanat Uskenbay considers that “according to the established state tradition of the nomads, the state was divided in military and administrative terms, into wings and uluses for more effective management. In this respect, the Mongolian empire with its ulus-wing system is the most striking example. The division of the army and population into wings and ulus was projected on the administrative structure of the whole Mongolian empire”³⁵. The development of historical thought shows not only the process of events but to a certain extent, it influences the formation of public opinion and worldview. A variety of methodological approaches and research principles led to the disclosure of the genesis of socio-political changes in the nomadic environment. The further development of historical thought will allow us to define new directions, to open the research horizons and find alternative ways in studying the complexity, differentiation, and

³² З. Қинаятұлы, *Шыңғыс хан және Қазақ мемлекеті* [Genghis Khan and the Kazakh state], Алматы, Тарих тағылымы, 2010, с. 512.

³³ S. Kotkin, *Defining Territories and Empires: from Mongol Ulus to Russian Siberia 1200-1800*, Princeton, Princeton University, Slavic Research Centre, 1996.

³⁴ N. Di Cosmo, *Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica*, in “Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient”, 2010, Vol. 53, no. 1, p. 83-108. DOI: 10.1163/002249910X12573963244241 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233636627_Black_Sea_Emporia_and_the_Mongol_Empire_A_Reassessment_of_the_Pax_Mongolica (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

³⁵ К. Ускенбай, *Восточный Дешт-и Кыпчак в XIII – начале XV века. Проблемы этнополитической истории Улуса Джучи* [East Desht-i Qipchaq in the 13 - early 15 century. Problems of the ethno-political history of Ulus Juchi], Казань, Изд-во «ФЭН» АН РТ, 2013, с. 40.

development of the socio-political structures of the Golden Horde.

The novelty of the present research on the Golden Horde theme is that, along with social and economic conditions, the cultural and religious factors are revealed for the first time – these matters were taken into consideration by the studies of Salikh Zakirov³⁶, Vladimir Kostyukov³⁷, Zikiriya Zhandarbek³⁸, Magomet Safargaliev³⁹, Nikolai Malov⁴⁰, and Il’Nur Mirgaleev⁴¹. Religious and ideological factors influenced the social processes, including the ethnocultural life of the Golden Horde. Another important aspect in the history of the Golden Horde is the relationship with the Mameluke Egypt during the reign of Beybaris under the title of Takka al-Malik - az-Zahir Rukn ad-duniyya va-d-din Beibarys al-Burundukdari al-Salih (full name and title of the ruler). Modern historiography pays attention to: 1. the main reasons for the existing friendly relations and military alliance between the rulers of Egypt and the Golden Horde. 2. The influence of Islamic ideology on the rapprochement of the two states. These problems cover various aspects of the socio-political history of the states and their comprehensive consideration and historiographic analysis will identify the conflicting sides of this process, raise unresolved issues and see the weakness of methodological approaches and the insufficient debate concerning the religious and dynastic relationships of the Golden Horde and Egypt.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological basis of research uses the comparative-typological

³⁶ С. Закиров, *Дипломатические отношения Золотой Орды с Египтом* [Diplomatic relations of the Golden Horde with Egypt], Москва, Наука, 1966, с. 159.

³⁷ В. П. Костюков, *Была ли Золотая Орда "Кипчакским ханством?"* [Was the Golden Horde "Kipchak Khanate?"], in *Тюркологический сборник. 2005: Тюркские народы России и Великой степи* [Turkological collection. 2005: Turkic peoples of Russia and the Great Steppe], Москва, "Восточная литература" РАН, 2006, с. 199-237.

³⁸ З. Жандарбек, *Йасауи жолы және қазақ қоғамы* [The path Yasawi and the Kazakh society], Алматы, Ел-шежіре, 2006.

³⁹ М. Г. Сафаргалиев, *Распад Золотой Орды* [The collapse of the Golden Horde], in *На стыке континентов и цивилизаций* [At the crossroads of continents and civilizations], Москва, ИНСАН, 1996, с. 280-530.

⁴⁰ Н. М. Малов, *Религии в Золотой Орде* [Religions in the Golden Horde], Саратов, Изд-во Саратовского государственного университета им. Н.Г. Чернышевского, 1998, с. 127.

⁴¹ I. Mirgaleev, *The Islamization of the Golden Horde: New Data*, in "Golden Horde Review", 2016, Vol. 4, no. 1, p. 89-101. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/category/2016/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

method of analysis and synthesis, the comparative analysis, the method of actualization, the comparative method, the method of actualization and retrospection. Therefore, the Eurocentric theories of the emergence and development of the state imply a centralized political power that monopolizes (or delegates) management and regularly collects taxes on a more or less certain territory. In historical science, synchronous political processes were considered as successive stages of state formation. The concept of „political genesis” was developed in the 1970s and 80s by Lev Kubbel⁴², who named the process of formation of the state as such. The modern American anthropologist and historian Thomas Barfield believes that the emergence of the nomadic statehood is built on contradictions⁴³. At the top of the nomadic empire, there is an organized state led by an autocrat, but it turns out that most of the tribe members retain their traditional political organization, which is based on related groups of various ranks. According to the researcher, two series of theories were suggested to resolve these contradictions, which had to show that the tribal form is only a shell for statehood or that the tribal structure never leads to the present state. In other words, these scientific studies, based on the methods of actualization and retrospection, reveal the stages and dynamics of the development of research principles in considering various aspects of nomadic statehood that, according to foreign researchers, only temporarily dominated the tribal political organization.

The scientific methodology on the history of the Golden Horde, based on an analysis of the system in its development towards a synergetic paradigm and historical research, presents many topical issues from a new theoretical and methodological position and, in some cases, hypothetical reconstructions of little-studied events and phenomena of the historical and ethnocultural past, such as: the ethnogenetic continuity of nomadic organisms and the settled-agricultural environment, the main stages in the formation of statehood, the problems of power and domination and subordinate settled-agricultural peoples. Prospect of modern research consists also in their complex interdisciplinary character when exact historical and theoretical-analytical sections of historical reality are considered simultaneously.

In the choice of scientific and theoretical methodology - the civilizational approach (Natalia Proskuryakova, Igor Ionov, John Hord, Shuntaro Ito, Rafail Khakimov,

⁴² Л. Е. Куббель, *Очерки постстарно-политической этнографии* [Essays of Authority-Political Ethnography], Москва, Наука, 1988, с. 1.

⁴³ Т. Дж. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э.-1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

Anatoly Khazanov, Bulat Kumekov, Aigul Orazbayeva⁴⁴), allowed to objectively consider the development features of the Golden Horde statehood at different levels and in all the diversity of manifestation of political, legal and spiritual-cultural constants and paradigms of development. For the development of modern civilization research, many factors are required, above all the development of interdisciplinary dialogue as an environment for the development of progressive research methods. Interdisciplinary synthesis focuses on the general state of historical science and opens up a new level of theoretical and concrete historical understanding of multidirectional processes in the Golden Horde.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Modern historical science today has developed three basic approaches in the study of the nomadic world: stadial, dichotomous and the concept of local civilizations. Natalia Proskuryakova defines: „Analysis of the modern methodological situation allows us to identify several main trends in homeland historiography: 1. update the formative approach; 2. develop of a civilizational approach; 3. combine the formative and civilizational approaches; 4. active development of the modernization paradigm”⁴⁵. Sociological theories define the state as a special form of organization of society, possessing certain means and methods of applying power

⁴⁴ Н. А. Проскурякова, *Концепции цивилизации и модернизации в отечественной историографии* [Concepts of Civilization and Modernization in Russian Historiography], in “Вопросы истории” [Questions of History], 2007, Vol. 21, no. 7, p. 69-74; И. Н. Ионов, *Цивилизационное сознание и историческое знание: проблемы взаимодействия* [Civilizational consciousness and historical knowledge: problems of interaction], Москва, Наука, 2007, с. 499; Д. Хорд, *Древо цивилизаций* [The Civilizational Tree], in “Время мира” [World time], Выпуск 2, Новосибирск, 2001, с. 355-369; S. Ito, *A Framework for Comparative Study of Civilizations*, in “Comparative Civilizations Review”, 1997, Vol. 36, no. 36, <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1395&context=ccr> (Accessed on 04.02.2019.); Р. С. Хакимов, *Золотая Орда как вершина тюрко-татарской цивилизации* [Golden Horde as the top of the Turkic-Tatar civilization], in *Золотордынская цивилизация* [Golden Horde civilization], Казань, 2008, с. 176; А. М. Хазанов, *Кочевники и внешний мир* [Nomads and the outside world], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2002, с. 604; Б. Е. Кумеков, *Степная и городская культура кимеков* [Steppe and urban culture of Kimek], in *Урбанизация и номадизм в Центральной Азии: история и проблемы* [Urbanization and nomadism in Central Asia: history and problems], Алматы, 2004, с. 102-134; А. И. Оразбаева, *Цивилизация кочевников евразийских степей* [The civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2005, с. 308.

⁴⁵ Н. А. Проскурякова, *Концепции цивилизации и модернизации в отечественной историографии* [Concepts of Civilization and Modernization in Russian Historiography],

within society, establishing a certain order of relationships between members of society in a certain territory, which involves the entire population in an established territory. We find the conceptual provisions that deny the nomadic statehood among the founders of the German classical philosophy, Immanuel Kant⁴⁶ and Friedrich Hegel⁴⁷. Immanuel Kant saw the origins of statehood among nomads in the conflict between the nomads and the landowners (sedentary groups). Friedrich Hegel attributed the nomads to the second prehistoric stage of nomadic development and believed that nomads did not ripe to the statehood formation stage. According to Friedrich Hegel, the emergence of the state as a political institution is possible only if there are cities, as centres of public authority, an organized legal system, and other related elements. Due to the patriarchal organization, Friedrich Hegel assigns them the role of destroyers of civilization by cause of lack of state and individual freedom.

Historiography of the theory of civilizations as noted by Igor Ionov “has not only scientific but also great practical importance since it can become the basis of a new world outlook on the main trends of global development. In the conditions of global changes in the world, a growing number of problems are acquiring a whole series of universal problems that form an objective basis for realizing the role of the civilization paradigm. At the present stage of the development of the world community, the interaction of representatives of different cultures, nationalities, and confessions becomes an undeniable imperative”⁴⁸. Modern followers of the civilizational approach pay great attention to the comparative study of civilizations; thus, John Hord constructs the genealogical tree of civilizations⁴⁹, S. Ito creates a scheme in which he tries to take into account the space-time features of life of each of the 23 main civilizations, their mutual influence on each other, the general historical global shifts („urban”, „axial”, “scientific” revolution”)⁵⁰. The

in “Вопросы истории” [Questions of History], 2007, Vol. 21, no. 7, p. 154.

⁴⁶ И. Кант, *Сочинение в 6-ти томах* [Works in 6 volumes], Москва, Мысль, 1966, Т.6, с. 743.

⁴⁷ Ф. Гегель, *Сочинения в 14 томах. Философия истории* [Works in 14 volumes. History philosophy], Москва, Соцэкгиз, 1935, Т. 8, с. 468.

⁴⁸ И. Н. Ионов, *Цивилизационное сознание и историческое знание: проблемы взаимодействия* [Civilizational consciousness and historical knowledge: problems of interaction], Москва, Наука, 2007, с. 477.

⁴⁹ Д. Хорд, *Древо цивилизаций* [The Civilizational Tree], in “Время мира” [World time], Выпуск 2, Новосибирск, 2001, с. 355-369.

⁵⁰ S. Ito, *A Framework for Comparative Study of Civilizations*, in “Comparative Civilizations Review”, 1997, Vol. 36, no. 36, <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1395&context=ccr> (Accessed on 04.02.2019.)

civilizational theory in Russian historiography has quite a few changes of a regional and typological nature, so attempts are made to determine the influence of the Golden Horde on the formation of Russian civilization: „... the creation of a system of cities of the southern Russian steppes in the XIVth century allows us to talk about the history of the Golden Horde as an attempt at a civilizational breakthrough in the history of mankind, and also as an incomplete original way of evolution of the Russian (Eurasian civilization).⁵¹ They concluded that civilization is, first, the ability to learn, change, develop and create, ensure basic human needs, tolerance in the relationships of people and the level of self-organization of society, where the most important criterion is the autonomy level from the surrounding natural environment. Moreover, all these features, according to the researcher, were inherent in the civilization of the Golden Horde. Rafail Khakimov points out the great role of the Golden Horde in the life of the Turkic peoples and the entire Eurasian space: “The Golden Horde culture absorbed the medieval achievements of many Turkic and other peoples. The perfect economy, built on a wonderful financial system, fantastic communications and management at that time, allowing to control a huge territory and provide security, excellent military art, science, literature, architecture, etc. - all this speaks of an independent culture of the Golden Horde, which stood in the Middle Ages at the highest level”.⁵²

In assessing the historic role of nomads, the American researcher Anatoly Khazanov relies on his own conclusions regarding the complete historical process on the planet. At the same time, he denies both evolutionism and Marxism. Anatoly Khazanov summarizes that all the major breakthroughs in the history of mankind were the result of the unique combination of various factors and occurred a few times or once only. Anatoly Khazanov remains true to his „concept of uniqueness” of historical development. Based on it, he concludes his research with the following words: “...the nomads were not the only or even the most important of the many factors that determined the long-term trends of regional development”.⁵³ That is, Anatoly Khazanov denies the fact that the nomads had a significant contribution to the history of mankind. Kazakh scientists also did not stay

⁵¹ Э. С. Кульпин, *Золотая Орда: судьбы поколений* [Golden Horde: the fate of generations], Москва, ИИИ РАН, 2008, с. 118.

⁵² Р. С. Хакимов, *Золотая Орда как вершина тюрко-татарской цивилизации* [Golden Horde as the top of the Turkic-Tatar civilization], in *Золотоордынская цивилизация* [Golden Horde civilization], Казань, 2008, с. 14.

⁵³ А. М. Хазанова, *Кочевники и внешний мир* [Nomads and the outside world], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2002, с. 216.

away from the modern science discussions on the topic of the correspondence of different methodological approaches, including civilizational ones. Based on medieval Arab sources, Bulat Kumekov calls for an understanding of the specificity of the civilizational features of the nomadic culture. Defending the main definitions of civilization in the steppe civilization, such as the state, cities, and writing, he says: "Due to the intergenerational adaptation to the geographical environment and the dominant cattle-breeding economy, the nomadic tribes developed the traditions of the steppe culture, the most stable block, which was associated with a special phenomenon, the steppe way of life. Its deep roots originate in the Bronze Age and the standards are established in the Saka historical and cultural community. A high degree of continuity is specific to the steppe way of life in time and space".⁵⁴ In his monograph *Civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes*, the modern Kazakhstani author Aigul Orazbayeva considers it expedient to include the term "civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes" (CNES) in the categorical apparatus, since it meets all the most significant socio-cultural characteristics of traditional Kazakh society and is more optimal in the further disclosure of its essence and content".⁵⁵

Modern historians focus on another issue such as the imperial power structure of the Golden Horde. T. Barfield, analysing the components of nomadic formations, defines them as autocratic and state-like in foreign and military policy, but adhered to the principles of deliberativeness and federalism in internal affairs.⁵⁶ The result of a set of critical analysis techniques was the understanding of the transformation of the Mongol Empire into a mega-empire and its logical continuation of the Golden Horde, which included various political, economic, ethnic, religious and other subsystems (uluses, "wings", segments of the decimal system, tribal structures, oases, cities and agricultural territories, confessional communities, etc.).⁵⁷ J. Daniel Rogers identified several strategies for unification in major

⁵⁴ Б. Е. Кумеков, *Степная и городская культура кимеков* [Steppe and urban culture of Kimek], in *Урбанизация и номадизм в Центральной Азии: история и проблемы* [Urbanization and nomadism in Central Asia: history and problems], Алматы, 2004, с. 102.

⁵⁵ А. И. Оразбаева, *Цивилизация кочевников евразийских степей* [The civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2005, с. 76.

⁵⁶ Дж. Т. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э.-1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

⁵⁷ С. А. Васютин, *Монгольская империя как особая форма ранней государственности? (к дискуссии о политических системах кочевых империй)* [Mongol Empire as a spe-

political structures. Various options for such integration are the inclusion of the conquered population in their society and its acculturation, strengthening of ties through the construction of common cultural symbols, new genealogies and religions, free exchange and marriage, hostage, the creation of supralocal administrative and ideological institutions⁵⁸. Nicola Di Cosmo in his work *Education of the State and periodization of the history of Inner Asia* notes that the impetus for politogenesis is a structural crisis within the tribal society. It led to the militarization of the nomadic society and the creation of permanent military units and special squads⁵⁹. Nicola Di Cosmo believes that the history of the steppe empires can be divided into four stages from the point of view of income generation from the outside world: 1) the period of the tributary empires - from the Huns to the zhuzhans (209 BC - 551 AD); 2) the period of trade and tributary empires of the Turks, Khazars and Uighurs (551-907); 3) the period of the dual-administrative empires (907-1259); 4) periods of mature empires (1260-1796)⁶⁰. He also defines endogenous and exogenous factors in the formation of "steppe" empires. Among the endogenous factors, the charismatic "builders of the empire" play the central role - individuals capable of successfully manoeuvring in the whirlpool of steppe politics both militarily and diplomatically, and creating tribal confederations, perhaps even empires, with centralized political power and armed forces⁶¹. Modern researchers like Mirkasym Usmanov, Damir Iskhakov, Iskander Izmailov, and others from new methodological positions consider the place and significance of the Golden Horde as the first Eurasian empire of the late medieval period, which has risen to the same level as the great European states. In particular, Mirkasym Usmanov pays attention to the commonality of the social structure, political organization, mentality and historical heritage of the lieges of the

cial form of early statehood? (to the discussion of the political systems of nomadic empires)], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 271

⁵⁸ Д. Роджерс, *Причины формирования государств в восточной Внутренней Азии* [The Contingencies of State Formation in Eastern Inner Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 3, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2008, с. 144-180.

⁵⁹ Н. Ди Космо, *Образование государства и периодизация истории Внутренней Азии* [State formation and periodization of the history of Inner Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 3, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2008, с. 195-197.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Golden Horde⁶². Damir Iskhakov considers the preservation of the clan system uniting the military-service nobility, and the relatively similar structure of the khanates, with the yurts of the ruling tribes and representatives of these tribes who could freely move from one khanate to another, settling on the territory of the corresponding tribal land⁶³. Historiographical sources inform us: „In the system of internal management of the Golden Horde, an important role was played by the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus represented by the servicemen, as well as the military nomadic nobility, among whom the most prominent was the role of Turkic people - the Kipchaks, the medieval Uighurs, and the Volga Bulgars”⁶⁴. The history of the Turkic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric tribes and associations continued in the states formed during the Mongol conquest. In this respect, both the bureaucracy and the army of the Golden Horde were composed of representatives of the local population. “The majority of the lieges of the Golden Horde were the Turkic peoples, the Kipchaks, conquered by the Mongols – the Kipchaks and Cumans of Kazakhstan, the Volga region and the Black Sea region, the inhabitants of Khorasm and Volga Bulgaria and the inhabitants of Russian principalities ... The Mongols, who formed the nobility and the elite troops, quickly fell under the influence of their more cultured lieges, having already perceived by the end of the thirteenth century their Turkic language, and then the religion of Islam”⁶⁵. Another contemporary author, Ilyas Kamalov, after analysing a large set of historical sources concluded that the population census, the creation of troops using the population of the conquered lands, the organization of the postal services and the tax collection were all the duty of the darugas, represent-

⁶² М. А. Усманов, *Состояние и перспективы источниковедения истории Улуса Джучи* [The state and prospects of the source study of the history of Ulus Juchi], in *Источниковедение истории Улуса Джучи (Золотая Орда). От калки до Астрахани. 1223-1156* [Source study of the history of the Ulus Juchi (the Golden Horde). From Kalka to Astrakhan. 1223-1556.], Казань, 2001, с. 5-14.

⁶³ Д. М. Исхаков, *Родословные и эпические произведения как источник изучения истории сословий Улуса Джучи и татарских ханств* [Pedigrees and epic works as a source for studying the history of the estates of Ulus Juchi and the Tatar khanates], in *Источниковедение истории Улуса Джучи (Золотая Орда). От калки до Астрахани. 1223-1156* [Source study of the history of the Ulus Juchi (the Golden Horde). From Kalka to Astrakhan. 1223-1556.], Казань, 2001, с. 329-366.

⁶⁴ Д. М. Исхаков, И. Л. Измайлов, *Этнополитическая история татар* [Ethnopolitical history of the Tatars], Казань, 2007, с. 83.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

atives of the Golden Horde in the Russian lands. Moreover, the period of domination of the Golden Horde Turkic influence on the formation of Russian statehood has only grown⁶⁶. In conclusion, the researcher stated: "the influence of the Golden Horde on Russia is not limited to the political and religious sphere, but they also affected the sphere of state organizations and the socio-economic sphere. ... As a result of the three centuries of domination of the Golden Horde over the Russian principalities, the Russian principalities became the owners of a centralized state"⁶⁷. Thus, the complex and ambiguous nature of the development and synthesis of the sedentary and nomadic systems in the Golden Horde makes the application of system principles in the analysis of institutions of power and domination, the social system and the specific features of the process of transformation and convergence of the nomadic society and the settled population promising. Thus, the cyclic changes in the power structure of nomadic societies and the intensification of the process of specialization of power in nomadic systems were identified, and the deeper it was, the more developed and structured the society turned out to be. A variety of modern approaches and opinions led to the disclosure of the genesis of socio-political changes in the Golden Horde. Analysing the historiography of symbiosis and the synthesis of nomadic and sedentary agricultural structures of the Golden Horde, we saw the need for special scientific research on the problems of power and the rule and cultural synthesis of nomadic associations and settled-agricultural people.

At the present stage of development of historiographic research, one of the main research objects is the interaction and inter-influence of various cultural traditions, ideology, and religion. The process of religious tolerance and the influence of religion on the political system and social institutions began as part of the Mongol Empire, part of which was the Golden Horde. "In traditional Mongol religion one tried to avoid offending spirits for fear of supernatural retaliation; thus, honouring the rituals of all religions and being included in prayers was simply a form of spiritual insurance against offending another spiritual power. Furthermore, inclusion in the prayers also demonstrated the legitimacy of the khan's authority as it had the official backing of the local religious elite. The inclusion of the ruler's name in the khutba, the Friday sermon in Islam, was a centuries-old practice that indicated the legitimacy of the ruler.... Beyond their own

⁶⁶ И. Камалов, *Золотая Орда и русский улус (татарское влияние на Россию)* [The Golden Horde and the Russian ulus (Tatar influence on Russia), Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АНРТ, 2016, с. 135-139.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, с. 273.

policy of religious toleration, the Mongols attempted to preserve peace between the religious sects within the empire. This should not be construed as a philanthropic ideal, but rather one of strategic necessity.”⁶⁸ According to Uli Schamiloglu, the traditional Mongol belief system may be defined as “animist, so consistent with the other traditional religions of Eurasia in which shamans served as media to invoke the spirits of natural phenomena.”⁶⁹ In the monograph of the Russian researcher Aleksandr Yurchenko, we see the author’s reference to the ideological foundations of the Mongolian empire: “The ideological legitimation of the power of the imperial elite in the person of Genghis Khan and his entourage demanded a change of religious dominance, because the former system of shamanistic views and cults ... could not satisfy the demands of the new social and political reality.”⁷⁰ An interesting trend in historiography is the issue of spiritual and ideological integration and the process of Islamization of the Golden Horde society. Uli Schamiloglu points to this multi-vector process: “Finally, the fact that in this part of the medieval world knowledge was to be equated with religious knowledge, it would be necessary to create a new high culture on the basis of one of the great world religions with its own tradition of a high culture. This could only be accomplished by importing or attracting scholars versed in this tradition to its own territory. Even though Islam was not the only religion practiced in the territories of the Golden Horde, it ascended in the early 14th century to the status of a state religion. The Islamic Turkic high culture which developed slowly over the course of the 13th-14th centuries, indeed began to flourish in the mid-14th century, reflects a felicitous conjuncture of several different facts: wealth, urbanization, Turkification, and Islamization”.⁷⁸

It should be noted that the role of religion was very important and it served as the ideological basis for military operations. Kazakhstani researcher Zikiriya Zhandarbek describes the adoption of the Islam by Berke Khan as follows: “Berke Khan became the ruler of the Golden Horde and tried to unite the state and turn Islam into a nation-wide ideology and the main factor uniting the entire state”⁷¹.

⁶⁸ T. May, *The Mongol conquests in world history*, London, Reaktion Books, 2012, p. 173.

⁶⁹ U. Schamiloglu, *The Islamic High Culture of the Golden Horde*, <http://www.turko-tatar.com/ca303/UCLA200x.pdf> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷⁰ А. Г. Юрченко, *Золотая Орда: между Ясой и Кораном (начало конфликта)* [The Golden Horde: between Yasa and the Qur'an (the beginning of the conflict)], Санкт-Петербург, ЕВРАЗИЯ, 2012, с. 52.

⁷¹ З. Жандарбек, *Йасауи жолы және қазақ қоғамы* [The path Yasawi and the Kazakh society], Алматы, Ел-шежіре, 2006, с. 59.

Magomet Safargaliev⁷², analysing the current historical situation, notes that after occupying the throne of the Golden Horde, Berke Khan began to restrict the power of the ulus rulers, the descendants of Juchi and made efforts to subordinate them to the central government. Military-political structures were formed in every region and were obliged to strengthen the centralization of the state. According to Il'Nur Mirgaleev, it was during the reign of Berke Khan that the main directions of the foreign policy of the Golden Horde were established and remained a priority until the late 14th century⁷³. Nikolai Malov wrote about the influence of Islamic ideology on the foreign and interior policy of Berke Khan: "Muslims from Khorezm and Bulgar were hired to the civil service. The cities built along Itil were purely Muslim cities. In international politics, Berke Khan appeared as an Islamic ruler, he made an alliance with Egypt and began military operations against the state of Hulagu, which conquered the Caliphate and killed the Caliph Mustafa"⁷⁴. The famous Kazakh scientist Zardykhan Kinayatuly drew attention to the growth of the influence of Islam in the Golden Horde, stating that: "Berke Khan ruled the ulus of Juchi for 9 years from 1257-1266. 1) He contributed to the gradual penetration of Islam in the steppes of Deshta - Kipchak through comprehensive relations with Muslim states. 2) He was the first to conduct tax reform. 3) Has enabled the mutual enrichment and interconnection of Eastern and Western cultures in the Eurasian spaces through the transfer of the capital upwards through Itil"⁷⁵.

Historical science often addresses the problems of clashes between the Hulaguids and the Juchi dynasty line. Geographical location, natural resources and peculiarities of the climate of Azerbaijan and Georgia aroused the zealous interest of both the descendants of Juchi and the descendants of Hulagu. The war between states began after Berke's attempts to influence Hulagu by diplomatic methods. As it is shown by the analysis of historical literature, the rapprochement and the military alliance of the Golden Horde and Egypt are based on the contradictions

⁷² М.Г. Сафаргалиев, *Распад Золотой Орды* [The collapse of the Golden Horde], in *На стыке континентов и цивилизаций* [At the crossroads of continents and civilizations], Москва, ИНКАН, 1996, с. 320.

⁷³ I. Mirgaleev, *The Islamization of the Golden Horde: New Data*, in "Golden Horde Review", 2016, Vol. 4, no. 1, p. 89-101. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/category/2016/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷⁴ Н. М. Малов, *Религии в Золотой Орде* [Religions in the Golden Horde], Саратов, Изд-во Саратовского государственного университета им. Н. Г. Чернышевского, 1998, с. 96-98.

⁷⁵ З. Қинаятұлы, *Қазақ мемлекеті және Жошы хан* [Kazakh state and Juchi khan], Алматы, Ел таным, 2014, с. 169.

and hostility between the descendants of Juchi and the Hulaguids. Another factor of rapprochement between the Golden Horde and Egypt can be called the aggressive campaigns of the Hulaguids to Syria. The Kazakh researcher K. Saki believes that one of the reasons for the close diplomatic and military relationship of the Golden Horde and Egypt is the Turkic origin of the ruler of Egypt, Beybaris. "Sultan Beybaris attached special importance to direct diplomatic relations with his historic homeland - the Golden Horde. As the Arab historians point out, these relations were based not only on the creation of a military alliance against the Hulaguid rulers but also on Beybaris' desire to establish contact with the fatherland, ensuring the inflow of young men and women from the Golden Horde to Egyptian land. For the sake of fulfilling these goals, he exchanges ambassadors with Khans of the Golden Horde".⁷⁶

Russian researcher Vladimir Kostyukov interprets the reasons for the rapprochement of the two states in a different way. In his opinion, attempts to strengthen relations between the Golden Horde and Egypt, as well as many other states, are explained by the "Kipchak majority" in the ruling dynasties of the Golden Horde, their kin relations and family ties. In fact, as Al-Omari points out, the Mamluk sultans gravitate towards their relatives, and desire their mass resettlement and, thereby, create a protective environment⁷⁷. Vladimir Kostyukov believes that cooperation with the Golden Horde should be determined by even more weighty arguments. The Egyptian Mamluks, who decided to fight the Hulaguids, became convinced that such a strong personality as Berke could become their ally. When the contradictions with Iran reached the military phase, the Muslim rulers of Egypt became Berke's allies.⁷⁸ According to the researcher's definition, the family ties of the Egyptian sultans did not play the main role, „the enemy of my enemy is my friend” and the religious feelings of Berke Khan came first. The sources of this historical period convincingly testify that the rapprochement between Egypt and the Golden Horde had an ideological background. Another important reason and driving force

⁷⁶ Қ. Саки, *Пирамида үстіндегі киіз үй немесе Байбарыс туралы* [About a yurta on the Pyramid or about Baybars], Алматы, Фолиант, 2001, с. 110.

⁷⁷ В. Г. Тизенгаузен, *Сборник материалов относящиеся к истории Золотой Орды* [Collection of materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], Санкт-Петербург, 1884, Т. 1. с. 232

⁷⁸ В. П. Костюков, *Была ли Золотая Орда "Кипчакским ханством?"* [Was the Golden Horde "Kipchak Khanate?"], in *Тюркологический сборник. 2005: Тюркские народы России и Великой степи* [Turkological collection. 2005: Turkic peoples of Russia and the Great Steppe], Москва, "Восточная литература" РАН, 2006, с. 228.

for the war that has begun between states is the so-called „holy war against the infidels”⁷⁹. It should be emphasized that in that historical period, religion had a decisive role, and it served as the ideological basis of any war. Arabian historians also wrote about the powerful role of the Islamic factor in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde. The systematization and comprehensive study of historical literature open the way to historical-geographical, historical-comparative and synergetic methods of research of the spiritual, ideological and socio-political aspects of the relationship between the Golden Horde and Egypt. Contemporary historical science requires a thorough and in-depth study of the interaction of world religious traditions by means of new methodological approaches from the standpoint of the gathered historical data and theories of the historical process. The new perspectives introduced by historical science, such as the analysis of the administrative, legal and social systems of the nomads based on the new historical research methods, allow the presentation of an integrated model of the complex process of dialectical development of the Golden Horde.

CONCLUSION

The analytical study of theoretical conceptual approaches, the methodological approaches and the scientific paradigms of historic research have led us to the following results:

1. In the choice of scientific and theoretical methodology – the civilizational approach (or historical-cultural approach). It allows to objectively assess the features of statehood development in different stages, from nomadic associations and confederations, to “nomadic empires”, in a whole variety of manifestations of their political, legal, spiritual and cultural constants and paradigms of development. Part of the civilizational paradigm of modern historical science is scientific research on the history of empires and imperial structures of the Golden Horde, new theoretical and methodological constructions applied to the study of the concept of „nomadic empire”.

2. The gradual strengthening and synthesis of political, social, ideological spheres of the nomadic world and the settled agricultural population in the Golden Horde contributed to the consolidation of the political and social structures of subordination and differentiation, the interpenetration of various religious and ideological elements.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

3. The development of scientific research based on interdisciplinary and systemic approaches, as well as intercultural dialogue of various religious traditions on the territory of the Golden Horde is due to the need for interaction of diverse forms and multifunctional systems, both political-social and spiritual-cultural. The new demands of scientific knowledge require their reconstruction into a complex set of different types and systems of religious beliefs, combined into a unique global perspective.

SIMION FLOREA MARIAN AND THE LEGENDS ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF MOLDAVIA

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Abstract: *The works of Simion Florea Marian belong to the stage of a full assertion of the Romanian spirituality which found expression in Bukovina in the second half of the nineteenth century. His historical legends, traditions, and mythology written and published over the years have had a great impact on the Romanian culture, influencing the way in which people could value their spiritual heritage. His legacy is most complex, featuring various aspects; hence the historiography dedicated to the scholar Simion Florea Marian should be solid and extensive. In this study, we have aimed to highlight the historical legends of the 13th and 14th centuries and, if possible, to compare them with the Moldavian chronicles, the processes, and events from an important period of the Middle Ages, from the great Mongolian invasions until the completion of the second Romanian mediaeval state. The geographic locations, which are quite precise in the texts Simion Florea Marian put into circulation, have been of great help in our attempt; this is important considering that fragments of his legends intertwine with actual historical events.*

Keywords: *Simion Florea Marian, Bukovina, personality, legend, Moldavia, Tatars, geographic location, Dragoș, Sas.*

Rezumat: *Simion Florea Marian, o personalitate a culturii bucovinene și legendele despre începuturile Țării Moldovei. Lucrările lui Simion Florea Marian aparțin etapei de afirmare deplină a spiritualității românești care s-a manifestat în Bucovina în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Legendele sale istorice, tradițiile și mitologia despre care a scris și publicat de-a lungul timpului au avut un impact deosebit asupra culturii românești, influențând modul în care oamenii își puteau valoriza patrimoniul spiritual. Moștenirea lăsată este una de mare complexitate, parcurgând aspecte diverse și, prin urmare, istoriografia dedicată savantului Simion Florea Marian trebuie să fie una temeinică și bogată. Prin studiul de față am încercat să evidențiem legendele istorice referitoare la veacurile XIII-XIV și să realizăm, acolo unde este posibil, o comparație a lor cu textele cronicilor moldovenești, cu procesele și evenimentele ce încadrează o perioadă importantă a evului mediu, de la marea invazie mongolă la definitivarea celui de al doilea stat medieval românesc. Ne-au ajutat în acest demers și localizările geografice, destul de precise în textele*

puse în circulație de către Simion Florea Marian, aspect important în condițiile în care fragmente din legendele sale se împletesc cu evenimente istorice propriu-zise.

Résumé : *Simion Florea Marian, une personnalité de la culture de Bucovine et les légendes sur les débuts du Pays de la Moldavie.* L'œuvre de Simion Florea Marian appartient à l'étape d'affirmation complète de la spiritualité roumaine qui se manifesta en Bucovine dès la deuxième partie du XIX^{ème} siècle. Ses légendes historiques, les traditions et la mythologie dont celui-ci écrit et publia le long du temps eurent un impact tout à fait particulier sur la culture roumaine, influençant la manière dans laquelle les gens purent mettre en valeur leur patrimoine spirituel. L'héritage qu'il nous a légué témoigne d'une grande complexité et reflète plusieurs aspects. Par conséquent, cela nous oblige lui dédier une historiographie riche et rigoureusement documentée. A l'intermédiaire de l'étude ci-jointe, nous avons essayé de mettre en évidence les légendes historiques faisant référence aux XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles et en même temps, de faire une comparaison, si possible, entre celles-ci d'une part et les textes des chroniques moldaves, avec les processus et les événements qui ont jalonné une période importante du Moyen Age, depuis la grande invasion mongole à la formation du deuxième Etat médiéval roumain, de l'autre part. Dans cette démarche, nous nous sommes appuyés également sur les localisations géographiques assez précises figurant dans les textes mises en circulation par Simion Florea Marian, un aspect bien important, les conditions où des fragments de ses légendes se mêlent aux événements historiques proprement-dits.

INTRODUCTION

During the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, the Romanian spirituality in Bukovina expressed itself most powerfully through the valorisation of oral creations, passed on from one generation to another. Thus, perhaps not accidentally, northern Moldavia was to give the greatest ethnographer, Simion Florea Marian, and the greatest composer of music with folk influences, Ciprian Porumbescu. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the Romanian nation began to seek its identity and the members of the *Transylvanian School* (*Școala Ardeleană*) wanted to demonstrate its continuity. To achieve this, they searched not only for historical testimonies but also for traditions, beliefs, and folk tales.¹ Following the same path, George Barițiu made an appeal, in 1838, in the *Paper for Mind, Heart and Literature* (*Foaie*

¹ Ion Lungu, *Școala Ardeleană. Mișcare ideologică națională iluministă* [The Transylvanian School. Ideological, national, Enlightenment Movement], Editura Minerva, București, 1978, p. 67.

pentru minte, inimă și literatură) for the gathering of traditions and ballads from all over the Romanian territory.² These efforts passed over the mountains, and the interest for ethnography and folklore appears at Moldavian poets such as Vasile Alecsandri, who wrote in 1852 a volume of old ballads and songs.³ Under the influence of Romanticism, folklore was seen as a force able to regenerate the Romanian people and give them strength. We are at the beginning of the ethnic-folklore researches, already underway in West-Central Europe, which would reach the Romanian space where Simion Florea Marian would play an important role.

Simion Florea Marian was born near Suceava, in 1847, at the dawn of the revolutionary momentum that had seized the Principalities. His coming into the world at such moment meant a guarantee of education in the spirit of national symbols, which were manifest under the Austrian administration. We can only imagine that the passion for folklore, for the values of this mythical space of Bukovina was instilled into his mind by his parents, the priest Lazăr Marian from Reuseni and Ruxandra Stanovici, the daughter of the teacher in Udești⁴.

It is certain that at the age of only 17 young Simion had gathered the first collections of Romanian folklore texts and folk tales. Most likely, his spontaneous preoccupation for tradition is the result of the love and solidarity towards those amongst whom he was brought up, of the love for his country, for the people toiling for this land.

We must point out that the history and folklore were the two passions that intersected in the writings of Simion Florea Marian, hence the interest in the Slavic language and old printings⁵, in historical information about the

² Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc* [The Origins of Romanian Romanticism], Editura Minerva, București, 1972, p. 508-509.

³ Vasile Alecsandri, *Poezii populare ale românilor* [Romanian Folk Poems], Editura Casa Școalelor, București, 1942.

⁴ He must have been greatly influenced by the work of the Enlightenment scholar Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, who became in the last part of his life, the Metropolitan of Bukovina. Supporting Orthodoxy and Romanian Culture, he watched the development of Bukovinian personalities such as Simion F. Marian or Iraclie Porumbescu. Details on Lora Bostan, *Contribuția bisericii ortodoxe la afirmarea spiritualității românești în nordul Bucovinei (sec. XVIII-XIX)* [Contribution of the Orthodox Church to the Assertion of Romanian spirituality in Northern Bukovina (18th-19th Centuries)], in <http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/indexing/details/A3946/pdf> (Accessed on 10.04.2019).

⁵ Simion Florea Marian, *Inscripțiuni de pe manuscrite și cărți vechi din Bucovina. Partea 1.*

important places of worship⁶ or in the figures of the Romanian mediaeval culture⁷.

Simion Florea Marian is an indisputable value of his nation, who belongs to the trend of the assertion of Romanian spirituality in the second half of the 19th century. Therefore, we may state that Bukovina has lived and breathed through its historical legends, traditions, and mythology that he made known in the entire space stretching over this side of the Carpathians and eastward beyond the mountains.

The scholar's assiduous activity was more thoroughly analysed after his death, starting with the work of his son, Liviu F. Marian, entitled *Schițe biografice*⁸, in 1910. The last half-century, Paul Leu's studies included most of the aspects of the fields researched by Simion Florea Marian, from poet and prose writer to collector of folklore and historical ballads⁹.

His legacy is most complex, featuring various aspects; hence the historiography dedicated to the scholar Simion Florea Marian should be solid and extensive. Due to its diversity, it has been grouped into several important categories: biographical works, encyclopaedic articles, ethnographical works, manuscript patrimony research or monographic investigations¹⁰. It is perhaps

Inscripțiunile de pe manuscriptele și cărțile din districtul Câmpulungului [Inscriptions on Old Manuscripts and Books in Bukovina. Part 1. Inscriptions on Manuscripts and Books in the District of Câmpulung], Suceava, 1900.

⁶ Simion Florea Marian, *Biserica din Părhăuți în Bucovina* [The Părhăuți Church in Bukovina], București, 1887.

⁷ Simion Florea Marian, *Portretul lui Miron Costin, mare logofăt și cronicar al Moldovei* [The Portrait of Miron Costin, Great Logothete and Chronicler of Moldavia], București, 1900.

⁸ Liviu F. Marian, *Simion Florea Marian. Schițe biografice* [Simion Florea Marian. Biographical Sketches], București, 1910.

⁹ Here are some of his contributions: Paul Leu, *Primirea lui S. F. Marian în Academia Română* [The Admission of S. F. Marian to the Romanian Academy], in "Cercetări istorice", Iași, 1980, p. 421-428; Paul Leu, *S. F. Marian în contemporaneitatea sa europeană* [S. F. Marian within his European Contemporaneity], in "Cercetări istorice", Iași, VII, 1977, pp. 543-554; Paul Leu, *Introducere* [Introduction], in Simion F. Marian, *Legende istorice din Bucovina* [Historical Legends in Bukovina], edition supervised by Paul Leu, Suceava, Editura Junimea, 1981, p. VII-XVIII.

¹⁰ Antonie Moisei, *Privire generală asupra istoriografiei dedicate etnografului Simion Florea Marian* [Overview of the Historiography Dedicated to the Ethnographer Simion Florea Marian], in "Codrul Cosminului", nr. 10, 2004, p. 217. We add some of the studies published, in the context of the centenary, by the journal "Suceava, Anuarul complexului Muzeal Bucovina", XXIV-XXXV-XXXVI, 2007-2008-2009, Suceava, 2009:

unjust that the historical legends have not been thoroughly analysed, particularly in comparison with the texts of Moldavian chronicles, with the processes and events from an important stage of the Middle Ages, from the great Mongolian invasion until the rule of Stephen the Great¹¹.

THE LEGENDS ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF MOLDAVIA

The period of pre-state Moldavia, after the Mongolian assault of 1241-1242, is perceived in terms of the legends about Romanians and Tatars. Simion Florea Marian presents an evolution which today, after more than a century of historical research, appears more evident than we might intuit. Simion F. Marian is aware, in the legend called *The Romanians and Tartars*, that the Romanians did not have rulers (voivodes) and lived in various areas, choosing leaders from among themselves for a period of three years. The latter would organise the affairs of the community and everyone else would obey and listen to their advice: "*Cică la început Românii nu aveau domnitori și stăpânitori, ca în ziua de azi, ci ei trăiau răslețiți prin deosebite ținuturi și se cârmuiau singuri de sine.*"¹² (which translates as "*They say that in the beginning the Romanians did not have princes or rulers, like today, but lived scattered in various lands and governed themselves*"). In a romantic

Maria Cuceu, *Simion Florea Marian și cataloagele prozei populare* [Simion Florea Marian and the catalogues of folkloric prose], pp. 39-45; Mihai Alexandru Canciovici, *Contribuția lui S. FI. Marian la studierea mitologiei populare românești* [Simion Florea Marian's contribution to studying Romanian people mythology], pp. 51-57; Paul Leu, *S. FI. Marian, autor al mării enciclopedii austriece* [Simion Florea Marian, author of the great Austrian encyclopaedia], pp. 79-87; Pamfil Bilțiu, *Simion Florea Marian și cercetarea obiceiurilor tradiționale* [Simion Florea Marian and the research of traditional habits], pp. 87-93; Antonie Moisei, *Metodele de investigare a culturii tradiționale a populației din Bucovina în operele științifice ale lui S. FI. Marian* [Investigation methods of traditional culture, of Bukovina population in S. FI. Marian's scientific works], pp. 93-99; Anca Parasca, *Cercetările lui Simion Florea Marian - parte integrantă a patrimoniului cultural european* [Simion Florea Marian's researches - constitutive part of European cultural patrimony], pp. 101-105.

¹¹ The notable exception is the historian Ștefan S. Gorovei who correlated some of the information from the legends gathered by Simion Florea Marian with some aspects related to the emergence of Moldavia. Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* [The Foundation of Moldavia. Controversial Issues], Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iași, 1997, p. 77 and note 48.

¹² Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții populare române din Bucovina* [Romanian Folk Traditions in Bukovina], București, 1895, p. 16.

view, we may say, in terms of the political and territorial organisation, that this is the phase of the knezates and voivodates attested, on 2 June 1247, in the “Diploma of the Joannites”, south of the Carpathians and only intuited, by means of modern historiography, east of the Carpathian chain¹³.

The establishment of the Mongolian rule over the Moldavian space, achieved in stages in the second part of the 13th century, is accurately illustrated from a historical point of view, as the number of Tatars was overwhelming as compared to the local population that was unable to organise the defence. Most disobedient would retreat to safer places. But even there they were found with Tatars’ *hawk-dogs*, as the legend calls them¹⁴. Therefore, they were constrained to withdraw into the mountains that the Tatars would reach with great difficulty and, as the legend tells us, this would often happen by means of subterfuge: “Într-o vară însă, văzând ei că numai de geabă se ascund prin stuhării, că și-n aceste locuri sunt descoperiți, se adună iarăși cu toții la un loc și se sfătuiră ca să facă și ei odată tătarilor o moară de vânt, adică, dacă nu-i pot învinge și fugări din țară, cel puțin să-și bată joc de dânșii.”¹⁵ (“One summer, though, realising that it was useless to hide in the reeds for they were discovered even in these places, they gathered and agreed that, if they could not beat and chase the Tatars out of the country, they might at least mock them”).

So, they looked for the large ponds where they knew the Tatars would come and placed caps on top of reeds in hidden spots in order to mislead the hawks. Hearing the birds’ cry, the Tatars rushed to those ponds and when they found only

¹³ Of the extensive bibliography dedicated to this subject, we have selected a few titles: Nicolae Stoicescu, “Descălecat” sau întemeiere? O veche preocupare a istoriografiei românești. Legendă și adevăr istoric [“Dismounting” or Foundation? An Old Concern of Romanian Historiography. Legend and Historical Truth], in vol. *Constituirea statelor feudale românești* [Formation of Romanian Feudal States], coordinated by Nicolae Stoicescu, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1980, p. 121-122; Ș. Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea. Între cruciadă și imperiul mongol* [The Romanians in the 13th Century. Between the Crusade and the Mongolian Empire], Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1993, p. 56; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Noi comentarii asupra diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți (1247) și a contextului emiterii sale* [Further Comments on the Diploma of the Joannites], in *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul Bizantin și Occidentul Latin). Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei* [The Romanians in Mediaeval Europe (between the Byzantine East and the Latin West). Studies in Honour of Professor Victor Spinei], a volume prepared by Dumitru Țeicu and Ionel Căndea, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2008, p. 225-242.

¹⁴ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții populare române din Bucovina*, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the hats, they realised that they had been fooled, but it was much too late, for the Romanians had managed to withdraw into the mountains.

Simion Florea Marian does not forget to mention where this legend starts from because he truly believes in the humour of the Romanian people, manifested in the most difficult moments: "*Căci așa-i Românul, uneori și la cea mai mare nevoie îi place să facă câte-o șagă, doră-i mai trece din cel necaz...*"¹⁶ ("For that is how the Romanian is like: sometimes, even when he is in the greatest need, he likes to play a trick or joke to make the sorrow go away").

The geographic locations are quite precise in the legends of Simion Florea Marian. For example, Vama village, in the north of present-day Suceava County, is often mentioned in the legends about Romanians and Tatars. Its existence has got lost in the mists of time and it may be a rural settlement of the 13th century. However, the first clear attestation related to this community is a document of Alexander the Good¹⁷, which mentions a *vama* ('customs point') located where the Moldovița River flows into the Moldova River. The village that came into existence in this area has a definite connection with the customs point. Located at an altitude of about 800 metres, it also served as an observation point.

The legend tells us that here a woman with a baby in her arms once noticed the Tatars approach. She left the baby wrapped in a cloth, hanging from the branches of a fir-tree and fled to let the Romanians know about the coming of the pagans. Seeing the baby hanging in the tree, the Tatars thought it is a bad sign and did not go any further despite the khan's orders and threats. This hesitancy allowed the locals to group and to succeed in banishing the Tatars¹⁸.

Although Simion Florea Marian speaks about impressive numbers of horsemen, 40,000-80,000 Tatars, historical reality makes us think there were only a few hundred penetrating to plunder. The Tatar rule over the Northern part of Moldavia is not confirmed at the peak of the Horde's domination east of the Carpathians either¹⁹ when the payment of some financial contributions was

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁷ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova*, vol. I, compiled by C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, L. Șimanschi, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1975, p. 27.

¹⁸ The hypothesis that this legend could be placed more recently during the campaign of the voivode Mihail Racovita over the Austrians, in 1714-1716, was eliminated by Ion Cernat, *Simion Florea Marian și satul Vama* [Simion Florea Marian and the Village of Vama], in "Codrul Cosminului", 10, 2004, p. 159.

¹⁹ Sergiu Iosipescu, *Carpații sud-estici în evul mediu târziu (1166-1526). O istorie europeană prin pasurile montane* [South-Eastern Carpathians in the Late Middle Ages (1166-1526). An European History through Mountain Passes], Editura Istros, Brăila, 2013, p. 96-97.

probably agreed on. Instead, the fast unification and organisation of an efficient resistance, as in the legend above, points to the existence of a local formation that was powerful enough.

The legends made known by Simion Florea Marian concern two figures that were essential to the emergence of Moldavia as a state: Dragoș and Sas.

In the case of Dragoș, the first founder of Moldavia, the legend of the hunt has certain nuances which are not found in mediaeval chronicles²⁰. For example, from the very beginning, Dragoș has to choose among a twelve-antler deer going westward, a wild boar moving north and a wisent setting off east²¹. The will to chase the wisent is divine, for Dragoș is led by a hermit to the place where he saw the beasts and the latter advises the voivode not to follow the path westward or northward. The wisent throws into the clear water of Moldova River and reappears when Dragoș least expects it at the north end of Câmpulung²².

Just as in the legends about Romanians and Tatars, this story abounds in geographic locations and explanations of certain toponyms and hydronyms. Pârăul Boului (*'The Wisent's Brook'*) is a current tributary of the Moldovița River which got its name from the place where the wisent wounded by Dragoș's arrow stopped to drink water. Most of the toponyms related to Dragoș's hunt are to be encountered at Vatra Moldoviței: Valea Boului, Gura Boului, Runcul Boului, Gura Dragoșei²³.

But we should not believe that the legend fragments do not intertwine with historical deeds proper. Dragoș Vodă is a ruler in Maramureș but he is compared with Bogdan I, the future voivode of Moldavia, for it is mentioned that he had to face many inconveniences, shortcomings, and harms caused by the Hungarians who intended to change the law and steal his properties²⁴. Dragoș was unaware that Moldavia was trodden by barbarians; realising that he could not rule them he first sought to inspect them and settle down in a safer place: "*Dar fiind că el a venit de astă dată numai ca s-o iscodească, și avea numai foarte puțini oameni cu dânsul, de aceea, ca să aibe cu cine o cuprinde și stăpâni, cum a*

²⁰ A brief comparison with the oldest chronicle written in Romanian is relevant; here we find the classic legend about the hunt of the wisent devoid of the various additions in the legends collected by Simion Florea Marian (Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [Chronicles of the Land of Moldavia], edited by P. P. Panaitescu, București, 1978, p. 71-72).

²¹ Simion Florea Marian, *Legende istorice din Bucovina*, p. 27.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁴ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții populare române...*, p. 40.

iscodit-o de ajuns, s-a întors înderept în țara sa, în Maramureș, și a prins a îndemna pre supușii sei și pre alți Români ca să vie și ei cu dânsul.”²⁵ (“This time he came only to survey and had only a few men with him, but once he had finished, he returned to his country, in Maramureș, and urged his subjects and other Romanians to come with him in order to take it and rule it”). The similarities with the oldest chronicles are obvious. Here is a short fragment from the “Moldo-Russian Chronicle”: “Și între ei era un bărbat înțelept și viteaz, anume Dragoș și a pornit cu drujina lui la vânătoare de fiare și au aflat supt munții înalți urma unui bour... și au prins din urmă călări pe bour la un râu... și l-au omorât... Și le-a venit de la Dumnezeu în inimă gândul să-și caute loc de trai și s-au așezat aici... Și s-au întors înapoi și au spus tuturor a lor săi despre frumusețea țării.”²⁶ (“Among them was a wise and brave man called Dragoș who set out with his companions to hunt beasts and all found the trace of a wisent at the feet of the high mountains... and they rode and caught the wisent at a river and killed it. And God gave them the idea that they should find a place to live and they settled here. And they came back and told their people about the beauty of that land”).

Dragoș returned from Maramureș with “boyars and people” and settled in the same place he named Moldavia. Here he raised a fortress to which he could retreat and defend himself from enemies. The spot where the fortification was built was: “cu cinci șanțuri în sus de satul de astăzi, Volovăț...ale cărei urme de ziduri se mai pot vedea și astăzi.”²⁷ (“five ditches up the current village Volovăț... and traces of walls are still visible today”). The only structure in the area traditionally attributed to Dragoș is the wooden church of Volovăț that Prince Stephen the Great brought to Putna, which is confirmed by the chronicler Nicolae Costin who stated: “Înțeles-am și noi den oameni bătrâni ... că o biserică de lemnu la Olovăț, să fie făcută de Dragoș vodă ... Și aceia biserică de lemnu au mutat-o Ștefan vodă ce Bun, de o au clădit la Mănăstirea Putna.”²⁸ (“We have found out from the elders that a wooden church from Olovăț, built by Dragoș vodă, was moved to Putna Monastery by the good Prince Stephen”). Dendrological analyses carried out in the early 21st century do not validate the age of the monument, placing it in the first years of the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁶ *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI* [15th-16th Century Slavonic-Romanian Chronicles], published by I. Bogdan, edited by P. P. Panaitescu, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1959, pp. 159-160.

²⁷ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții populare române...*, p. 56.

²⁸ Nicolae Costin, *Opere*, Editura Junimea, Iași, 1976, p. 74.

15th century²⁹. This is only one example of tradition not being confirmed by modern techniques of investigation.

In the legend named *Dragoș Vodă*, Simion Florea Marian points to two other centres of power in the Moldavian territory, by mentioning how envoys from Siret and Suceava came to Dragoș to ask for military support against the Tatars and the Poles who were making plundering raids. As he granted them help and drove the Tatars away, he was chosen to be the ruler of the entire Moldavia³⁰.

Following his counselors' advice, he established his power at Siret. The legend also provides an explanation of this decision, namely that there were only three cities in Moldavia: Suceava, Siret, and Cotoveț (which no longer exists). The population was also scattered all over the country in several hundreds of villages³¹, an allusion to the demographic void presented in the Moldavian chroniclers' works as well³².

The discovery of Dragoș's grave from Volovăț, a fragment included in the legend *Dragoș Vodă*, is also interesting, especially because it was taken over, with minor alterations, by the modern historiography³³. He was buried in the wooden

²⁹ Alexandru Baboș, Hans Linderson, *Mănăstirea veche de lemn a Putnei în arhitectura medievală românească* [The Old Wooden Putna Monastery in the Romanian Mediaeval Architecture], in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol", XXXIX-XL, 2003, Iași, pp. 43-59.

³⁰ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții poporane române...*, p. 57.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Nicolae Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [Chronicles of the Land of Moldavia], in vol. *Marii cronicari ai Moldovei*, edited and prefaced by G. Ștrempel, editura Academiei Române, București, 2003, pp. 510-514: "700 și mai bine de ani au fostu pustii locurile acestea, de descălecătura cea dentâi de Traian, împăratul Râmului. Ce gotii întâi, apoi volgarii au stăpânit locurile aceste, până ce s-au mutat și ei în alte părți de loc: unii peste Dunăre pe vremea lui Theodosie, împăratul grecesc, cum s-au scris mai sus, alții în alte părți, și rămâind de tot pustie țara, nelăcuind niceun niam până la Dragoș vodă în Moldova" [For more than 700 years these places had been empty after Trajan, the emperor of Rome, came here. The Goths and the Bulgarian ruled these areas but they moved elsewhere: some beyond the Danube in the time of the Greek emperor Theodosius, as mentioned above, or to some other parts, leaving the country deserted, uninhabited until Dragoș vodă came to Moldavia].

³³ Dan Simionescu, *Tradiția istorică și folclorică în problema "întemeierii" Moldovei* [Historical and Folk Tradition Related to the Issue of the "Foundation" of Moldavia], in *Studii de folclor și literatură*, București, 1967, p. 41; Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Biserica de la Volovăț și mormântul lui Dragoș Vodă* [The Volovăț Church and the Grave of Prince Dragoș], in "Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei", 1971, nr. 5-6, p. 378; L. Pilat, *Sfințirea Mănăstirii Putna*

church he founded – the church that more than a century later Stephen the Great would dismantle, raising a stone church instead. Over time, it fell into ruin and was discovered, at a moment which is hard to specify, by a shepherd who was looking for his sheep in the holy place. He told the inhabitants of the nearby village, who brought it to light from the depths of the woods and restored it. They also found a secret door to a cellar that sheltered a large stone grave on which the words Dragoș Vodă were written. The restoration of the church led to the emergence of a new village, not on the spot of the former one but slightly westward, named Volovăț instead of Olovăț³⁴.

With such a beautiful legend, as the historian Ștefan S. Gorovei would describe it, we can only appeal to logic: “...în fond, Dragoș Vodă a murit în Moldova. Ce poate fi mai firesc decât ca mormântul lui să se afle tot în Moldova?!”³⁵ (“...after all, Voivode Dragoș died in Moldavia. What can be more natural but to have the grave in Moldavia as well?”).

Sas Vodă is another legendary figure, but his existence is attested by documents as well³⁶. Simion Florea Marian points out that Siret, though serving as the capital, did not have a fortified residence. Moreover, because the land was not favourable to building a fortress, Sas ordered his men to make a mound on which they should raise a citadel capable of withstanding any danger. Moldavian chroniclers even claim that a fortification was raised during the rule of Dragoș. in his work “*O samă de cuvinte*”, Ion Neculce states: “*Dragoș-vodă, așa povestesc oamenii cum că, dacă au descălecat Țara Moldovii, au descălecat târgul Siretiului. Și i-au fost scaonul domnii sale acolo. Și au făcut zamcă, cetate de pământ, și în zamcă case domnești și lângă zamcă biserică de piatră. Și hramul bisericii este Sfânta Troițe, care și până astăzi iaște și să slujește sfânta liturghie.*”³⁷ (“*People say that Dragoș-vodă settled in Moldavia at Siret. He set up his residence there and had*

[The Consecration of Putna Monastery], in “*Analele Putnei*”, I, 2005, 2, p. 43.

³⁴ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții populare române...*, p. 62.

³⁵ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Biserica de la Volovăț și mormântul lui Dragoș Vodă* [The Volovăț Church and the Grave of Prince Dragoș], in *Ștefan cel mare și Sfânt. Biserica. O lecție de istorie*, Editura Mușatinii, Putna, 2004, p. 141.

³⁶ I. Mihaly de Apșa, *Diplome maramureșene din secolul XIV și XV* [Maramureș Diplomas in the 14th and 15th Centuries], Sighet, 1900, p. 68; I. Mihaly de Apșa, *Diplome Maramureșene din secolele XIV și XV* [Maramureș Diplomas in the 14th and 15th Centuries], 4th edition, coordinated by Vasile Iuga de Săliște, translation and notes by Prof. Vasile Rus, Editura Pro Maramureș, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 73.

³⁷ Ion Neculce, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [Chronicles of the Land of Moldavia], Editura Minerva, București, 1986, p. 11.

an earthen fortress built, with princely houses inside and a stone church close by. The church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and holy liturgy have been held to this day”). In the early 20th century, Simeon Reli, a professor from Chernivtsi, noted that at Siret, on Sasca hill, the brave men of Sas-vodă built a fortress that could shelter up to 100 soldiers, with a bulwark, the ruins of which had been visible until not long before³⁸.

The only thing confirmed in the legend collected by Florea Marian and entitled *Again about Sas Vodă* is the building of the stone church, “Holy Trinity Church”. The archaeological data, which are rather poor, point to the erection of the edifice in the age of the Mușatins, therefore towards the end of the 14th century. The first surveys carried out at Siret more than five decades ago revealed only household objects, grey pottery and a sword typologically included in the Mușatins’ age³⁹. Not even the most recent excavations made within the perimeter of the much-disputed Sasca hill have managed to reveal the existence of traces, of vestiges that should lead to the idea that this area was, in the mid-14th century, the residence of the first voivodes of Moldavia, subjects of the Kingdom of Hungary⁴⁰.

The legend also provides some explanations about the departure of Sas from Siret. The voivode had a son whom his wife baptized, without his approval, in the Catholic faith. Enraged, Sas ordered that the house where the baptism had taken place and where his wife and baby still were should be torn down. After this horrible event, the voivode is said to have left Siret for good⁴¹.

The last legend about the beginnings of Moldavia as a state is entitled “*The son of Sas Vodă*”. There is a mysterious character here, a son of Sas, whose residence was in the city of Siret. Without mentioning his name, legend presents him as a pious, peace-loving ruler. Unfortunately, three brothers of ‘foreign origins’ (“*seminție venetică*”) tried to murder him and assume power over

³⁸ Simeon Reli, *Orașul Siret în vremuri de demult* [The Town of Siret in Old Times], Cernăuți, 1927, pp. 33-34.

³⁹ Dorin Popescu, *Săpăturile arheologice din R.P.R. în anul 1962* [1962 Archaeological Excavations in the People’s Republic of Romania], “*Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche*”, 2, 1963, p. 463.

⁴⁰ Mircea D. Matei, *Cercetările arheologice de la Siret (1984-1989). Raport de etapă* [Archaeological Excavations from Siret (1984-1989). Stage Report], in “*Suceava*”, XXIV-XXV, pp. 77-80; V. Spinei, C. Asăvoaie, *Date preliminare privind rezultatele săpăturilor din 1992 de la Siret* [Preliminary Data regarding the Results of the 1992 Excavations from Siret], in “*Arheologia Moldovei*”, XVI, 1993, p. 226.

⁴¹ Simion Florea Marian, *Tradiții poporane române...* p. 68-69.

Moldavia. Realising they would fail, they decided to dig a tunnel under the ground to reach his residence up on a hill, east of the city of Siret. The voivode found out about the plot and moved with all his courtiers in the area of the current hearth of the city where he built a new fortress⁴². Documents have no reference to a son of Sas ruling in Siret. Furthermore, the act of 2 February 1365 issued by the Hungarian Chancellery mentions the passage of Balc and of the other children of Sas to Transylvania, after the battles lost against the Maramureş-born Bogdan who became the voivode of Moldavia⁴³.

CONCLUSION

The explanation of all the inadequacies presented above comes somehow naturally. The Bukovinian scholar collected legends related to historical events that had occurred more than five generations before. It is obvious that Simion Florea Marian is concerned with the age of his legends. The research related to the village of Vama is only a proof because that can be found in many of his stories. Here, he tries to figure out the old manuscripts, but he does not fall prey to the temptation of dating them erroneously⁴⁴.

Nevertheless, the historical characters presented do not have many connections with the documentary evolution, even if, for instance, Sas is seen, through this legends, as a voivode who had his power focused on the Siret area, which is actually confirmed by the chronicles. However, the information about his sons, about Balc, is lacking, even if the documents speak about the political structure controlled by them, under the protection of the Hungarian Kingdom, in Moldavian territories.

It should be added that the legends gathered by Simion Florea Marian provide no information about voivode Bogdan and his contribution to the achievement of the Romanian statehood. The aspect is even stranger as we know that Bogdan, in his short reign (1363-1367), concentrated his power in the northern part of the territory, where many of the analyzed legends are located. Therefore, in the 19th century - a century that had been, for quite a while, in search

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 88-89.

⁴³ I. Mihaly de Apşa, *Diplome maramureşene din secolul XIV şi XV*, p.56.

⁴⁴ For example, he received a manuscript, which was believed to be from the 12th century, but Simion Florea Marian dates it to the second half of the 16th century (the entire discussion in Ion Cernat, *Simion Florea Marian şi satul Vama* [Simion Florea Marian and the Village of Vama], p. 162.).

of a national consciousness - the information he got must have been much distorted. His extensive work and the main source of information, *Tradiții poporane din Bucovina/ Folk Traditions in Bukovina*, is groundbreaking, opening the path to everything that the legends about pre-state Moldavia meant, precisely because we find a grain of truth in each geographic or historical description. It is the merit of Simion Florea Marian to have related everything to the present, as he was aware that the passage of time may wipe out traces but cannot completely discard the evolution of this land.

**ARCHAIC ELEMENTS OF VEGETATION CULT
IN TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE POPULATION
OF UKRAINIAN-ROMANIAN BORDERING ZONE OF BUKOVINA**

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Abstract. *The article is based on the written sources of the 15-19th Centuries, materials of archives and museums of Ukraine, Romania, Republic of Moldova, ethnographic surveys and anthologies, monographic descriptions of villages, folklore collections, and diaries of expeditions to the Romanian and Ukrainian villages of the Northern and Southern Bukovina. The authors try to determine the role and current state of preservation of the vegetation cult elements in the spiritual culture of the Ukrainians and Romanians. The geographical area of study is defined by the fact that the authors recognize Bukovina (both its Northern and Southern parts) as a single ethnographic zone that was shaped during the hundreds of years-long cohabitation of two autochthonous peoples.*

Keywords: *Vegetation cult, traditional customs, foretelling the weather, pluvial rituals, matrimonial divinations, worship trees, folk medicine.*

Rezumat. *Elemente arhaice a cultului plantelor în obiceiurile tradiționale a populației ucraineano-română din zona de contact a Bucovinei. În articolul prezentat în baza surselor scrise din secolele XV-XIX, materialelor din arhivele și muzeele Ucrainei, României, Republicii Moldova, chestionarelor etnografice, antologiilor etnografice, monografiilor satelor, culegerilor folclorice și materialelor cercetărilor expediționale organizate în satele românești și ucrainene din nordul și sudul Bucovinei. Autorii încearcă să determine rolul și starea conservării elementelor specifice cultului plantelor în cultura spirituală a ucrainenilor și românilor. Limitele teritoriale ale studiului au fost definite de faptul că autorii recunosc în Bucovina (deopotrivă partea nordică și cea sudică) o singură zonă etnografică ce s-a conturat de-a lungul sutelor de ani de coabitare a acestor două popoare autohtone.*

Résumé. *Éléments archaïques du culte des plantes dans les coutumes traditionnelles de la population ukrainienne-roumaine de la zone de contact de la*

Bucovine. L'article ci-joint, à la base des sources écrites des XV-ème –XIX-ème siècles, des matériaux des archives et des musées de l'Ukraine, de la Roumanie, de la République Moldavie, des questionnaires ethnographiques, des anthologies ethnographiques, des monographies des villages, des collections folkloriques et des résultats des recherches expéditionnaires organisées dans les villages roumains et ukrainiens du nord et du sud de la Bucovine, les auteurs essayèrent de déterminer le rôle et l'état de conservations des éléments spécifiques au culte des plantes dans la culture spirituelle des Ukrainiens et des Roumains. Les auteurs reconnaissent en Bucovine (la partie de nord, mais aussi, celle de sud) une seule zone ethnographique qui s'est contournée le long des centaines d'années de cohabitation de ces deux peuples autochtones. Cela contribua à définir les limites territoriales de l'étude.

INTRODUCTION

The modern social and cultural practice of humanity is characterized by the dynamic transformational processes. That is why its contents, structure, and placement on the line of evolutional development need to be scientifically defined. Understanding of the contemporary spiritual culture of any people seems to be a problem of great importance. The topic of this paper considers one of the aspects of this culture, namely, the vegetation cult in the traditional ceremonialism of the Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina, which preserved until know. The geographical area of the study is defined by the fact that we recognize Bukovina (both its Northern and Southern parts) as a single ethnographic zone that was shaped during the hundreds of years-long cohabitation of two autochthonous peoples: the Ukrainians and Romanians.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PROBLEM

Common principles of the interrelation of the national and worldwide development of ceremonies and customs were revealed by Wilhelm Wundt who is considered to be a founder of the experimental psychology.¹ He assumed that each mythological cycle and evolution of customs depends on specific conditions, however, along with specific features, they are subdued to common spiritual laws of development. This – according to James George Fraser – is appropriate to the animism as a belief that the natural powers (including herbs) possess a spiritual essence, intellect, ability to act and potency. He provided

¹ Wilhelm Wundt, *Die Volker Psychologie Probleme*, Leipzig: Engelmann, 1911, 116 S.

numerous examples of the vegetation cults of various peoples (the Germans, Swedes, Greeks, Romans, Japanese, Bulgarians, Southern Slavs, etc.) that worshipped trees in sacred oak-woods.²

Edward Burnett Tylor devoted seven of fifteen chapters of his well-known book "The Primitive Culture"³ to the topic of animism and introduces numerous examples of vegetation cults from all the continents. Reviewing the works of Edward Burnett Taylor and James George Fraser and criticizing the methodology of the research of animism, Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski, in his monograph "Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays" concluded that magic and religion should be considered as specific types of behaviour or pragmatic mindsets that are based on common sense, feeling and will.⁴ Studying specific features of thought, mythology and ritual behaviour of "primitive" communities, Claude Levi-Strauss revealed principles of mind and cognition which were functioning in various traditional systems, in the cultural life of peoples.⁵ Edward Evans-Pritchard, in his turn, collected plenty of evidence from peoples of the Northern Sudan (Nuer, Zande, Anuak, Luo, Shilluk, Bedouins), which allowed him to conclude that their magic and rituals were based on reasonable thinking. In his study of the Nuer people, there is a valuable description of how they survived in difficult environmental conditions and in which way their survival influenced an emergence of the animistic beliefs.⁶

It is widely accepted by scholars that the traditional daily customs preserved much better on the periphery rather than in the core territory of a certain nation. In this context one may interpret the territory of Chernivtsi region and the whole Bukovina as either a "Ukrainian-Romanian ethnic bordering zone" which is a "unique folklore reserve" (Oleksandr Kurochkin)⁷ or an area of the "Slavic - non-Slavic interference" that belongs first of all to the so-called archaic zones (Nikita

² J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough a study in magic and religion in three volumes*, London: Maximilian and Co Limited, 1900, vol. I, 512 p.; vol. II, 496 p.; vol. III, 520 p.

³ Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, vol. I, London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co, 1871, 426 p.

⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essay*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1948, 344 p.

⁵ Claude Levi-Strauss, *La pansee sauvage*, Paris, Presses Pocket, 1962, 347 p.

⁶ Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940, 271 p.

⁷ О. Курочкін, *Українські новорічні обряди: "Коза" і "Маланка" (з історії народних масок)* [Ukrainian New Year's rituals: "Goat" and "Malanka" (on the history of folk masks)], Опішне, 1995, с. 99.

Tolstoi).⁸ Romanian scholar of the Ukrainian origin Ion Reboșapcă confirms this originality and assumes that the northern part of Romania remains the most conservative zone, where the Ukrainian folklore survived. He refers to the Carpathian region inhabited by the Hutsul population of Bukovina and Transylvania.⁹ Valentyn Zelenchuk, while revealing the ethnic border between the Ukrainians and Eastern Romanians and an area of their ancient mingled inhabitancy (northern part of Bukovina and Bessarabia), argued that the cultural and historical specificity of the region was formed as early as in the 13-14th Centuries.¹⁰

A lot of competent scholars, including Aleksandr Veselovskiy¹¹, Aleksandr Potebnia¹², Theodor Burada¹³, Petru Caraman¹⁴, Valentyn Zelenchuk¹⁵, Yurii

⁸ Н. Толстой, *О соотношении центрального и маргинального ареалов в современной Славии* [On the correlation of the central and marginal areas in modern Slavia], in *Ареальные исследования в языкознании и этнографии*, Ленинград, Наука, 1977, с. 56.

⁹ І. Ребошанка, *Народження символів. Аспекти взаємодії обряду та обрядової поезії* [Birth of symbols. Aspects of interaction of ritual and ritual poetry], Бухарест, Крітеріон, 1975, с. 10.

¹⁰ В. Зеленчук, *Население Бессарабии и Приднестровья в XIX в. (этнические и социально-демографические процессы)* [Population of Bessarabia and Dniester area in the 19th c. (ethnic, social and demographic processes)], Кишинев, Штиинца, 1979, с. 41, 51-52.

¹¹ А. Н. Веселовский, *Разыскания в области русского духовного стиха. VII, Румынские, славянские и греческие коляды* [Researches in the field of Russian spiritual verse. VII, Romanian, Slavic and Greek carols], Санкт Петербург, СБОРЯС, т. 32/4, 1883, с. 97-292.

¹² А. А. Потеня, *Объяснения малорусских и сродных песен* [Explanation of the Little-Russian and related songs], Варшава, Типография М. Земкевича и В. Ноаковского, 1883, Т. 1, 280 с.; 1887, Т. 2, 809 с.

¹³ Т. Burada, *Rămășițe românești în Galiția* [Romanian antiquities in Galicia], "Епока", București, 1896, № 304, А. II, Ser. II, p. 2.; Idem, *O călătorie la români din gubernia Kamenitz-Podolsk* [Trip to Romanians of the Kamianets-Podilsky governorate], Iași, 1906, 14 p.

¹⁴ P. Caraman, *Obrzęd kołędowania u Słowian i u Rumunów: studjum porównawcze* [Slavic and Romanian ritual of carolling: comparative study], Krakowie, Polska Academia, 1933, 630 p.; P. Caraman, *Datina colindatului la români, slavi și la alte popoare. Studiu de folclor comparat* [Ritual of caroling among the Romanians, Slavs and other peoples. Comparative folklore study], Ediție îngrijită de S. Ciubotaru, București, Minerva, 1983, 635 p.

¹⁵ В. С. Зеленчук, *Очерки молдавской народной обрядности* [Essays on Moldovan folk customs], Кишинев, 1959, 260 с.; В. С. Зеленчук, *Население Бессарабии и Поднестровья в XIX в. (Этнические и социально-демографические процессы)* [Population of Bessarabia and Dniester area in the 19th c. (ethnic, social and demographic processes)], Кишинев, Штиинца, 1979, 287 с.; В. С. Зеленчук, А. В. Орлов, *Украинско-молдавские этнокультурные взаимосвязи* [Ukrainian-Moldovan ethnic and cultural relations], "Всесоюзная сессия по итогам полевых этнографических и антропологических исследований 1982-1983 гг." Тезы докл., Черновцы, 1984, Ч. 1, С. 1-9.

Popovich¹⁶, Adrian Fochi¹⁷, Magdalena Laszlo-Kuŕiuk¹⁸, etc. studied the interference of the spiritual culture elements of the Eastern Romanians and Ukrainians. Some aspects of the cross-penetration process of the Eastern Romanian and Ukrainian cultures on the lands of Bukovina were revealed by Grigore Bostan¹⁹, Mihai Cioară²⁰, Vsevolod Naulko²¹, Oleksandr Kurochkin²², Georgiy Kozholianko²³,

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- ¹⁶ Ю. В. Попович, *Еще раз о происхождении обычая "соркова"* [Once more on the «sor-кова» ritual's origin], "VIII конференция молодых ученых Молдавии (тезисы докладов). Молодые ученые в решении задач научно-технического прогресса", Кишинев, Штиинца, 1972, с. 60-61; Ю. В. Попович, *Молдавские новогодние праздники* [Moldovan folk feasts], Кишинев, Наука, 1974, 183 с.
- ¹⁷ A. Fochi, *Coordonatele sud-est europene ale baladei populare românești* [European south-eastern parallels of the Romanian folk ballad], București, Editura Academiei RSR, 1975, 270 p.; A. Fochi, *Datini și eresuri populare de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX: Răspunsurile la chestionarele lui N. Densușianu* [Folk customs and superstitions in the late 19th c.: answers on N. Densușianu's survey], București, Minerva, 1976, 392 p.
- ¹⁸ M. Laszlo-Kuŕiuk, *Încă o dată despre colinda românească și cea ucraineană* [Once more on Romanian and Ukrainian carol, "Romanoslavica", București, 1990, A. XXVIII, p. 85-96.
- ¹⁹ Г. Бостан, *Персонаже украинене ын драма популярэ молдовеняскэ* [Ukrainian characters in Moldovan popular drama], "Лимба ши литература молдовеняскэ", 1967, № 1, п. 7-11; Г. Бостан, *Очерки молдавско-русско-украинских литературных связей (с древнейших времен до середины XIX в.)* [Essays on Moldovan-Russian-Ukrainian literary connections (from the earliest period to the mid-19th c.)], Кишинев, Штиинца, 1978, 236 с.; Г. Бостан, *Типологическое соотношение и взаимосвязи молдавского, русского и украинского фольклора* [Typological correlation and inter-relations of Moldovan, Russian and Ukrainian folklor], Кишинев, Штиинца, 1985; Г. Бостан, *Молдавско-русско-украинские фольклорные взаимосвязи контактных зон (в контексте исторической родственности устно-поэтических традиций)* [Moldovan-Russian-Ukrainian folklore inter-relations in contact zones (in context of the historical connections in field of oral-poetical traditions), Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени доктора филологических наук из специальности 10.01.09 – Фольклористика, Москва, 1987;
- ²⁰ M. Cioară, *Zona etnografică Rădăuți* [Ethnographic zone Rădăuți], București, Editura Sport-Turism, 1979, 156 p.
- ²¹ В. И. Наулко, *Развитие межэтнических связей на Украине (историко-этнографический очерк)* [The development of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine (historical and ethnographic outline)], Киев, Наукова думка, 1975, 275 с.
- ²² О. Курочкін, *Буковинська новорічна "переберія"* [Bukovinian New Year's "pereberia"], "Народна творчість та етнографія", 1992, № 3, с. 25-33.
- ²³ Г. К. Кожолянюк, *Етнографія Буковини* [Ethnography of Bukovina], Чернівці, 1999, Т. 1, 384 с.; 2001, Т. 2, 424 с.; 2004, Т. 3, 392 с.

Lucia Berdan²⁴, Vasile Buzilă²⁵, Ștefan Purici²⁶, Alexandrina Cernov²⁷, Maria Cuceu²⁸, Ion Ghinoiu²⁹, etc. Although, there are no special research works, devoted to the vegetation cult in this area.

The aim of this paper is to outline the vegetation cult elements in a zone of co-residence of the Ukrainians and Romanians in Bukovina. To achieve this goal, we have used several types of sources. Among them are literary writings of the 15-19th centuries, materials of archives and museums from Ukraine, Romania and the Republic of Moldova, ethnographic surveys, ethnographic anthologies, monographic descriptions of villages, folklore collections (the late 20th - early 21st centuries), diaries of expeditions to the Romanian and Ukrainian villages of the Northern and Southern Bukovina that were organized in the early 21st century.

RITUALS AND CUSTOMS RELATED TO THE CULT OF PLANTS

Even tenuous overview of the source materials confirms the existence of the archaic elements of the vegetation cult in the spiritual culture of the multi-ethnic

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- ²⁴ L. Berdan, *Totemism românesc. Structuri mitice arhetipale în obiceiuri, ceremonialuri, credințe, basme* [Romanian totemism. Mythical archetypical structures in rituals, ceremonies, beliefs and fairytales], Iași, Editura Universității A.I.Cuza, 2001, 292 p.
- ²⁵ V. Buzilă, *Frunzarile verzi utilizate în obiceiurile de la începutul verii* [Green plants used in the rituals in the beginning of summer], "Anuarul Muzeului etnografic al Moldovei", Iași, 2004, A. IV, p. 123-164.
- ²⁶ Ш. Пурич, *Північнобуковинські румуни та південнобуковинські українці у періоді 1989-2001 рр.* [Romanians of Northern Bukovina and Ukrainians of Southern Bukovina in 1989-2001], "Етнічні взаємини на території Євроregionу «Верхній Прут»: Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції", Буковинський політологічний центр та Каринтійський інститут національних меншин, Чернівці, 2004, с. 151-165; Șt. Purici, *Aspecte ale problemei minorităților naționale în Bucovina istorică între anii 1918 și 1940 (I)* [Aspects of problem of the ethnic minorities in the historical Bukovina in 1918-1940 pp. (I)], "Analele Bucovinei", București, Editura Academiei Române, A. IV, 1997, p. 130-141; Șt. Purici, *Relații româno-ucrainene în epoca contemporană* [Contemporary Romanian-Ukrainian connections], "Glasul Bucovinei", Cernăuți-București, 2003, N 3-4, p. 32-40;
- ²⁷ A. Cernov, *Românii din nordul Bucovinei (Ucraina): interferențe lingvistice și culturale* [Romanians of Northern Bukovina (Ukraine): lingual and cultural inter-relations], "Glasul Bucovinei", Cernăuți-București, 2005, N 2, p. 29-43.
- ²⁸ M. Cuceu, *Ritualul agrar al cununii la seceriș. Studiu etnologic* [Rural ritual of the harvest time. Ethnological essay], Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, 292 p.
- ²⁹ I. Ghinoiu, *Zile și mituri. Calendarul țăranelor române 2000* [Days and myths. Calendar of the Romanian peasant 2000], București, Editura Fundației PRO, 1999, 234 p.

population of Bukovina during both the traditional period and modernity. One may refer to the Simion Florea Marian's work "Romanian popular botany in 12 volumes and herbarium" which is preserved in his Memorial and Documentary Fund in Suceava. Hand-written materials of Marian devoted to the popular botany consist of 12 school copybooks (10 sheets in each), which contain information about 525 species of plants. Among the recipes of popular pharmacy, one can find the descriptions of customs, beliefs, ballads, fairy tales, incantations, and magical practices connected to the herbs. The author carefully described every plant, mentioning the indigenous names which were used in different ethnographic areas of Romania. He pointed out the habitats of the plants, the way of their usage in different spheres of life and the ethnographic context (beliefs, customs, incantations) as well. Such widespread plants as hazel, cornflower, cannabis, fern, poppy, black cherry, hawthorn, wormwood, pepper, elder, tobacco, garlic, etc. are mentioned in these ethnographic materials.³⁰

Animistic views. In the published version of the above-mentioned fundamental work, one can find evidence confirming the existence of the animistic beliefs of the Bukovina inhabitants. Let's mention only one of the numerous examples. It touches upon the crocus flower (saffron) which Romanian popular name is Brândușa.

"They say that a long time ago there was a king's daughter named Brândușa. That girl wasn't so pretty, but she considered herself the prettiest in a world. That is why she allowed nobody to see her face, fearing that someone could put the evil eye on her.

Once upon a time, the Sun wished to look at her face to make sure that she is really so beautiful as they say about it, but she turned away and veiled her head to hide her face. The Sun got angry about her pride and assuredness and, damning her, said:

You considered yourself a Flower among the girls, so be the flower hereafter!

And when he said this, she turned into a flower that has the same name that she possessed while being a girl – Brândușa. And because Brândușa in her pride not allowed even the Sun to look at her face, even nowadays, being a flower, she doesn't blooming during the summer heat, but only in spring when the weather is cool.

But she is blooming under the sun rays as well because she is sorrow about what she did when she was a girl. But she never can look at the sun".³¹

³⁰ Memorial and documentary fund of the House-Museum of S. F. Marian in Suceava (Romania). Fund of manuscripts, № 3. Manuscript *Romanian folk botanics* (12 volumes and herbarium).

³¹ Simion Florea Marian, *Botanica poporană română* [Romanian folk botanics], Suceava,

Forecasting the weather. Peasants of Bukovina believed that the plants could be helpful in forecasting the weather. By the gnarls on oaks, that were considered to be a kind of seers, they foretold the weather, wealth, hunger, etc. during the year. In particular, “if in autumn the white worms appear in the gnarls on the oak leaves the next year will be fruitful, but if there is a cobweb inside - there will be a hunger and diseases”; “if there are a lot of gnarls on the oak leaves - there will be an early and snowy winter, if it is wet inside the gnarls - the next year will be rainy, if it is dry inside - the summer will be arid”. To know if the next year will be rainy or arid, they opened the gnarls on the oak leaves in the day of “Archangel Despite” (“Ciuda lui Arhanghel”) festival: “if they found a cobweb inside - bad year; if insects - rainy; if worms - good; if the gnarls are empty - the plague epidemic is possible”³². They watched other herbs as well: «if the roses blooming on “St. Mary’s Day” or if there is plenty of snowdrops – it will be a long fall»³³, «if there are plenty of mushrooms, it will be a hard winter»³⁴. Romanians of Bukovina were sure: if one will gather the guelder rose before “Life-Giving Cross Day” he/she could invite the intense cold.³⁵ One was able to foretell the duration of winter by the length parsley’s root pulled in autumn.³⁶

The custom to foretell the weather with the help of a “calendar” made of onion, which was performed on New Year Eve, is of special interest. The peasants took twelve “saucers” of onion, each meaning certain month, and put an equal quantity of salt over every “saucer”. They left the onion “calendar” until the morning, watching on the humidity that appeared on each “saucer-month”. Acting in this way, they defined the rainiest and most arid months of the next year.³⁷ This custom was recorded as early as in the late 19th century. by the Romanian

Muşatinii, 2008, vol. I, p. 247-252.

³² T. Gherman, *Metereologia populară. Observări, credinți și obiceiuri* [Folk meteorology. Observations, beliefs and rituals], București, Paideia, 2002, p. 44-45.

³³ V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor pe Suha Bucovineană. Obiceiuri și credințe* [Ethnography and folklore of the Suha Bucovineană. Rituals and beliefs], Iași, Unirea, 2002, p. 342-343; D. Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Folk beliefs of Bukovina], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, A. 4, N 74, p. 2.

³⁴ D. Tochiță, *De la lume adunate și-napoi la lume date. Culegere de folclor din Pătrăuții de Sus și Pătrăuții de Jos* [Collected from people and returned to people. Folklore collection from the villages Pătrăuții de Sus and Pătrăuții de Jos], Suceava, Alt Univers, 2005, p. 81.

³⁵ D. Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Folk beliefs of Bukovina], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, A. 4, N 84, p. 1-2.

³⁶ Idem, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, A. 4, N 74, p. 2.

³⁷ Idem, "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1894, A. 4, N 99, p. 1.

ethnographer Simion Florea Marian in some villages of Bukovina with Romanian-speaking population.³⁸ It survived until nowadays and is widespread among the Eastern Romanian population of the region.³⁹

The way of foretelling the weather with the help of onion “calendar” was observed among both the contemporary Ukrainian population of Bukovina⁴⁰ and inhabitants of the Khotyn district of Bessarabia during the 1870s.⁴¹ This custom was plasticized by the Bukovinian Germans as well. They put the “saucers” of onion with a grain of salt on a wooden panel on which 12 squares were drawn, equal to the number of moths in a year. Such custom was also recorded among the Ukrainians of Bukovina.⁴²

Pluvial rituals. The herbs played a magic role in the pluvial customs as well. In the late 19th century, Dimitrie Dan recorded the custom performed by the Romanians of Bukovina to throw the nettle in the well.⁴³ In our opinion, this custom is not typical as for rituals aiming to trigger the rain. Throwing the nettle with its stinging leaves is rather a ritual that aims to harm the potential danger (in this particular case - the force of nature approaching the guarded space). It’s about the contamination of the pluvial actions, during which the population used nettle on the analogy of the customs aiming to defend from storm and hail.

There was a custom widespread among the Romanians of Bukovina, accord-

³⁸ S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic* [Romanian feasts. Ethnographic essay], Ediție îngrijită și introd. de I. Datcu, București, Editura "Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională", 2001, Vol. I, p. 71.

³⁹ Materials of ethnographic expeditions of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University (1997-2005). Expeditional material collected from local inhabitants of Chernivtsi region of Ukraine and Suceava district of Romania (MEE YFCNU 1997-2005); Arhiva Științifică Centrală a Academiei de Științe din Moldova [Central scientific archive of Academy of Sciences of Republic of Moldova]. – F. N 19. – file. № 339., p. 6 (CSA ASRM).

⁴⁰ Г. К. Кожолянко, *Етнографія Буковини* [Ethnography of Bukovina], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 2004, Т. 3, с. 130.

⁴¹ С. Кульчицкий, *О суевѣріяхъ, обычаяхъ и повѣріяхъ жителей села Ставучанъ Хотинскаго уѣзда* [On superstitions, rituals and beliefs of the village Stavuchan of Khotin district], "Кишиневские епархиальные ведомости", 1873, N 7, p. 316-317.

⁴² Т. Григорійчук, О. Масан, *Деякі особливості традиційної культури німців Буковини (остання чверть XVII – початок XX ст.)* [Some specific features of traditional culture of the Germans of Bukovina (late 17th — early 20th cc.)], "Буковина – мій рідний край", Чернівці, 2000, Т. 3, p. 80-82.

⁴³ D. Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Folk beliefs of Bukovina], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, A. 5, N 23, p. 2.

ing to which the pregnant women threw poppies into the well.⁴⁴ In the villages located in the Suha Bucovineană the girls dressed in long shirts danced around the well and threw the poppies inside of it.⁴⁵ In Cireş (Storozhynets district) there was a custom, according to which the “immaculate” child threw the poppy seeds, blessed on Easter Day, into seven abandoned wells.⁴⁶ As it is confirmed by our researches, the records of the custom of throwing the poppy seeds into a well are fragmentary. The ritual was widespread mostly in the foothill and mountain districts of Bukovina (Storozhynets, Cireş, Păltinoasa, Suha Bucovineană).

This custom is recorded in the neighbouring Ukrainian area, where it is well preserved.⁴⁷ The elements of the ritual purity are still visible there (in the village Mărițeia Mare of the Suceava district a virgin girl participated in the custom); the magical number of wells in which the blessed poppy seeds were to be thrown was three. There was a ritual text in the village of Mykhalchia (Storozhyntsi district) which was proclaimed by the little girls who were throwing the poppy seeds blessed on “St. Macovei Day”, saying the following: “God, I ask you for rain”.⁴⁸

Basing on the sources, one may conclude that the Ukrainians of Chernivtsi region and the nearby area used to conduct a lot of rituals near the wells or connected to the well-water. Among them, the following rituals are to be noted: throwing into a well the crown of field flowers gathered by a little girl (Zelenyi Hay, Zalishchyki district of Ternopil region); putting on water surface some ritual artefacts (Kostrizhivka, Zastavna district) or plants, which were used on the “Green Week” and so on.

Rituals aiming to protect from natural disasters. To mitigate the hail the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina brought the blessed linden to the yard (Korovia, Hlyboka district, Chernivtsi region), while the Ukrainians did the same with the willow branches (blessed on “Yew Sunday”, a week before Easter).⁴⁹ The most widespread elements used by the Romanians of Bukovina for burning and fumigating with an aim to protect from hail, windstorms and other natural disasters were the willow branches and buds, usually blessed during the “Green

⁴⁴ *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român. Moldova* [Feasts and rituals. Answers on surveys of the Romanian ethnographic atlas. Moldova], București, Editura enciclopedică, 2004, T. IV, p. 349.

⁴⁵ V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 342.

⁴⁶ CSA ASRM, F. N 19, file. N 248, p. 196.

⁴⁷ Т. Колотило, *Про засуху в етнобаченні подолян* [Dry season in the ethnic views of Podolians], "Берегиня. Всеукраїнський народознавчий кварталник", 2006, N 50, p. 36.

⁴⁸ MEE YFCN 1997-2005.

⁴⁹ MEE YFCNU1997-2005.

Week" ("Yew Sunday"). In some places, other plants were burned as well, including the blessed linden, cornflower blessed on "Epiphany Day", birch or maple branches, blessed on "Yew Sunday" and so on.⁵⁰

One may note that the branches of the blessed trees (willow, linden, etc.) are mentioned not only in the context of fumigation ritual but in other rituals aiming to mitigate the natural cataclysms as well. With protective purposes, they were usually put under the roof or used as a decoration of dwellings. In Krasnoyilsk peasants put the branches from the side of a house from which the thunderstorm or hail was expected to come. Inhabitants of Roșa village (now the outskirts of Chernivtsi) used the "thunder herb" («Iarba tunului» – «*Sempervivum* L. Hauswurz»), which was kept in boxes on the roof, with a protective purpose.⁵¹

The blessed branches were actively used in rituals aiming to mitigate hail, thunderstorm, lightning, etc. In particular, there were rituals in which the branches blessed on "Green Week" were used as a menace to black clouds approaching the village.⁵² This action had to be performed before the clouds cross the village boundaries. Sometimes peasants threw burning branches on the yard⁵³ or stuck the branches on the boundaries of a sown field. It is a case of magical "enclosing" of habitable space which was widely used by the Eastern Romanian population in rituals aiming to protect from insects and as well as in the folk medicine. The rituals representing the motif of "burning" a danger are well known

⁵⁰ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; D. Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Folk beliefs of Bukovina], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, A. 5, N 12, p. 1; T. Gherman, *Metereologia populară ...*, p. 128-129; A. Gorovei, *Credinți și superstiții ale poporului român* [Beliefs and superstitions of the Romanian people], Ediție îngrijită de I. Datcu, București, Editura "Grai și suflet – Cultura națională", 1995, p. 88; S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic* [Feasts of Romanians. Ethnographic essay], Ediție îngrijită și introducere de I. Datcu, București, Editura "Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională", 2001, Vol. II, p. 184-186; I. Iețcu, *Pârtești de Jos 1415-2000* [Pârtești de Jos 1415-2000], Suceava, Cuvântul nostru, 2000, p. 164-165; T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic* [Feasts of Romanians. Ethnographic essay], Ediție și introducere de I. Datcu, București, Saeculum, 2005, p. 21; E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele poporului român* [Rituals and beliefs of the Romanian people], Ediție îngrijită de V. Durnea, Iași, Polirom, 1998, Vol. II, p. 159;

⁵¹ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; A. Gorovei, *Credinți și superstiții ...*, p. 274; D. Dan, *Credințe populare bucovinene* [Folk beliefs of Bukovina], "Gazeta Bucovinei", 1895, A. 5, N 12, p. 1; E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele ...*, Vol. 2, p. 159.

⁵² T. Gherman, *Metereologia populară ...*, p. 128-129; E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele ...*, Vol. 2, p. 159; T. Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români ...*, p. 21; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 365.

⁵³ E. Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele ...*, Vol. 2, p. 159.

among their Ukrainian neighbours. They also plasticized the ritual of fumigation, using for that purpose blessed willow, linden, fern, maple branches; dried timber fungus gathered on the willow tree; after-grass, which was previously laid under the tablecloth on Christmas Eve; blessed cloth, which was used to dry the painted Easter eggs and so on. In some places, the blessed herbs were stuck into the thatch.⁵⁴ While the burning of the blessed branches was more peculiar for the Eastern Romanian population, for the Ukrainians it was much more inherent to use a variety of plants (fern, maple, timber fungus gathered on the willow tree, after-grass that was previously laid under the tablecloth on Christmas Eve, etc.). The blessed willow branches were used as the main element for burning by both Eastern Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina.

There is no doubt that the vegetation cult is clearly visible in such pluvial rituals as “Kaloyan” and “Paparuda”.⁵⁵ The rituals connected to herbs are widespread in the complex of matrimonial fortune telling (seeds of cannabis, cherry branches, black cherry, garlic, poppy seeds), in rituals directed against demons; hazel and other plants were used in pluvial rituals such as “Drăgaica”.⁵⁶

Worship trees and grass. The “maialul” ritual based on the worship trees survived in Bukovina. It is performed in “St. Jeremiah’s Day” that is celebrated on May 1. On that day the peasants chopped the conifer tree and cut off all the branches excepting the head. They decorated the body with geometrical motives (rhomboids) and colourful stripes, stuck the tree in the ground near the gates of the household and left it until the end of the harvest time. They established a similar pillar called “maialul” in the field as well. There was a festival on the occasion of this ritual.⁵⁷

In this context, one must note that the game in which the youngsters are climbing on the pillar to get prizes remains popular even nowadays among the Eastern Romanian and Ukrainian population (Tărăsăuți, Banyliv-Pidhirny, Chernivtsi region).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

⁵⁵ А. А. Мойсей, *Аграрні звичаї та обряди у народному календарі східнороманського населення Буковини* [Rural customs and rituals in the folk calendar of the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina], Чернівці, 2010, 320 с.

⁵⁶ А. А. Мойсей, *Магія і мантика у народному календарі східнороманського населення Буковини* [Magic and mantics in the folk calendar of the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina], Чернівці, 2008, 320 р.

⁵⁷ R. Vulcănescu, *Coloana cerului* [Sky column], București, Editura Academiei, 1972, p. 104-106.

⁵⁸ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

The Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina believed that the herbs gathered on certain calendar dates have special healing and magical power. Women and girls gathered the forest herbs before the sunset on feast days. "Sânziană" was one of such days when they gathered medical plants and yellow field flowers called sânziană. The flowers were blessed in the church in some places. Girls twined crowns from sânziană and presented them to their age-mates who possessed Ivan name; they threw these crowns on the roof with an aim to foretell the future.⁵⁹ There was a belief in some villages that if someone wears the crown on the feast day, he/she will have no headache during the year.⁶⁰ Wise women often gathered herbs to make tinctures, ointments, restorative drinks, but mostly for making medicinal baths.⁶¹

The forest herbs could be gathered on other calendar dates as well. In particular, in Crasna it was on "St. George's Day". The herbs were added to the fodder for livestock together with an Easter cake on Easter holiday.⁶² All-heal and wormwood were to be gathered before the "Green week". Women attached some stalks to the infant's shirt's closing, worn these herbs near the breast or used them to wipe the udder to protect from *iele*.⁶³ They also used to gather medicinal plants and bless them in the church on the "Feast of Cross" celebration.⁶⁴ On that day women gathered cornflowers and preserved them near the icons throughout the year. The cornflower was used in the decoration of cross which the priest gave to all parishioners to be kissed. Everyone tried to get even a small stalk. This cornflower, together with ones gathered with own hand, was used in healing illnesses, in foretelling the future and in fumigating the house to protect it from evil.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; *Fundu Moldovei o așezare din ținutul Câmpulungului bucovinean* [Fundu Moldovei - settlement of Câmpulungu district], F. Lucău-Dănilă, D. Rusan, 2000, p. 388; I. Ieșcu, *Părtești de Jos ...*, p. 166.

⁶⁰ *Folclor din Țara Fagilor* [Folklore from the land of Beeches], Alcăt. de N. Băieșu, G. Bostan, G. Botezatu, I. Buruiană, V. Chisăliță, V. Cîrimpei, D. Covalciuc, I. Filip, A. Hâncu, E. Junghietu, S. Moraru, Chișinău, Hyperion, 1993, p. 102-103.

⁶¹ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; *Cupca, un sat din Bucovina. Monografie istorică* [Cupca - the village in Bukovina. Historical monograph], Partea I. (anii 1429-1944), P. Ciobanu, R. Prelipean., V. Slănină, *Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, Amadoros, 2004, p. 309; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 366-367; D. Tochiță, *De la lume adunate ...*, p. 79.

⁶² *Folclor din Țara Fagilor ...*, p. 94-97.

⁶³ S. F. Marian, *Botanică românească...*, p. 89.

⁶⁴ A. Gorovei, *Credinți și superstiții ...*, p. 275; P. Herescu, *Superstiții* [Superstitions], "Șezătoarea", 1894-1895, A. 3, p. 49-50; I. Ieșcu, *Părtești de Jos ...*, p. 164; D. Tochiță, *De la lume adunate ...*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ S. F. Marian, *Mitologie românească* [Romanian mythology], Ediție îngrijită de A. Olteanu,

Protective abilities of plants. According to the popular beliefs, the plants were able to transfer their healing power to humans or animals, to bring prosperity, health and so on. On “Yew Sunday” the Romanian women stroke several times their children and livestock with the blessed willow branches.⁶⁶ In Fundu Moldovei (northern part of Bukovina) they touched the eyes of children and domestic animals to improve their eyesight and to protect them from diseases.⁶⁷ In Stălinești (Novoselytsia district) they touched the children’s ears with blessed branches to avoid earache.⁶⁸ While performing this ritual they used to say: «Be happy and handsome for many years!» / «Să fiți norocoși, peste ani frumoși!». The blessed willow was placed near the icons and under the roof.⁶⁹ They believed that these branches will protect the house from natural disasters if someone will eat a small piece of bud.⁷⁰ This custom was widespread among the Ukrainians of Bukovina. They also blessed the willow branches, touched their natives with them, saying “Joke strikes, not me, Easter will come in a week”.⁷¹ In Ukraine, children ate pussy willow to prevent the sore throat. Apart from the Eastern Slavs, this custom is known to the Poles, Czechs and partly to the Southern Slavs.⁷²

To be vivacious throughout a year, the Eastern Romanians used to strike each other with nettle in the morning of “St. George’s Day”. Boys could strike girls and vice versa, spouses could strike each other, etc. (Tărășăuți and Pătrăuții de Jos of Chernivtsi region, Leorda Suceava, Suha Bucovineană).⁷³ In particular, the inhabitants of Dumbrăveni tried to be the first to put nettle near each other’s beds before the sunrise, to make them healthy and strong throughout a year.⁷⁴

București, Paideia, 2000, p. 32.

⁶⁶ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; *Cupca, un sat din Bucovina ...*, p. 306-307; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 364-365; D. Tochiță, *De la lume adunate ...*, p. 79.

⁶⁷ *Fundu Moldovei o așezare ...*, p. 388.

⁶⁸ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

⁶⁹ *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, t. 4, p. 330-332.

⁷⁰ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

⁷¹ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; В. Петрюк, *Обряди і звичаї Мамаївців* [Rituals and customs of Mamaivivtsi], Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 2003, с. 73.

⁷² *Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь*, под ред. Н. И. Толстого [Slavic antiquities. Ethnic and linguistic dictionary edited by N. I. Tolstoi], Москва, Международные отношения, 1995-2004, Т. 1, с. 336-338.

⁷³ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 366; M. Huțanu, *Istoricul comunei Leorda* [History of Leorda commune], Botoșani, Axa, 2000, p. 103; I. Iețcu, *Pârtești de Jos ...*, p. 162-163.

⁷⁴ *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, Т. 4, p. 319-321.

On “St. George’s Day” they inserted willow rods in pieces of turf and put them on the pillars of gates, doors, windows, etc.⁷⁵ In some localities of Bukovina there was a common belief that God “opens” the earth this day and it remains open until “St. Dmytro’s Day”. The branches were used to heal diseases; they were added to fodder for livestock to increase the milk yield and protect it from evil; they were put under the hens to protect “chicken in eggs in time of thunder”.⁷⁶ Before the sunrise on “St. George’s Day” women used to sow cornflowers (girls sowed special “loving” cornflower) to attract happiness at home.⁷⁷

There is still existing tradition to decorate on “Yew Sunday” the corners of dwelling, doors, windows, gates with blessed willow branches.⁷⁸ The inhabitants of Stălinești girt themselves with “joking” rods to prevent the radicular pain. Girls worn crowns of willow leave to make the hair beautiful. In Tărășăuți there was a custom to plant the blessed willow rods.⁷⁹ In other villages, the rods were put in the outhouse to protect from diseases or tied them to trees aiming to improve fertility.⁸⁰ The similar tradition survived among the Ukrainians of Bukovina. They used the blessed rods to heal the illnesses; swallowed pussy willow to prevent the sore throat; brought rods to the graves of their natives, put them into the ground in a kitchen garden and preserved the rods which left in the house behind the home icons to keep out the ill luck.⁸¹

The custom to decorate the household with the blessed plants was performed on other festive days as well; in particular, on “St. Jeremiah’s Day” - with birch rods⁸² and on “Trinity” - with willow. This was made with a prophylactic aim - against diseases, hail, etc.⁸³ In Molnița (now Hertsa district) willow was used to decorate the house, thus it wasn’t brought inside, because, as they believed, it could cause true lice.⁸⁴ In Fundu Moldovei and Vatra Moldoviței

⁷⁵MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 364-365; S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români ...*, vol. III, p. 142-143; *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, t. 4, p. 319-321.

⁷⁶S. Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români ...*, vol. III, p. 142-143.

⁷⁷*Folclor din Țara Fagilor ...*, p. 94-97.

⁷⁸MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 364-365.

⁷⁹MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

⁸⁰I. Ieșcu, *Părtești de Jos ...*, p. 162-163.

⁸¹MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; В. Петрюк, *Обряди і звичаї Мамаївців ...*, p. 73.

⁸²*Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, t. 4, p. 319-321.

⁸³MEE YFCNU, F. 19, file. 248, p. 99; V. Buzilă, *Frunzarii verzi ...*, p. 129.

⁸⁴V. Buzilă, *Frunzarii verzi ...*, p. 131; *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, T. 4, p. 330-332.

(now Suceava district), the willow was used to decorate the household on "Ascension Day". It was also used to heal the chest cold and wounds. In particular, in Boroaia and Udești in the southern part of the region, they built fires from blessed willow rods. Ashes and firebrands were used to heal wounds and pimples. The inhabitants of Calafindești (southern part of Bukovina) used to decorate the household with willow and beech rods.⁸⁵ The dwelling's floor was covered with wormwood (Cupca, Chernivtsi region).⁸⁶ Sometimes the willow rods were used to decorate graves of the natives.⁸⁷

The Ukrainians of Bukovina plasticized such customs during the "Green week". They decorated their households with the blessed rods of linden⁸⁸, ash tree, hazel⁸⁹ in the same way, covered floor with fern, mint⁹⁰, lovage⁹¹, etc. The custom to decorate household with birch rods on "Green week" was well known to the Germans of Bukovina.⁹²

Transfer of supernatural abilities. In popular beliefs of the Eastern Romanian population of Bukovina the plants were used as an instrument to get the hidden treasures, acquiring supernatural powers. Especially, the Romanians of the Dorna area believed that the fern is blooming in the night before "Sânziană" and the one who saw this soon will find hidden money, gold and get an ability to read thoughts.⁹³ The inhabitants of the Suha Bucovineană believed that the one who will find and carry this flower on Sânziană could become invisible.⁹⁴ According to the beliefs of Romanians from the Siret zone, the fern blooming before "St. Basil Day". It could be used in healing and foretelling the future.⁹⁵

According to popular beliefs, it was possible to get the supernatural abilities from Iarba-mare (lat. *Inula Helenium L.*). They searched it on "Holy Forty Day" and on "St. George's Day", pulled it together with root, brought home, chapped it, added offal, salt and then used as supplementary food for cows. The plant protected from evil creatures (strigoi, witches, etc.), increased milk yield. The

⁸⁵ *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsurile la chestionarele ...*, T. 4, p. 330-332.

⁸⁶ *Cupca, un sat din Bucovina ...*, p. 309.

⁸⁷ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; *Cupca, un sat din Bucovina ...*, p. 309.

⁸⁸ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005; В. Петрюк, *Обряди і звичаї Мамаївців ...*, p. 74.

⁸⁹ В. Петрюк, *Обряди і звичаї Мамаївців ...*, p. 74.

⁹⁰ MEE YFCNU 1997-2005.

⁹¹ В. Петрюк, *Обряди і звичаї Мамаївців ...*, p. 74.

⁹² V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 367.

⁹³ S. F. Marian, *Botanică românească ...*, p. 67-68.

⁹⁴ V. Diaconu, *Etnografie și folclor ...*, p. 366-367.

⁹⁵ S. F. Marian, *Botanică românească ...*, p. 67.

locals preserved the plant's root throughout a year and believed that this grass could help to avoid illnesses, even such dangerous as plague and cholera.⁹⁶

In the popular calendar, the plants were used in various rituals performed on "St. Basil Day", i. e., they put the straw under the tablecloth. After dramatic rituals, the inhabitants of Suceava district use to hook the ritual masks on the branches of fruiters to get protection from evil spirits and to improve fertility throughout a year.⁹⁷

CONCLUSION

Being one of the main elements of nature, the plants became an important attribute of beliefs and rituals of the Eastern Romanian and Ukrainian population of Bukovina. The plants and their parts (roots, branches, leaves, buds, flowers, bodies, fruits, etc.) were widely used in folk customs and believed to possess special properties. In popular mythology they were considered as animated objects; their blooming was associated with life, health, and happiness. Main vegetation periods were marked by calendar dates (Christmas - rituals aiming to force the infertile trees to be fruitful and to get large harvest of crops; "Holy Forty" - breaking the first furrow and start of the garden plants setting; "St. George" - the emergence of first leaves, gathering black cherry, sowing the "loving" cornflower by women and so on; "Sânziană" - feast of yellow field flower). In the calendar customs, the plants perform the life-giving, prophylactic and apotropaic functions; they are widely used in rituals and magic. People believe that the plants have some magical and supernatural abilities, i. e. to fulfil wishes, grant invisibility, protect against evil spirits, find treasures, etc.

In general, one may define several characteristic features of the vegetation cult in customs and rituals of Bukovina: 1) deification of plants (worship trees, faith in magical power of different herbs that could transfer their supernatural abilities to human beings, became an instrument helping to find the hidden treasures and so on); 2) the plants helping to solve the problem of co-existence in the natural environment (foretelling the weather, pluvial rituals, preventing natural cataclysms, etc.); 3) plants could protect dwelling, household, and ground; 4) plants play a great role in saving the health and life of humans, foretelling the future (folk-medicine, matrimonial divination).




⁹⁶ Ibidem, p. 72-73.

⁹⁷ R. Vulcănescu, *Coloana cerului ...*, p. 65.

While analysing the elements of the vegetation cult in traditional rituals of the Romanians and Ukrainians of Bukovina, one may conclude that they have common features: the custom of “sowing” on New Year’s Day; the first ploughing a field; decorating a households with willow rods on “St. George’s Day”; rituals against witchcraft; gathering the medical plants on “St. John the Baptist Day”; belief that the fern is blooming before “St. John the Baptist Day”; similar matrimonial divinations; custom to put straw and hay under the tablecloth on Christmas; rituals aiming to renew the fertility of the fruitless trees; rituals of the “first” and the “last” sheaves; “onion calendar”; bypassing the fields with a priest; throwing ritual plants in wells. The existence of common rituals may be explained by the long-time co-residence of both peoples in the same geographical and historical conditions similar level of the social and economic development, identical conditions of housekeeping and cultural development, which determined the typological similarity of rituals. One cannot neglect the unifying role of the Orthodox Church that simplified ethnic contacts and convergence.

There were differences as well: *didukh*, custom to “burn the grandfather”, “*kaloyan*”, “*pparuda*”, “sowing” and “harrowing” cannabis, divination using the black cherries, sowing the “loving cornflower”, ritual with crowns, put on water surface on “St. John the Baptist’s Day”. This confirms the fact that their ancestors belonged to different economic and cultural models. The cultural mutual influence between the Eastern Romanian and Eastern Slavic population became apparent mostly in the sphere of material culture (building, planning and making the interior of the dwelling, clothes, food), thus in the field of spiritual culture, there were only some borrowings of ritual and folklore elements. Finally, it is important to note, that the ethnic and cultural borrowings between the Eastern Romanians and Ukrainians were mutual.

ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN BUKOVINA (1861-1940): A CASE STUDY OF THE UKRAINIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITY*

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Abstract. *Given the many ways in which adult education, as an important factor of socio-cultural progress and personal growth, has raised a great deal of interest, many studies have given rise to various theoretical approaches to adult education and learning, that still shape research on adult learning at present. Importantly, the social character of literacy is revealed in a variety of ways, since nowadays literacy, in its multi-manifestations, has become a vital set of competencies and practices, interwoven in the fabric of present-day societies. Numerous studies have attempted to explain the prerequisites and preconditions for the emergence of adult learning and education and trace the path of its establishment and further development. The present paper sheds new light on the history of the Bukovinian Ukrainians' (the Ruthenian population) adult learning and education. There remains a neglected area in the field of adult learning education of other nationalities of Bukovina, so there is still a need for its further investigation. It is worth mentioning that experts have always seen Bukovina as a polyethnic and multiconfessional land, but our focus will revolve around the Ukrainian-speaking adult population's education, its establishment and development. Traditionally, historical research techniques and approaches can improve the selection of the most appropriate methods to compare data and test theories to forecast the possibilities of their development. Therefore, the holistic understanding of adult education is pivotal to achieving our research goals. Given the results, we found out which factors contributed to the continuation of learning that prevailed in the public education policy and the public sphere of Bukovina from 1861 to 1940. Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, we have classified the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. Such findings pointed to significant gains from the participation in adult education classes in a set of well-established and widely spread*

* The authors thankfully acknowledge anonymous reviewers for taking their time and devotion to make critical comments and suggestions.

reading clubs that have become the first adult learning and education centres. Their activities were aimed at facilitating people's perception of reality, in order to actively and consciously evaluate the ongoing processes in the society, varying from civic engagement and social cohesion to stimulation of their civil stance and the sentiment of national unity. Analyses of literacy practices and the social contexts in which they were embedded emphasized the enhanced adult learners' participation and their final successful outcomes. This paper stressed the importance of the Folkuniversitet of Chernivtsi, which was widely recognized beyond the boundaries of both the city and the region. Altogether, the findings of this study reveal a number of important implications for future research.

Keywords: Adult learning, adult education development, re-training, literacy courses, Reading clubs, lectures, instructions, people's university.

Rezumat. Evoluția educației și instruirii adulților în Bucovina (1861-1940). Studiu de caz: comunitatea ucrainofonă. Având în vedere multiplele căi în care educația adulților – factor important al progresului socio-cultural și al formării personale – a generat un interes deosebit, numeroase studii au propus diverse abordări teoretice privitoare la educația și instruirea adulților care direcționează și în prezent cercetările în domeniu. Trebuie să remarcăm că dimensiunea socială a alfabetizării se manifestă în maniere diferite, iar în zilele noastre educația, în variatele sale manifestări, a devenit un ansamblu vital de competențe și practici integrate în structura societăților contemporane. Numeroase studii au încercat să explice premisele și condițiile primare pentru dezvoltarea educației și instruirii adulților și să traseze parcursul de la întemeierea până la înflorirea acestui fenomen. Articolul de față aduce în atenție istoricul educației și instruirii adulților la nivelul ucrainenilor (populației rutene) din Bucovina. Subiectul rămâne o temă neglijată în contextul cercetărilor privind educația adulților în rândul celorlalte naționalități din provincie și, din acest motiv, sunt necesare investigații suplimentare în această direcție. Trebuie să remarcăm că experții întotdeauna au tratat Bucovina ca pe un teritoriu multiethnic și multiconfesional; noi, însă, ne vom concentra pe analiza educației adulților în rândul populației vorbitoare de limba ucraineană, pe întemeierea și dezvoltarea acestei forme de învățământ. De regulă, tehnicile și abordările de cercetare istorică pot îmbunătăți selecția celor mai potrivite metode pentru a compara datele și a testa teoriile pentru a prezice posibilitățile evoluției lor. Însă abordarea holistică a educației adulților este esențială pentru atingerea obiectivelor noastre de cercetare. Având în vedere rezultatele, am reușit să identificăm factorii care au contribuit la avansul educației și care au dominat politica educației publice și scena publică în Bucovina din anul 1861 până în 1940. Drept urmare, în cadrul acestor limite cronologice, am identificat cinci perioade distincte ale educației și instruirii adulților în Bucovina. Aceste rezultate au evidențiat că participarea la cursurile de educație a adulților în cadrul unei vaste și bine articulate rețele de săli de lectură, ce au devenit primele centre de educație și instruire a adulților, a fost extrem de benefică. Activitățile acestora, vizând facilitarea percepției realității de către indivizi în vederea evaluării active și conștiente a proceselor curente derulate la nivelul societății, au variat de la angajarea civică și coeziunea socială la stimularea

poziției lor civice și a sentimentului unității naționale. Analiza practicilor de alfabetizare și a contextului social în care acestea s-au aplicat a scos în evidență faptul că participarea adulților în activitățile educaționale a cunoscut o evoluție continuă și a avut rezultate pozitive. Articolul reliefează importanța Universității Populare din Cernăuți, care s-a bucurat de popularitate dincolo de limitele orașului și ale regiunii. În ansamblu, rezultatele obținute sugerează mai multe implicații majore pentru viitoarele cercetări.

Résumé : L'évolution de l'éducation et de l'instruction des adultes en Bucovine (1861-1940) : Etude de cas de la communauté ukrainienne. Comme l'éducation des adultes, facteur important du progrès socioculturel et du développement personnel, a suscité un grand intérêt, de nombreuses études ont généré diverses approches théoriques concernant l'éducation et l'apprentissage des adultes, qui façonnent encore les recherches en ce domaine. On doit remarquer que la dimension sociale de l'alphabétisation se manifeste de manières différentes, car aujourd'hui, l'éducation, dans ses multiples manifestations, est devenue un ensemble vital de compétences et de pratiques, intégrées dans la structure des sociétés contemporaines. De nombreuses études ont essayé expliquer les prémisses et les conditions préalables à l'émergence de l'apprentissage et de l'éducation des adultes, ainsi que retracer la voie dès son établissement et de son développement ultérieur. L'article ci-joint attire l'attention sur l'histoire de l'apprentissage et de l'éducation des adultes Ukrainiens (la population ruthène) de Bucovine. Il s'agit d'un sujet négligé dans le contexte des recherches sur l'éducation des adultes parmi les autres nationalités de la province ; par conséquent, des investigations supplémentaires en cette direction sont nécessaires. On doit remarquer que les experts ont toujours considéré la Bucovine comme un territoire multiethnique et multi-confessionnel. Mais nous allons concentrer notre analyse sur l'éducation des adultes, en principal de la population qui parle la langue ukrainienne, la création et le développement de cette forme d'éducation. D'habitude, les techniques et les approches de recherche historique peuvent améliorer la sélection des méthodes les plus appropriées pour comparer des données et tester des théories afin de prévoir les possibilités de leur évolution. Mais l'analyse holistique de l'éducation des adultes est essentielle pour la réalisation de nos objectifs de recherche. Tenant compte des résultats, nous avons identifié les facteurs ayant contribué à la poursuite de l'apprentissage qui ont dominé la politique d'éducation publique et la sphère publique en Bucovine de 1861 à 1940. Par conséquent, dans le cadre chronologique qu'on vient de mentionner, nous avons identifié cinq périodes distinctes de l'éducation et de l'instruction des adultes en Bucovine. Les résultats ont montré que la participation des adultes à des cours d'éducation dans le cadre d'un vaste et bien articulé réseau de salles de lecture, qui devinrent les premiers centres d'éducation et d'instruction des adultes, a été très bénéfique. Leurs activités visaient à faciliter la perception de la réalité par les individus, afin d'évaluer de manière active et consciente les processus se déroulant dans la société, allant de l'engagement civique et de la cohésion sociale à la stimulation de leur position civile et du sentiment de l'unité nationale. L'analyse des pratiques d'alphabétisation et du contexte social de leur application a mis en évidence le fait que la participation des adultes aux activités éducationnelles connut une évolution continuelle et eut des résultats positifs. L'article ci-joint souligne l'importance

de l'Université Populaire de Tchernivtsi, qui est largement reconnue au-delà des frontières de la ville et de la région. En ensemble, les résultats obtenus suggèrent plusieurs implications majeures pour les futures recherches.

INTRODUCTION

The noteworthy contemporary transition from Adult Education to Lifelong Learning has long been a question of great interest in a wide range of fields. An evaluation of the available history of *lifelong learning* or *adult learning and education* shows that a comprehensive history and in-depth analysis of the proficiency of educating adults focused on teachers and their interaction with their students going back to the earliest records has yet to be undertaken by modern scholars in the field of adult education. The prominent thinkers of humanity and great teachers from ancient times Confucius, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Thomas More, Jan Amos Comenius, Jean Antoine Condorcet, Robert Owen and many others built the foundations of the adult education movement over the past several decades and approached the anthology of a certain methodology of practicing their discipline. While the adult education movement is relatively recent, some historians and theorists have committed themselves to the task of recording its history as it has been practiced over the past several decades, going back as far as a few centuries.

Recently, there has been renewed interest in adult education and different approaches to embracing the role it has been playing from ancient times to modernity. Given the many ways in which adult education, as an important factor of socio-cultural progress and personal growth, has raised a great deal of interest, many studies have given rise to various theoretical approaches to adult education and learning, that still shape research on adult learning at present. Importantly, the social character of literacy is revealed in a variety of ways, since nowadays literacy, in its multi-manifestations, has become a vital set of competencies and practices, interwoven in the fabric of present-day societies.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the establishment and development of adult learning and education. Furthermore, a worldwide research in this area encounters difficulties which are unique to the field of study, and also shares many of the problems experienced by research into other areas of adult learning. Over time, an extensive literature of the Ukrainian

academic school has developed on embracing the importance of adult learning and education in the world. The authors attempted to distinctly conceptualize the shift from education to learning, aiming to emulate the global experience for the active and productive Ukrainian citizen. Recently, Ukrainian scientists presented a significant analysis and discussion on the history of the development of adult education in different countries of the world. The historical trends in the development of adult education in Europe were highlighted in a study conducted by Timothy Desiatov¹; Elena Ohiyenko² conducted a large-scale research on the development of adult education in Scandinavian countries, Svetlana Kovalenko³ respectively in UK, Roman Teslya⁴ – in France, Natalia Bidyuk⁵ – in the USA, Ilona Mariutz⁶ – in Romania; Olga Pastushok⁷ – in Poland; and Valentina Davydova⁸, respectively, focused her study on the history of non-formal education in Sweden.

Moreover, there exists a considerable body of literature of Ukrainian scientists

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- ¹ Т. Десятов, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих: європейський досвід* [Trends in the Development of Adult Education: European Experience], in “Освіта дорослих: теорія, досвід, перспективи”, 2014, випуск 1 (8), с.182-190.
 - ² О. І. Огієнко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих у скандинавських країнах* [Trends in adult education in the Nordic countries], Суми, 2008, 444 с.
 - ³ С. М. Коваленко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих в Англії (остання чверть ХХ – початок ХХІ ст.)* [Development Trends of Adult Education in England (last quarter of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century)], Житомир, 2005, 235 с.
 - ⁴ Р. В. Тесля, *Освіта дорослих Франції: історія, досвід, перспективи впровадження в українську систему освіти* [Education of Adults in France: History, Experience, Prospects for implementation in the Ukrainian System of Education], in “Science and Education a New Dimension. Pedagogy and Psychology”, III(25), Issue 49, 2015, http://seanewdim.com/uploads/3/2/1/3/3213611/teslya_r._education_of_adults_in_france_history_experience_prospects_for_implementation_in_the_ukrainian_system_of_education.pdf (Accessed 10 February, 2019)
 - ⁵ Н. Бідюк, *Розвиток системи освіти дорослих у США (друга половина ХХ – початок ХХІ століття)* [Development of the Adult Education System in the USA (second half of the 20th - beginning of the 21st century)], in “Педагогічні науки: теорія, історія, інноваційні технології”, 2015, № 1 (45), с.3-10.
 - ⁶ І. О. Маріуц, *Проблеми освіти дорослих в Румунії* [Problems of Adult Education in Romania], in “Актуальні проблеми соціології, психології, педагогіки”, 2011, вип. 12, с. 175-179 http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/apsp_2011_12_39 (Accessed 22 February, 2019).
 - ⁷ О. О. Пастушок, *Особливості становлення освіти дорослих у Польщі* [Peculiarities of Formation of Adult Education in Poland], in “Збірник наукових праць Херсонського державного університету. Педагогічні науки”, LXXII, 1, 2016, с. 40–45.
 - ⁸ В. Д. Давидова, *Неформальна освіта дорослих у навчальних гуртках Швеції* [Non-formal education in Study Circles in Sweden], Київ, 2008, 20 с.

on the problem of adult learning and education and its development. A thorough study of Liudmyla Vovk⁹ has provided evidence for the genesis of the priority tendencies of adult education in Ukraine at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries; with reference to the scientific and pedagogical literature, we should outline that L. Sihayeva¹⁰, O. Martirosyan¹¹, and L. Shynkarenko¹² have traced the fundamentals of lifelong education in Ukraine at the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries, while Iryna Voronets¹³ and Jezhy Potochny¹⁴ widely considered the development of adult education in Galicia.

Though much of this study involves historical research, the purpose of the study fits more precisely into the category of historical case-study of Bukovina. In fact, scholars such as Vasyl Botushanskyi¹⁵, Oksana Hnatchuk¹⁶, Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi¹⁷, Arkadiy Zhukovskiy¹⁸, Teofil Bryndzan, Denys Kvitkovskiy¹⁹,

⁹ Л. П. Вовк, *Історія освіти дорослих в Україні: нариси* [History of Adult Education in Ukraine: Essays], Київ, 1994, 226 с.

¹⁰ Л. Є. Сігаєва *Розвиток освіти дорослих в Україні (друга половина ХХ ст. - початок ХХІ ст.)* [Adult education development tendencies in Ukraine (the second part of the XX century – the beginning of the XXI century)], Київ, 2010, 419 с.

¹¹ О. І. Мартіросян, *Теоретичне обґрунтування етапів розвитку освіти дорослих в Україні у ХХ ст.* [Development of Adult Education in Ukraine: Problems and Prospects], in “*Освіта дорослих в Україні*”, збірник наукових праць, Київ, ЕКМО, 2008, с.72-76.

¹² Л. І. Шинкаренко, *Тенденції розвитку освіти дорослих в Україні (1946 – 2007 рр.)* [Adult education development tendencies in Ukraine (1946-2007)], Київ, 2010, 234 с.

¹³ І. В. Воробець, *Освіта дорослих у Галичині (1891-1939 рр.)* [Adult education in Galicia (1891 - 1939)], Івано-Франківськ, 2001, 19 с.

¹⁴ Є. Поточни, *Розвиток освіти дорослих в Галичині (1867–1918 рр.)* [Development of Education of Adults in Galicia (1867-1918)], Київ, 1999, 37 с.

¹⁵ *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: Historical Essay], ред. кол., С.С.Костишин, В.М.Ботушанський (відп.ред.) та ін., Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, 416 с.; В.М. Ботушанський, *Виникнення і діяльність українських сільських читалень на Буковині (80-ті роки ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст.)* [The rise and activities of Ukrainian Local Reading clubs in Bukovina (the 80's of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)], in *3 історичного минулого Буковини, збірник наукових статей*, Чернівці, 1996, с.96-106.

¹⁶ О. С. Гнатчук, *Українські жіночі організації на Буковині (80-ті рр. ХІХ – 30-ті рр. ХХ ст.)* [Ukrainian Women's Organizations in Bukovina (80's of the 19th and 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2002, 17 с.

¹⁷ О. Добржанський, *Національний рух українців Буковини другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст.* [National Movement of Ukrainians of Bukovina in late 19th and early 20th Centuries], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999, 574 с.

¹⁸ А. Жуковський, *Історія Буковини* [History of Bukovina], Чернівці, Час, 1994, ч.2, 224 с.

¹⁹ Д. Квітковський, Т. Бриндзан, А. Жуковський, *Буковина, її минуле і сучасне* [Bukovina, its past and present], Париж-Філадельфія-Дітройт, Зелена Буковина, 1956, 965 с.

Hryhorii Piddubnyi²⁰ and others explored a wider range of subjects in historiography that concern Bukovina, that crystallize a straightforward historical narrative path/direction from a mosaic of works on Bukovina's complicated past, as well as reviews that analyze the stages of the Ukrainian schooling system established in Bukovina (Daryna Penishkevych²¹, Liliia Kobylanska²², Iryna Petriuk²³, Inna Kovalchuk²⁴, Larysa Platash²⁵, Tetiana Sholina²⁶, and Valentyna Zvozdetska²⁷).

The present paper sheds new light on the history of the Bukovinian Ukrainians' (the Ruthenian population) adult learning and education. There remains a neglected area in the field of adult learning education of other nationalities of Bukovina, which still needs further investigation.

The purpose of the research is to further extend current knowledge of adult learning and education of Bukovinian Ukrainians (at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries). Chronologically, the study covers the period between 1861 and 1940: in particular, during 1861-1918, when Bukovina was under the Austro-

²⁰ Г. Піддубний, *Буковина. Її минуле й сучасне (суспільно-політичний нарис із малюнками і мапою Буковини)* [Bukovina, its past and present' (A Social-Political Sketch with pictures and a map)], Харків, Державне видавництво України, 1928, 256 с.

²¹ О. І. Пенішкевич, *Розвиток українського шкільництва на Буковині (XVIII – початок XX ст.)* [Development of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina (the 18th and early – 20th centuries)], Чернівці, Рута, 2002, 520 с.

²² Л. І. Кобилянська, *Становлення і розвиток українських народних шкіл на Буковині (70-ті рр. XVIII – початок XX ст.)* [Establishing and Development of Ukrainian Schools in Bukovina (the 70's of the 18th and early 20th centuries)], Чернівці, 1998, 20 с.

²³ І. М. Петрюк, *Розвиток загальної середньої освіти на Буковині (1774-1918 рр.)* [The formation and development of general secondary education in Bukovina (late 18th – early 20th centuries)], Чернівці, 1998, 20 с.

²⁴ І. В. Ковальчук, *Моральне виховання учнів українських шкіл Буковини (друга половина XIX – початок XX століття)* [Moral and Ethical Education of Ukrainian pupils of Bukovina (late 19th - early 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2001, 20 с.

²⁵ Л. Б. Платаш, *Педагогічні ідеї та освітня діяльність Омеляна Поповича (1856-1930 рр.)* [Pedagogical Ideas and Educational Activities of Omelyan Popovich (1856-1930), Івано-Франківськ, 2009, 20 с.

²⁶ Т. В. Шоліна, *Педагогічні ідеї та освітньо-громадська діяльність Степана Смально-Стоцького (1859-1938 рр.)* [Pedagogical Ideas and Educational and Public Activities of Stepan Smal-Stotsky (1859-1938)], Тернопіль, 2011, 22 с.

²⁷ В. Г. Звоздецька, *Просвітницька діяльність українських товариств Буковини як детермінанта розвитку освіти дорослих (кінець XIX - початок XX ст.)* [Educational activity of Ukrainian societies of Bukovina as a determinant of the development of adult education (late 19th and early 20th centuries)], in "Вісник Черкаського університету, серія «Педагогічні науки», 2010, вип. 183, ч. 1, с. 97-102.

Hungarian authority, and 1918-1940 – when it was under Romanian rule.

METHODS AND SOURCES

To judge the validity of our study we would rather provide a clear and precise description of the pedagogical, empirical, comparative-historical and theoretical methods, as follows: specific philosophical, psychological, educational, scientific and methodical literature analysis and study of research issues on adult education; analysis of methodical documentation; general theoretical methods of analysis; synthesis; chronological (the study of certain stages of adult education development in the region during the period under study); historical (analysis of preconditions and tendencies of the development of the Ukrainian adult education in Bukovina); and content analysis of periodicals and archival data.

Together, these studies provide important insights into the problem and rely on the documents and materials of the funds of The State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast, Department of Rare and Valuable Books of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; Department of Funds of Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Local Lore; Exposition materials of Chernivtsi Yuriy Fedkovych Literary Memorial Museum, laws and statistical data collections; socio-political and pedagogical press; historical and pedagogical researches.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIANS' ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION IN BUKOVINA

Traditionally, historical research techniques and approaches can improve the knowledge of the most appropriate methods to compare data and test theories to forecast the possibilities of their development. Consequently, in our case study, periodization is critical in comprehending the historical process, which facilitates the identification of its internal patterns. It also highlights the role and particular importance of the history of Bukovinian Ukrainians' adult education in examining the various stages of its formation.

We wanted to find out which factors contributed to the continuation of learning, prevailing in public education policy and in the public sphere in Bukovina between 1861 and 1940. Research findings showed that investment in adult literacy programs was an effective method for creating tangible, sustainable and long-term changes. Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, *we have divided the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. The first period (1861-1894) is*

determined by favourable prerequisites for adult education formation, significantly influenced by political factors, and the socio-economic and cultural transformations in Bukovina. *The second period* (1894-1905) is characterized by educational and economic advancement; establishment of adult rudimentary education within the compulsory school. *The third period* (1905-1914) witnessed intensive quantitative enrichment and qualitative improvement of organizational forms of adult education, modification of their content, development of secondary, vocational and higher education of adults. *The fourth period* (1914–1928) encompasses the development of adult education slowed down because of the First World War and the ‘under siege’ regime. *The fifth period* (1928-1940) testifies to an upsurge of interest in methodological innovation and innovative methodologies in adult learning and education. We consider it to be particularly evident to define and highlight all the periods.

THE FIRST PERIOD (1861-1894)

From the historical perspective, it is worth mentioning that the development of adult learning and education in Bukovina predetermined the social processes that took place in the Austrian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. It should be articulated that of all Ukrainian-inhabited territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bukovina was the last to experience intensive social and economic changes, but large-scale industrial production, crucial shifts in firm organization; the co-evolution of social and physical technology caused a contradiction between the needs of society and the actual willingness of the population to live in new conditions. From the viewpoint of the economic transformations, it was concluded that the major problem was the non-educated, unqualified workers amongst the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) in Bukovina, and, what is more important, their poor education (according to the 1880 Census, only 9.2% of the Bukovinian Ukrainians could read and write; 1.1% could read, and 89.7% were illiterate)²⁸.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire authorities, having approved the laws on the state (in 1868-1869) and the regional school (1873), established a structural system of education, which facilitated and promoted the rapid development of a society. The Ukrainian schooling was intensively developed (according to the terminology of that time, Ukrainian *narodna* (people’s) school is a compulsory public school for 6-14-year-olds (whilst in Bukovina, according to the law on the regional school (1873) it enrolled from 7 up to 13-year-olds. Various types of schools for adult

²⁸ *Österreichische Statistik*, Wien, 1882, Bd.1, H2, s.184-185

education were also on the agenda, by setting up such path-breaking establishments, where illiterate people could get elementary education, their children were raised and taught morally and spiritually, to cultivate their minds and provide them with the necessary knowledge and skills for further life and study²⁹. Noteworthy, on the one hand, the secondary school could not absolutely solve the problems of adult illiteracy; such objective and subjective barriers to the efficient functioning of educational institutions (supply-side concerns such as poor funding, lack of teaching material and methodology, shortage of teaching staff, low teaching methodology; illiterate parents or family poverty, etc.), became increasingly more permeable, influenced by effective ways of implementing extracurricular education. At the same time, as local authority budgets were constantly squeezed, the adult education sector had become more impoverished. Consequently, the massive promotion of adult education was meant to help them gain or upgrade their qualifications to obtain, or sustain, employment in any kind of job, to adapt to new social and political and economic conditions in the best possible way.

Another major milestone in the development of adult education in the province during a certain period was the activity of Ukrainian public organizations and societies, facilitated and promoted by the Austrian constitutional freedoms, law and legal system in general. After the adoption of the Austrian law 'On Social Law' in 1867, which guaranteed every citizen the freedom to form societies and participate freely in their activities, several Ukrainian associations were founded in Bukovina: 'Ruska (Ruthen) Besida', 'Ruska Rada', 'People's House', 'Union', 'Myronosytsi' (women who brought anointments to Christ's tomb), 'Ruska School', attributed to the learning undertaken in Bukovina, taking into account other factors such as prior educational level and the social background that could also have influenced them. The same positive tendency was evident, including various economic and educational organizations, which were founded to involve peasants in vigorous social life that led to positive outcomes, while moderated in some cases by problematic consequences and making them economically independent and politically conscious.

Such findings, thus, point to significant gains from participation in adult education classes in a number of established and widely spread reading clubs that have become the first canters for adult learning and education. Their activities were aimed at facilitating people's perception of reality and helping everyone become the true masters of their lives, in order to actively and consciously evaluate ongoing processes in the society, varying from civic engagement and social

²⁹ *Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*, Jahrang, Wien, 1869, s.277-288

cohesion to stimulation of the civil stance, and the sense of national unity³⁰. Moreover, the latter appears to be most strongly boosted by leisure classes, the traditional matrix of adult education provision; by reading books, periodicals, journals; and participation in entertainment events (choirs, recitation, games and agile games, humorous performances, folk performances, festivals (holidays), etc.). Traditionally, reading was associated with the synergy of education and economic and social affairs (almost all rural reading clubs were governed by societies, set up in many communities to train adults in agriculture, industry and crafts as well as Raiffeisen credit unions or savings and loan associations, stores).

THE SECOND PERIOD (1894-1905)

A growing body of literature review illustrates that the German rigor and the relatively complied legislation within the Empire were meant to modernize the economy and the society as a whole, including public education. Piloting a new initiative of re-education became an important ground-breaking solution to the development of the concept of adult learning and the rationales in the region. In 1894 a regional law on re-education was adopted in Bukovina, which stipulated the opening of a two-year retraining course as mandatory at village schools³¹. According to the law, students of a public school (13-14-year-olds) were obliged to attend re-training courses until they turned 16. Meanwhile, another Order (September 25, 1894) of the Provincial School Council of Bukovina allowed young people to attend the courses up to their 20ies³², and it supports our assumption that the re-training courses were the core constructs of the system of adult education. It has been investigated that local teachers held such courses from November till April each academic year. Accordingly, men and women attended the schools separately at different time, coordinated by the local council. The Provincial

³⁰ *Кілька думок про виклади і відчити для селян* [Several thoughts about lectures and talks for peasants], «Промінь», 1907, січень, ч.1, с.11-12.

³¹ *Статистичні дані про стан відвідування народних шкіл. Закон про впровадження курсів повторного навчання в державних загальних початкових школах* [Statistics on the state of attendance at popular schools. Law on the introduction of re-training courses in public general secondary schools], 1894, Державний архів Чернівецької області, ф.211, оп.1, спр.3606, арк.19-20.

³² І. Герасимович, *Підручник в справах шкільних: Збірка шкільних законів і розпорядків враз із взірцями урядового діловодства і кореспонденції* [Textbook on School Matters': Collection of school laws and regulations with samples of government record keeping and correspondence], Заставна, Руська Рада, 1914, с.193.

(Crownland) School Council supervised and financed the courses. Finally, the students were given the certificate of completion, which recorded their academic achievements, behaviour and diligence.

Based on the analysis of the primary sources, it has been established that a significant number of shortcomings and inconsistencies accompanied the functioning of the re-training courses during the first ten years. The content of the retraining course was eventually tailored to meet the characteristics and needs of illiterate adults. Teachers, from their own experience, recommended the introduction of optional continuing education courses for Ukrainian public-school dropouts. They reported that in order to strengthen the system of adult education, it was essential to introduce the so-called 'town continuing education course' that could go beyond a 6-year elementary school curriculum,; and respectively, for uneducated adults – a course of elementary literacy to meet the complex demands of encouraging literacy learning in community sites. However, officially at the regional level, re-training courses were not reorganized, since Bukovinian teachers, applied differentiated approaches to certain target groups, tailoring curricula-to the demands and level of the adult students. Significantly, the Bukovinian teachers developed their own synopses and programs correlated with the continuing education course.

Notably, in 1894 the statute of the society 'Ruska Besida' was amended by some regulations that facilitated the extension of its educational and financially viable activities, in particular, its ultimate goal was 'to enlighten and educate, while securing the wellbeing of the Ruthenians'³³. Such activities of 'Ruska Besida' and other proactive societies resulted in a considerable increase of Reading clubs. Statistically speaking, in 1894 there were 46, and in 1897 – 50, and in 1902, respectively, 64 reading clubs³⁴. Interestingly, according to the amended statute, the society 'Ruska Besida' was empowered to launch new reading clubs, that stipulated arranging up-to-that-date methods and approaches to adult learning and education developing – provide courses for illiterates (analphabets); lectures; synopses; vechornytsi (traditional gatherings with music, songs, jokes and rituals); amateur theatrical performances; establishing agricultural and industrial units; as well as giving people the opportunity to evolve financially (retail stores and loan shops).

³³ *Статут товариства "Руська Бесіда" в Чернівцях* [Statute of the Society 'Ruska Besida], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1894, ф.3, оп.1, спр.6223, арк.2.

³⁴ В. М. Ботушанський, *Виникнення і діяльність українських сільських читалень на Буковині (80-ті роки XIX – поч. XX ст.)* [The emergence and activity of Ukrainian rural readers in Bukovina (80's of the 19th and early 20th centuries)], in *3 історичного мінутлого Буковини, збірник наукових статей*, Чернівці, 1996, с.96-106.

For the most part, the main objective of the courses, provided for illiterate peasants and lower middle class (petty bourgeoisie), was to cultivate and develop their elementary skills of reading, writing and counting. Correspondingly, such courses served as guiding principles and practices to meet the needs of adult learners. The component skills of reading and writing, and the practices were considered effective tools for encouraging and developing 'people's literacy awareness'. In reality, the courses became the initial and crucial step of designing adult elementary literacy education. It was highly valued by analphabets, who were taught reading and writing in their native language and the basics of arithmetic. In addition, the courses taught the Law of God, Ukrainian, German (Romanian), women's handicraft, natural (physical) sciences (geography, geometry, physics, natural history), literature (scientific survey), drawing, music and singing³⁵.

An increasing number of studies have determined that the courses fighting illiteracy were socially-grounded and state-run. In other words, their establishment was initiated by community societies, whilst school authorities regulated and controlled the pedagogical process. Although literacy courses were initiated as a form of adult-elementary education, practically they functioned as intensive (up to 3 months) courses, aimed at peasants' acquiring elementary literacy (basic knowledge and practical skills) and their becoming nationally conscious. Classes were held at a school, in reading clubs during three months – from January till March, sometimes March-May: on Sundays and holidays for three-four hours, on weekdays – three times a week for two hours. Thus, the dynamics of literacy acquisition stipulated widespread mass literacy, where young people and adults were examined by school managers and the local inspectors and, eventually, given the relevant certificates after completion of the course. It should be mentioned that the courses were funded and financed by the Regional School Fund and public associations.

THE THIRD PERIOD (1905-1914)

The single most significant factor influencing the spread of literacy and expansion of learning and education of adult Bukovinians influenced the recognition of their social and civil stance. Most ethnographic studies of literacy published

³⁵ *Листування з Вашківською повітовою радою з приводу клопотання товариства "Січ" громади Карапчів про видачу дозволу на організацію курсів для неграмотних* [Correspondence with Vashkivtsi District Council on the request of Karapchiv community 'Sich' for Permission to Organize the Courses for Illiterates], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1905, ф.211, оп.1, спр.7879, 9 арк.

over the past centuries highlight how the practice of literacy affects the whole human life, especially their sense of self- and social identity. Along with the existing societies, the new ones sprang up: a professional association of school teachers called 'Mutual Aid to Galician and Bukovinian Teachers' was founded in 1905, the 'Independent Organization of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina' in 1908, 'The Women's Hromada' in 1906, and the 'Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women' appeared in 1908. Not surprisingly, adult literacy rates have increased.

Overall, the historical record (the then-named periodical 'Bukovina') suggests that on the eve of the First World War in Bukovina the emergence, consolidation and expansion of various Ukrainian associations and societies (political, cultural, educational, economic-and professional etc.) became the motor for the rising of adult literacy. The studies of literacy transitions using multivariate models conclude that educational expansion has been one of the most important determinants of historical rises in literacy and it can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1, Ukrainian Associations and Communities in Bukovina

Year	Reading club	Cossack host	Cashier's office	Other	Unions
Late 1905	101	98	123	32	14
Early 1910	122	105	127	41	23
Late 1913	154	117	169	79	23

Mass literacy campaigns sought to produce broad-based improvements in the literacy skills of adults for whom literacy had previously been inaccessible or unattainable. Furthermore, many societies contributed to the emergence of qualitatively new forms of adult education. One of the most significant events in the pre-war period in Bukovina was the establishing of such institutions of higher education for adults as modelling European folk high schools and Volkshochschule. In 1905, by mutual efforts of the 'Ruska School', 'Ruska Besida' and the 'Students' Union', the *Folkuniversitet* was founded, which provided lectures and speeches on a regular basis for the open public to disseminate information in different domains³⁶.

The idea of introducing a 'Folkuniversitet' became the crux of the matter in discussion of wide circle of public figures and scholars of Bukovina after Mayer Benediktsen's visit (a Danish lecturer at the Folkuniversitet in Charlottenglund) to Chernivtsi in September 1904. Communicating with the Bukovinian intellectuals, the Danish professor proved the effectiveness of Folkuniversitet, that

³⁶ I. I. Карбулицький, *Розвій народного шкільництва на Буковині* [The Rise of the Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina], Вашківці, Руська Рада, 1905, с.144.

facilitated establishing and broadening of adult learning opportunities and complemented awareness of mass campaigns in raising literacy and culture³⁷.

Founded in 1905, the Folkuniversitet Committee organized lectures in various science domains on a regular basis in different Bukovina settlements. These programs constituted one part of broader provincial policies to address multiple objectives, including training skilled lecturers, supplying them with the necessary educational materials. By their very nature, the small-scale programs reached out to targeted segments of the adult population and therefore played a crucial role in reducing illiteracy, combined with the expansion of formal schooling and other public policies, that broadened access to literacy on a more voluntary and self-motivated basis. According to the Bukovinian scholars-educators Teofil Bryndzan, Ivan Herasymovych, Ilariy Karbulickiy, Constantin Malytsky, Yerotey Pigulyak, Omelyan Popovich and Stepan Smal-Stotsky, the criteria for the lecturers and educators' professionalism and skilfulness were determined as follows: meeting the needs and requirements of illiterate adults; sticking to the principles of systematicity; continuity and consistency; accessible learning content; scientificness; objectivity and reliability of information; as well as taking into account existing difficulties and obstacles, harmful effects on the quality of adult education and access to schooling (social, psychological and pedagogical, socio-psychological, psychophysiological background). In practice, lecturers' interpersonal skills and competencies were largely determined by a complex interplay between their own motivations and the available teaching capacities³⁸.

Analyses of literacy practices and the social contexts in which they were embedded have emphasized the increased participation of learners and their final successful outcomes. Markedly, in 1910 in reading clubs of the village of Davydeny-Zrub, many literacy course participants received a school-like education, with its accompanying benefits, and the importance of such schooling was their enrolment at the course – primarily, 34 peasants were enrolled and later, in two weeks, an overall number of 78 adults were studying there. The adult students were encouraged by captivating teaching methods and lectures of the local teacher Valery Chesnikivskyi. Among the participants there were even 60-year-olds³⁹.

³⁷ Т. Бриндзан, *Дещо про людові університети* [Some ideas on Folkuniversitet], in "Промінь", 1905, липень, №14-15, с.157-159.

³⁸ *Кілька думок про виклади і відчити для селян* [Some ideas about lectures and lessons for peasants], in "Промінь", 1907, січень, № 2, с.28-29.

³⁹ *Дописи. З Давиден-Зруб* [Correspondence. From Davydeny-Zrub], in "Народний голос", 1910, лютий, №13, с.8.

It is worth mentioning that the regional periodicals traditionally highlighted different important events such as arranging lectures, and further giving reviews and feedbacks. Thus, according to the 'Bukovina newspaper', there was a series of lectures and classes on various topics in various communities throughout 1905-1910. For example, P. Kateryniuk delivered his speech on 'The problem of the Ukrainian people in their state of serfdom', O. Makovey 'On Khotyn War of 1621', D. Vesolovskiy 'On Zemstvo (Self-governing) in Russia', O. Makovey 'On the Ancient Literary Movement in Bukovina', 'Poetry of Danylo Mlaka', I. Halushchynskiy on 'What is the Purpose of Nature', I. Golubovych 'About Kolijivshchina', Yu. Godiychuk on 'The Importance of a Reading Club in Remote Rural Communities', M. Borovskiy 'On the Benefits of Reading', I. Kudrynskiy 'About Cattle Farming' and others⁴⁰.

Broadly speaking, we found data about the valuable experience for Chernivtsi residents from attending public lectures at the People's House, launched in April 9, 1906. As it was reported, each Sunday afternoons different speeches and lectures on the history of Ukraine were delivered by M. Korduba; O. Mytsak talked about 'economy and finance, literacy with house holding, harvesting and manufacturing', O. Makovey spoke about Yuriy Fedkovych; P. Klym delivered a lecture 'On the Significance of Organization and Enlightenment', M. Korduba 'On Self-Consciousness', and V. Huzar 'On Death'⁴¹.

As we have already mentioned, systematically organized public lectures and speeches laid the foundations for the establishment of adult higher education institutions – Folkuniversitet (People's University) in Chernivtsi. An interesting fact in this context: is that in 1906, in order to embrace the concept of European folk universities, Stepan Smal-Stotsky paid an official visit to Germany, aiming at getting acquainted with proponents and stakeholders of adult education in European countries, and has studied the literature on the activities of popular universities in Denmark and Sweden⁴².

In 1909, the political society 'Ruska Besida' initiated the foundation of the 'Folkuniversitet', and in 1911-1912 the 'Historical Society' sustained the

⁴⁰ Новинки [News], in "Буковина", 1905, 28 січня (10 лютого), №12; 1907, 17 (30) січня, №7; 1910, 12 січня, №292, с.3.

⁴¹ Новинки [News], in "Буковина", 1906, 23 квітня (6 травня), № 48; 1907, 17(30) січня, №7; 1909, 17 грудня, №273.

⁴² В. Даниленко, О. Добржанський, *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький. Життя і діяльність [Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky. Life and activities]*, Київ – Чернівці, Інститут історії України НАН України, 1996, 232 с.

initiative⁴³. Folkuniversitet's activities and functions have increased opportunities for adult learning and education, aimed at cultural and educational development, raising the professional level and promoting self-education of citizens regardless of their age, place of work and background⁴⁴. The first year of higher education lasted for a month and a half (1910), the second year (1911) and the third (1912) lasted for two months. Classes took place during the winter period: between February and March. A University student could be aged 18 or over and had a certificate of graduation from a public school. In the first year of study, 38 people were enrolled⁴⁵ and the next year, more than 70 students attended the course⁴⁶.

There was a steady rise in the emergence of public schools. The curriculum included the study of World History, the History of Ukrainian people and Austria, the Austrian Legal System and Law, General Geography and Astronomy, Geography of Ukrainian lands, Physics, Anthropology and Ethnography, Basics of Hygiene, Ukrainian Language and Literature, History of Schooling, History of Religious Studies-etc., as well as practical courses of Business Language and Accounting, Gymnastics and Fire Fighting, vocal and instrumental singing. There was a wide cultural program aimed at organizing leisure activities⁴⁷. The lectures were delivered by outstanding public figures such as Dmytro Bazhaluk, Yevhen Burachynsky, Theodore Gallip, Ivan Herasymovych, Volodymyr Husar, Lev Kohut, Myron Korduba, Zenon Kuzelia, Ostap Lutsky, Omelian Popovych, Vasyl Simovych, Stepan Smal-Stotsky, Roman Tsehelskyi and others.

This section has highlighted the importance of the Chernivtsi Folkuniversitet, which was widely recognized beyond the boundaries of both the city and the region. Several studies suggest that the idea of introducing courses for adult learning and education was implemented in the villages of Bukovina: in 1910, adult literacy courses were organized in Hlyboka and Davydeny-Zrub, and respectively, in 1912 in Kitsman. The origins of literacy can be traced back to 1912, when adult

⁴³ Новини. "Історичне товариство" організовує третій курс висшої народної освіти [News. Historical Society' Organizes the Third Course of Higher Education], in "Народний голос", 1911, 2 лютого, №5, с. 5.

⁴⁴ С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Перший курс для висшої освіти народної* [The First Course for the Higher People's Education], in "Буковина", 1909, 31 грудня, №284, с. 1.

⁴⁵ О. Луцкий, *Святочне отворенє курсу висшої народної освіти* [The Ceremonial opening of the course of Higher People's Education], in "Народний голос", 1910, лютий, №12, с. 6-7.

⁴⁶ *Витайте!* [Congratulations!] in "Народний голос", 1911, 2 лютого, №5, с. 1.

⁴⁷ С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Перший курс для висшої освіти народної* [The First Course for the Higher People's Education], in "Буковина", 1909, 31 грудня, №284, с. 1.

literacy courses in Chernivtsi were reported to have achieved high records and served as a model to be emulated by other People's Universities of Galicia, as evidenced by the materials set by the Educational and Institutional Commission 'Prosvita' (Enlightenment) dated 1912⁴⁸.

An important feature of the third period of adult education development in the province was also the establishing of a chain of vocational education courses aimed at providing the adults with financial and economic knowledge. The most proactive and vigorous organization of professional courses were the Ukrainian women's societies 'Society of Ruthenian Women', 'Women's Hromada', Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women'. The pace of change in literacy in Bukovina between the late nineteenth century and before the beginning of the First World War was generally extended to launching specific sewing classes, courses for 'sophisticated artworks' (cotton and satin embroidery); handicraft of folk motifs; winter house holding courses for farmers, courses for accountants and stenographers⁴⁹.

Evidence of the strong association between craftsmanship and manufacturing and commercial activities was suggested by several sources. In the pre-war period, 'Women's Hromada' developed and administered societies of decorative, applied and folk art (embroidery, weaving, production of national clothes and pysankas (painted eggs)) and domestic women's handicrafts and production (harvesting and handling vegetables: pickled cabbage and cucumbers, dried vegetables and spring crops and baking for sale) etc.⁵⁰. The national costumes manufactured by Vyzhnytsia and Vashkivtsi embroiderers were in great demand in the region. As it was reported, women were the first to embroider at home, and later in 1909 a studio-embroidery was established. In January 1910, the organizing committee of the 'Women's Hromada' in Chernivtsi carried out a huge work to collect embroideries and further promoted their sales. It should be noted that as a result of Women's Hromada's endeavours in April 1910, artistic products were exhibited in the premises of the People's House, which later were showcased in Vienna and The Hague. The handicraft embroidery of Bukovinian craftswomen was rated with the highest

⁴⁸ *Курси вищої освіти народної* [Course of adult education], in "Діло", 1912, 25 серпня, №182, с. 2.

⁴⁹ *Новини* [News], "Народний голос", 1911, 25 серпня, № 42, с. 4.

⁵⁰ І. Герасимович, *Подрібний розклад праці українського народного учительства по громадах, одобрений краєвим з'їздом повітових комісій "Вільної організації українського вчительства на Буковині" дня 21 і 22 листопада 1908 р. в Чернівцях* [Detailed Schedule Ukrainian Schooling in Communities, approved by Provincial Congress of district commissions of Independent Organization of Ukrainian Schooling in Bukovina], Чернівці, Руська Рада, 1909, с. 12.

award in Vienna – the gold medal. Furthermore, the Ukrainians were invited to the Vienna Ball, held by the ‘Viennese Society for cherishing domestic art crafts’⁵¹.

Thus, these observations demonstrate that the third period (1905-1914) was favourable for the development of adult education in Bukovina. The quick pace of economic, political and cultural development of the region, and the rise of the Ukrainians’ national self-awareness led to the gradual expansion of adult access to learning opportunities, within the context of various development plans, cultural policies, showing the dominance of education, that contributed to the adults’ personal enrichment and growth and positively influenced the level of their cultural intelligence.

THE FOURTH PERIOD (1914–1928)

All things considered, literacy-supporting policies or projects during the fourth period (1914-1928) were introduced on a much smaller scale. Moreover, the speed of literacy transitions slowed the development of adult education considerably due to a societal factor such as the onset of World War I in 1914. Bukovina became the ground of fierce battles and, simultaneously, of a diplomatic struggle over the neighbouring states of Austria-Hungary, Russia and Romania, whose borders converged on the territory of Bukovina. Undoubtedly, the war crucially affected all walks of life in the region, including culture and education. Most schools were destroyed, while armies requisitioned schools for hospitals, or even sometimes for stables.⁵² Since the warfare slowed the progress of acquired literacy and contributed to illiteracy, the situation at the time posed the threat of persistent illiteracy. Significantly, in 1916 the Bukovinian Provincial School Board made great efforts to prevent the recurrence of illiteracy, by adopting several orders on the organization of courses for illiterates in existing schools⁵³. Not surprisingly, under such conditions, the people's access to educational services was severely diminished.

As expected, the war aftermaths had such a negative impact on adult learning and education development that it could barely catch up the level of 1914. In

⁵¹ *Звіт з діяльності товариства “Жіноча громада” на Буковині за рр. 1906 до 1912* [Report on the activities of the ‘Women’s Hromada’ Society in Bukovina between 1906 and 1912], Чернівці, 1913, с. 6.

⁵² *Справа народної освіти на Буковині* [The Situation of public education in Bukovina], in “Буковина”, 1917, 15 грудня, №22-23, с. 3.

⁵³ *Листування Крайової шкільної ради з повітами про організацію курсів для неграмотних при школах* [Correspondence of the Crownland School Board with the districts on the problem of launching literacy courses at schools], Державний архів Чернівецької області, 1915-1916, ф.211, оп.1, спр.14168, арк. 2.

fact, as Myron Korduba noted, while describing the 1918 realities of Chernivtsi: ‘...mentioning any social or cultural life of the capital of Bukovina is worthless, since it cannot be seen, or even could be hardly imagined’⁵⁴. In the autumn of 1918, Bukovina was incorporated into Romania, and since the 1919 the state of siege was introduced in Kitsman, Zastavna, Vashkivtsi, Storozhynets, Seret, Chernivtsi districts and Chernivtsi city⁵⁵. The siege methods included strict control and strengthening of police supervision over residents, restriction of citizens’ movement and restriction on holding meetings, etc.

Of all the societies and associations that used to function before the WWI, only women’s societies proceeded with their activities. Throughout 1919-1921 in Bukovina, the ‘Society of Orthodox Ukrainian Women’ was actively engaged in resolving the problems (assistance to refugees, displaced persons, orphans and widows) caused by the WWI consequences and the aftermath⁵⁶.

Notably, in 1918 a new ‘Ukrainian Public Library’ association was founded. Its primary goal was to establish in Chernivtsi the first public library and a reading club. However, due to several shifts of political regimes, the rise of its activities occurred only after 1920⁵⁷. In this respect, of particular interest were the reminiscences of Vasyl Rusnak, who used to be the long-standing Head of the society: “between 1922 and 1938 our strategy for supporting the Ukrainian public library was working quite well... At the beginning a small library collection housed ... several fictional books, soon this library was recognized... as a major institution whose stock enumerated more than 10,000 books of a diverse content, many of scientific literature and few foreign literature books’⁵⁸. In addition, the library attracted lots of high school students, university students, professors and regional intellectuals.

In the light of the discontinuity and diversity of the political, economic and cultural situation in Chernivtsi, it should be mentioned that after the WWI, due to the national awakening, other Ukrainian societies were restored – ‘The Petty Bourgeoisie Reading Club’, ‘The Ukrainian People’s House’, ‘Ruska Besida’, ‘The

⁵⁴ М. Кордуба, *Українське життя в Чернівцях* [Ukrainian Cultural Life of Chernivtsi], in “Буковина”, 1918, 23 серпня, №27, с. 3.

⁵⁵ *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: Historical Essay], ред. кол. С. С. Костишин, В. М. Ботушанський (відп. ред.) та ін., Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, с. 227.

⁵⁶ О. С. Гнатчук, *Українські жіночі організації на Буковині (80-ті рр. ХІХ – 30-ті рр. ХХ ст.)* [Ukrainian Women’s Organizations in Bukovina (80’s of the 19th and 20th Centuries)], Чернівці, 2002, с. 12.

⁵⁷ О. В. Добжанський, В. П. Старик, *Бажано до України!* [We Long for Ukraine!] Одеса, Маяк, 2008, с. 316.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, с. 317.

Ukrainian School', 'The Union', 'Zaporozha'. Gradually, the so-called Ukrainian Revival of the national, cultural and educational traditions received a crushing blow. According to the contemporaries, 'the societies arranged different lectures at least once a week to discuss various scientific or political issues in the context of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their independent state. Even more frequent 'speaking clubs' were held debating similar topics'⁵⁹, evening art classes were organized. The key advantage of that period was the activity of the Ukrainian Theatre, which staged plays and performances about the historical past of the Ukrainians, promoting national traditions and the Ukrainian national clothes, glorifying the heroism of Zaporozha Cossacks during the inter-war periods, when they were struggling for Ukraine with the Turks, the Tatars, and the Poles, simultaneously disgracing traitors of the nation, etc⁶⁰.

THE FIFTH PERIOD (1928-1940)

From the short review we made, the key findings acknowledge the state's main responsibility for the provision of adult learning and education, but we would also like to properly acknowledge as well the value and usefulness of the contributions of the civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders. Guided by the framework, the paper relies on research, widely using the 1914-1928 studies data. By the end of the 'siege' in 1928, thanks to strenuous efforts of 'Ruska Besida', 'The Ukrainian School', and the 'Women's Hromada', the literacy gap was bridged by the growing popular demand for cultural and educational revival in the villages of the crownland, where there was a quick-paced spread to establish reading clubs, cooperative societies, amateur choruses and theatres. Take the case of the newspaper 'Chas' (The Time), which highlighted that since 1929, '...21 Ukrainian reading-clubs were restored'⁶¹.

First and foremost, the post-war society faced the problem of fighting adult illiteracy. By 1928-1929, the aspirations of 'Women's Hromada', 'Zaporozha' and 'Chornomore' had stipulated and facilitated the launch of the Ukrainian language⁶² and literacy⁶³ courses for children and youngsters. These extracts provide a glimpse

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, c.323-324.

⁶⁰ Ștefan Purici, *Aspecte ale problemei minorităților naționale în Bucovina istorică între anii 1918 și 1940 (II)*, in "Analele Bucovinei", IV, 1997, nr. 2, p. 415-416.

⁶¹ *Віснi* [News], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1929, 9 серпня, №109, с. 2.

⁶² *Курси української мови* [The course of the Ukrainian Language], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1929, 9 серпня, № 109, с. 3.

⁶³ *Новини. Відкриття курсів для неписьменних* [News. Launching the Course for

of the substance and scope of adult learning, expressing the complementary facets of the learning experience that could be applied at 1930's in Bukovina, since the crownland adult learning and education was undergoing drastic innovative transformations. Starting from 1932, a new format of educational work was actively spread in Bukovina – in the format of the so-called '*living newspaper*'. The peculiar characteristics of a 'living newspaper' as it appeared, illustrated some of the techniques employed in the forms of traditional lectures, synopses, literary and theatrical performances, etc. Innovation consisted in their integration as a holistic organization of adult education. An outstanding public figure, Daryna Makohon (her literary pseudonym was Iryna Vilde), described the methodology of issuing and promoting a 'living newspaper'. Iryna Vilde disclosed in detail the functioning of the venture: an editorial board was elected '...to meet the certain circle's taste and cultural needs', being predominantly focused on the content of the next issue of the newspaper. The typical sections of the 'living newspaper' were carrying a popular science content, developing historical, literature and literary criticism issues, as well as providing informative reference, methodological and advisory survey'⁶⁴.

Reaffirming the core of the right to basic education and skills for all, with adult literacy as the cornerstone of commitment, adult learning and education in Bukovina was further developed, since during that period the authorities and various societies promoted starting up economic (household budgeting) courses for peasants and petty bourgeoisie to get them ready and educate/instruct them for further cooperative activities. It should be emphasized that it was the 'Women's Hromada' that initiated cooperative courses in budgeting and money education in 1931, and practically implemented their ambitions in 1932. Significantly, 34 men and 3 women, mostly peasants, of different background and age – comprising 17-43-year-olds were enrolled in the course. The courses lasted for 6 weeks with a 28-hour academic week. The course program comprised the following subjects: 'The Essence of Cooperative Principles' (L. Kogut); 'Principles and Laws of Agricultural Cooperatives in Romania' (L. Kogut); 'Book Accounting' (Zelena Knyha); 'Business Correspondence'; 'Arithmetic'; 'Advertising' (Tymchuk); 'Commodity Studies' (Pumnul); 'Farmers & Merchants' Code of Ethics' (Pihulyak); 'Basic Hygiene & Safety Practices in Retail' (V. Huzar). The venue of instruction was the People's House; and what is more important, the courses were free of charge. The participants donated only a tiny sum of money to cover the cost for heating and lighting, consequently,

Illiterate Adults], in "Рідний край" (Чернівці). 1929. 18 серпня, с. 5.

⁶⁴ Дара Макогон, *Жива газета* [The Living Newspaper], in "Самостійна думка української матері", 1932, 29 березня, №4, с. 3.

accommodation was provided by the 'Women's Hromada'⁶⁵.

Absolutely essential was the Women's Hromada's vision of adult learning and education, since its activists' drew peculiar attention to the necessity of setting up medical training courses. In 1935, from February 28 till April 8, Chernivtsi hosted 'Hygiene and First Aid' courses, organized by the 'Women's Hromada', supported by the 'Medical Consultation' (a polyclinic founded in 1932). The courses included lectures, readings, and practical classes to provide the adult population with the necessary knowledge and skills of hygiene and emergency care. Courses were held every Monday and Thursday from 18.00 till 19.00 at the People's House. It is notable that the courses were held by renowned Bukovina doctors; V. Husar delivered lectures on 'Life and death'; O. Shevchukevych on the 'Basics of Hygiene', E. Omelsky 'On Tuberculosis', E. Kobrynsky 'On Contagious Diseases', I. Filypovych lectured 'About the Wounding, Lining and Transportation of the Patient', I. Kvastynskyi delivered lectures on the 'Chemical War' and V. Husar on 'How to care for a sick person'. Noteworthy, the money raised from the courses was donated to the Medical Consultation⁶⁶. It is important to mention that the courses of medical training-organized by the 'Women's Hromada' gained great popularity in Bukovina. Starting from November 9, 1935, the theoretical and practical course 'How to take care of a sick person' was provided for six weeks. The course included the study of the foundations of human anatomy, physiology, pathology and proper child nutrition. Classes were held 4 times a week for an hour⁶⁷.

As mentioned above, it is an important finding where and how learning occurs, and appreciating the full spectrum of learning processes and outcomes, that are fundamental for developing the potential of adult education. There are concrete examples of integrated trusted societies and associations (such as 'Women's Hromada', 'Zaporozha', 'Ruska Besida', 'The Ukrainian School' and others) that gave equal visibility to initial and continuing education for young people and adults.

CONCLUSION

This study has gone the way towards enhancing our understanding of the

⁶⁵ *Кооперативні курси в Чернівцях* [Courses on Cooperative Literacy in Chernivtsi], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1932, 21 січня, № 969, с. 1.

⁶⁶ *Курси гігієни й першої помочи в наглих випадках* [Course on Basic Hygiene & Safety Practices in Emergency], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1935, 17 березня, № 1817, с. 4.

⁶⁷ *Вісті з "Жіночої громади"* [News from 'Women's Community'], in "Час" (Чернівці), 1935, 4 листопада, с. 2.

nature and social functions of literacy that have changed dramatically in less than two centuries. We now have a landscape of adult education and lifelong learning where mixed principles, policies and practices co-exist, with the evolution of open and flexible systems of provision capable of adapting to social and economic change. Repositioning adult education within lifelong learning therefore requires a shared philosophy of the purposes and benefits of adult learning. However, still missing in the adult education literature are histories that include a review of the education of adults as it was practiced in Bukovina throughout 1861-1940.

Consequently, within the above-mentioned chronological framework, we have divided the process of adult learning and education development in Bukovina into 5 distinct periods. The results of this investigation show that the first period (1861-1894) produced favourable prerequisites for adult education formation, and was significantly influenced by political factors, socio-economic and cultural transformations in Bukovina. The analysis of the second period (1894-1905) reveals considerable educational and economic advancement, and the establishment of adult rudimentary education within the compulsory school. The study contributes to our understanding of the third period (1905-1914) as a phase of intensive quantitative enrichment and qualitative improvement of organizational forms of adult education, modification of their content, development of secondary, vocational and higher education of adults. This research has provided a deeper insight into the fourth period (1914-1928) as an obstacle to the development of adult education, caused by the First World War and the regime of 'siege'. Finally, this study has found that the fifth period (1928-1940) proves an upsurge of interest in methodological innovation and innovative methodologies in adult learning and education.

One of the more significant findings that emerge from this study is that adult learning and education are located at the heart of a necessary paradigm shift towards lifelong learning for all as a coherent and meaningful framework for education and training provision and practice. On the basis of the carried out retrospective analysis, we can state that during the investigated period a peculiar organizational structure of the Ukrainian adult education functioned in Bukovina; adult education and learning were represented by institutions of formal adult education (courses of re-training, continuing education) and non-formal modes (reading, non-literate courses, lectures, professional courses, Folkuniversitet). The development of organizational forms of adult education and their integration into the system is considered an important proof of the evolutionary processes of the education of adults of Bukovina during the period under study, denoting the enrichment of its quantitative and qualitative indicators. Altogether, the findings of this study have a number of important implications for future practice.

CONFESSIONAL GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN: IDENTITY AND FEATURES OF ITS DESIGN

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Abstract: *The relevance of the problem is determined by the need for a comprehensive study of interfaith group viewpoints in multi-ethnic and multi-confessional regions of the Russian Federation. The purpose of this article is to analyze the strategies of designing the identity in the environment of religious groups in the Republic of Tatarstan in 2017 - 2018. The leading approach to the study of this problem is based on the multi-paradigmatic methodology. The article gives a comparative description of ideological attitudes of the three groups studied - Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and atheists. Special attention is paid to the analysis of mechanisms of religious socialization and transmission of religious values. It is concluded that Muslims attach greater importance to the performance of religious rites and practices; they consider a family as the main agent of religious socialization and support the opinion that "people do not choose their religion".*

Keywords: *Confessionality, Tatarstan, identity, religious socialization, rites and rituals, ethnicity.*

Rezumat: *Gupuri confesionale din Republica Tatarstan: identitate și caracteristici ale proiecției salei. Relevanța problemei este determinată de necesitatea unui studiu cuprinzător referitor la punctele de vedere interconfesionale de grup în regiunile multietnice și multi-confesionale din Federația Rusă. Scopul acestui articol este acela de a analiza strategiile de proiectare a identității în mediul grupurilor religioase din Republica Tatarstan în perioada 2017 - 2018. Abordarea principală a studierii acestei probleme are la bază metodologia multiparadigmatică. Articolul oferă o descriere comparativă a atitudinilor ideologice ale celor trei grupuri studiate - musulmani, creștini ortodocși și ateii. O atenție deosebită este acordată analizei mecanismelor de socializare religioasă și transiterii valorilor religioase. Se concluzionează că musulmanii acordă o importanță mai mare desfășurării ritualurilor și practicilor religioase; ei consideră familia drept agent principal al socializării religioase și susțin opinia potrivit căreia „oamenii nu își aleg religia”.*

Résumé: Groupes confessionnels de la république Tatarstan: identité et caractéristiques de son projection. La relevance du problème est déterminée par la nécessité d'une étude complète concernant les points de vue interconfessionnels de groupe dans les régions multiethniques et multiconfessionnels de la Fédération Russe. Le but de l'article ci-joint est d'analyser les stratégies de projection de l'identité dans le milieu des groupes religieux de la République Tatarstan dans la période 2017-2018. L'abord principal de l'étude de cette question est fondé sur la méthodologie multi paradigmatique. L'article offre une description comparative des attitudes idéologiques des trois groupes étudiés – musulmans, chrétiens orthodoxes et athées. On y accorda une attention tout à fait particulière à l'analyse des mécanismes de socialisation religieuse et à la transmission des valeurs religieuses. On tira la conclusion que les musulmans accordent plus d'importance à la performance des rituels et des pratiques religieuses; ils considèrent la famille comme l'agent principal de la socialisation religieuse et soutiennent l'opinion conformément à laquelle „les gens ne choisissent pas leur religion”.

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Tatarstan is historically one of the multinational and multi-religious regions of the Russian Federation. At present, the confessional landscape of the Republic is mainly determined by the interaction of such religious movements as Islam and Orthodoxy. It should also take into account the significant influence of groups that identify themselves as „non-believers”, that is, atheists. The tendency towards the growth of religious self-consciousness has an impact on all spheres of society. In this regard, the relevance of studying strategies for designing a confessional identity is determined by the needs of the multinational and multi-confessional society of the Republic of Tatarstan. Strategies for designing identity and religious practices of the population of the Republic influence intergroup interactions in industrial, cultural, recreational spheres, the nature of interpersonal communication, as well as the general state of interethnic and interfaith relations in the Republic.

Interfaith relations in society are realized at two levels: institutional and intergroup. The first is studied mainly by ethnopolitologists¹, the second by ethnosociologists². In ethnosociology, interfaith interaction is studied through the

¹ В. А. Тишков, Ю. П. Шабаев, *Этнополитология: Политические функции этничности. Учебник для вузов* [Ethnopolitology: Political Functions of Ethnicity. University textbook], Москва, Издательство Московского университета, 2011, 376 с.

² Л. М. Дробижева, С. В. Рыжова (ред.), *Позитивные межнациональные отношения и*

opinions, attitudes, orientations, values of people in different spheres of life - business, production, leisure, and family. The purpose of this research is to analyze the strategies for constructing identity among confessional groups in the Republic of Tatarstan in 2017–2018. The strategies for designing confessional identity form a wide range of problems, the study, and solution of which seems promising and relevant.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

The article is based on quantitative and qualitative research methods (survey, in-depth interview, focus groups), following the methodological principles of the multi-paradigmatic approach. In the context of our study, two provisions of F. Barth's theory are fundamental: firstly, the conclusion that the determinants of membership in the group are socially-defined factors, which are founded on the phenomenon of categorical attribution, and not on „objectively” existing cultural differences. Secondly, the ethnic categories, both in the identification itself and in the process of assigning others to certain ethnic groups, take into account not just the sum of objective differences, but only those that are perceived significant by individuals themselves³.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCH OBJECT

The study, conducted in 2018, was attended by 2.100 respondents, 700 of whom identified themselves as Muslims, 700 as Orthodox, and 700 as non-believers (atheists). The study covered the following cities and towns of the Republic of Tatarstan: Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, Nizhnekamsk and Nizhnekamsk district, Zelenodolsk and Zelenodolsk district, Mamadysh and Mamadysh district, Leninogorsk and Leninogorsk district, Almetyevsk and Almetyevsk district, Chistopol and Chistopol district, Laishevo and Laishevsky district, Aktanyshsky district, Vysokogorsky district. Of the total respondents, 51.1% are natives of the area, 28.3% moved more than 10 years ago, every tenth respondent moved 5 to 10 years ago, 7.7% - from 1 to 5 years ago, 3.7% - less than 1 year ago. In addition, 40.2% of respondents consider themselves Tatars, 47.1%

предупреждение нетерпимости: опыт Татарстана в общероссийском контексте [Positive ethnic relations and the prevention of intolerance: the experience of Tatarstan in an all-Russian context], Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2016. 152 с.

³ Fredrik Barth, *Analysis of Culture in Complex Societies*, "Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology", Vol. 54, 1989., No. 3-4, p. 120-142.

- Russians, and 12.7% are representatives of other ethnic groups.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the object of study: 50.2% of the respondents are men and 49.8% are women. Distribution by age groups: 18-24 years old - 14.7%; 25-30 years old - 15.3%; 31-50 years old - 39.7%; over 51 years old - 30.3%. 1.5% of respondents have primary education; 20.1% have secondary education; 47.7% - secondary specialized education; 30% - higher, incomplete higher; 0.8% of the respondents have an academic degree. Almost a quarter of respondents are employed in the service sector; one in five respondents work in the industry, construction, transport sector; 13.6% - in education, science, culture; 11% are pensioners, and 9.4% are students.

Among the respondents who identify themselves as Muslims, 90.4% are Tatars, 1.1% - Russians, 4% - Bashkirs, and 4.5% representatives of other ethnic groups. Of those who declared themselves Orthodox, 82.1% are Russians, 2.9% - Kryashens; 2% - Tatars, 2.7% - Chuvashes, 2.3% - Ukrainians, 2.1% - Maris, 1.9% - Udmurts; 1.7% - Mordovians, 2.3% - the representatives of other ethnic groups. The group of Muslims is mostly mono-ethnic in composition; more than 90% of this group are Tatars. Thus, there is a connection between ethnic and religious self-identification of the respondents. By identifying themselves as a particular denomination, respondents express their ethnic identity. Russians dominate among the atheist respondents - 58.1%; 28.3% are Tatars, 2.4% - Bashkirs, 2% - Chuvashes, 2.4% - Maris, 6.8% - representatives of other ethnic groups.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND ITS DESIGN

In explaining the reasons for the revival of interest in religion, the respondents' positions were distributed as follows: 27.1% of the respondents believe that interest in religion was caused by the plight of ordinary people in the 1990s; 20.7% of the respondents noted the position that „the society, having lost the ideals of communism, began to find the meaning in the religious values”, 18% are of the opinion that the process of national revival sparked interest in religion. The position „this cannot be explained by anything other than God's Providence” found the most supporters among Muslims (13.4% of Muslim respondents, 4% of Orthodox, and 0.4% of atheists). The explanation of interest in religion in the general decline of education is typical primarily for non-religious respondents (20.9% atheists, 6% Muslims and 7.1% Orthodox).

When analyzing the design of respondents' confessional identity, the following features were identified. For Muslim and Orthodox respondents, the following ideological attitude prevails: “To do good deeds, to help those in need,

not expecting gratitude in response”. Yet, the ritual component of religiosity is more important for Muslim respondents. Atheists are more inclined to adhere to the statement: „To believe or not to believe is a personal matter of each person”. The missionary approach “to carry the light of truth and faith to other people” is shared by 11.6% of Orthodox and 13.9% of Muslims.

Table no. 1, What do you think it means to be a believer? (%)

	Muslims	Orthodox	Atheists
Strive to comply with all the rites, rituals and regulations	31.7	23.7	19.7
To bring the light of truth and faith to other people.	12.9	11.6	3.1
Do good deeds, help those in need, not expecting gratitude in return	32.7	39.4	17.4
To believe or not to believe is a personal matter of each person.	16.1	19.4	46.9
Something else	1.3	1.1	1.7
Difficult to answer	5.3	4.7	11.1

Thus, religiosity is not clearly dogmatic. For most believers, religiosity is not limited to performing rites and rituals but involves certain social practices (“do good deeds”, “bring the light of truth”). However, Muslim respondents attach greater importance to the dogmatic side of religion than Orthodox respondents do. This is manifested in the declared desire to perform religious rites and regulations:

- “Enlightenment, education, explaining, not in a distorted way, the concepts of Islam to people. It is very important to bring Islam to people in the original sense. It can be interpreted in different ways, so it is important to convey to people the correct assessment of Islam, namely the image of Islam in modern times, which can be muffled especially in connection with current events” (focus group, ethnic Muslims, Kazan).

- “Yes, the most important thing is to bring the original version of the Prophet, from whom all this came. Islam is the youngest religion and the cleanest” (focus group, ethnic Muslims, Kazan).

- *"I think we need religion in order to define the power of the human soul, which is in "the cosmos" so that it will bring the right fruits. Therefore, religion is needed. However, to argue what is correct... Here we are believers, Orthodox, and that is it that the Lord ... I just would not like to divine, but I believe that Orthodoxy is the true religion. One can feel in every way, for example, through Protestantism - a person felt with his heart where the spirit is, where the truth is" (focus group, Orthodox practitioners, Kazan).*

- *"I was the same, I was in Islam, and I had had faith since childhood. When I went to the first grade, the head teacher came in and said: "There is no God, children," and everything inside me broke off, I had believed for 7 years, but she came and told me that there was no God. And internal protest mounted in me. Therefore, faith was originally, although I was a Muslim. All this was higher than me" (focus group, practicing Orthodox, Kazan).*

RELIGIOSITY AS A TOOL OF SOCIALISATION

A correlation with the confessional affiliation of respondents was revealed when analyzing religious socialization and transmission of religious values. Muslims give the family, as an agent of religious socialization, greater importance than the Orthodox and atheists, believing that "the father and mother (family) lead the person to the path of communion to the faith, because people do not choose their religion" (44.4% of Muslims, 34.1% Orthodox and 9.3% atheists).

Orthodox and atheists more often than Muslims choose the position "the person himself, fully consciously, approaches the issues of faith, the choice of religion" (42.7% of Muslims, 52.1% of Orthodox, 49.7% of atheists). Atheists are characterized by the statement that if their educational and cultural level is raised, a person no longer needs the authority of religion (32.4% of atheists, 2.6% of Muslims and 2.9% of Orthodox).

- *"Faith initially appeared when people could not find an explanation: the crops had been washed away by the rain, which meant that the gods wanted it to be so. To make gods more favourable, people needed to pray to them" (focus group, atheists, Kazan).*

- *„To fill the void by faith is silly. Because of faith, there have been many wars; faith brings disappointment, more precisely, religion; then faith and religion separated. These two concepts are similar in meaning, but faith*

is the faith in something abstract, and religion is the faith in God himself, in his existence. Because of religion, there was a lot of death. The scientific process, due to the fact that people believed, was hindered to a certain point. Human development could go a faster way, if not for religion. Maybe we would have already flown” (focus group, atheists, Kazan).

STUDYING CONFESSIONAL PROCESSES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The studies of confessional processes in the Russian Federation are relevant for representatives of various scientific fields. While sociologists analyse the ethno-social and ethno-confessional aspects of migration in modern society⁴, political scientists are interested in the problems of the influence of the state of interethnic and interfaith relations on state policy and social processes in society⁵. A special place is occupied by the study of the psychological aspects of interethnic and interfaith interaction⁶. Researchers investigate the size of the intergroup distance between the host population and foreign cultural groups of migrants, the level of xenophobia, features of social contacts between representatives of different denominations and nationalities. Studies of everyday practices of interethnic and interfaith interactions are of interest to anthropologists and ethnologists. The analysis focuses, in particular, on the study of social intergroup distance and religious practices in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society⁷. At

⁴ Л. М. Дробижева (ред.), *Российская идентичность в Москве и регионах* [Russian identity in Moscow and the regions], Москва, Институт социологии РАН; МАКС Пресс, 2009, 268 с.; В. А. Тишков, *Реквием по этносу: исследования по социально-культурной антропологии* [Requiem for ethnos: research on socio-cultural anthropology] Москва, Наука, 2003, 544 с.

⁵ Р. Г. Абдулатипов, *Этнополитология. Учебное пособие* [Ethnopolitology. Study guide], Санкт-Петербург: Питер, 2004, 313 с.

⁶ Т. Г. Стефаненко, *Этнопсихология* [Ethnopsychology], Москва: Аспект-Пресс, 2003, 365 с.

⁷ A. N. Sabirova, T. A. Titova, E. V. Frolova, *Collective social and cultural distance in the sphere of interethnic relations in the Republic of Tatarstan*, “The Turkish Online Journal of Design, Art and Communication”, Vol. 6, 2016, November Special Edition, http://www.tojdac.org/tojdac/VOLUME6-NOVSPCL_files/tojdac_v060NVSE188.pdf;
T. Titova, *Ethnic Cultural and Religious Practices of Migrant Women in the Republic of Tatarstan*, “Journal of Sustainable Development”, Vol. 8, 2015, No. 4, p. 177-186;
T. Titova, *Ethnic identity and ethno-cultural needs of the modern Russian rural population of Tatarstan (based on ethno-sociological research)*, “Man in India”, Vol. 97, 2016, Issue 9, p. 1-7; T. Titova, *The host population and the migrants in modern*

the same time, the evaluation of the features of intergroup viewpoints in the multi-confessional regions of the Russian Federation requires more in-depth research.

The strategies for designing identity among confessional groups in the Republic of Tatarstan show that the confessional identity profile in the studied categories has the following features:

- Muslims attach greater importance to the performance of religious rites and practices; they consider the family as the main agent of religious socialization; they are mostly characterized by the position that „people do not choose their religion”;
- Orthodox pay less attention to the dogmatic side of religion, believing that faith is, first of all, social practices, “good deeds”;
- atheists tend to have a critical attitude towards religion; they consider the religiosity of society to be the result of a decline in education.

CONCLUSION

The materials presented in the paper may have scientific-humanitarian and practical significance. The results achieved in the article can be useful for specialists in the field of social sciences: ethnologists, social and cultural anthropologists, political scientists, as well as representatives of bodies and structures responsible for issues of interethnic and interfaith interaction.

**RUTHENIAN-POLISH MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE INTER-DYNASTIC POLICY OF THE HOUSE OF RURIK
IN THE 11th-14th CENTURIES: SELECTIVE STATISTICAL DATA***

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Abstract: *The directions of matrimonial policy in the Middle Ages, its activity and effectiveness were determined not only by the authority of the individual dynasties in their relations, but also by the resilience of these families. Frequently, their future and stability depended on the successful strategy of marriages with close and distant neighbours. The dynasties, known in historiography as the Rurikids and the Piasts, were among the oldest royal families in European history, according to the duration of their presence on the thrones. The descendants of Vladimir the Great, who was baptized at the Christianization of Kievan Rus', occupied the Muscovian lands until 1610. The Piasts kept the separate lands of Silesia for a longer period of time – until 1675. The peculiar genealogical firmness of both dynasties can be explained by the success of bilateral matrimonial connections during the most active time of the 11th-14th centuries. Due to mutual marriages, it was possible not only to form favorable sporadic alliances of a military and political nature, but also to influence the bilateral migration processes, as well as the cultural and confessional interferences. Before the death of the last representatives of the Romanovich dynasty "by the sword", Lev and Andriy in 1323, the representative of the Masovian branch of the Piasts Bolesław, had the right "by maternal line" to occupy their vacant throne. After Bolesław's tragic poisoning, in the spring of 1340, the Piasts from the Lesser Poland, for example, the King of Poland, Kazimierz III (and his successors from all further dynasties in this country during the 14th-18th centuries) became the temporary successors of the Kingdom of Rus' (Regnum Russiae) heritage, distinctly, until the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was dismantled between 1772-1795. Some statistical data proposed in the article allow a better understanding of the logic and continuity of the matrimonial policy and, generally, of the bilateral relations between the neighbouring dynasties.*

*The preparation and publication of an actual article enabled the presentation during the seminar "The Legacy of Rus'-Ukraine", organized by Dr. hab. Tetiana Vilkul (Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, on December 15, 2017).

Keywords: Ruthenia, Poland, matrimonial policy, the Rurikids, dynasty, the Piasts, marriages, statistics, genealogy.

Rezumat: Relațiile matrimoniale ruteano-poloneze în contextul politicii inter-dinastice a Casei Rurikizilor în secolele XI–XIV: date statistice selective. Direcțiile politicii matrimoniale în Evul Mediu, activitatea și eficacitatea acesteia au fost determinate nu numai de autoritatea dinastiilor individuale în relațiile lor, ci și de capacitatea de reziliență a acestor familii. Viitorul și stabilitatea monarhilor depindea adeseori de strategia de succes a căsătoriilor cu vecinii apropiați și îndepărtați. Dinastiile cunoscute în istoriografie sub denumirile de Rurikidă și Piaștilor au fost printre cele mai vechi familii regale din istoria europeană, având în vedere durata prezenței lor pe tronuri. Descendenții lui Vladimir cel Mare, care a fost creștinat odată cu botezul Rusiei kievene, au ocupat teritoriile moscovite până în anul 1610. Piaștii au păstrat în mâinile lor ținuturile Sileziei pentru o perioadă mai lungă de timp, până în 1675. Longevitatea genealogică specifică a ambelor dinastii poate fi explicată prin succesul legăturilor matrimoniale bilaterale, în special în secolele XI–XIV. Datorită căsătoriilor reciproce, a fost posibilă nu numai formarea unor alianțe sporadice favorabile, de natură militară și politică, ci și influențarea proceselor migraționiste bilaterale, precum și a interferențelor culturale și confesionale. Înainte de moartea „de sabie”, în anul 1323, a lui Lev și Andrei, ultimii reprezentanți ai dinastiei Romanovici, Bolesław, reprezentantul ramurii mazoviene a Piaștilor, a avut dreptul „pe linia maternă” de a ocupa tronul lor vacant. După otrăvirea lui Bolesław, în primăvara anului 1340, Piaștii din Polonia Mică (de exemplu, Kazimierz III, Regele Poloniei, și succesorii săi din toate celelalte viitoare dinastii din secolele XIV–XVIII) au devenit succesori temporari ai moștenirii Regatului Rus (Regnum Russiae), cu titlu distinct, până la dezmembrarea Commonwealth-ului polonez-lituanian în perioada 1772–1795. Datele statistice selectate de autor permit o mai bună înțelegere a logicii și a continuității politicii matrimoniale, dar și a relațiilor bilaterale între dinastiile vecine.

Résumé : Les relations matrimoniales ukrainiennes-polonaises dans le contexte de la politique inter-dynastique de la maison de Rurik des XI-e – XIV-e siècles: données statistiques sélectives. Les directions de la politique matrimoniale au Moyen Âge, leur activité et efficacité furent déterminées par l'autorité des dynasties individuelles dans leurs relations; mais celles-ci ont été influencées, aussi, par la viabilité de ces familles. L'avenir et la stabilité des monarques ont dépendu de la stratégie réussie de mariage avec des voisins plus proches ou plus lointains. Les dynasties, connues dans l'historiographie sous les noms de Rurikids et de Piasts, furent unes des plus anciennes familles royales de l'histoire européenne, selon la durée de leur présence sur les trônes. Les descendants de Vladimir le Grand, qui devint chrétien avec le baptême de la Russie kiévienne, y occupèrent les territoires de Moscou jusqu'en 1610. Les Piasts régnèrent sur les terres de la Silésie pour une période plus longue encore, jusqu'en 1675. On peut expliquer la longévité généalogique spécifique des deux dynasties par le succès des liaisons matrimoniales bilatérales, en spécial le long des XIème – XIVème siècles. En raison de la conclusion des mariages mutuels, il était possible non seulement de former des alliances sporadiques favorables politico-

militaires, mais également d'influencer les processus migratoires bilatéraux, ainsi que les interférences culturelles et confessionnelles. Avant la mort violente « de l'épée » des derniers représentants de la dynastie des Romanovici, Lev et Andriy en 1323, le représentant de la branche de Mazovie des Piasts, Bolesław avait le droit « par la lignée maternelle » d'occuper le trône vacant. Après son empoisonnement le printemps 1340, les Piasts de la Petite Pologne (par exemple, le roi de Pologne, Kazimierz III et ses successeurs de toutes les futures dynasties des XIV^{ème} au XVIII^{ème} siècles) devinrent les successeurs temporaires de l'héritage du Royaume de Russie (*Regnum Russiae*), à titre distinct, jusqu'à la division du Commonwealth polonais-lituanien les années 1772–1795. Les données statistiques que l'auteur proposa dans l'article ci-joint permettent une meilleure compréhension de la logique et de la continuité de la politique matrimoniale, mais aussi des relations bilatérales entre les dynasties voisines.

INTRODUCTION. HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Rurikids' taxes on the main trade routes connecting the Northern seas with the lands of the Black Sea region till the end of the 10th century, the acquisition of a number of old (Kyiv, Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernihiv) and new (Volhynian Volodymyr) cities by its representatives provided the princes with an opportunity of more intense matrimonial policy. Christianization and active inter-dynastic relations with their closest western neighbours also played their role. The Piasts were the most important partners for the creation of diverse alliances for the princes of Rus'.

Genealogical studies having been started in the middle of the 19th century not only in Europe but also in Poland¹, brilliantly continued at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when Oswald Balzer founded this very popular, special historical discipline². During the 20th-21st centuries this direction of historical research in Poland, in particular in Toruń, has been often supplied by similar investigations in France³, and other countries⁴. The students and followers of O. Balzer, for

¹ J. Tęgowski, *Genealogia Piastów w historiografii* [The Piasts' Genealogy in historiography], in O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], Kraków, Avalon, 2005, s. 5-6.

² O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1895; Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe 1980; Kraków, Avalon, 2005.

³ G. Duby, *Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* [Notes on the genealogical literature in France in the 11th and 12th centuries], in "Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres", 111^e année, N^o 2, 1967, p. 335–345; idem, *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge* [Men and structures of the Middle Ages], Paris, Mouton, 1973, p. 287–298.

⁴ See for example: S. J. Payling, *The economics of marriage in late medieval England: the marriage of heiresses*, in "Economic history review", LIV, 3 (2001), p. 413–429; M. Howell,

example, Włodzimierz Dworzaczek⁵, Kazimierz Jasiński⁶, Alicja Szymczakowa⁷, Jan Tęgowski⁸, and others determined the number of the bilateral marriages,

The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe. Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage, in "International Medieval Research", № 11 (2003), p. 17-61; S. Barton, *Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia*, in "Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies", vol. 3, № 1, March 2011, p. 1-25; Ch. Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Harvard Historical Studies, 177), Cambridge, Harvard University Press., 2012 (as well as a review of the latest work by prof. Fedor Uspensky, in: "Slověne", 2012, № 2, c. 153-159); S. G. Viksand, *Theory of Dynasticism. Actors, Interests, and Strategies of Medieval Dynasties*, Oslo, University of Oslo, 2017; J. Hertl [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1982; J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski (Eds.), *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1987; J. Wroniszewski [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1989; J. Wroniszewski [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993; A. Radziwiński, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996; A. Radziwiński J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999; J. Pakulski, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003. Since 1998, the specially created "Genealogical Library" series has been operating in Toruń, where a wide variety of the studies on this problem has been published.

⁵ *Genealogia* [Genealogy], oprac. Wł. Dworzaczek, Warszawa, PWN, 1959.

⁶ See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich* [Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts]: w 3 t., Wrocław, Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977, t. 3 : *Piastowie Opolscy, Cieszyńscy i Oświęcimscy* [The Opolian, Cieszynian and Oświęcimian Piasts], as well as an extended version of the researches: *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy* [Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts. The Wrocławian, Legnician-Brzescian, Świdnician, Ziębiccian, Głogovian, Żaganian, Oleśnician, Opolian and Oświęcimian Piasts], Kraków, Avalon, 2007; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich* [Genealogy of the Lesser Polish and the Kuyavian Piasts], in M. Górny [Ed.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań; Wrocław, Wydawnicwo Historyczne, 2001, t. 3; Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [Genealogy of the first Piasts], Warszawa ; Wrocław, 1993, reprint as well: Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [Genealogy of the first Piasts], Poznań, Wydawnicwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół nauk, 2004.

⁷ A. Szymczakowa, *Księżniczki ruskie w Polsce XIII wieku* [Ruthenian Princesses in Poland in the 13th century], in "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne", 1978, seria 1, z. 29, S. 25-42.

⁸ J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne dynastów polskich i ruskich w średniowieczu* [Family contacts of the Polish and Ruthenian dynasts in the Middle Ages], in T. Chynczewska-Hennel, N. Jakowenko [Eds.], *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie* [Between each other. Polish-Ukrainian Historical essay], Lublin, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000, p. 7-36; Idem, *Ruś Halicka i Włodzimierska w kontaktach rodzinnych i politycznych Władysława Łokietka* [Galician and Volodymyrian Rus' in the family and political relations of Władysław Łokietek], in M. Бевз, Ю. Лукомський

corrected a number of mistakes of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century's historiography, partly "having finished" the discussion⁹.

In Ukrainian historiography Leontiy Voytovych from Lviv studied some aspects of the bilateral marriage relations¹⁰. The researches of the Russian historians Nikolay von Baumgarten and Dmitriy Donskoy did not significantly influence the results of our analysis¹¹.

THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

The specific direction of the Piasts matrimonial policy of the Rurik dynasty makes it much easier to understand the patterns of the marriages of the dynasty with its close and distant neighbours in the European context. The commonality of interests of both families, the frequency of marriages over this period transformed them into a large common family where the difference in religion *did*

[Eds.], *Король Данило Романович: культурна і державотворча спадщина його доби. Монографія* [The King Daniel Romanovich: cultural and state heritage of his time. Monograph], Львів, Растр-7, 2016, с. 262–267.

⁹ J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia na dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytucją i genealogią książąt* [The Masovian Piasts Dynasty. Studies about Masovian political history, the titles and genealogy of the princes], Kraków, Avalon, 2012; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Romanoviches Galician-Volhynian princes' genealogy], in M. Górny [Ed.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań; Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 2002, t. 6; Idem, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (till the beginning of the 14th century)], Kraków, Avalon, 2008; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей. Первое поколение (до начала XIV в.)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (till the beginning of the 14th century)], К. Ерусалимский О. Остапчук [coord.], Санкт-Петербург, Дмитрий Булаин, 2015; Idem, *Piasten und Rjurikiden vom 11. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhundert* [The Piasts and the Rurikids since the 11th till the 13th century], in D. Adamczyk, N. Kersken [Eds.], *Fernhändler, Dynasten, Kleriken. Die Piastische Herrschaft in kontinentalen Beziehungsgeflechten vom 10. zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* [Distance traders, dynasts, clerics. The rule of the Piasts in the continental networks of relationships since the 10th to the early 13th century], Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag 2015. p. 155–189.

¹⁰ Л Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Princely epoch in Rus': the portraits of the elite], Біла Церква, Видавець Олександр Пшонківський 2006.

¹¹ N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Ruricides Russes. Du X^e au XIII^e siècle* [Genealogies and Western Marriages of Russian Rurikids. From the 10th to the 13th century], Roma, Pont. Institutum orientalium Studiorum, 1928; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи. Исторический словарь* [The Rurikids. A historical dictionary], Москва, Русская панорама, 2008.

not play a key role (sic!) at least in the Latin world¹², which looked simpler in such cases, as compared to the Greek clergy in Rus'. For example, after the fall of Constantinople on April 13, 1204 and the beginning of the real schism of the Christian Church, nothing prevented the Volhynian Prince Vasyl'ko Romanovich († 1269) from asking Pope Innocent IV († 1254) for the dispensation for his second marriage to the Masovian Prince Konrad's († 1247) daughter, Dubravka, in 1247¹³. There are many such cases, but the statistics and dynamics of the bilateral marriages serve as the best evidence (see below).

Therefore, during the 11th–14th centuries there were 25, maybe 26 such marriages: in 17 cases the brides from the Rurik dynasty married in the lands of the Piasts, while in 9 cases – the brides from the Piast family went to Rus' (in proportion – 17/9)¹⁴.

I would like to point out that at least one *mésalliance* is known today. It was contracted in 1122 by the Silesian nobleman Piotr Włostowic († 1153) with the representative of the Chernihiv Ol'goviches, Maria Olegivna († 1146). The figure of Piotr, his kinship, and versatile activities have been studied quite thoroughly in historiography¹⁵.

¹² These conclusions were repeatedly articulated during the 9th International Scientific Conference of the *Colloquia Russica* series entitled “*Rus' and Poland (10th–14th centuries)*”, December 5–8, 2018, Przemyśl, Poland.

¹³ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330, note 1421, and: D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović [Eds.] *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana (Chronica Romanoviciana)*, in *Monumenta Poloniae historica* (further – MPH), Kraków; Warszawa, PAU; PWN, 2017, seria II, t. XVI, s. 496–497, 499, 505–507, 509–510, 514–515.

¹⁴ M. Voloshchuk, Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial connections in the context of the Rurik inter-dynasty policy of the 10th–14th centuries: selected statistical data, in “*Codrul Cosminului*”, 2018, vol. XXIV, no. 1, p. 28–29.

¹⁵ See for example: A. Lewicki, *O najnowszych badaniach nad kroniką Piotra Własta* [The latest research on the chronicle of Piotr Włast], in “*Przewodnik naukowy i literacki*”, 1879, t. 7, z. 1, p. 561–576; M. Plezia, *Palatyn Piotr Włostowicz. Sylwetka z dziejów Śląska w XII wieku* [Palatine Piotr Włostowicz. A silhouette from the history of Silesia in the 12th century], Warszawa, Państwowe Zakłady wydawnictw polskich, 1947; R. Gansiniec, «*Tragedia Petri Comitis*» [“The tragedy of Comes Piotr”], in “*Pamiętnik literacki*”, Warszawa; Wrocław, 1952, R. 43, s. 52–139; St. Bieniek, *Piotr Włostowicz. Postać z dziejów średniowiecznego Śląska* [Piotr Włostowicz. A figure from the history of medieval Silesia], Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965; T. Wasilewski, *Kim był komes palatinus Petrus* [Who was palatinus Petrus?], in M. Dembiński [Ed.], *Z dziejów regionu konińskiego* [From the history of the Konin region], Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970, s. 169–183; M. Cetwiński, *Piotr Włostowicz, czy Piotr Rusin?* [Piotr Włostowicz, or Piotr Ruthenus?], in “*Śląski kwartalnik historyczny. Sobotka*”, R. 29, 1974, № 4, s. 429–443;

I would like also to mention, for example, the unknown from the previous analyses of Ruthenian-Hungarian marriage ties, concubinage between Prince Bolesław I the Brave († 1025) and Predslava¹⁶ Volodymyrivna († after 1018) (c. 1018), which was well described by the sources¹⁷.

J. Bieniak, *Ród Łabędziów* [Łabędzi family], in J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.] *Genealogia*, Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika 1987, s. 25–26; idem, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III A. Arbitrzy ksiąząt – krąg rodzinny Piotra Włostowicza). Zbiór studiów* [The Polish political elite of the 12th century (part III A. Arbitrators of the princes – the family circle of Piotr Włostowicz)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, Warszawa, 1990, t. 4, s. 13–107; H. Monikowska, *Princeps fundator w przedłokacyjnym Wrocławiu. Od Piotra Włostowicza do Henryka Brodatego* [Princeps founder in pre-incorporated Wrocław. From Piotr Włostowicz to Henry the Bearded], in E. Opaliński, T. Wislicz [Eds.] *Fundacje i fundatorze w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej* [Foundations and founders in the Middle Ages and modern era], Warszawa, Neriton, 2000, s. 37–57; T. Kiersnowska, *Jeszcze o Piotrze Włostowiczu i pochodzeniu rodu Łabędziów* [Again about Piotr Włostowicz and the origin of the Łabędzi family], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 2001, t. 9, s. 55–64; J. Wenta, *Tradycja o Piotrze* [Tradition about Piotr], in D. Zyrodek [Ed.] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* [Scriptura custos memoriae. The historical works], Poznań, Instytut Historii UAM, 2001, s. 523–538; П. Стефанович, *Петр Влостовичи его связи с Русью: эпизод русско-польских отношений 1118–1145 гг. в освещении русских, польских и немецких источников* [Piotr Włostowicz, and his connections with Rus': the episode of the Ruthenian-Polish relations of 1118–1145 in the light of the Ruthenian, Polish and German sources], in O. Жерноклеев, М. Волощук, I. Гурак [Eds.], *Дрогичинь 1253. Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції з нагоди 755-ї річниці коронації Данила Романовича* [Drogichin 1253. Materials of the International Scientific Conference on the 755th anniversary of Daniel Romanovich's coronation], Івано-Франківськ, ЛІК, 2008, с. 142–152 etc.

¹⁶ The name of the Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich's sister is mentioned only in the late annals ("И тогда Болеславъ положи себе на ложи Предъславу, дщерь Володимерову, сестру Ярославлю", see: *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, in *Полное собрание русских летописей* (further – ПСРЛ), Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 7, с. 326).

¹⁷ "Болеслав же бѣжа ис Кыева воизма имѣние . и боѣры Ѧрославлѣ . и сестрѣ его . и Настаса пристави Десатиньнаго къ имѣнию . бѣ бо са ему вѣвѣрилъ лѣстью" (*Лаврентьевская летопись*, in ПСРЛ, Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 1, стб. 144; *Ипатьевская летопись*, in Б. Клосс [Ed.] ПСРЛ, Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 2, изд. 2, стб. 131); "Igitur inprimis inserendum est seriei, quam gloriose et magnifice suam iniuriam de rege Ruthenorum vindicavit, qui sibi sororem dare suam in matrimonium denegavit [...] Sicut, inquit, in hac hora aurea porta civitatis ab isto ense percuditur, sic in nocte sequenti soror regis ignavissimi mihi dari prohibita corruptetur; nec tamen Bolezlauo thoro maritali, sed concubinali singulari vice tantum coniungetur, quatinus hoc facto nostri generis iniuria vindicetur, et Ruthenis ad dedecus et ad ignominiam putetur" (see: P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Th. N. Bisson [Eds.], Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, in J. M. Bak, U. Borkowska, G. Constable, G. Klaniczay [Eds.],

The statistics of this second category of Ruthenian-Polish marriages will not be taken into consideration in the article¹⁸.

In general, 25 (maybe 26) of 27 matrimonial bilateral relations were contracted between crowned persons. There were four cases when the brides were of the royal line. The other 21 were equal, and there was also another one whose dynastic nature requires proof. At the same time, 17 representatives of the Rurik dynasty were married to the Piasts, instead of eight or nine incidents of marriage to the Rurukids. From the list of all marriages, 21 were fruitful (six – in Rus', 15 – in the lands of the Piasts), five or six – barren (one or two – in Rus', four – in Poland). A lot more Ruthenian brides went to Poland. Apparently, it was also connected with the influence of the Greek bishops or representatives of the local clergy, brought up in the Eastern Church tradition, that sought to limit the “Latin” influence on the territory that was under their control. As Anna Litvina and Fedor Uspensky rightly point out, for unknown reasons, women in the Rurikid lands were deprived of the right to get married for the second time, but instead, in the “Latin world”, there were no such obstacles for them¹⁹.

The dynamics of the bilateral matrimonial relations over the centuries are the following: three brides were given in marriage from Rus' and two came to Rus' in the 11th century; five brides went to Poland and four or five to Rus' in the 12th century; eight brides left Rus' and two came to Rus' in the 13th century; only one bride married from Rus' and nobody came to Rus' during the first half of the 14th century. The dynamics of the bilateral marriages in the 13th–14th centuries should be studied separately. I'd like to note that the Mongolian threat, that was permanently maintained during the centuries, even after the incorporation of the legacies of the Kingdom of Rus' by the kings of Poland at the turn of the 14th–15th centuries, influenced the change of the dynamics and geography of the bilateral

Central European Medieval Texts, Budapest; New York, CEU Press, 2003, vol. 3, p. 40; Галл Аноним, *Хроника* [The Chronicle], А. Попова [coord.], Москва, Издательство АН СССР, 1961, с. 35–36; *Хроника Галла Анонима* [The Gallus Anonymus chronicle], in Н. Щавелева, *Польские латиноязычные средневековые источники* [Polish Latin-language medieval sources], Москва, Наука, 1990, с. 51).

¹⁸ A thorough investigation during the preparation for this publication has led to some changes in the statistical calculations, having been previously published in one of the author's work (M. Voloshchuk, *Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial ...*, p. 28–29).

¹⁹ А. Литвина, Ф. Успенский, *Знатная вдова в средневековой Скандинавии и на Руси: матримониальные стратегии и легенды власти* [The noble widow in medieval Scandinavia and Rus': matrimonial strategies and legends of the power], in П. Гайденко [Ed.], *Древняя Русь: во времени, в личностях, в идеях. Альманах* [The Ancient Rus': in time, in personalities, in ideas. Almanac], Санкт-Петербург; Казань, 2014, с. 12.

marriages during the middle of the 13th – the first half of the 14th centuries. Therefore, in particular, the direction of the future bilateral marriages for the Romanovich dynasty with the Krakovian-Sandomirian and Silesian princes changed towards the Masovian rulers, whose lands were hardly affected by the attacks of nomads in the 13th century. The descendants of Prince Konrad considered it honourable to become relatives with the more powerful and influential Kings of Rus' and Princes of Volodymyr. It is obvious from the examples of the Masovian (Semowit and Troyden) and particular Silesian (Kazimierz) princes of that time.

The brides from the Rurikids came from Kyiv, Chernihiv, Galych, Lutsk, Volhynian Volodymyr, Belz, Kholm or Lviv. Instead, the brides from the Piast dynasty went mainly to Kyiv, Murom, Novgorod, Volhynian Volodymyr (twice), Chernihiv, Dorogichyn and Lviv. The Ruthenian princess arrived in the lands of the Piasts in Kraków, Płock or Czersk, Wrocław (?), Gniezno, Poznań, Dobrzyń, Sieradz and Bytom. At the same time, the brides from the Piast dynasty went to Rus' from the Lednicki Island or Gniezno, Kraków, Płock, Dobrzyń or Łęczyca. In general, the geography of the bilateral marriages in the lands of the Piasts covered all the lands under their control, especially the Lesser and Greater Poland (*Polonia Minor*, *Polonia Maior*), Silesia (*Silezia*), Masovia (*Masovia*) etc. Almost all the rulers of Rus' in Kyivan, Volhynian, Galician lands (*sic!*) maintained family relationships with the Piasts.

At least 44 children (the proportion is 30/14) from Ruthenian mothers were born in the lands of the Piasts. The birth of two sons in the marriage of Prince Bolesław IV the Curly († 1173) is still a question of discussion among the historians, therefore, I am not going to consider it here. There was a clear Ruthenian influence, where a newborn baby in the lands of the Piast dynasty was given the name Yaroslav, Yuriy, Svyatoslav, Olga, Evdokia, Maria, Eufemia. In this case, boys most often were called Bolesław (seven cases), Władysław (six cases) and Mieszko (five cases). Instead, at least 14 children (10/4) were born from Polish mothers and there were not any examples of the Piasts' influence on boys' names, who were mostly called Volodymyr (two cases). At the same time, I will not address the subject of the birth of four sons of Prince Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich († after 1018) from an unknown wife of the Piast dynasty, the possibility of affiliation of Sophia († 1198) to the family of Prince Volodymyr Vsevolodovich († after 1136, possibly 1139–1142), the probability of an unknown daughter to have been born in the marriage of Vsevolod Sviatoslavich the Red († 1215) with the unknown daughter of Kazimierz II the Just († 1194) and the affiliation of Anastasia (1364/1365) to the family of the King of Rus' and

Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I († 1308 or 1315). The above-mentioned children were also not taken into consideration in the statistics.

Bolesław II the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082), who was the King of Poland during 1076–1079, was born from the Ruthenian mother Dobronega-Maria Borysivna (unlikely – Volodymyrivna) († 1087). But the future “All-Rus’ autocrat” Roman Mstislavich († 1205) was born from a Polish mother, Agnieszka.

The longest marriage of the Piast dynasty was considered the marriage of the Masovian Prince Konrad with Agafia Sviatoslavna († 1247–1252), 1207/1208–1247 – 39–40 years, they had 10 children (5/5). Instead, in Rus’ the matrimonial union of Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) with the Mieszko II Lambert’s († 1034) daughter, Gertrude († 1108), 1043/44–1078 – 34–35 years – was an example of marital fidelity. At the same time, there were several fruitful marriages, in which three (or four) children were born: the marriage of Princes Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1170) with Agnieszka († after 1182) – three (probably four) sons; Vsevolod the Red with an unknown daughter of Kazimierz II the Just – one son and two (maybe three) daughters, and the matrimonial alliance of the King of Rus’ and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I with the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Kazimierz († 1267), Eufemia († 1308) – two sons and one (maybe two) daughters.

During the very intensive bilateral matrimonial policy, I found out just a few causes of the departure of the Piasts (for example, Władysław II the Exile, † 1159) to the lands of the Rurikids, seeking political asylum and military assistance. At the same time, there are at least 15 similar cases in the nature of the escape of Ruthenian princes and nobles to the lands of the Piasts during the 11th–14th centuries (among the most famous: Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich, Izyaslav Yaroslavich probably with his sons, Yaropolk Izyaslavich, David Igorovich, Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich, Izyaslav Mstislavich, Volodymyr Yaroslavich, Oleg Yaroslavich “Настасьич”, Roman Mstislavich, Daniel and Vasyl’ko Romanoviches, Mikhail Vsevolodovich, Rostislav Mikhaylovich, Evstafiy Konstantinovich etc.). The chronology of the departure of the Rurikids to the lands of the Piasts is the following: there are five cases in the 11th century, four in the 12th century, and six in the 13th century²⁰. During the political or dynastic cataclysms in the lands of the Piasts of the 11th–14th centuries they mostly did not

²⁰ Andriy Nosenko, specialist of the Centrum Studiorum Mediaevalium, Department of the World History of the Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations of the Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University is currently preparing his thesis on this topic.

escape to their relatives in Rus', but to the German Empire or to the Bohemian and Moravian Přemyslids, where their relatives also lived.

CONCLUSION

The matrimonial contacts between the Rurikids and the Piasts were some of the most intense in the Eastern-Central Europe. There are only few exceptions known in the 11th and at the turn of the 13th-14th centuries. For example, the Prince Daniel coronation in 1253 as King of Rus' (*Russiae rex*), and the rise of the Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) in the diplomatic practice added prestige to the Romanoviches in the inter-dynastic relationship, that the neighbouring princes from Kraków, Sandomierz, Masovia, Kuyavia, Sieradz or Silesia did not possess. However, the experience of mutual relations allows us to assert that the Piasts perceived eastern neighbours cautiously, with respect, distrust and fear. Thus, in some critical circumstances for themselves, they preferred to seek support and military assistance not in Rus', but in the neighbouring Western countries, the German Empire. This was also facilitated by the sporadic dependence of part of the Piasts on the German rulers.

The common marriage between the Piasts and the Rurikids could not be accompanied by the negative connotations in the church environment related to "godless Liahs". However, as we can see, it did not prevent the dynamic of the mutual marriages. Undoubtedly, long matrimonial relations after the foundation of the Kingdom of Poland in 1320 and the permanent crisis in the lands of the Kingdom of Rus' since 1323, and especially in 1340, gave Kazimierz III († 1370) the opportunity to include the particular eastern lands in their possession after 1349, and to take part in the military operations against other rivals-heirs of the Romanoviches' heritage. The success of the foreign policy of the kings of Poland, however, ended with the inheritance of a part of the Romanoviches' title and the administrative reform of 1434, according to which, within the historical boundaries of the former Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) the Ruthenian voivodeship (*Palatinatus Russiae*) was formed, and it existed until the First Division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772.

A. DYNASTIC MARRIAGES

Several matrimonial alliances associated with the figures of the short-term King of Poland, Mieszko II Lambert and the King of Rus' and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I and his family were genealogically the most significant in comparison with the other bilateral marriages during the 11th–14th centuries.

1. The son of the Polish Prince Mieszko II Lambert Kazimierz I the Restorer († 1058) + Dobronega-Maria Borysivna (unlikely – Volodymyrivna) († 1087) (1041)²¹. Ukrainian historian Olena Yasynets'ka recently offered a new view on the Princess' affiliation. Discussing with their predecessors, that considered Dobronega-Maria to be the daughter of the Kyivan Prince Volodymyr Svyatoslavich²², Olena Yasynets'ka returned to the popular version (since the 19th century) about origin of Princess probable from the marriage of the son of Volodymyr Svyatoslavich Boris to an unknown wife (perhaps Adele) – the grandson of German Emperor Otto I († 973)²³. This direction of the discourse was

²¹ *Ипатьевская летопись*, стб. 142; “Postea vero de Rusia nobilem cum magnis divitiis uxorem accepit”, see: Gallus Anonymus, p. 80; Галл Аноним, *Хроника*, с. 51; *Хроника Галла Анонима*, с. 53; “Kazimer filius Miseconis ducis Polanorum [...] duxitque uxorem Regis Ruscie filiam”, see: *Annalista Saxo*, in *MGH. Scriptores*, Hannoverae, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006, t. 37, s. 379. See also: I. Назарко, *Доброніга – дочка святого Володимира Великого* [Dobroniga – the daughter of Saint Volodymyr the Great], in “Analecta ordinis S. Basilii Magni”, Romae, 1956, vol. 2 (8), fasc. 3–4, с. 319–324; Е. Пчелов, *Польская княгиня Мария Добронег Владимировна* [The Polish Princess Dobronega Vladimirovna], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Древняя Русь в системе этнополитических и культурных связей* [The Eastern Europe in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The Ancient Rus' in the system of the ethno-political and cultural ties]. *Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Пашуто, Москва, 18–20 апреля 1994 г. Тезисы докладов*, Москва, Институт российской истории РАН, 1994, с. 32–33; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 139.

²² O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 160–165; В. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси* [Foreign Policy of the Ancient Rus'], Москва, Наука, 1968, с. 39; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 131–139; А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь на международных путях: Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII вв.* [The Ancient Rus' on the International Routes: the interdisciplinary essays of the cultural, commercial, political relations of the 9th–12th centuries], Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, с. 572–573, 578–581; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 277 etc.

²³ О. Ясинецька, *До питання про особливості родоводу давньоруської князівни Марії-Добронегі, дружини правителя Польщі (з 1038/1043–1058 рр.)* [To the question of peculiarities of the lineage of the Ruthenian Princess Maria-Dobronega, the wife of the ruler

considered incomprehensible and unsubstantiated by, in particular, O. Balzer, L. Voytovych and others²⁴. However, O. Yasynets'ka, re-analysing the well-known evidence of the "Genealogy of the Welfs" of the 12th century and the so-called "Chronicle of Greater Poland" of the 14th century, where Dobronega was called the daughter of the Prince of Rus', the son of Odon, Roman (fili Romani principis Russie, filii Odonis), tried to add some arguments to the affiliation of the future wife of Prince Kazimierz to the family of Prince Boris. The key proof of the researcher is the baptismal name of Boris – Roman and the possibility of his marriage with the German wife²⁵. Although the time of the childbirth is not known exactly, it could have happened *terminus ante quem – terminus post quem* 1015–1016. Dobronega could have been born either before or after the death of her father. So at the moment of the marriage, the daughter of the Prince could have been at least 25–26 years old, while at the moment of her death – 71–72 years, which is normal. The name of one of her sons – Otto – could be the additional proof of O. Yasynets'ka's affiliation. This case can be associated with the use of the name of the great-grandfather of Dobronega-Maria – emperor Otto I or the uncle of her husband – one of Bolesław I the Brave's sons, Otto. However, the key problem, which the young scientist could not solve was the answer to the question, of why the *Tale of Bygone years* of the beginning of the 12th century called this woman the sister of Prince Yaroslav ("в си же времена вдасть Ярославъ сестру свою за Казимира")²⁶. If she belonged to the Prince Boris' family, then she would have been a niece to Yaroslav. However, I do not exclude that under the term "сестра" (sister) the later compiler could have noticed "сестриница"²⁷ – the niece, whom Dobronega could be to Yaroslav Volodymyrovich. None of our predecessors has suggested such a version. Five children were born in this marriage (in the chronological order): Bolesław the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082), Władysław Herman († 1102), Mieszko († 1065), Sviatoslava († 1126), Otto († 1048)²⁸.

of Poland (from 1038/1043–1058)], in "Краєзнавство", 2016, № ½ (94/95), с. 175–194.

²⁴ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 162; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 277.

²⁵ О. Ясинецька, *До питання...*, с. 177–178.

²⁶ Лаврентьевская летопись, стб. 154–155.

²⁷ See: И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникамъ* [Materials for the dictionary of the Ancient Rus'ian language by the written monuments]: в 3 т., Санкт-Петербург, Отделение русского языка и словесности Императорской АН, 1912, т. 3: Р–Я, с. 341.

²⁸ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 152–180.

2. Prince Mieszko II Lambert's daughter Gertrude († 1108) + Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) (between March 1, 1043 – February 29, 1044). Three sons who were born in this marriage were well mentioned in sources, particularly in the famous "Gertrude Code", and in historiography: Mstislav († 1069), Yaropolk († 1087), Svyatopolk († 1113)²⁹.

3. The son of Prince Lev Danilovich, Yuriy (*Rex Rusie, Princeps Ladimerie*) + the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Kazimierz († 1267), Eufemia († 1308) (1289/1290, but apparently until the mid- of 1290³⁰). It was the second marriage for him³¹, but unfortunately there were not any sources about the marriage from the end of the 13th – the beginning of the 14th century, excluding only J. Długosz of the 15th century³². Four children were born in the marriage: two sons – Andriy († 1323) and Lev († 1323), daughter Maria († 1341) and, probably, daughter Anastasia (1364/1365) as well³³.

4. The Prince of Czersk Troyden († 1341) + the daughter of the King of Rus' and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy Lvovich († 1308) Maria († 1341) (not later than 1309)³⁴. This marriage is known from the "*History of Poland*" by J. Długosz³⁵, and was well researched by D. Dąbrowski and J. Tęgowski³⁶. At least three sons – Bolesław (Yuriy) († 1340), Semowit († 1381), Kazimierz († 1355), and the daughter Eufemia († 1374) were born in the marriage³⁷.

²⁹ For the list of the children see: Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, s. 353–355. A daughter Evdokia, added by the Ukrainian scholar to other three sons, which, supposedly, married a son of Bolesław the Bold (the Generous) Mieszko, according K. Jasiński, J. Tęgowski and A. Nazarenko, could not be born in the marriage of Izyaslav Yaroslavich and Gertrude (K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 181; А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь*, с. 580; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12).

³⁰ There is in the brackets the duration of the marriages.

³¹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 134; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 205–217; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 506 etc.

³² Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], *Długossii Joannes, Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*: in 10 lib., Warszawa, PWN, 1975, lib. 9, s. 51. See also: D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 206–217, note 845: there is the most complete bibliography; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 506.

³³ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 134 (the author noted only three children); D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 217 (adds Anastasia to the list of the children).

³⁴ J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 31; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 243, note 998.

³⁵ Długossii Joannes, lib. 9, s. 215, 222.

³⁶ J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 31.

³⁷ J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 284–297, 442–444.

B. NOBILITY MARRIAGES

5. The unknown daughter of the Prince Bolesław I the Brave († after 1018), who was the King in 1025, + Prince Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich († after 1018) (between 1005–1012). This marriage, confirmed by the German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg³⁸ with, apparently, a tragic breakthrough, is well known by the scholars³⁹. Despite its duration, information about the children born in this marriage is controversial. J. Tęgowski proposed to seek the descendants of the spouses among the Pomeranian princes⁴⁰. In this case, the complex study of numerous graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, performed by Nadia Nikitenko and Vyacheslav Kornienko, is very intriguing. In addition to the serious changes in the church construction date, which the authors proposed in their monograph, they could find some notes about the sons of Sviatopolk – Mikhail († after 1018), Mercuriy-Ivan († after 1018), Stephen († after 1018) and Johannes († after 1018) on the walls of the cathedral⁴¹. According to the authors, the records appeared with a wide chronological interval from the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century. The historians also have noticed, that it is not clear whether it is about the sons of Prince Svyatopolk from the last unknown wife, or perhaps from one of the previous ones, unknown from the sources.

6. The Polish Prince and during 1076–1079 the King Bolesław II the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082) + unknown Ruthenian bride († 1089) (till 1069). This marriage was concluded in the time when Bolesław was the Prince, but not the King. The information about it can be found just in some notes by J. Długosz⁴²,

³⁸ R. Holtzmann [Ed.], *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg* [The Chronicle of the Bishop Thietmar from Merseburg], in *Monumenta Germaniae historia* (further –MGH). *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova Series 9, München, MGH, 1996, s. 530–531. See also: St. Rosik, *Światopełk I, książę Turowa i Kijowa, w świetle Kroniki Thietmara. W kręgu przekazów źródłowych do początku Białorusi* [Sviatopolk I, the Prince of Turow and Kyiv, in the light of the Thietmar's Chronicle. In the circle of the source messages to the beginning of Belarus], in "Studia slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana", Санкт-Петербург, 2011, № 2, с. 3–10.

³⁹ See for example: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 121–122.

⁴⁰ J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 10–11.

⁴¹ Н. Никитенко, В. Корниенко, *Древнейшие граффити Софии Киевской и время ее создания* [The oldest graffiti of St. Sophia of Kyiv and the time of its creation], Київ, Інститут української археографії і источниковедення ім. М. С. Грушевського, 2012, с. 160–167, 176; В. Корниенко, *Граффити Софії Київської XI – початку XVIII ст.* [The graffiti of St. Sophia of Kyiv of the 11th – the beginning of the 18th centuries], Київ, Видавничий дім "Слово", 2014, с. 185–188.

⁴² Z. Kozłowska-Budkowiaini [Eds.], Długossii Joannes, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni*

supplemented and extended by no rational argument by Russian historian Vasily Tatishchev in the 18th century. Dating this marriage in 1065, he considered the bride to be the Chernihiv Prince Sviatoslav Yaroslavich' daughter – Vysheslava⁴³. Part of the scientists unanimously have accepted his view⁴⁴. However, the rigorous investigations, conducted by A. Nazarenko proved the impossibility of such union, although the Russian historians do not reject the Ruthenian roots of the woman⁴⁵. Polish researcher Norbert Delestowicz in “*Excursion III. Vysheslava or mysterious wife of Boleslav Agnieszka?*” from his own monograph about this Polish ruler, has returned to an affiliation and origin of his wife (wives). Using not all works dedicated to this problem, he did not propose anything new except the analysis of already known versions about the possibility of two Bolesław's marriages⁴⁶. Just one son Mieszko († 1089) was born in the family of the Prince.

7. The Polish Prince and King Bolesław II the Bold's (the Generous) son Mieszko († 1089) + unknown *Ruthena puella* (probably, Catherine Vsevolodivna, † 1108⁴⁷) (1088). This marriage was contracted after the loss of the bride's father; his royal dignity and subsequent death was noted by Anonymous Gallus⁴⁸. J. Długosz even mentioned the name of the bride – Eudoxia (Evdokia)⁴⁹. The Polish chronicler's version has found support among historians⁵⁰. But it is useless.

Poloniae : in 10 lib., Warszawa, PWN, 1970, lib. 3–4, s. 95.

⁴³ В. Татищев, *История Российская: в 3 т.* [The Russian history], Москва, АСТ, 2003, т. 2, с. 84.

⁴⁴ Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша (книги I–VI): текст, перевод, комментарии* [The Ancient Rus' in the Polish History by Jan Długosz (Books I–VI): text, translation, comments], Москва, Памятники исторической мысли, 2004, с. 393; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 374.

⁴⁵ А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь...*, с. 581–582.

⁴⁶ N. Delestowicz, *Bolesław II Szczodry. Tragiczne losy wielkiego wojownika 1040/1042 – 2/3 IV 1018 albo 1082* [Bolesław II the Generous. The tragic fate of the great warrior 1040/1042 – 2/3 IV 1018 or 1082], Kraków, Avalon, 2016, s. 335–342 with the support of the unregulated versions of Tomasz Jurek (T. Jurek, *Agnes regina. W poszukiwaniu żony Bolesława Szczodrego* [Agnes regina. In the search of the Bolesław the Generous's wife], in “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 2006, R. LXXII, s. 95–104).

⁴⁷ Krzysztof Benyszkievicz defended this view with a viable argument (K. Benyszkievicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic 1069–1089. Źródła i tradycja historiograficzna* [Mieszko Bolesławowic 1069–1089. Sources and historiographic tradition], Kraków, Societas Vistulana, 2005, s. 160–163).

⁴⁸ Gallus Anonymus, p. 100; Галл Аноним, с. 59; *Хроника Галла Анонима*, с. 54.

⁴⁹ Długossii Joannes, lib. 3–4, s. 161; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 280.

⁵⁰ See for example: В. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика...*, с. 43; А. Головко, *Древняя Русь и*

A. Nazarenko and his followers, for example J. Tęgowski and K. Benyszkiewicz, have proved, that from the canonical point of view this woman did not belong to the family of Izyaslav Yaroslavich⁵¹. However, she could have belonged to the family of his younger brother, Prince Vsevolod (1029/1030–1093). The couple did not have any children, otherwise, according to K. Jasiński, Anonymous Gallus would have certainly mentioned them⁵². Before her husband's death, as K. Benyszkiewicz suggests, the widow returned to Rus', where she died in 1108⁵³.

8. The Polish Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth († 1138) + the daughter of Sviatopolk Izyaslavich Zbyslava († 1114) (1102/1103). This marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicles⁵⁴. The Polish annals of the 11th–13th centuries, have recently been studied by Wojciech Drelicharz⁵⁵, who mentioned the wife of Prince Bolesław as well⁵⁶. She is known also from the "*Hagiography of Bambergian Bishop Otto*" by a monk and scholar of the Mechelsberger Benedictine monastery Gerbot (1145–1168)⁵⁷, and also with some inaccuracies from the "*Chronicle of Greater Poland*" of the 14th century⁵⁸. J. Długosz, working with the Ruthenian chronicles

Польша в политических взаимоотношениях X – первой трети XIII вв. [The Ancient Rus' and Poland in the political relations of the 10th – the first third of the 13th centuries], Киев, Наук. думка, 1988, с. 59.

⁵¹ А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь...*, с. 580; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12; K. Benyszkiewicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic*, s. 164.

⁵² K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 181.

⁵³ K. Benyszkiewicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic*, s. 162.

⁵⁴ Лаврентьевская летопись, стб. 276.

⁵⁵ W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka Małopolska XIII–XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* [The Lesser Poland annals of the 13th–15th centuries. Directions of the development of the large compiled annals], in "Rozprawy wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego", Kraków, PAU, 2003, t. 99, s. 263–380, 313–319.

⁵⁶ "1103. Boleslaus tercius duxit uxorem", *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny* [The ancient Świętokrzyskie annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 773; "Item anno 1104. Boleslaus tercius duxit uxorem Rutenam", *Rocznik Kamieniecki* [The Kamieniecki annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*, Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 778; "Boleslaus autem genuit de Ruthena filium Wlasislaum", W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *E codicibus Plocensibus*, in X. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz [Eds.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 5, s. 993 etc.

⁵⁷ "[...] post annos paucos Ruthenissa uxor Boleslai moritur", *Herbordi vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 74.

⁵⁸ "Iste Boleslaus duxit uxorem, de cuius nuptiarum solemnitate praemisum est, filiam regis Haliciae unicum [the author made a mistake in an affiliation of Bolesław's wife. – *Aut.*], de qua genuit Wladislaum secundum et unam filiam", *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska* [The chronicle of Boguchwał and Godysław Pask], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*, Lwów,

and the Polish sources of the 12th–13th centuries, duplicated the marriage's data in the 15th century⁵⁹. The bride and the groom were second cousins, which was known at the court in Kraków even before the marriage⁶⁰. They gave birth only to one son Władysław, later called the Exiled († 1159) and, probably, unknown daughter during their marriage⁶¹.

9. The Polish Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth's daughter Riksa († 1155) + Novgorodian Prince Volodymyr Vsevolodovich († after 1136, maybe 1139–1142) (between 1134/1135 or 1136–1138). This marriage is known not only from the old historiography⁶², but also from argued investigations by D. Dąbrowski⁶³. The difference in the views between them is only in the question about the possibility of the birth of their daughter Sofia († 1198) during the marriage. For example, K. Jasiński and later J. Tęgowski, according to the Alberic's "*Chronicle*" from the Three Source Cistercian Monastery of Châlons-sur-Marne Episcopate in Champagne (the 13th century)⁶⁴, defended the filiation of this woman to the family of Prince Volodymyr and Riksa⁶⁵. But D. Dąbrowski, using much more sources, for example, of Scandinavian origin, and showing the research flaws in the work of their predecessors with the Alberic's "*Chronicle*", has related this woman to the family of the Prince of Polotsk Volodar Hlibovich († after 1167)⁶⁶. I must note also the occasional, trivial evidence of monk Alberic about the

Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 494; Н. Щавелева [Ed.], «Великая хроника» о Польше, Руси и их соседях XI–XIII вв. [“The Great chronicle” about Poland, Rus’ and their neighbors of the 11th–13th centuries], Москва, Издательство МГУ, 1987, с. 81.

⁵⁹ Długossii Joannes, lib. 3–4, s. 210–211; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 293.

⁶⁰ Gallus Anonymus, p. 159, see also: G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów. Rola społeczna Piastowskich żon i córek do połowy XII wieku – studium porównawcze* [Women in the Piast dynasty. Social role of the Piast's wives and daughters by the middle of the 12th century – a comparative study], Toruń, Wydawnictwo naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013, s. 185–186).

⁶¹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 204, 207.

⁶² See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 210–217 (especially pp. 212–213); J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16–17.

⁶³ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 212–213.

⁶⁴ P. Scheffer-Boichorst [Ed.], *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium fontium, a monacho Novi monasteris hoiensis interpolato*, in *MGH. Scriptores*, Hannoverae, Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1874, vol. XXIII, s. 841.

⁶⁵ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 213, J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16.

⁶⁶ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 742–751.

events outside his homeland, which often raises long-lasting debate in the scientific world⁶⁷.

10. The Masovian Prince Bolesław IV the Curly († 1173) + the daughter of the Novgorodian Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich (1095–1138) Verkhyslava († between 1150 and 1167 (1168?)) (not later than the beginning of 1141)⁶⁸. The marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicle of the 12th century⁶⁹, and later from J. Długosz⁷⁰. According to J. Tęgowski, the woman obviously did not give birth to any child, but the prince's descendants are known in the family, according to him – from the second marriage⁷¹. D. Dąbrowski, partly agreeing with K. Jasiński's point of view⁷², considers at least the sons Bolesław and probably Leszek as well, born by Verkhyslava⁷³. But, he did not propose any new arguments

⁶⁷ See the discussions about the last Roman Mstislavich' campaign in the land of the Piasts in June 1205 according to Alberic's "*Chronicle*": О. Головка, *Останній похід князя Романа Мстиславича у джерелах та історичній думці* [The last campaign of the Prince Roman Mstislavich in the sources and historical opinion], in "Український історичний журнал", 2009, № 4, с. 30–31, 34–35; W. Nagirnyj, *Polityka zagraniczna księstw ziem halickiej i wołyńskiej w latach 1198 (1199)–1264* [The foreign policy of the Principalities of Galicia and Volhynia lands in the years 1198 (1199)–1264], Kraków, PAU, 2011, s. 132–138; А. Майоров, *Русь, Византия и Западная Европа. Из истории внешнеполитических и культурных связей XII–XIII вв.* [Rus', Byzantium and the Western Europe. From the history of the foreign policy and cultural ties of the 12th–13th centuries.], Санкт-Петербург, Дмитрий Буланин, 2011, с. 120–130.

⁶⁸ In our opinion, not only the marriage, but also the general biography of Verkhyslava, is the best described by J. Tęgowski and D. Dąbrowski, which rightly fixed that the first note annal's about the young Princess appeared after the engagement in 1136. But the wedding was in 1141, because Verkhyslava's fiance did not reached the age of the majority in 1136 from the canonical point of view. The difference between the views of historians is only in the question of the accurate dating marriage (see: J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 202. For more detailed reasoning, see: Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 192–209).

⁶⁹ Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 300.

⁷⁰ "Boleslaus Polonorum dux et monarcha cognomina Crispus [...] cum Wszewoldimiro Russie tunc principe Halicziensi affinitatem iungit et filiam suam Anastasiam accipit in uxorem. Que cum ampla dote a patre et principibus Russie Cracouiam deducta [...] et nupciarum solennitas pluribus diebus Cracowie habita, prelatis et baronibus Polonie sua presenciam, militibus vero hastarum lusu ceterisque militaribus actibus eam cohonestantibus", Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], Długossii Joannes, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae: in 10 lib.*, Warszawa, PWN, 1973, lib. 5–6, s. 49; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 320–321.

⁷¹ J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 17.

⁷² K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 230.

⁷³ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 209.

over K. Jasiński, who contends that somebody had to be born in such a long marriage life⁷⁴.

11. The Silesian Prince Bolesław V the Tall († 1201) married to the Ol'govich dynasty's representative Zvenyslava Vsevolodivna († between 1155–1163) (1141/1142). The marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicles⁷⁵, and was genealogically well-studied by K. Jasiński⁷⁶ and D. Dąbrowski⁷⁷. The couple definitely gave birth to the son Yaroslav († 1201) and the daughter Olga († 1175–1180), and, perhaps, the daughter Bertha († after 1174), which, according to the scholars, is difficult to prove⁷⁸.

12. The Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth's daughter, Agnieszka († after 1182) + the Prince of Volodymyr Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1170) (between the end of 1149–1151). After verifying diverse sources on the marriage, I noticed that it was brilliantly researched at first by O. Balzer⁷⁹, then by K. Jasiński⁸⁰, and a few years ago by D. Dąbrowski⁸¹. The couple gave birth to exactly three sons: Roman († 1205), Vsevolod († 1195) and Volodymyr (1170). Sviatoslav's affiliation († 1182–1184) remains debatable, and has been known by the historians for a long time⁸². D. Dąbrowski is the latest one, who considers that Sviatoslav was born by Agnieszka⁸³. The Polish historian means, that, if Sviatoslav was illegitimate, the chronicle's author would surely mention it, as he did in the case of the illegitimate born of Galician Prince Yaroslav's son Oleg, known from the Kyivan chronicle as "Настасьич" (son of Nastasia). However, in our opinion, the Kyivan origin of this passage should be taken into consideration. At first, the Kyivan author was permanently hostile to the Galician Princes from the Rostislavich dynasty, and, secondly – sympathized to the Volhynian Monomakhoviches.

13. The Prince of the Great Poland Mieszko III the Old († 1202) + the Prince Yuriy Volodymyrovich, nicknamed Dolgorukiy's († 1157), or less likely – the Prince Izyaslav Mstislavich' († 1154) daughter Evdokia or Evdoksia († after 1187)

⁷⁴ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 229–230.

⁷⁵ Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 308, 313.

⁷⁶ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 63.

⁷⁷ D. Dąbrowski, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 175–178.

⁷⁸ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 77–81.

⁷⁹ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 321–322.

⁸⁰ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 262–263.

⁸¹ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 226–230; Idem, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 160–175.

⁸² J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 19, note 60.

⁸³ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 252.

(between 1151–1154 or 1158–1159)⁸⁴. It was the second marriage for Mieszko III. We can read about his wife's Ruthenian origin in a few notes of the 13th century's chronicles. Her name was mentioned next to the husband and the sons' names between the benefactors of the Holy Sepulcher monastery in Miechów⁸⁵, and in the "Book of the Dead" of the monastery in Strzelno 1198, as well etc⁸⁶. They had three sons, Bolesław († 1195), Mieszko († 1193) and Władysław († 1231) and two daughters Salomea (?) and Anastasia († 1240) were born⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ The arguments for the dating of the marriage in 1151–1154 would provide the affiliation of Evdokia to Izyaslav Mstislavich, who was the Kyivan Prince at that moment. The Polish chronicle of the 12th–13th by Vincentius Kadłubek called him *rex* (see: "filia regis Ruthenorum", *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska i jej skrócenie przez bezimennego dopełniacza kroniki Mierzwy zrobione* [The Polish Chronicle by master Wincenty and its shortening by a nameless complement of the Mierzwa chronicles], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH* : in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym 1872, t. 2, s. 379; B. Kürbis [Ed.], *Misztr Wincenty Kadłubek. Kronika polska* [The Polish Chronicle], Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003, s. 175; O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 295; Н. Щавелева, *Польки – жены русских князей (XI – середина XII в)* [The Polish women – wives of the Ruthenian Princes (the 11th – mid- 12th century)], in А. Новосельцев [Ed.], *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР. Материалы и исследования. 1987 год* [The most ancient states on the territory of the USSR. Materials and researches. 1987], Москва, Наука, 1989, с. 56; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 241–242; M. Przybył, *Władysław Łaskonogi książę wielkopolski 1202–1231* [Władysław Łaskonogi the Prince of the Great Poland 1202–1231], Poznań, Wydawnictwo WBP, 1998, s. 14–15; J. Tegowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 19; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 469). However, there are the supporters of another bride's branch version. They consider, that the Princess was the daughter of Yuriy Volodymyrovich (D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 780; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 715–725), dating the marriage between 1158–1159 (see: М. Волощук, *Rutheni in Polonia XI–XIII вв.: краткие очерки проблемы* [Rutheni in Polonia in the 11th–13th centuries: a short descriptions of the problem], in V. Nagirny [Ed.], *Colloquia Russica*, Kraków, 2014, series I, vol. 4. (*Rurikids in dynastic relations: politics, customs, culture, religion (10th–16th c.). Publication after 4th International Conference, Mogilno, 14–16th November, 2013*), s. 146). It should be remembered that the *rex* connotation concerning the Ruthenian princes could be used in the medieval Western European narratives, in contrast to the official acts, sometimes quite arbitrarily (P. Boroń, *Kniazowie, królowie, carowie... Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu* [Princes, kings, tsars... The titles and names of Slavic rulers in the early Middle Ages], Katowice, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2010, s. 135–140).

⁸⁵ "Mesacho Pollonie dux et prima uxor eius Helizabet et filij eorum Odo et Stephanus; item Eudoxia secunda uxor eius et tres filii eorum Bolezlaus, Meseco, Vlodizlauus", F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Malopolski* [The Lesser Polish diplomatic codex] (further – *KDM*), Kraków, Nakładem Akademii umijetności Krakowskiej, 1886, t. 2, s. 16.

⁸⁶ "Ilustrissimus dux Mesko Poloniae cum consorte sua Eudoxia", W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *Liber mortuorum monasterii Strzelnensis ordinis Praemonstratensis*, in *MPH*: in 6 v., t. 5, s. 730.

⁸⁷ Stanisław Smolka was one of the first, who named the sons of Mieszko III, born from Evdokia

14. Unknown daughter († not earlier 1198/1199) of the Polish Prince Kazimierz II the Just († 1194) + the Prince of Chernihiv Vsevolod Svyatoslavich the Red († 1215) (1178/1179). We know about the time of the marriage from the Kyivan chronicle of the 12th century⁸⁸. The chronicle of the Romanoviches (the so-called Galician-Volhynian chronicle of the 13th century) notes the kinship ties of the children born in this marriage to the Princes of Masovia⁸⁹. One of the first investigations of this matrimonial union belongs to O. Balzer, although some studies were conducted earlier as well⁹⁰. However, there is still unanimity among historians regarding a number of the children born in the marriage. Undoubtedly the unknown wife gave birth to the son Mikhail († 1246), whose fate is best known from the historical studies of the Canadian scholar Martin Dimnik⁹¹. Andriy († until December 1288), mentioned in the chronicle of the Romanoviches at the end of 1259, in the opinion of L. Voytovych, was born in this marriage as well⁹². Yet, recent researches by D. Dąbrowski have rejected this possibility, considering that he was rather a son of the Prince Vsevolod Yaropolkovich († until 1261), which was the ruler of Chernihiv during 1246–1261⁹³. M. Dimnik does not mention any brothers of Mikhail as well⁹⁴. However, both L. Voytovych and the Canadian researcher tend to see, among two children of Vsevolod the Red, two or three daughters: Agafia († 1238), Vera (?) († after 1207) and, possibly, an unknown one († ?)⁹⁵. In general, despite the current

(St. Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek* [Mieszko the Old and his time], opracował i posłowiem opatrzył J. Dobosz, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2011, s. 233). However, more serious investigations of the prince's family belong to the successors of the scholar. See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 242, note 57–58; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 725.

⁸⁸ Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 612.

⁸⁹ *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 223 etc.

⁹⁰ *О Черниговскихъ князьяхъ по Любецкому синодику и о Черниговскомъ княжестве въ татарское время* [About the Chernihivian Princes by the Lyubech synodic and about Chernihiv Principality in the Tatar time], изслѣдование Р. Вл. Зотова, Санктъ-Петербург, Изд. Археографическа комиссія, 1892, с. 273.

⁹¹ M. Dimnik, *Mikhail, prince of Chernigov and Grande Prince of Kiev 1224–1246*, in "Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies and Texts", Toronto, 1981, № 52, p. 1–135.

⁹² *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 411.

⁹³ D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 186; Idem, *Genealogia Mscisławowiczów*, s. 382; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 405.

⁹⁴ M. Dimnik, *The dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 281.

⁹⁵ Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 408; M. Dimnik, *The dynasty of Chernigov*, p. 281. D. Dąbrowski dates the birth of the third, unknown daughter by the name of Vsevolod the

deficient level of the Olgovich dynasty's genealogical researches, it has been partially supported by other colleagues⁹⁶. D. Donskoy's attempts to prove the origin of the daughters from the second wife of the Prince of Chernihiv are unsuccessful in the absence of the proper arguments⁹⁷.

15. The Polish Prince Bolesław the Curly's unknown daughter († after 1173/1174–1178) + Vasyl'ko Yaropolkovich († after 1178 and before 1182) (between 1173/1174–1178). O. Balzer was the first who determined this marriage, by comparing indirect source evidences⁹⁸. Later, K. Jasiński⁹⁹ and other scholars subsequently expanded it by additional arguments¹⁰⁰. But, as D. Dąbrowski brilliantly has demonstrated in his last works, just the identification of the prince left a number of questions¹⁰¹. At the same time, the Polish historian is not completely sure (although he did not give convincing arguments) in general, of the existence of this marriage¹⁰². The main problem is in the method of the genealogical constructions by the predecessors of D. Dąbrowski, who described the events of 1182, using "*The Russian History*" of V. Tatishchev¹⁰³ – very disputable work from the point of view of the authenticity of the author's sources, as in 2005 demonstrated Ukrainian scholar Oleksiy Tolochko¹⁰⁴. However, after the publication of his book, there appeared many serious remarks addressed to the Ukrainian historian. The main ones were about the validity of Tolochko's conclusion, as though the Russian historian of the 18th century had "invented" all

Red, in 1212, and considers her as a future wife of the Vladimir-Suzdal Prince Yuriy Vsevolodovich (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 83–86).

⁹⁶ See: А. Кузнецов, *Владимирский князь Георгий Всеволодович в политической истории первой трети XIII в. Особенности преломления источников в историографии* [The Vladimirian Prince George Vsevolodovich in the political history of the first third of the 13th century. Features of the refraction of the sources in historiography], Нижний Новгород, Издательство Нижегородского университета, 2006, с. 139; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 307.

⁹⁷ Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи*, с. 2, 205, 503.

⁹⁸ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 330–334.

⁹⁹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 274–275.

¹⁰⁰ See: Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 703, note 3119.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, s. 702–710.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, s. 209.

¹⁰³ В. Татищев, *История Российская*, т. 2, с. 399.

¹⁰⁴ А. Толочко, «История Российская» Василия Татищева: источники и известия [“The Russian History” by Vasily Tatishchev: the sources and news], Москва; Киев, Новое литературное обозрение; Критика, 2005, с. 323.

sources¹⁰⁵. In my opinion, V. Tatishchev could use in his work the faithful genealogical testimony¹⁰⁶. Nothing is known about children born in the marriages.

16. Mieszko III's son Odon († 1194) + the daughter of called in the "*The Tale of Igor's Campaign*" as "Осьмомисл" Galician Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrkovich (1130–1187)¹⁰⁷. The historiographical tradition has called her Vysheslava († after 1194)¹⁰⁸ (until 1184/1187). This marriage was reconstructed by comparing the texts of Vincentius Kadłubek's "*Chronicle*" and "*The brothers' book from Lubin*"¹⁰⁹. Presumably, the matrimonial alliance was contracted, when Odon ruled in Sandomierz¹¹⁰ – geographically the closest to Galicia. The couple had two sons, Władysław († 1239) and Odon († 1225), as well as a daughter, Riksa († 1238).

¹⁰⁵ See, in particular: A. Майоров, *Русь, Византия и Западная Европа*, с. 19–108.

¹⁰⁶ M. Voloshchuk, *Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial connections...*, p. 16–17.

¹⁰⁷ The version of the fatherhood of Odon's bride from Prince Volodymyr Yaroslavich, is among the alternatives, however, little convincing (see: S. Łaguna, *Rodowód Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], in "Kwartalnik historyczny", 1897, t. 11, s. 762–763). There are also other views about the wedding's date, which historians sometimes date in 1177 (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 22).

¹⁰⁸ One of the first fundamental investigations about the pedigree of the Piast dynasty in the late 19th century was conducted by O. Balzer. However, the historian did not mention the name of the daughter of the Galician ruler, considering that it was probably unknown (O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tab. IV). D. Donskoy also does not know, who Odon's wife is (Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи*, с. 222–223). But the rest of the scholars, sometimes incorrectly referring to the O. Balzer's work, but comparing the different documents by their origin, called this woman Vysheslava, without indicating any biographical information about her (see: *Genealogia*, tabl. 31; Н. Щавелева, *Польские латиноязычные средневековые источники*, с. 105, 123; J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej: (VIII wiek – 1370)* [The history of the Piasts' Poland: (8th century – 1370)], St. Grodziski [Ed.], Kraków, FOGRA Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1999, s. 153; J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III. C. Arbitrzesi książąt – pełnia władzy)* [The Polish political elite of the 12th century (part III C. Arbitrators of the princes – full of the power)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 1999, t. 8, s. 54–55; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 350).

¹⁰⁹ The Polish chronicler of the 12th – the beginning of the 13th centuries called Mieszko III's father-in-law of the Galician Prince (dux Galiciae socer filii), see: *Wincentego Kronika polska...*, s. 378; Misztr Wincenty Kadłubek, *Kronika polska*, s. 174). But in "*Lubin brothers' book*" compiled in the 12th century, after the main contributors "Dux Bolezlaus. Dux Mesico. Dux Odo cum uxore et filiis [...] Domna Wisseslawa suscepit fraternitam cum filio Wlodizlao", see: F. Papée [Ed.], *Liber fraternitatis Lubinensis*, in *MPH*, t. 5, s. 576, 578. However the name of Odon's wife, is questionable. *Domna Wisseslawa* with his son Władysław did not necessarily belong to the prince's family. This woman is not referred to as *ducissa*. Instead, the *domina* term was used extensively.

¹¹⁰ J. Bieniak assumed the probability of this (J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III. C. Arbitrzesi książąt – pełnia władzy)*, s. 53).

17. The Masovian Prince Konrad († 1247) + the daughter of the representative of the Chernihiv-Siversky Ol'goviches Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich († 1210/1211), shortly before the marriage captured in Volhynian Volodymyr – Agafia († 1247–1252) (between 1207–1208/1209)¹¹¹. “*The catalogs of the bishops of Krakow*” and the “*History of Poland*” by J. Długosz informed us about her affiliation¹¹². The couple’s married life is well-researched by historians¹¹³. The parents have brought up ten children, for example five sons (Bolesław († 1248), Kazimierz († 1267), Semowit († 1262), Siemomysł († 1241) and Mieszko († 1237 or earlier) and five daughters (Evdokia († shortly before or after 1266/1267), Ludmiła († ?), Salomea († after 1268), Judit († 1257–1263), Dubrawka († probably 1265))¹¹⁴.

18. The Krakovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White († 1227) + unknown daughter of the Prince of Lutsk Ingvar Yaroslavich († before May 1223)

¹¹¹ The marriage dating is very different. According to O. Balzer – between 1207–1210 (O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 478), to Bronisław Włodarski – 1207/8 (B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś (1194–1340)* [Poland and Rus’ (1194–1340)], Warszawa, PWN, 1966, s. 44), to A. Szymczakowa – between 1207–1209 (A. Szymczakowa, *Książniczki ruskie...*, s. 32) to K. Jasiński – nor earlier than 1208 (K. Jasiński, *Genealogia księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita* [The genealogy of the Masovian Prince Semovit], in *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów* [Homines et societas. The times of the Piasts and the Jagiellonians], Poznań, Wyd-wo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół nauk, 1997, s. 117–124; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 36–37), to J. Tęgowski – “Probably at the same time, when Leszek [the White. – *Aut.*], as Włodarski assumes” (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 24); to L. Voytovych – 1209 (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 411), to Henryk Samsonowicz – 1207 (H. Samsonowicz, *Konrad Mazowiecki (1187/88 – 31 VIII 1247)* [The Masovian Konrad (1187/88 – 31 VIII 1247)], Kraków, Avalon, 2008, s. 50) etc.

¹¹² J. Szymański [Ed.], *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, in *MPH*, Series nova, Warszawa, PWN, 1974, t. 10, fasc. 2, s. 90; Długossii Joannes, lib. 5–6, s. 200; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 351.

¹¹³ See: М. Волощук, *До питання присутності русинів при дворі княгині Агафії Святославівни (між 1207/1209–1247/1248) – дружини мазовецького князя Конрада* [To the question of the presence of the Ruthenians at the court of Princess Agafia Svyatoslavna (between 1207/1209–1247/1248) – the wife of the Masovian Prince Konrad], in P. Guzowski, M. Liedke i K. Boroda [Eds.], *Inter Regnum et Ducatum*, Białystok, Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2018, s. 633–657.

¹¹⁴ K. Jasiński, *Genealogia księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita*, s. 124. However, scientists sometimes offer slightly different data (see: I. Okraszewska, *Agafia (1191/1196–1247), księżna mazowiecka, krakowska i łęczycka* [Agafia (1191/1196–1247), the Princess of Masovia, Krakow and Łęczyca], in M. Malinowski [Ed.], *Niebem i sercem okryta* [Covered by the heaven and the heart], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002, s. 70–71), that’s why this issue is still controversial. See also: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 49–94; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330–331.

(the end of 1207 – the beginning of 1208). D. Dąbrowski, carefully analysing just a single chronicle's record¹¹⁵, separated this first marriage of Leszek the White¹¹⁶. The couple did not give birth to any children.

19. The Kracovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White († 1227) + the daughter of the former Novgorodian Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich' († the end of 1205–1209) Grzymisława († 1258). D. Dąbrowski¹¹⁷ has proved the affiliation of the bride on the basis of a detailed comparison of the *Novgorodian first chronicles* and the J. Długosz's "*History of Poland*"¹¹⁸. The marital life and widowhood of Grzymisława are very well known due to a large number of diverse sources¹¹⁹. She gave birth to the daughter Salomea († 1268) and son

¹¹⁵ Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 720.

¹¹⁶ D. Dąbrowski, *Dwa ruskie małżeństwa Leszka Białego. Karta z dziejów Rusi halicko-wołyńskiej i stosunków polsko-ruskich w początkach XIII wieku* [Two Ruthenian marriages of Leszek the White. A card from the history of Galician-Volhynian Rus' and the Polish-Ruthenian relations in the early 13th century], in "Roczniki historyczne", 2006, R. 72, s. 78; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 344–348. The scholar's view has become almost universally acceptable, although some of his opponents, for example, the author of a monograph about the wife of Prince Leszek the White, Wojciech Zabłocki, did not offer anything new to this question (W. Zabłocki, *Grzymisława Ingwarówna, księżna krakowsko-sandomierska* [Grzymisława Ingwarówna, the Princess of Krakow and Sandomierz], Kraków, Universitas, 2012, s. 40–41). Recently, Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio has supported the version about two Ruthenian marriages of the Kracovian-Sandomirian ruler, although she is not sure of the affiliation of the second wife of Leszek the White – Grzymisława, proposed by D. Dąbrowski (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki. O utrzymanie władzy dla synów (koniec XII w. – początek XIV w.)* [The Piast princess-regents. For maintaining power for the sons (the end of the 12th century – the beginning of the 14th century)], Kraków, Avalon, 2016, s. 65–67).

¹¹⁷ D. Dąbrowski, *Dwa ruskie małżeństwa Leszka Białego*, s. 85; Idem, *Genealogia Mscisławowiczów*, s. 588; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 642–648. See also: A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 65–95.

¹¹⁸ "В то же лето родиша Новеороде у Ярослава дци княгыни на Рожьство богородици", *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, in ПСРЛ, Москва; Ленинград, Издательство АН СССР, 1950, Т. 3, с. 39; "Itaque ex consiliariorum sententia Lesthko Albus virginem et genere et moribus formaque ingenuam Grzymyslawam, filiam Iaroslai ducis Russie, accipit in uxorem, et nupcie sumptu et apparatu magnifico in urbe Cracouiensi celebrantur, quarum celebritas per actus militares et hastarum ludos in dies plures fuit producta. Ea demum affinitate tam Polonis quam Ruthenis certa et optima pax effulsit iugi bello, quo se utrimque collidebat, penitus sublatis, et superioribus iniuriis obliterates, captive quoque in bellis transactis capti, tam ingénue quam aggresstes manudimissi", Długossii Joannes, lib. 5–6, s. 232; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 361.

¹¹⁹ See: M. Voloshcsuk, *W kwestii obecności Rusinów na dworze księżnej Grzymisławy – wdowy (1227–1258) po księciu krakowsko-sandomierskim Leszku Białym* [Regarding the presence

Bolesław († 1279)¹²⁰.

20. The Masovian Prince Konrad's son Bolesław († 1248) + the former Prince of Belz Oleksandr Vsevolodovich' († after Spring of 1234) daughter Anastasia († after 1249) (the late Spring 1244 – August 17/18, 1245). The circumstances of the marriage are known from the chronicle of the Romanoviches¹²¹. This marriage has been recently investigated by D. Dąbrowski. The researcher did not find any record on any child¹²².

21. The Volhynian Prince Vasyl'ko Romanovich († 1269) + the Masovian Prince Konrad's daughter Dubrawka († perhaps 1265) (until December 5, 1247). This marriage is known from the content of the Pope Innocent IV's bull of December 5, 1247. The brides and fiancé were in close family ties, mentioned, for example in the chronicle of the Romanoviches¹²³. This matrimonial alliance was well-studied by D. Dąbrowski¹²⁴. The wife of Prince Vasyl'ko gave birth to the daughter Olga († after 1288) and son Volodymyr († 1288)¹²⁵.

22. The Masovian Prince Semowit I († 1262) + Pereyaslava († 1283) (1251–1255), probably, the daughter of Daniel Romanovich. The ethnicity of the woman is known by J. Długosz¹²⁶. There is information that the marriage agreement took place during the Masovian Prince Konrad's funeral in Płock on

of the Ruthenians at the court of Princess Grzymiślawa – widows (1227–1258) by the Krakovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White], in T. Grabarczyk, A. Kowalska-Pietrzak [Eds.], *Tractu temporis. Ludzie – regiony – fakty* [Tractu temporis. Peoples – regions – facts], Łódź; Wieluń, Wieluńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2017, s. 25–65.

¹²⁰ A. Szymczakowa, *Książniczki ruskie...* s. 28; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 39–49.

¹²¹ *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 299–300, note 794.

¹²² A. Szymczakowa, *Książniczki ruskie...*, s. 36; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 25; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 389–399; see also the bibliography of the previous studios; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 412–417.

¹²³ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330, note 1421, and also: *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 496–497, 499, 505–507, 509–510, 514–515.

¹²⁴ D. Dąbrowski, *Małżeństwa Wasylka Romanowicza. Problem mazowieckiego pochodzenia drugiej żony* [The marriages of Vasyl'ko Romanovich. The problem of the Masovian origin of the second wife], in K. Zielińska-Melkowska [Ed.], *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów* [The Central and Eastern Europe in the policy of the Piasts], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997, s. 221–233; Idem, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 86–95; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330–331.

¹²⁵ Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 404–409.

¹²⁶ "(P)reislawia ducissa genere Ruthena consors Semowiti Maszovie ducis moritur secundo Idus Aprilis", see: Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], *Długossii Joannes, Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae* : in 10 lib., Warszawa, PWN, 1975, lib. 7–8, s. 225.

August 31, 1247¹²⁷. The majority of the historians believed the late medieval chronicler's details, considering her as the representative of the Romanoviches dynasty¹²⁸. D. Dąbrowski recently has denied such affiliation, proposing indirect evidence to his alternative version. In general, the scholar offered other variants of Pereyaslava's penetration to Masovia: from Smolensk, Turov, Pinsk or even Suzdal¹²⁹. However, some historians without the appropriate counterarguments continue to call this woman "Galician Pereyaslava" or "the daughter of the Galician Prince Daniel Romanovich"¹³⁰. Three children were born in the marriage: Konrad († 1294), Bolesław († 1313) and Salomea († 1301)¹³¹.

23. The ruler of Sieradz Leszek the Black († 1288) + the former Galician Prince from the Olgovich dynasty Rostislav Mikhaylovich' († after 1264) daughter Agripina (another name Griffina) († between 1305/7–1309). The marriage is dated by the *Annals* of Traska on 1265¹³² and well-studied by the historians of the 19th–21st centuries¹³³. Griffina's married life during the 1265–1271/1274, before the death of her former husband in 1288 and after that – *terminus ante quem*

¹²⁷ B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś*, s. 172; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 27–28.

¹²⁸ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tablica VI; A. Szymczakowa, *Książniczki ruskie...*, s. 37; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 27–28; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 67–70; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 501, and also: J. Pakulski, *Zaginiona pieczęć księżnej mazowieckiej Perejasławy z 1276 r. a trzynastowieczne Sigilla księżnych Polski dzielnicowej* [The lost seal of the Masovian Princess Perejaslava from 1276 and the 13th century Sigilla of the Princess of the divided Poland], in J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz [Eds.], *Nihil superfluum esse. Studium z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżanowskiej* [Nihil superfluum esse. A study of the Middle Ages history, dedicated for Jadwiga Krzyżanowska], Poznań, Instytut historii UAM, 2000, s. 247–262; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 270–271.

¹²⁹ D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 656–669; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей*, с. 681–695.

¹³⁰ J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 270; A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 153–172.

¹³¹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 69–70, 80, 179. Janusz Grabowski calls only two sons of the married couple: J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 271–275.

¹³² "Dux Lestko duxit Griphinam uxorem suam", *Rocznik Traski* [The Traska's annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 5 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 839.

¹³³ See: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 581–583; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne...*, s. 28–29; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 99–104; М. Волошук, *Княгиня Грифіна Ростиславівна, її польський шлюб та ймовірне руське оточення двору* [The Princess Griffina Rostislavna, her Polish marriage and the probable Ruthenian surroundings of the court], in "Галичина: науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис", Івано-Франківськ, 2017, вип. 28, с. 12–19 etc.

1305/7–1309, when the Princess died, is very well known from the Polish narratives¹³⁴, hagiographies¹³⁵ and acts¹³⁶, in particular, prepared by her¹³⁷. The generalization and additions to the woman's biography were completed by J. Długosz¹³⁸. The couple had no children, because Leszek could not conceive.

24. The Silesian Prince from Bytom Kazimierz († 1312) + probably, the daughter of Prince Lev Danilovich († 1301) Helena or Olena († 1304/1323). For the first time this woman without any dynastic affiliation, referred to as *Coniuge nostra Hellena*, was mentioned in her husband's document on April 25, 1283¹³⁹. The marriage was concluded, according to K. Jasiński, at the latest in 1278¹⁴⁰. The Ruthenian origin of the woman, despite the apparently erroneous record by Ludwik Dedek of its Lithuanian roots¹⁴¹, was relatively determined by the Polish historians recently¹⁴². Although Ukrainian historiography did not produce an own position about the Helena's affiliation, L. Voytovych still includes her in the list of the Princess, representatives of the Romanoviches dynasty¹⁴³. Some Slovak scholars share a similar opinion¹⁴⁴. Five sons were born in the marriage –

¹³⁴ *Rocznik Traski*, s. 839, 841, 843, 846, 851; *Rocznik franciszkański krakowski* [The Krakovian Franciscan annals], in *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878, t. 3, s. 51; *Rocznik malopolski* [The Lesser Polish annals], in *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878, t. 3, s. 171, 173–175, 185.

¹³⁵ Dr. A. Semkowicz [Ed.], *Vita sanctae Hedwigis ducissae Silesiae* (Vita maior, vita minor, genealogia), in *MPH*, Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 4, s. 650; W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *Vita et miracula sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis*, in *MPH*, Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 4, s. 728.

¹³⁶ F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *KDM*, Kraków, Nakładem Akademii umijetności Krakowskiej, 1876, t. 1. (1178–1386), s. 133; F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *KDM*, t. 2, s. 187, 207.

¹³⁷ *KDM*, t. 1, s. 159–161; *KDM*, t. 2, s. 189–194, 199–200.

¹³⁸ Długossii Joannes, lib. 7–8, s. 146, 175, 189, 206, 235, 247, 254–255, 262–263.

¹³⁹ W. Wattenbach [Ed.], *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*: in 36 bd., Breslau, Josef Max & Komp., 1859, bd. 2, s. 17.

¹⁴⁰ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 518. J. Tęgowski agrees with his view however, with the clarifying chronological corridor of 1275–1278 (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 29). D. Dąbrowski dates the marriage between 1274–1278 (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 225).

¹⁴¹ "Dux Boleslaus natus est circa a. 1280. Pater ejus Casimirus, dux de Beuten et Teschen, mater Helena, principissa Lithvanie", L. C. Dedek [Ed.], *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Strigonii, Typis descripsit Gustavus Buzárovits, 1924, t. 3: *ab a. 1321. ad a. 1349*, s. X.

¹⁴² J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 29. St. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [Genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou], Kraków, Societas Vistulana, 2015, s. 17, 24.

¹⁴³ Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 507.

¹⁴⁴ Perniš, *Vznešená žena stredoveku: princezné v dynastickej politike Anjouovcov* [The noble woman of the Middle Ages: the Princess in the Anjou's dynastic policy], Budmerice, Osudy,

Bolesław († 1328), Władysław († 1328), Semowit († between 1342–1355), Yuriy († after 1327) and Mieszko († 1344), and the daughter Maria († 1317) as well¹⁴⁵.

25. The Prince of Dobrzyń Semowit († c. 1312) + the daughter of Prince Lev Danilovich or Mstislav (II) Danilovich (1247/1250–1289)¹⁴⁶ Anastasia († 1335) (1296–1300)¹⁴⁷. This alliance seemed to be traditional in the relations between the Masovian rulers with the neighbouring Ruthenian princely families, because Semowit was the grandson of Konrad and Agafia. However, in the absence of the direct source description of the marriage, since O. Balzer, it was necessary¹⁴⁸ to reconstruct and supplement it by indirect evidence¹⁴⁹, because even the name of Semowit's wife was first noticed only on February 3, 1306¹⁵⁰. The couple gave birth to two sons Władysław († 1351/1352) and Bolesław († 1327/1329), although some authors sometimes offered other falsely verified data¹⁵¹.

2003, s. 24.

¹⁴⁵ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 526–535.

¹⁴⁶ A. Teterycz-Puzio has recently summed up the views of the supporters of the version of Anastasia's origin from the Lev Danilovich' family (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 213, note 3). But D. Dąbrowski defends Anastasia's affiliation to the family of his the youngest brother, according to the historian – Prince Mstislav (II) (D. Dąbrowski, *Czy istniało dwóch synów Daniela Romanowicza o imieniu Mścislaw? Przyczynek do genealogii Romanowiczów, książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [Did exist two sons of Daniel Romanovich named Mstislav? A contribution to the genealogy of the Galician-Volhynian Princes Romanoviches], in "Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego", Seria Nova, 1999, t. 4 (15), s. 177–187; Idem, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 236; Idem, *Genealogia Mścislawowiczów*, s. 377–381; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей*, c. 399–404). Nowadays, the scholar's point of view about the existence of Mstislav (II) Danilovich is not considered to be universally accepted in historiography, although it is sometimes reflected in the further reconstruction of the Anastasia's affiliation (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 214).

¹⁴⁷ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 132.

¹⁴⁸ O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 602–606.

¹⁴⁹ The most completed reconstruction of Anastasia's life belongs to K. Jasiński (K. Jasiński, *Księżna dobrzyńska Anastazja i jej regencja* [The Dobrzyńian Princess Anastasia and her regency], in J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko i M. Sliwa [Eds.], *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza* [Closer and further homeland], Kraków, Secesja, 1993, s. 425–433). See also: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 602–606; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś*, s. 198; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 30; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 130–132; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 232–240; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, c. 506–507 etc.

¹⁵⁰ J. Voigt [Ed.], *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus* : in 6 t. Königsberg, Gebrüder Bornträger, 1842, bd. 2, s. 62.

¹⁵¹ O. Balzer was the first, who identified the sons of Semowit and Anastasia (see: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tablica VII. Linia kujawska), and further – L. Voytovych (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, c. 507). Instead, D. Dąbrowski calls only two children – Władysław and

C. The marriage whose dynastic nature requires proof

26. Some historians consider an unknown Polish bride († after 1124) as the wife of the Murom Prince Vsevolod Davidovich († after 1127). Her affiliation is still questionable. O. Balzer¹⁵², further J. Jasiński¹⁵³ and later L. Voytovych¹⁵⁴ comparing only one episode from the 12th century's Kyivan chronicle in 1124 ("Томъ же лѣтъ . ведоша Лаховицю Мюрому . за Давыдовича . Всеволода"¹⁵⁵), with another genealogical data, considered her as the daughter of Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth. However, J. Bieniak believes her to be an unknown woman of non-dynastic origin. The main argument of the scholar was the lack of the evidence on this in the Anonymous Gallus's "*Chronicle*", who lived at the Polish Prince's court and knew all his family members well. Perhaps, as the historian suggested, it was Scaribimir Awdaniec's daughter¹⁵⁶. Recently the theses of J. Bieniak have been supported by D. Dąbrowski¹⁵⁷. However, K. Jasiński has admitted that the medieval author could not call the name of this unknown daughter of Bolesław III the Wrymouth, because she was very young¹⁵⁸. I may add to the scholar's arguments the quite cool attitude of Anonymous Gallus towards the Polish ruler's first wife, Zbyslava, noted above¹⁵⁹, who eventually could have given birth to this daughter. In this case, she could be her husband's second cousin¹⁶⁰. The marriage is dated on 1124. But we do not know anything about her

Bolesław (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 239). K. Jasiński without a clear conviction still considers their children as two or three sons, and possibly also the daughter Judith (K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 132).

¹⁵² O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 246–248.

¹⁵³ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 207–208.

¹⁵⁴ Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 376.

¹⁵⁵ Ипатъевская летопись, стб. 288.

¹⁵⁶ J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część II : Wróżda i zgoda)* [The Polish political elite of the 12th century (part II: Hostility and consent)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 1985, t. 3, s. 71.

¹⁵⁷ D. Dąbrowski, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 156–157, note 5.

¹⁵⁸ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 207–208.

¹⁵⁹ G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów*, s. 185–186.

¹⁶⁰ The grandfather of Vsevolod Davidovich the Prince of Chernihiv and Kyiv Sviatoslav († 1076) was the younger brother of Izyaslav Yaroslavich. He was also Zbyslava's unknown daughter's grandfather. The Kyivan Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich († 1054) was the common grandfather on both. Such marriages were allowed in the 12th century, for example, even Zbyslava was a second cousin for her husband, which caused ambiguous judgments at the Krakovian court (*Gallus Anonymus*, p. 159). Anonymous Gallus could completely ignored this second case of close relatives in his narration.

future fate or about the children, which eventually were born in the marriage. That is why I express my reservation on the dynastic nature of this marriage in the subsequent statistical calculations.

KONSTANTY OSTROGSKI AS AN OPPONENT OF THE TATARS IN THE EYES OF POLISH HISTORIANS OF THE 16TH CENTURY

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Abstract: *The paper discusses the narrative of 16th Century historians – Bernard Wapowski, Justus Ludwik Decjusz, Marcin Bielski, Maciej Strykowski, Stanisław Sarnicki, and Alexander Guagnini – on the fights of Prince Konstanty Ostrogski with Tatars from the end of the 15th century until the year 1527. It presents the style of the narration and description of the Hetman of Lithuania, the credibility of the recorded history, and the methods of building an image of a victorious leader, as a paragon for the readers contemporary to these authors.*

Keywords: *Konstanty Ostrogski, Tatars, Polish historians, interpretations, 16th Century, Lithuania, Moldavia.*

Rezumat: *Konstanty Ostrogski ca un oponent al tătarilor în viziunea istoricilor polonezi din secolul al XVI-lea. Articolul aduce în discuție narațiunile din secolul al XVI-lea, aparținând istoricilor Bernard Wapowski, Justus Ludwik Decjusz, Marcin Bielski, Maciej Strykowski, Stanisław Sarnicki și Alexander Guagnini, referitoare la luptele principelui Konstanty Ostrogski cu tătarii, de la sfârșitul veacului al XV-lea și până în anul 1527. Sunt prezentate stilul relatării și descrierea hatmanului lituanian, veridicitatea istoriei consemnate și metodele de construire a imaginii unui conducător victorios ca model de perfecțiune pentru cititorii contemporani cu acești autori.*

Résumé: *Konstanty Ostrogski comme opposant des Tatars dans la vision des historiens polonais du XVI-ème siècle. L'article ci-joint met en discussion les narrations du XVI-ème siècle – appartenant aux historiens Bernard Wapowski, Justus Ludwik Decjusz, Marcin Bielski, Maciej Strykowski, Stanisław Sarnicki et Alexander Guagnini – faisant référence aux luttes du prince Konstanty Ostrogski avec les Tatars, de la fin du XVème siècle et jusque l'année 1527. On y présente le style du récit et la description de l'hetman lituanien, la véracité de l'histoire consignée et les méthodes de construire l'image d'un dirigeant victorieux en tant que modèle de perfection pour les lecteurs contemporains avec ces auteurs-là.*

INTRODUCTION

Prince Konstanty Ostrogski, Castellan of Vilnius and Voivode of Troki, Grand Hetman of Lithuania in the first decades of the 16th century belonged to the leading figures of the public life of Lithuania and Poland¹. He also became known as a brilliant commander who, despite a staggering defeat in the Battle of Wiedrosha in 1500, did not cross over to the side of Muscovy, and established his reputation with a tremendous victory in the Battle of Orsha in 1514. He is also the most known for his struggles with Lithuania's eastern neighbour, which have slightly overshadowed his achievements in fights with a troublesome and dangerous enemy that were the Crimean Tatars. It is not truly surprising, considering the difference in the scale of the threat that both opponents were to Lithuania – and indirectly to Poland. Nonetheless, the actions of the Hetman of Lithuania as the enemy of the Tatars are also worthy of attention, especially since it is the fights with them that brought him the commanding experience and the position of the Hetman. In the fights with the horde, he experienced painful defeats (Sokal 1519) and superb victories (Vyshnivets 1512, Olszanica 1527).

Since the war fame, that Konstanty Ostrogski deservedly enjoyed, was not gained solely through his own actions but also through historians that wrote them down, this paper will be devoted to that topic. Hence, we will be interested in who and what was written about the struggles of Prince Ostrogski against Tatars: what was shown and what was perhaps omitted or added. If and in what way was the image of the Hetman consciously shaped into that of a courageous warrior, defender of the faith and simple folk against heathens thirsty for slaves? To what extent are those historical sources, like these Polish and Lithuanian contemporary and later chronicles², credible and reliable for our knowledge of history related to that aspect of life and activity of the Hetman?

This paper is a supplement to our previous deliberations on the shaping of the image of Prince Ostrogski in his confrontation with the Grand Principality of Moscow³. We maintain a similar work methodology and since we analyse mostly the

¹ Z. Wojtkowiak, *Ostrogski Konstanty (ok. 1460-1530)* [Ostrogski Konstanty (ca. 1460-1530)], PSB, vol. 24, Wrocław, 1979, p. 486-489.

² We use the term “chronicle” for the 16th century historical books in line with the convention of the epoch – sometimes finding its reflection in the title – aware of their differences in relation to medieval chronicles.

³ D. Milewski, *Konstanty Ostrogski jako przeciwnik Moskwy w oczach XVI-wiecznych dziejopisarzy* [Konstanty Ostrogski as an enemy of Muscovy in the eyes of the 16th

same sources, we wish to avoid repeating detailed information regarding the authors and their works. Hence, we refer you to the abovementioned study, focusing here on the analysis of basic information needed to conduct the planned analysis.

The object of our interest will, therefore, be recorded in the chronicles of the participation of Prince Ostrogski in fights against the Tatars in years: 1487, 1496-1497, 1508, 1512 (Battle of Vyshnivets), 1516, 1518, 1519 (Battle of Sokal) and 1527 (Battle of Lopushno). We will look at them through the lens of works by Bernard Wapowski⁴, Justus Ludwik Decjusz⁵, Marcin Bielski⁶, Maciej Strykowski⁷, Stanisław Sarnicki⁸, and Alexander Guagnini⁹. The character of Prince Ostrogski is completely omitted by Maciej Miechowita¹⁰.

OSTROGSKI'S FIRST FIGHTS AGAINST THE TATARS

First experiences in fights against the Tatar opponent were gained by prince Konstanty probably in the second half of the 80s of the 16th century. It was then when the protection of the south-east border was overseen by Prince John I Albert. The planned for 1487 regaining of Moldavian fortresses of Kiliya and Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, conquered by Turks, did not take place due to the Tatar diversion. Nonetheless, the horde was defeated in September in the Battle of

century historians], "Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej" [Library of the Modern Era], 3/II, 2015, p. 97-118.

⁴ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], ed. J. Szujski, in: *Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2, Kraków, 1874.

⁵ J. L. Decjusz, *Księga o czasach króla Zygmunta* [Book on the times of king Sigismund], team translation under the guidance of K. Kumaniecki preface T. Bieńkowski, Warsaw, 1960 (original in its entirety: *De vetustatibus Polonorum, liber I; De Iagiellonum familia, liber II; De Sigismundi regis temporibus, liber III*, Cracoviae, 1521). In books 1 and 2 the author does not recall the figure of K. Ostrogski.

⁶ M. Bielski, *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego* [Chronicle of Marcin Bielski], vol. 2 (books IV, V), ed. K. J. Turowski, Sanok, 1856.

⁷ M. Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi* [Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, and all of Ruthenia], Królewiec, 1582 (the chronicle was translated by M. Malinowski in 1846 and reprinted from the Königsberg original in 1985). We are using the first edition of the book by M. Strykowski.

⁸ S. Sarnicki, *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lithvanorum*, Kraków, 1587.

⁹ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej* [From the Chronicle of the European Sarmatians], ed. K. J. Turowski, Kraków, 1860. On the co-dependence of the works by A. Guagnini and M. Strykowski, see Z. Wojtkowiak, *Aleksander Gwagnin i Maciej Strykowski: dwaj autorzy jednego dzieła* [Alexander Guagnini and Maciej Strykowski: two authors of one work], Poznań, 2014, passim.

¹⁰ M. Miechowita, *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracoviae, 1521.

Kopystrzyń. Henryk Lulewicz makes a guess on the participation of Prince Ostrogski in those fights¹¹. Chronicles we have analysed pass over the possible participation of Prince Ostrogski in that victory¹².

Certain information on the fights of Prince Ostrogski with the horde, we find in relation to the Tatar invasion of 1496. Sons of the Crimean Khanate Mengli I Giray ravaged Volyn at that time. Prince Ostrogski participated then in the defence of Rivne, having co-command over the local armies. The Lithuanians have lost the battle at the city with the horde and were pushed out of the castle. The city has been robbed and burned down while the horde left for Crimea unbothered and with prisoners. It has been a painful lesson for the future Hetman of Lithuania¹³.

A year after the defeat at Rivne, Prince Ostrogski took part in the retaliation against the Tatars. First, in the spring, with brother Michael, he successfully fought units of armed Tatars, rampant in the Volyn and Polesia. The brothers finally managed to hunt the Tatars down in the Bratslav voivodship, defeat them and recover the prisoners. Whereas, in August, Prince Konstanty participated in the expedition of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon to Moldavia rushing to the aid of John I Albert. Sent in advance from Bratslav in the summer of 1497, Ostrogski entered Bessarabia and plundered it, securing the left riverbank of Prut for the developing Polish offensive. On the return journey, the Lithuanians encountered near Tulchyn a Tatar horde of 1000 men supported by Moldavians and Turks lead by son of the Khan, Mehmed I Giray. Ostrogski crushed the enemy and took the Tatar commander prisoner. The victory made a great impression on the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and he made Ostrogski the Grand Hetman of Lithuania¹⁴.

¹¹ H. Lulewicz, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, in M. Nagielski (ed.), *Poczet hetmanów Rzeczypospolitej. Hetmani litewscy* [Hetmans of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Lithuanian Hetmans], Warsaw 2006, p. 23. On the campaign of 1487 and the fights with the horde see M. Plewczyński, *Wojny Jagiellonów z wschodnimi i południowymi sąsiadami Królestwa Polskiego w XV wieku* [Jagiellonian wars with eastern and southern neighbours of the Polish Kingdom in the 15th century], Siedlce 2002, p. 94-97; L. Pilat, *The 1487 crusade: a turning point in the Moldavian-Polish relations*, "Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe", 2, 2010, p. 131-137.

¹² The victory, without mentioning K. Ostrogski is described by: B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 5-7; M. Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 882-883; A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 111-112; M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 663-664.

¹³ H. Lulewicz, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, p. 23; L. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów* [The history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the times of the Jagiellons], vol. 1: 1377-1499, Oświęcim 2014, p 388.

¹⁴ J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim przed napadami Tatarów krymskich w XV-XVI w.* [Organisation of Defence in the Grand Duchy of

The chronicles pass over the participation of Prince Ostrogski in the fights in the years 1496-1497. Maciej Sryjkowski makes only a note of the nomination of Konstanty Ostrogski to the position of Hetman in 1497 not connecting it directly with the triumph over the Tatars – which he does mention – but with the backing of former Herman Piotr Iwanowicz Biały¹⁵.

Muscovite aggression of 1500 diverted the attention of Hetman Ostrogski from the Tatars, and the captivity after the defeat at Vedrosha made any activity in Lithuania impossible for a few years. The year 1508 brought Prince Konstanty Ostrogski the first chance to redeem himself when during the war with Muscovy, he defeated the overwhelming enemy forces in July in the Battle of Orsha¹⁶. The Tatar invasions, organized by Khan Mengli Giray as a diversion for Mikhail Glinski and Muscovy, has been somewhat overshadowed by those struggles. The first wave of invasion entered Volyn through Ukraine but ended in defeat, inflicted on the horde by the Great Hetman of the Crown Mikołaj Kamieniecki in the Battle of Voronovo. The autumn incursions into Slutsk and Mazyr also turned out unsuccessful. In the last area active was Hetman Konstanty Ostrogski, who recovered the city from the hands of Prince Glinski. Securing the passages there into Nowogródek Voivodeship, Ostrogski found himself in the path of the Tatars. In the next days, he crushed the units of armed Tatars approaching from the south, making it impossible for them to cross through Pripyat. It was another victory of

Lithuania against the attacks of Crimean Tatars in the 15th and 16th century], "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości", 5, 1960, p. 365; H. Lulewicz, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, p. 23-24; L. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa* [The history of the Grand Duchy], p. 393-394; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny Jagiellonów* [The Jagiellonian wars], p. 139; I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* [Moldavia and Wallachia towards Poland, Hungary, and Turkey in the 14th and 15th century], Poznań, 1996, p. 169.

¹⁵ M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 675-676. This information has been almost word-for-word repeated by K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski* [The Polish armorial], ed. J. N. Bobrowicz, vol. 7, Lipsk, 1841, p. 179-180. Of course, this is about Voivode of Troki Petras Jonaitis Mantigirdaitis - see A. Krupska, *Montygerdowicz Piotr Janowicz (zm. po 1497)* [Mantigirdaitis Jonaitis Petras (died after 1497)], PSB, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1976, vol. 21, p. 675-676.

¹⁶ S. Herbst, *Wojna moskiewska 1507-1508* [Muscovite war 1507-1508], in: *Księga ku czci Oskara Haleckiego wydana w XXV-lecie jego pracy naukowej* [A festschrift in honour of Oscar Halecki published for the 25 years of his academic work], Warsaw, 1935, p. 40-53; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI wieku* [Wars and the Polish army in the 16th century], vol. 1: *Lata 1500-1548* [Years 1500-1548], Zabrze, 2011, p. 174-177; R. Przybyliński, *Ród książąt Glińskich: bunt Michała Glińskiego: czasy, ludzie i miejsca* [Glinski noble family: the rebellion of Mikhail Glinski: times, people, and places], vol. 2, Zabrze, 2017, p. 142-148.

the Hetman of Lithuania over the Tatars, maybe not overly effective but valuable in terms of experience¹⁷.

The return of Prince Ostrogski to fighting with an old enemy has been noticed by three historians: Wapowski, Decjusz, and Strykowski (nota bene it is omitted by Guagnini, co-dependent with Strykowski). In accordance with a not very grand victory, the historians do not devote a lot of attention to it. Wapowski connects the operation of Prince Ostrogski with the Tatar invasion on Slutsk and informs that the Hetman has been sent by the king to face the horde at the head of the ride of 8 thousand men. According to Wapowski's narration, Ostrogski was victorious and chased the Tatars away from terrains they have plundered¹⁸. That report highlights the role of Prince Ostrogski – maybe to balance the omission of him in the more important Battle of Orsha, fought that year – nonetheless, here too Wapowski's tendency to emphasise the role of the king is visible (in this case, as an initiator of the operation against the Tatars, which Ostrogski carries out)¹⁹.

More modest in the evaluation of the Hetman of Lithuania – and at the same time closer to the truth – is Decjusz. He notes on the Tatar invasion, informing that a part of the horde has been defeated by Prince Konstanty, part by Polus (Cossack commander) and part by Łukasz Morawianin (Morawiec) at the head of a unit of 200 infantry²⁰. In a similar tone narrates Maciej Strykowski, informing of the king's departure to Vilnius with part of the army after making peace with Muscovy, whereas the remaining soldiers were taken by Ostrogski to Volyn. Strykowski aptly distinguishes three separate victories over the horde, achieved by Polus, Morawiec, and Ostrogski, although he seems to be implying – contrary to the truth – that the Tatars were defeated only at Volyn (where Ostrogski was

¹⁷ About the Tatar invasion of 1508, see *Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem chanem Tatarów perekopskich (1469-1515)*. [Relations with Mengli Giray, khan of the Perekopian Tatars (1469-1515) Documents and letters], ed. K. Pułaski, Kraków-Warsaw, 1881, p. 138-139; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 121-122; R. Przybyliński, *Ród książąt Glińskich* [Glinski noble family], vol. 2, p. 155-157; H. Lulewicz, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, p. 28 (very briefly). The Hetman was victorious, already having in his hand the office of marshal of Volhynia and main starost offices in Podolia that made him the most important person responsible for the defence of Eastern borderlands against the Tatars - see J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony* [Organisation of defence], p. 389.

¹⁸ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 82-83.

¹⁹ On excessive exposition by B. Wapowski of the role of the king at the expense of K. Ostrogski in the campaign of 1508 see D. Milewski, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, p. 105-106.

²⁰ J. L. Decjusz, *Księga o czasach* [Book of the times], p. 39. Morawiec has also been aided in defeating Tatars at Slutsk by hastily formed boyar cavalry -- see M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 122.

absent)²¹. Apparently, the summer invasion of the horde at Volyn merged for Strykowski into one with the later operations in Ukraine and eastern Polesia where the Hetman of Lithuania did fight.

THE TIME OF GREAT BATTLES

The next chance to face the horde was brought to the prince by the Tatar invasion in 1512. Significant forces – ca. 10 thousand men – led by the khan's sons, entered Ukraine through the Black Trail turned west towards Volyn. They attacked at the turn of March and April, taking the Poles and Lithuanians by surprise. The horde managed to gather a significant number of prisoners before Polish-Lithuanian armies set off against it. The Crown army was led by Hetman Mikołaj Kamieniecki (4 thousand), whereas Prince Konstanty Ostrogski led the Volhynian landed military units (1.5 thousand) gathered in Ostroh. He has also proposed the Polish and Lithuanian cooperation. The armies met on April 27 at Vyshnivets where they marched against Tatar camp in the direction of Lopushno. The next day, they reached the Tatar camp. Forces of both sides were equal – 6 thousand each – as part of the Tatar units did not return yet. Both sides readied for a battle as the Tatars decided to defend their hold on the prisoners. Conflicted with Kamieniecki, Ostrogski occupied the separate right wing of the Polish-Lithuanian armies. It was him that the overwhelming Tatar forces turned against. The Hetman of Lithuania defended himself skilfully; however, in the face of enemy dominance, he started to call for the Polish help. First arrived Wojciech Sampoliński with the court banner, then Kamieniecki began sending subsequent banners from the frontal regiment. As Tatars engaged all their forces into the fight with Ostrogski, the decisive strike of the Polish frontal regiment broke through the opponent line. One of the Polish regiments broke through to the prisoners, freed them, and they took up arms and attacked the Tatars. In the face of such a turn of events, the horde escaped from the battlefield²².

Battle of Vyshnivets (also called Battle of Lopushno) ended in a grand victory of Polish-Lithuanian armies. The actual leader of the joint forces was the Hetman of the Crown Mikołaj Kamieniecki. Prince Ostrogski bore the burden of withstanding the main strike of the Tatars and of making the enemy use up its

²¹ M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 716.

²² S. Herbst, *Najazd tatarski 1512 r.* [Tatar invasion of 1512], "Przegląd Historyczny" [Historical review], 37, 1948, p. 220-225 (the author indicates that K. Ostrogski has been the first to discover the Tatar invasion and warned the king about it); M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 124-135; K. Piwarski, *Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem* [Relations with Mengli Giray], p. 176-177.

reserves, which allowed Kamieniecki to perform the final attack. Hence, although the Herman of Lithuania has definitely been second to his Polish colleague, he did, however, deserved the attention of historians for his bearing. It is enough to say that everyone whose work we are analysing, has undertaken the topic of the participation of Prince Ostrogski in the Battle of Vyshnivets.

Chronologically the oldest – and the closest to the events – Bernard Wapowski overestimates the numbers of the horde, he estimated them on 24 thousand people; however, he provides credible data on the number of Polish and Lithuanian armies (4 and 2 thousand, respectively). He emphasizes the equal standing of commanders M. Kamieniecki and K. Ostrogski. To the latter, he credits stopping the retreating Volhynians and encouraging them to return to the fight. He agrees that the Polish reinforcement rescued the Lithuanians and sealed the victory. Then he mentions Prince Ostrogski among the bravest warriors²³. For the first time, Wapowski, who is next, issues an unambiguously positive evaluation of the actions of the Hetman of Lithuania and does not diminish his contribution.

Decjusz shows the role of the Prince Ostrogski a little differently. According to him, “Konstanty, mąż, który wśród współczesnych nie miał równego sobie wodza” [Konstanty, a man who among the contemporary had no equal as a leader], demanded the right of priority in the battle. He motivated that by his knowledge of the fighting style of the Tatars – if Poles, who might do it wrong, start the battle, they might lose the chance to win. The “impetuous Konstanty” also rejected the Polish project for maintaining the armies as a whole and, finally, let down, led the Lithuanians onto the hills, away from the Poles. Here, he has been attacked by the Tatars. He called the Poles for help, stopped the escaping Lithuanians, and pounced on the horde. Decjusz repeats at the end that Prince Ostrogski “nie miał sobie równego wśród współczesnych sobie wodzów” [did not have an equal among the contemporary leaders]²⁴.

In the record of Marcin Bielski, we find similar motives. There is, hence, the description of the conflict between the commanders for the priority in starting the battle and the same arguments as in Decjusz: the better ordnance of the Poles, Prince Ostrogski counters with Lithuanian experience in the fight against the

²³ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 107-108. On the real number of Tatar armies see K. Górka, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk* [The number of Crimean Tatars and their armies], “Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, 8, 1936, No. 2, p. 221-295 and recently B. В. Пенской, *Вооруженные силы Крымского ханства в конце XV – начале XVI вв.* [Military forces of the Crimean Khanate in the end of the 15th – beginning of the 16th centuries], w: *Средневековые тюрко-татарские государства* [Turk-Tatar states in the Middle Ages], vol. 2, ed. И.К. Загидуллин, Казань, 2010, p. 208-216.

²⁴ J. L. Decjusz, *Księga o czasach* [Book of the times], p. 64-68.

horde. Bielski shows the separate command of the Hetman of Lithuania over the right wing, the greater numbers of the Tatars, and the initiative of Prince Ostrogski in obtaining the Polish help and turning back the retreating Lithuania²⁵.

Alexander Guagnini, in his description of the Battle of Vyshnivets, follows faithfully the record of Marcin Bielski. We will not find any new elements here – if we do not count the wrong dating of the campaign to 1511²⁶

New accents can be found in Maciej Strykowski. In the Battle of Vyshnivets – to which he devoted the seventh chapter of his thirty-second book, written in a poem – Mikołaj Kamieniecki is barely mentioned. The whole attention is focused on Prince Ostrogski. The command over the Polish forces is by Strykowski assigned to Stanisław Lanckoroński who has just defeated the Tatars. After joining of the forces, the wise Hetman Ostrogski is giving advice to the Poles how to fight the horde. In the conflict about who should start the battle “kniaź Ostrogski mądrze radzi!” [the prince was speaking wisely]. As the battle came, the Hetman of Lithuania like Hector led the Lithuanians²⁷. The moving of the Lithuanian forces away from the Poles is explained not by a quarrel with M. Kamieniecki but by shouldering the defence and attacking the Tatars upwards through the hills. Strykowski is serving the reader with an image of the Hetman on the horse and in a plated mail, flinging the mace and encouraging the forces to fight. There was, of course, an appropriate speech to the knights. When the Tatars hit the Lithuanians hard, watchful Ostrogski noticed their greater numbers and called the Poles for help. Here M. Strykowski mentions only Wojciech Sampoliński, with whom Ostrogski attacked the horde even more bravely. The Tartars in response again descended upon Lithuania, understanding that if Ostrogski escaped, the Poles would not do anything without him. They did not manage to defeat the prince after all, and when the Poles came to help, Ostrogski encouraged the fighters for the third time. Finally, after the prisoners were freed from the camp and joined the battle, the Tartars were defeated. At the end, we read the beautiful praise of the Lithuanian leader: “w której [bitwie – D.M.] Constantin Iwanowic Ostroskie sławney a świętey pamięci xiążę Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego hetman, naprzedniejszy dank odniósł, gdysz za jego sprawą y przywodem wszytek ten porządny triumph do skutku szczęśliwego Pan Bóg przywiódł” [in

²⁵ M. Bielski, *Kronika [Chronicle]*, p. 963-965.

²⁶ A. Guagnini *Z Kroniki [From the chronicle]*, p. 135-137.

²⁷ “zszykowali się prętko i stanęli w sprawie, / a kniaź Constanti naprzd jak Hector w postawie, / z buławą jeżdżąc wszystkich pocieszał wesoło, / a na prawy bok Litwę zszykował na czoło” [they prepared quickly and stood in formation, / and Prince Constantiny stepped forward like Hector in posture, / riding with the mace he comforted everyone cheerfully, / on the right side he prepared Lithuania to take the forefront] – M. Strykowski, *Kronika [Chronicle]*, p. 730.

which [battle - D. M.] Constantin Ivanovich Ostroski glorious and the late prince Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the greatest victory obtained, because thanks to him God has lead this decent triumph to a lucky outcome]²⁸.

In Stanisław Sarnicki, we find the dispute over priority in the attack in a veiled form, when the chronicler writes that Ostroski took the right wing as more experienced in the battles with the Tatars, although after long conversations with Kamieniecki. The Lithuanian move away from the Polish army is not hidden, although the Tatar's attack on Ostroski's subalterns was a surprise to him. Interestingly, when describing Ostroski's turning to Poles for help, Sarnicki refers directly to Decjusz. Nevertheless, he cites a different message ("scio alios tradere" [I know that the others say]), according to which the Lithuanian hetman deliberately moved away from the Poles to draw the attack of the Tatars, whom he bound in a fight and drove onto the blades of Polish spearmen²⁹. It seems, however, that Sarnicki did not believe this version, because he again appealed to Decjusz ("sed iustus illius seculi scriptor, contrarium tradit" [but iustus, the historian of this age, says the opposite]) and, in his footsteps, he says that the Hetman of the Crown, seeing that the Lithuanians were abandoned by luck, sent them reinforcements. Ostroski's contribution was stopping the fleeing Lithuania. In the following description, Sarnicki does not add anything new to the characterization of the Lithuanian Hetman, reporting accordingly on the defeat of the horde and the famous and not very bloody victory³⁰.

The Battle of Vyshnivets has provided the Polish historians with an opportunity to diversify their opinions on Ostroski. The unquestionable tactical mistake of the Hetman of Lithuania, which almost leads to a defeat, is mentioned by all the authors. None of them, however, unambiguously blames the prince, masking it with his bravery demonstrated on the battlefield. The strongest words on the matter were written by Decjusz and Bielski, emphasizing the overconfidence of Prince Konstanty and the rescue of the Lithuanians by the Poles. Wapowski is restrained, Guagnini is careful. Whereas Strykowski does not see any mistakes of the Hetman of Lithuania and provides his apologia. Sarnicki tries to tone down his statements and cites different opinions, balancing between Strykowski and Decjusz and leaning towards the version of the latter. All authors are unanimous in their praise of the bravery of Prince Ostroski.

The war with Muscovy, revived in 1512, which led to the loss of Smolensk two years later, as a side effect brought a change in the hostile policy of the Crimea

²⁸ M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 734. The description of the entire battle: p. 728-734.

²⁹ It is a version promoted by M. Strykowski.

³⁰ S. Sarnicki, *Annales*, p. 383-384.

against the Jagiellonian states. New - from 1515 - Khan Mehmed I Giray even invaded Muscovy and formed an alliance with Sigismund I the Old in 1520-1522³¹. Nevertheless, before the Tatars completely changed their front, in the first years of the new Khan's rule, they have still attacked the Polish and Lithuanian lands.

The first large invasion took place in the summer of 1516. The Hetman of Lithuania did not take part in the fighting at that time. He got the opportunity in late autumn when the horde again attacked Podolia. This time, the Hetman sent units of the Volhynian landed military service under the command of his grandson Roman. The latter joined Stanisław Lanckoroński the Field Crown Guardian who led the defense and successfully stopped the Tatars. Young Ostrogski died in one of the skirmishes. Although the old hetman did not take part directly in fighting off this invasion, he suffered a severe loss in it³².

Most of the chroniclers noticed the role of Prince Ostrogski and his grandson. Wapowski, describing the summer invasion of the horde, widely overestimated the role of the Hetman of Lithuania, stating that he ordered the Volhynian to join the Poles, what forced the Tartars to retreat (in fact, Prince Ostrogski did not send the Poles any help). At the autumn invasion, Wapowski recalls the death of Prince Roman Ostrogski³³. Bielski noted that the king ordered the Hetman of Lithuania to protect Volhynia and support Poles if necessary, he makes a note of the death of Prince Roman in battle as well³⁴. This record was repeated by Alexander Guagnini, omitting - and rightly so - Ostrogski when describing the first Tartar invasion, while Maciej Strykowski noticed only the death of Prince Roman during the autumn invasion of the horde³⁵. Stanisław Sarnicki finally describes the victory of Podolia voivode Marcin Kamieniecki, achieved during the summer invasion, passing over both the Hetman of Lithuania and his grandson.³⁶

³¹ On the change in the Crimea policy see L. Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV-XVIII w.* [Crimean Khanate and its relationship with Poland in the 15th – 18th century], Warsaw, 1987, and broadly D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th – 18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents*, Leiden-Boston, 2011, p. 44-61.

³² On the subject of Tatar invasions of 1516 see M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 136-140.

³³ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], pp. 144, 146-147.

³⁴ M. Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 992. Sigismund I the Old gave the mentioned order to Prince Ostrogski after the summer invasion of the horde – M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 138.

³⁵ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 141-143; M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 752.

³⁶ S. Sarnicki, *Annales*, p. 388. The participation of Ostrogski in the events of 1516 has also

The small role of the Hetman of Lithuanian in the campaign of 1516 was duly assessed by historians - except for Wapowski who this time wrote an apologia. Prince Ostrogski contributed more two years later when he actively fought off the invasion of the horde and prevented it from invading Kievan Rus' - the Hetman at that time defeated a unit of nearly a thousand Tartars³⁷. Despite the greater involvement of the prince in the fight, it was noticed only by three historians: Wapowski, Bielski, and Guagnini. The first of them distinguishes two Tatar raids – in August on Moldavia and in October on Poland, where the remains of the horde were to burst in, defeated by Ostrogski and Ostap Dashkevych³⁸. That information is repeated by Marcin Bielski³⁹ and in his footsteps by Alexander Guagnini⁴⁰. All reports are short and consistent in the message. The evaluation of the actions of Ostrogski is nowhere to be found directly; however, we can easily guess it from the results he achieved.

The reports on the subsequent invasion of the horde, memorable due to the staggering defeat of the Poles and Lithuanians on August 2, 1519, at Sokal are much richer in content. Prince Ostrogski had then the high command over the Polish-Lithuanian army, estimated at 7,000 soldiers. He did not manage to lead the battle as planned that is to attack the Tatars on a crossing over the Bug. Insubordinate Polish troops crossed the river to meet the enemy head-on. The horde took advantage of its greater numbers and rate of fire of the bows to drive the Poles to the riverbank. The strike of a thousand Volyn cavalry, led by Ostrogski, at the flank of the Tatars improved the situation for a moment, but it did not change the fate of the battle. The Poles had to retreat to the right bank of the Bug, at the price of great losses, many great knights fell, and Ostrogski barely managed

been omitted by Decjusz who ended his narration on that year.

³⁷ M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 140. The autumn Tatar invasion turned mostly against Moldavia whom the Poles helped to defeat the horde – P. Koziel, *Stefan IV Młody – nieznana karta z dziejów relacji polsko-mołdawskich w XVI wieku* [Stephen IV of Moldavia – unknown page of the history of the Polish-Moldavian relationship in the 16th century], “Saeculum Christianum”, 24, 2017, p. 109.

³⁸ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 157. The identification of the conquerors of the horde is correct.

³⁹ “Po temże [tj. klęsce w Mołdawii – D.M.] Tatarowie w miesiącu październiku chcąc się zemścić klęski swej, odpoczynawszy nieco pod czarnym lasem, wtargnęli na Wołyń, których Konstantyn ubił do ośmi set, a Ostafi starosta czerkaski trzysta” [After this [i.e. defeat in Moldavia - D. M.] the Tatars in the month of October wanting to take revenge for their defeat, rested somewhat at the black forest, invaded the Volhynia, whom Konstanty thinned to eight hundred, and Ostap the starost of Cherkasy to three hundred] – M. Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 1004.

⁴⁰ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 145. The story of A Guagnini is a faithful repetition of M. Bielski's record.

to break through the enemy line and save his own life⁴¹.

Such a serious defeat drew the attention of Polish historians, among whom Wapowski, Bielski, Strykowski, and Guagnini wrote about Ostrogski. The first of them reports on the battle in detail, crediting the Hetman of Lithuania with the initiative to strike at the Tatars escaping with the spoils. Ostrogski persuaded the Poles to follow, however, upon seeing the greater numbers of the horde, he wanted to postpone the clash until the arrival of Lithuanian reinforcements. Praised by the chronicler “vir rei bellicae experientissimus”, “vir fortissimus” [the man experienced in war, the most valiant man] was, however, shouted down by young Poles, accusing him of wanting to fight the battle on the Volhynia riverbank for his own glory. When they disobediently crossed the river, they were surprised by the horde and despite the energetic action of Ostrogski, who went to help the Poles, the battle was lost. Wapowski without hesitation indicates the Poles as guilty of the defeat⁴².

Marcin Bielski also left an extensive narrative on the defeat at Sokal. Ostrogski appears on the pages of the Chronicle as an experienced commander who, facing the greater numbers of the Tatars, advises to set up the army somewhere between the waters, so that the Tatars could not extend their forces, and to not cross the Bug under any circumstances but to wait for the Tatars and beat them when they will be crossing the river in smaller units. After the rejection of this advice by the Poles, the Hetman of Lithuania advised to postpone the battle for one day, because “był wtorek, który on sobie zwykł być mieć za podeźrzany” [it was Tuesday, which he perceived as too suspicious] (an interesting mention of Ostrogski's superstition); besides, he expected reinforcements. However, since the Poles did not listen again and started the battle, Ostrogski went to help them, having crossed over in a better place. In the battle, “Konstantyn biegając upominał, wołał serca tak Polakom jako Wołyńcom dodawając” [Konstanty encouraged both the Poles and the Volhynians]. Finally, seeing the inevitable defeat, together with the Polish commanders, he broke through to the Sokal castle “na lepszy się czas R.P. chowając” [to hide and wait for a better time for Poland]. Bielski sums it up succinctly: “Tę porażkę upór ludzi młodych, a niesłuchanie starszych uczyniło” [This defeat was caused by the stubbornness of the young people and by not listening to the elders]⁴³.

Aleksander Guagnini repeated this description of the battle after M. Bielski, presenting and evaluating the actions of Konstanty Ostrogski⁴⁴. Shortly, because

⁴¹ M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 142-145.

⁴² B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 162 (the entire battle, p. 159-162).

⁴³ M. Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 1007-1008. The author overestimates the forces of the horde, estimating them at 80 thousand against 5 thousand Poles and Lithuanians.

⁴⁴ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 145-146.

only in one paragraph, the battle is told by Maciej Strykowski, blaming the defeat on not listening to the advice of Ostrogski⁴⁵.

As we can see, all the stories are consistent in relation to the causes of the defeat and all absolve Ostrogski of any guilt. Sokal not only did not hinder the building of the image of a capable leader but even strengthened him, pointing to the disastrous consequences of disregarding his advice. The method of leading and the issue of the insubordination of Poles towards the Lithuanian leader, who could not or was unable to enforce obedience, remains a separate matter - however, none of the historians approaches it.

Prince Ostrogski avenged the defeat at Sokal with the grand victory at Olsha, won at the end of his life, in the winter of 1527. Despite the formal Polish-Tatar alliance and the reform of the borderland defense system, in the 20s of the 16th century, the Tatars frequently attacked Ukraine and Rus, what corresponded with the Cossack attacks on Tatar lands. The Tatar invasion in 1524 was particularly painful. In the era of Suleiman the Magnificent's campaign in Hungary in 1526, the Sultan wanted to keep Poland away from the Danube affairs. For this purpose, he commissioned a diversionary commotion, which began in December 1526. Tatars in the strength of about 10 thousand men passed through frozen Polesia mud and plundered the lands of Chełm and the Lublin Voivodeship. Prince Ostrogski, rightly expecting the return of the horde with the prisoners through Volhynia, was gathering forces in Ostroh. He did not manage to intercept the Tatars, but he followed them caught up with them in Ukraine, near Olszanica. The Lithuanians approached the Tatar camp at night and struck at dawn on 21 January 1527 taking the horde by surprise. The enemy had no chance to prepare the horses for battle, and after a short fight, the Lithuanians won. Those Tatars, who managed to escape, were caught in Zwinogródek and defeated again. Ostrogski himself took 700 prisoners of war at Olszanica and liberated all the slaves, estimated at an exaggeration at 40,000 people. After the victory, he triumphantly entered Krakow, beautifully ending his career as a leader⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ "Bo nie chcieli służyć zdrowej rady kniazia Constantina hetmana litewskiego sprawnego, który był z Litwą i z Rusią na ratunek Polakom przybył" [For they did not want to listen to the right advice of Prince Constantin the successful Hetman of Lithuania who came with Lithuania and Rus to aid the Poles] - M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 753.

⁴⁶ On the Tatar invasions in the 20s of the 16th century and the Battle of Olszanica see M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość* [Wars and the military], p. 309-320; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate*, p. 64-67 (in the context of Crimean fights for power after the death of Mehmed I Giray). In those years, the fame of Ostap Dashkevych as an organizer of expeditions to the Black Sea borderlands grew.

The campaign of Olszanica of Ostrogski is described by the same chroniclers who reported the earlier on Sokal, that is Wapowski, Bielski, Strykowski, and Guagnini. The first of them traditionally overestimates the Tatar forces, counting them at 26 thousand. Returning with their spoils, they were attacked by Ostrogski, who defeated them, took 700 prisoners and released 40,000 captives. Wapowski expresses great joy at the victory, praises the Hetman of Lithuania and his triumphant entry into Krakow, combined with the transfer of Tatar prisoners and battle banners to the king⁴⁷.

The narrative of Wapowski corresponds to the narrative of Bielski, who agrees with his predecessor regarding the number of the horde and the prisoners of war and liberated slaves and prisoners taken at Olszanica. Bielski writes about the commanding abilities of the Hetman of Lithuania, who “na świtanu na nie uderzył i tak na nie ugodził, ze im ani do koni przyść nie dopuścił” [struck at them at dawn and did not let them get to their horses]. Having briefly described the victory, he refers directly to the previous battle: “i powetował Konstantyn sokalskiej bitwy przegranej” [and Konstantyn avenged the defeat in the Battle of Sokal]⁴⁸.

The report by Marcin Bielski is repeated by Alexander Guagnini⁴⁹. Maciej Strykowski does not add any new details, but rather introduces some deceiving information. According to him, the Lithuanian lords led by the hetman gathered in Kiev and, hence, they chased the horde for 40 miles to Olszanica, wherein a bold battle they crashed 34 thousand Tatars. As a result of the battle, 24 thousand Tatars were to die, while the liberated slaves were estimated by Strykowski at 80,000 people⁵⁰. As we can see, the exaggerated data only increases the war fame of Prince Ostrogski.

The Battle of Olszanica was the last victory - and, in general, the last military act - mentioned by the historians, whose works we are analysing here. It should also be added that Aleksander Guagnini devoted a separate paragraph to Prince Ostrogski, praising him as a brave man, persevering in adversity and winning many fights against both Muscovy and the Tatars⁵¹.

CONCLUSION

In summary, we can say that Prince Ostrogski appears in the discussed chronicles fairly regularly, in the context of the fight against the Tatars, but only

⁴⁷ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 218-219.

⁴⁸ M. Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 1040.

⁴⁹ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 153-154.

⁵⁰ M. Strykowski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], p. 754-755.

⁵¹ A. Guagnini, *Z Kroniki* [From the chronicle], p. 192-193.

since 1508. His participation in previous battles with the horde was not confirmed by any of the historians and, in this respect, their work is not enough to retrace the combat experiences of Prince Konstanty. This is certainly due to his relatively low position before 1497 and the manner of assigning victories to monarchs or members of the royal family.

When Ostrogski appears on the chronicles' pages, his presentation as an enemy of the Tatars is parallel to his image as an adversary of Muscovy⁵². We do not observe any strong criticism of him in any of the works, even in the face of such obvious mistakes as can be seen in the setup of the Lithuanian troops for the Battle of Vyshnivets. This is, in fact, the only time when the chroniclers - and in particular Decjusz - allow themselves to suggest that the "avaricious" hetman made any mistakes. However, even then, they cover it up quickly with the praise of his bravery, and Maciej Strykowski does not notice any faults at all in Prince Ostrogski's actions. The subsequent campaigns and battles - even the Sokal one - are becoming an opportunity for the writers to praise the wisdom and bravery of the Hetman of Lithuania.

The creation of the image of Ostrogski as an enemy of the Tatars is directed towards imagining a lucky and wise leader, who in the time of need spares no strength and health, taking a personal part in the fight. Therefore, Prince Ostrogski finds himself on the border between two eras, combining the ethos of a medieval knight who fights the opponent, with the advantages of a commander who can effectively manage a fight. In our opinion, the Knights' ethos prevails even in the image of the hetman, and in a way corresponds to his character. Interestingly, at the end of the 16th century, Prince Ostrogski will enter into the literature as an experienced commander, instructing on the methods of fighting against the horde and condemning the effeminacy of the later nobility⁵³. This is probably also the result of the work of the Old-Polish historians who, without exception, promoted the military contribution of Prince Ostrogski in his battles with the horde.

⁵² D. Milewski, *Konstanty Ostrogski*, p. 116-117.

⁵³ This is the role in which the Hetman of Lithuania appeared in attributed to Walenty Herburt *Rozprawie przygody starego żołnierza* [The story of the adventure of an old soldier], Kraków 1595 – see R. Ryba, *Literatura staropolska wobec zjawiska niewoli tatarsko-tureckiej. Studia i szkice* [Old-Polish literature on the phenomenon of the Tatar-Turk slavery. Studies and essays], Katowice, 2014, pp. 122, 136.

POST WAR (WWI) CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: TIME OF CIVILIZATIONAL CHOICE

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Abstract. *The creation of the national states in the Central and Eastern Europe after First World War was of enormous importance to the peoples of this region. Nevertheless, despite the important issue of gaining their independence and sovereignty, the agenda of their social life at the time contained yet a really crucial issue. The peoples who received the right to statehood after the end of the war, at the same time had to solve another, no less important, problem, namely the choice of the form of this statehood, its social-political system and the model of economic development. This decision largely depended on the direction of the historical development of the states during the 20th century. We must recall that from the mid-17th century until the First World War, the population of a large European region (to the east of Oder) was in a state of economic and social stagnation. This situation is explained by the previous political and social-economic conditions, dependent on all aspects of historical development. That is why, at the beginning of the 20th century, most of the peoples who were part of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian empires have actually remained at the periphery of European civilization, lagging far behind industrial countries of Western Europe and North America, according to many indicators of social development. It was vital for the newly formed states of Central and Eastern Europe to choose the optimal model of a social system to compensate for the lost time and overcome the civilizational gap between them and the advanced Western countries. It is a matter of actual scientific analysis of how natural and justified this choice was.*

Keywords: *Central and Eastern Europe, civilization choice, modernization, nationalism, authoritarian dictatorships.*

Rezumat: *Europa Centrală și de Est după Primul Război Mondial: epoca opțiunii civilizationale. Crearea statelor naționale în Europa Centrală și de Est după Primul Război Mondial a avut o importanță enormă pentru popoarele din această regiune. În pofida acestui fapt, în ciuda importanței dobândirii independenței și suveranității, în agenda vieții lor sociale la vremea respectivă se afla încă o problemă cu adevărat crucială. Popoarele care au primit după sfârșitul războiului mondial dreptul la statalitate, în același timp trebuiau să soluționeze o altă, nu mai puțin importantă problemă, și anume: alegerea formei acestei statalități,*

sistemului ei social-politic și modelului de dezvoltare economică. De această hotărâre în mare măsură depindea direcția dezvoltării istorice a statelor în decursul secolului XX. Trebuie să reamintim că aproximativ de la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea și până la Primul Război Mondial, populația unei mari regiuni europene (la est de Oder) se afla în condiții de stagnare economică și socială. Această situație se explica prin condițiile politice și social-economice anterioare, ne independente în toate aspectele dezvoltării istorice. De aceea, la începutul secolului al XX-lea majoritatea popoarelor care făceau parte din imperiile Austro-Ungar, German și Rus, au nimerit de fapt la periferia civilizației europene, rămânând în urmă după mai mulți indicatori ai dezvoltării sociale față de țările industriale din Europa de Vest și America de Nord. Pentru a recompensa timpul pierdut și pentru a depăși înapoierea sa, în aspectul civilizațional – în comparație cu țările occidentale înaintate – pentru statele nou formate din Europa Centrală și de Est a fost vital să se aleagă cel mai optim model al sistemului social. Este cunoscut faptul că statele nou formate din Europa Centrală și de Est au optat pentru modelul occidental, liberal-democratic al orânduirii sociale. O analiză științifică imparțială a dezvoltării lor istorice în perioada interbelică ne ajută să înțelegem cât de logică și justificată a fost această alegere.

Résumé : L'Europe Centrale et Orientale après la Première guerre mondiale : le temps d'un choix civilisateur. La création des états nationaux en Europe Centrale et Orientale après la Première guerre mondiale revêtait une signification primordiale pour les peuples de cette région. Cependant, malgré l'importance de l'acquisition de l'indépendance et de la souveraineté nationale, à l'ordre du jour de leur vie sociale à cette époque-là, se trouvait encore une question, vraiment cruciale. Les peuples ayant obtenu le droit à leur propre structure d'état après la fin de cette guerre, devaient résoudre en même temps un autre problème, non moins important, à savoir, choisir une forme de cet état, son régime socio-politique ainsi qu'un modèle de son développement économique. De sa solution dépendait, en majeure partie, la direction de leur développement historique ultérieur au XX siècle. Il convient de rappeler qu'environ de la moitié du XVII siècle jusqu'à la Première guerre mondiale, la population d'une grande région de l'Europe (à l'est de l'Oder) se trouvait dans des conditions d'une stagnation économique et sociale. Cette situation s'expliquait par les conditions politiques et socio-économiques de leur développement historique antérieur, non autonome sous tous les aspects. Par conséquent, au début du XX siècle, la plupart des peuples qui se trouvaient au sein des Empires austro-hongrois, allemand et russe, se sont trouvés en réalité à la périphérie de la civilisation européenne, en cédant en plupart des indicateurs de leur développement social aux pays industrialisés de l'Europe Occidentale et de l'Amérique du Nord. Pour rattraper le temps perdu et surmonter leur retard civilisateur, en comparaison avec les pays développés de l'Occident, les pays nouvellement créés de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale devaient choisir un modèle optimal du système social. Comme on le sait, les états nouvellement créés de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale ont choisi le modèle occidental, c'est-à-dire, démocratique et libéral, de leur développement social. Une analyse scientifique impartiale de leur développement historique pendant l'entre-deux-guerres permet de comprendre à quel point ce choix, s'est avéré logique et justifié.

INTRODUCTION

The creation of national states in Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War was of great importance to the peoples of this region. However, despite the importance of independence and state sovereignty, there was still one crucial question on the agenda of their social existence at that time. The peoples who have the right to their own statehood after World War I, that heralded a new era of peace, had to solve another but no less important problem, namely to choose the form of their states, their socio-political system and model of economic development. In other words, the direction of their further historical development and the fate of national existence largely depended on the solution to this problem, which may be called the problem of *civilizational choice*.

It should be recalled that in the early twentieth century most of the peoples, who were citizens of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian empires, were actually on the periphery of European civilization, significantly lagging behind, on most indicators of social development, compared to industrial countries of Western Europe and North America.¹ It was vital for the newly formed states of Central and Eastern Europe to choose the most optimal model of their social system in order to make up for the lost time and overcome this *civilizational gap* between them and the advanced Western countries. The solution to this problem seemed obvious: the choice should have been made in favour of a western liberal democracy with market economies – a new growth model, which at that time proved to be undeniably advantageous. This problem received substantial interest, because modernization of societies implies the emulation of the Western civilization paradigm, i.e. the introduction of the liberal democratic policy, the advancement of industrialization and the development of the market relations, which became crucial in addressing the problem. By the way, the historical context of modernization of the Central-Eastern European region drew the attention of an increasing number of researchers.²

However, before modernization, the first and foremost challenge was to gain freedom and independence, to establish its own state, and therefore create

¹ See more: Derek Aldcroft, *Europe's Third World. The European Periphery in the Interwar Years*, Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Pub. Co., 2006, p. 4 - 14.

² See for example: Jacek Kochanowicz, *Backwardness and Modernization: Poland and Eastern Europe in the 16th - 20th Centuries* (Variorum collected studies series), Aldershot (GB), Burlington (USA), 2006, 336 p.

favourable conditions for 'catch-up development'. It seemed that the results of WWI gave such a chance.

ARGUMENTATION

As we know, throughout the long period (approximately from the middle of the 17th century and before WWI), the population of the broad region (to the east of Oder) lived in the conditions of economic and social underdevelopment and oppression, one of the main reasons why it was so called 'the second edition of serfdom'. A contemporary researcher of the Western civilization noted: "Between 1600 and 1650 the practice of tying peasants to their masters' land spread to Poland, the Baltic provinces, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Austria. ... As well as instituting a life of unremitting toil and loss of liberties for millions of people, the introduction of serfdom announced centuries of economic and social stagnation, creating a divergence between eastern and western Europe"³. Such a situation was aggravated by the conditions of the *traditional society*, which was characteristic for Austrian (later Austro-Hungarian), German and Russian empires. Therefore, the majority of the peoples of these empires have actually emerged at the periphery of European civilization, lagging far behind industrial countries of Western Europe and North America according to the majority of indicators of public progress.

It is worth reminding that on the eve of the war of 1914 – 1918, there were two civilizational models on the European continent: the Western one (or liberal democratic), which was represented by the UK and France (and the overseas power - the USA, which was on the side of the Entente allies), and the Central European one (or the military-authoritarian and conservative-monarchist), typical for Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Until the end of the WWI, there was one more, completely new civilizational perspective proposed by Soviet Russia.

The Great War has drastically altered the map of Central and Eastern Europe. The empires of Habsburgs, Romanovs and Hohenzollerns have broken up due to World War I, and nine new independent states appeared or reappeared in Europe. Having exercised the right of nations to self-determination (or the so-called Wilsonian "principle of nationality"), it was vital for the newly formed states of Central and Eastern Europe to choose the optimal public model of statehood, to make up for a downtime and to overcome, in fact, *the civilizational gap* between them and the advanced countries of the Western world. The newly formed states

³ Roger Osborne, *Civilization: A New History of the Western World*, New York: Pegasus Books, 2006, p. 250.

of Central and Eastern Europe have made a choice in favour of the Western civilization model, that is, the liberal-democratic social model with a market economy. Such a choice can be explained by at least three circumstances.

Firstly, the selection is significant, and perhaps crucially determined by the main result of the WWI, namely, the victory of the Entente and the United States; in other words, all eyes were on the winners.

Secondly, the local representatives of, first and foremost, the intellectual elite, which, in fact, led the national liberation movement of the peoples of the region, had adhered to the Pro-Western, liberal-democratic orientation (one of the most striking examples was Tomáš Masaryk, the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic⁴).

Thirdly, the political map of Central and Eastern Europe and the fate of its peoples were determined during the Paris Peace Conference by the winners in the First World War. By agreeing to create new states and internationally acknowledge their legal status, it obvious that the leading Western countries primarily pursued their own geopolitical interests and goals, in particular in order to strengthen their political influence in the Central-Eastern European region.

The treaty makers of Paris were guided in 1919 by the principle of self-determination in the case of the post-war settlement grounds in Central and Eastern Europe. However, as Winston Churchill remarked in his *World Crisis*, "But if the principle was simple and accepted, its application was difficult and disputable"⁵. That is why the right to establish statehood, by this principle, was enjoyed only by those, who were supposed to 'deserve' such honour, from the point of view of the "architects of Versailles", i.e. the peacemakers were inclined to reward or punish the new or restored states according to whether or not they had supported the winning side. It is also worth taking into account that the Baltic states, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were created as a barrier to the westward expansion of Soviet Communism and as a threat in the rear to deter German revival. On the other hand, the Western leaders repeatedly violated the principle of self-determination by themselves or turned a blind eye to the others, for example, restored Poland.

It should be noted that the leaders of the great powers reached a post-war settlement in this region; but they absolutely disregarded the whole set of complicated circumstances that determined its specificity: confessional, national, social and other. As the famous historian, Eric Hobsbawm, noted at the time, "This brief glance immediately reveals the utter impracticability of the Wilsonian principle to

⁴ George J. Kovtun (Ed.), *The spirit of Tomáš G. Masarik (1850- 1937): An anthology*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1990, p. 13.

⁵ Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis. Vol. IV, The Aftermath*, London: Thornton, 1929, p. 205.

make state frontiers coincide with the frontiers of nationality and language”⁶. Moreover, such policy of the post-war settlement generated “the irritations which have arisen wherever these sensitive and doubtful fringes of nationality have been roughly clipped by frontier scissors...”⁷. The treaties of the Paris Peace Conference, in fact, violated the principles of national self-determination by leaving significant groups of minorities outside the borders of their national homelands. According to the Trianon Treaty (1920), Hungary lost nearly 3/4 of its pre-war territory, and about 2/3 of its pre-war population⁸, but in fact more than 2.5 million ethnic Hungarians became a part of the neighbouring states and accounted for 1/4 or even 1/3 of the total Hungarian population. Therefore, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the status of the Trianon Treaty represented the crippling of historical Hungary for the Hungarians, a disaster that has lessened the geopolitical status of Hungary in the region, and has also physically divided many families⁹.

The leading Western countries considered it important to eliminate the legacy of authoritarian empires and to speed up the processes of democratization in new countries. The terms of peace settlement did concertedly promote democracy and had spurred the establishment of representative regimes throughout Central and Eastern Europe. So, the ‘architects’ of the post-war terms have openly declared their interest in promoting democracy and the emergence of representative regimes in Central and Eastern Europe.

Thus, the Western democracies have really provided the peoples of Central and Eastern European not only with the right and conditions for the creation of a national statehood and its international recognition, but also with the explicitly proposed model of socio-political system of the Western side, of course. Its adoption and implementation in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe did create favourable conditions to increase or speed-up (depending on the country) the modernization processes in the sphere of socio-economic and political relations, culture, spiritual life, on the principles of liberal democracy and market economy, that would mean a paradigm shift of their civilizational development.

Therefore, the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe got the chance to follow in the footsteps of another civilizational model. It was a time of a truly historic

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 132 - 133.

⁷ Winston Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁸ M. Wesley Shoemaker, *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe 1989*, Washington, Stryker-Post Publications, 1990, p. 133.

⁹ Dagmar Kusá, *We Are the Stories We Tell. Historical Conciliation of Ethnic Tensions in Central Europe*, in “Visegrad Insight”, 2013, No. 1(3), p. 17.

choice for their future. Nevertheless, this raises a number of questions:

1) was this choice of these peoples who had to live in a largely new social system voluntary or was it programmed by the will of 'architects' of the post-war world?

2) was it made by the people or peoples of the newly formed states of Central and Eastern Europe or - in the first place - by the leaders of national liberation movements, representatives of local liberal democratic (Pro-Western) elites, especially the intellectual ones?

3) was mass, conscious and unanimity an extent of public support of this choice or, using the terminology of political scientists, was this support purely situational?

4) were there objective and subjective prerequisites and conditions for such a choice or was it primarily determined by the results of the WWI, namely, the victory of the Entente and the USA, which represented the model of industrial society?

That is why it is important to analyse the political and socio-economic development of the new or reconstituted states of Central-Eastern Europe in the interwar period through the lens of the chosen civilizational paradigm. Such unbiased scientific analysis could facilitate our understanding of how natural and justified this choice was.

After WWI, the modernization reforms along the Western lines (industrialization, an introduction of democratic procedures, basics of parliamentarism and other) began in the countries of this region. All states adopted new constitutions and set up parliamentary regimes by Western standards, in some cases where none had existed before. In the immediate aftermath of First World War, liberal democracy - one of the key elements of modernization in Central and Eastern Europe was broadly considered the superior form of government. Western democracy was pitted against a backward order of quasi-feudal authoritarianism, a spirit of democratic progress flourished and "Western guarantees to the new states created by the Versailles Treaty went hand in hand with the promotion of Western constitutional models"¹⁰.

Therefore, an important component of the process of West-oriented modernization was democratization. In this regard, we concur with the authors of an interesting article on interwar in East Central Europe, when they conclude that democratization meant a fundamental transformation from corporate and strictly hierarchically organized societies into societies with equal rights for all ethnic and social groups¹¹. However, we can hardly agree with their statement that "the claim

¹⁰ Jacques Rupnik, *Eastern Europe: The International Context*, in "Journal of Democracy", 11, 2000, No. 2, p. 117.

¹¹ Heidi Hein-Kircher, St. Kailitz, "Double transformations:" nation formation and

for democracy became an inherent, unquestioned part of the claim for new self-determined nations in East Central Europe”¹². We assume that the prowess for democratization, characteristic for the pro-Western elites that stood at the helm of the newly formed states, did not reflect the social mood of the broad masses of the population, which had lived for centuries under an authoritarian society. By the way, the same authors rightly notice that “national” values were prioritized over “democratic” values and, hence, nationalizing politics undermined or even impeded “democratic consolidation”. Moreover, they recognize the complexity of the “process of democratization in territories where democratic ideas and civil society had not yet taken root”¹³.

Although the process of democratization has caused significant changes in the socio-political life of Central and Eastern European countries, it was unable to fundamentally change the political culture, the norms of social behaviour and the traditions inherent to their population (with the exception of Czechoslovakia, albeit with some reservations). Under the influence of the Western democracies’ victory in the war of 1914-1918, an attempt was made to transfer and to adopt constitutions of the French-type (and here and there of British- and Swiss-type) and political structures in the mentioned region. However, as John Lukacs, a famous Hungarian-born American historian, wittily noted: “But these foreign-style suits did not fit the stocky bodies of their temporary customers. The seams soon broke. The cloth did not last. That kind of parliamentary liberalism belonged to the nineteenth century, not the twentieth. Fourteen years, at the most, after 1920 the majority of Eastern and Southern European countries... had abandoned parliamentary democracy (Note that this happened even before Hitler’s Third Reich would influence, or force, such a change upon them)”¹⁴.

The period of modernization was minimized by a number of reasons such as monarchism, government centralism, tough social control, corporatism, clericalism, commitment to social stability and order, negative attitude to innovations, traditionalism. These phenomena of specific political and legal culture were inherited by the so-called Successor States, as a result of disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian empires, to which some peoples belonged during some centuries. This imperial legacy (in fact, the legacy of agrarian or

democratization in interwar East Central Europe, in “Nationalities Papers”, 2018, Vol. 46, No. 5, p. 745.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 746.

¹⁴ John Lukacs, *The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age*, New York, Ticknor & Fields, 1993, p. 158-159.

traditional society) fatally affected the fate of the civilizational choice made by these states. In addition, consolidating and stabilizing the new creations in Eastern Europe proved a difficult task, given the weak, often corrupt and unstable administrations, the lack of experience in democratic methods, a plethora of parties, whose confrontation and struggle gave rise to general political instability (between 1919 and 1926 there were 14 governments only in Poland), and the problem of reconciling divergent interests, many of which arose from the ethnic and religious diversity of the populations¹⁵.

Thus, despite the importance of the constitutional establishment of civil rights and freedoms, the multi-party system and parliamentarism which seemed to have been introduced into the political life of these states, it should be recognized that that process could not eliminate the authoritarian political culture of a traditionally-established society. There was also the lack of deep preconditions in the public consciousness for the perception and dissemination of liberal-democratic ideology, which made the process of democratization superficial and unstable.

As it turned out, the post-war politicization of the masses turned out to be mostly impulsive-emotional in nature, due to the general euphoria, which accompanied the breakdown of the former imperial statehood and gaining of independence, rather than awareness of painstaking work, aimed at the development of a new socio-political system that required a completely different level of civic responsibility. As it used to be before, the broad strata of the population were psychologically unprepared for active participation in the socio-political life within the framework of the new constitutional and legal system. On the other hand, the old aristocrats and landowners still had a considerable power and were against the modernization processes. In his recent paper, Florian Kührer-Wielach concluded: "the established Romanian political class could not live up to the high expectations of modernization and social advancement"¹⁶. His remark should be considered true in relation to other countries of Central-Eastern European region. Regrettably, new democratic governments could not solve the problems, faced during the modernization reforms. Despite a democratic form of government, conflicts between various parties and their leaders kept it from being very effective.

It is important to highlight the fact that democratization of social and political life could be more successful and, consequently, gain more substantial public support if it was backed up by tangible achievements in the socio-economic realm.

¹⁵ Derek Aldcroft, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Florian Kührer-Wielach, *The Transylvanian promise: political mobilisation, unfulfilled hope and the rise of authoritarianism in interwar Romania*, in "European Review of History – Revue européenne d'histoire", Vol. 23, 2016, No. 4, p. 590.

Unfortunately, the post-war economic situation was difficult and unfavourable for carrying out deep economic reforms. The disintegration of the economic space of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, that meant the loss of established markets, the rupture of communications which developed for decades, the disappearance of one financial system and so forth, had a negative impact on the economic development of the Central-Eastern European countries. As Paul Kennedy wrote, "The economic scene in eastern and central Europe made matters even worse, since the erection of customs and tariff barriers around these newly created countries increased regional rivalries and hindered general development. There were now twenty-seven separate currencies in Europe instead of fourteen as before the war, and an extra 12.500 miles of frontier; many of the borders separated factories from their raw materials, ironworks from their coalfields, farms from their market"¹⁷.

Despite certain successes of the first wave of reforms, the plans of accelerated modernization of the Central-Eastern European region in accordance with the Western model were not implemented. The overwhelming majority of the population was not able to quickly get used to the dynamic changes and contradictory manifestations of the modernization process, which, in their turn, not only slowed down the pace of reforms, but also significantly reduced their real economic effect, increased government expenses on their implementation, and generated social tension in the society.

Therefore, it is not surprising that in a while such accelerated modernization 'directed from above' by a fairly narrow circle of representatives of the liberal-democratic elite, aiming at breaking down the very foundations of the society, began to face ever-growing resistance from traditional segments of the population and conservative political forces.

In our opinion, another factor that had a fatal impact on modernization processes in general and on the fate of democracy in particular was *nationalism*, which went viral with the Central-Eastern European countries' ruling elites, without realizing that in the 20th century this phenomenon is inherently incompatible with real democracy. Assessing the post-war situation, Winston Churchill considered¹⁸, "The almost complete exclusion of religion in all its forms from the political sphere had left Nationalism the most powerful moulding instrument of mankind in temporal

¹⁷ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers. Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, Glasgow, Fontana Press, 1989, p. 373. See also: Stefan Karner, *From Empire to Republic: Economic Problems in a Period of Collapse, Reorientation, and Reconstruction*, in John Komlos (Ed.), *Economic development in the Habsburg monarchy and in the Successor States. Essays*, New York, East European Monographs, 1990.

¹⁸ Winston Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 203 - 204.

affairs". Oddly enough, but the Great Powers, interested in promoting democracy in these countries, in fact, paved the way for the strengthening of nationalism and underestimated the danger of this phenomenon in the interwar period.

As we know, all new nation-states in the Central-Eastern European region were created within multi-ethnic territories. However, in all of these states, as a result of policies of the nationalist-minded ruling class, large parts of the population were intentionally and quite officially defined as "minorities", which had to accept their unequal position compared with the dominant position of the ethnic majority. Thus, after the WWI many national minorities were denied the right to their own statehood or a kind of autonomy in the newly formed states. Moreover, often their civil and cultural rights were more reduced than during their stay in the collapsed empires. Of course, they demanded some kind of influence in the newly formed states, while dominant national groups (and first of all their elites) strongly opposed such demands.

As it turned out, the nationalism of small nations which established their statehood after WWI was equally intolerant and aggressive, as the great-power chauvinism of collapsed empires, where they were oppressed. Moreover, since the First World War, nationalism had essentially become the composition and even the basis of ideology in newly formed countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It had become a factor of both internal and external instability of these states.

Firstly, nationalism negatively influenced the national problem and actually has maintained and even intensified the discrimination of ethnic minorities by the representatives of the titular nation. Conflicts between ethnic groups were not at all brought to an end by the Paris Peace Conference, which established minority rights and protection. The same W. Churchill testified: "It should be added that in all the treaties constituting the frontiers of the new States precise and elaborate provisions were inserted and accepted providing for the protection of minorities, their good treatment and equal rights before the law. Unfortunately, the governments of these newly-established states factually ignored these provisions"¹⁹. The main principles of the peace treaties were perceived by the newly emerging states and their respective dominant nations as being imposed on them by the victors in World War I. Therefore, conflicts over minority rights rose. First and foremost, it is worth mentioning the oppression of the Ukrainians, the Jews and the Germans in Poland.

In Romania, according to the 1930 census, the minorities comprised 28% of the population. Despite the relevant articles of the Constitution of Romania and the 1924 Law on nationalities, the Romanian government also had serious

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 228-229.

problems with their ethnic groups and minorities, especially the Hungarians, which, dissatisfied with the land reform in Transylvania, the laws on education etc., between 1923 and 1940 submitted 47 complaints to the League of Nations²⁰.

Czechoslovakia, in fact, was also a collection of minorities led by the Czechs, where even the Slovaks did not feel very comfortable. It is known that their new capital – Bratislava – was first inhabited by mainly Germans and Hungarians, and not by Slovaks, and in 1930 ethnic minorities were almost a third of the population of Slovakia²¹. The Slovaks insisted that the term “Czechoslovak nation” was no more than a cover-up for Czech-dominated centralization of government²². All attempts of the Slovak political elite to obtain autonomy in the 1920s were in vain, and the problem of real autonomy for Slovakia remained open until 1938²³.

The national unity in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was also only apparent. In fact, as Derek H. Aldcroft noted, the ethnic problems of the new Yugoslav state were exacerbated by the fact that the Serbs, who represented about 40 percent of the population, tended to monopolize the positions of power within government and administration and paid lip-service to the interests of their minority nationals²⁴. In the 1920s, the conflict has intensified between Serbs and Croats over the matter of principle that has to be fundamental in the building of a country: the first ones defended centralism, the second ones – federalism²⁵. Changing the name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not stop the disagreement and fight between the peoples of this state.

Secondly, nationalism posed a continuous threat to democratic institutions, as democracy is inherently incompatible with the nationalism of the twentieth century because it only pays attention to the own nation and it is often hostile to people of other nations. As H. Hein-Kircher and St. Kailitz rightly point out in their recent paper, “nationalism became a kind of state doctrine, which deeply influenced internal politics and eventually derailed the ongoing efforts of democratization”²⁶. For that reason, nationalism became an important factor that contributed to the failure of democracy in Eastern and Central Europe and to their transition to authoritarian

²⁰ Ion Bulei, *A Short History of Romania, Second edition*, Bucharest, MERONIA Publishers, 1998, p.121.

²¹ Elena Mannova (Ed.), *A Concise History of Slovakia*, Bratislava, Academic Electronic Press, 2000, p. 244.

²² M. Welsey Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²³ Elena Mannova (Ed.), *A Concise History of Slovakia*, p. 246.

²⁴ Derek Aldcroft, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁵ M. Welsey Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

²⁶ Heidi Hein-Kircher, Steffen Kailitz, *op. cit.*, p. 746 - 747.

and even pro-fascist dictatorships with nationalist overtones.

Thirdly, nationalism as part of state ideology and social life influenced the foreign policy making of Central-Eastern countries, which often led to a deterioration of bilateral relations, territorial claims, etc. Contrary to the hopes of many, in the context of post-imperial realities and the inertia of traditional society, the process of democratic transition exacerbated ethnic polarization and conflicts. Thus, the unsolved problems of ethnic minorities and the so-called 'unfair' borders became the source of permanent instability both in the countries of the aforesaid region and between them. This fact was used by aggressive fascist powers in the 1930s.

Therefore, the ferocious nationalism became probably one of the main reasons for long-lasting uncertainty in the states of Central and Eastern Europe, adding to the arsenal of leaders of the national movement, who happened to come to power in these countries.

Since the mid-1920s the new democracy regimes in Central-Eastern Europe were overwhelmed by the right-wing or nationalist forces and one by one they succumbed to authoritarian rule. Both right-wing authoritarian and even fascist ideas grew more influential across Central-Eastern European countries from the second half of the 1920s, attracting adherents from different layers of society. The presumed revolutionary threat from Soviet Communism, the separatist tendencies of the national minorities, the weakness of parliamentary democracy suffering from party fragmentation and constant governmental instability, and the political debility of traditional elites only reinforced this trend.

In 1926 general Joseph Pilsudski led his armed followers to Warsaw and factually staged the coup d'état. They gained control of the most important government buildings during two days of street fighting which saw nearly 400 people killed and over 900 wounded²⁷. Within a few days, Pilsudski was in control of the government. While he did not disband the Polish parliament, electoral manipulations yielded majority support for his policy. He installed what one might today call an "electoral authoritarian" regime²⁸. Although he held various offices in the government from time to time, he was really the dictator of Poland until his death in 1935.

Much the same thing was true in the other countries of Central-Eastern Europe. There were various kinds of dictatorships – both military and royal dictatorships. Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia were all monarchies in which the

²⁷ Andrzej Misiuk, *Police and Policing under the Second Polish Republic, 1918 – 39*, in Gerald Blaney, Jr. (Ed.), *Policing Interwar Europe: continuity, change, and crisis, 1918-40*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 165.

²⁸ Agnes Cornell, Jørgen Møller, Svend-Erik Skaaning, *The Real Lessons of the Interwar Years*, in "Journal of Democracy", Vol. 28, 2017, No. 3, p. 14-28.

king set up a royal dictatorship.

For instance, in Romania, the increasingly authoritarian tendencies were associated with the accession to the throne of Carol II in 1930, who relied on the National Peasants' Party (the former agrarians who made the ideological drift towards nationalism and anti-liberalism) and paramilitaries of the "Iron Guard", which received royal subsidies. The latter genuinely adhered to the pro-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist and – that is significant! – anti-Western attitudes and their activities deliberately resorted to the practice of political assassinations, Prime Minister Ion G. Duca, the leader of the Liberal Party, Prime Minister Armand Calinescu and many others after that were their victims²⁹. Also, an alarming phenomenon was the increase in the public support of the "Iron Guard", which gained about 16% of the votes in the 1937 elections, becoming the third political force in the Parliament. Soon the government was threatened by the "Iron Guard", which had the support of Nazi Germany.

The Baltic states also adopted authoritarian versions of regimes: Lithuania came under the control of Smetona in 1926, i.e. went down much the same road as neighbouring Poland, and Latvia and Estonia fell to Ulmanis and Pāts respectively in 1934.

It is important to bear in mind that 'ethnic nationalism was to become an important force in fascist movements in these countries'³⁰. Beginning in the late 1920s a number of fascist-inspired parties with ultranationalist ideology became influential in this region (the Iron Guard in Romania, the Iron Wolf movement in Lithuania, the Arrow Cross in Hungary, the Estonian Freedom Fighters, and the Latvian Thunder Cross). In turn, as Kurt Weyland (University of Texas) observed, "the messianic ideology of fascism contributed greatly to the massive reverse wave that undermined many democratic advances achieved in the wake of World War I"³¹. As a result, many of these authoritative regimes were close to fascism and may be called as pro-fascist or semi-fascist.

Nevertheless, after fifteen years since the First World War ended, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, not one of the states created or reorganized at the Paris Peace Conference remained a democracy³². Therefore, in the author's opinion,

²⁹ Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, p. 119-120.

³⁰ Robert Bideleux, Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*. London, Routledge, 1998, p. 491.

³¹ Kurt Weyland, *Fascism's missionary ideology and the autocratic wave of the interwar years*, "Democratization", Vol. 24, 2017, Issue 7, p. 3.

³² Felix Gilbert, *The End of the European Era, 1890 to the Present*. Third Edition, New York - London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1984, p. 175.

the 'nationalistic flavour' of the formation of the new states in Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War is largely predetermined by the decline of the democratic regimes and institutes and the establishment of the authoritarian pro-fascist dictatorships. Since the mid-1920s, there was a number of coups d'états and dictatorial regimes were established in these countries. "Hopes for democratic consolidation in East Central Europe were quickly dashed as a massive authoritarian backlash followed the wave of democratization"³³. This, however, not only changed the nature of the political development of the countries but also led to the final curtailment of modernization reforms initiated after the First World War.

In the wake of the exacerbation of socio-economic problems, as a result of the modernization reforms that led to the breakdown of established forms of existence, the desire to return to the usual way of life was born in the masses, seeing the head of state as a 'powerful man' capable of restoring order and counter the reformist ardour of pro-Western politicians. For the vast majority, patriarchal moral values and nationalist slogans were closer and more understandable rather than the borrowed ones, i.e. liberal-democratic ideas with such concepts as civic responsibility, freedom of individual choice, human rights, introduced from the outside. This social and political orientation of the majority of the population, inherited from imperial times, became an important reason for the weakness of democratic institutions and, as a consequence, led to the noticeable strengthening of authoritarian tendencies in the political life of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, after the First World War, some nations of Central and Eastern Europe, having obtained their own statehood, got a historical chance to move to the development of a new society (with a democratic system of public administration, with market economy, etc.) based on the model of the leading countries of Western Europe and North America. However, the democratization of the social and political system, mainly due to external pressure, turned out to be quite formal and superficial. We speculate that this might be due to the fact that the majority of the population did not accept it or, rather, was not ready for it, captive of traditional ideas and stereotypes inherited from the imperial legacy. Soon, literally in 5-7 years, the superficiality of democratic transformations in Central-Eastern Europe became apparent. The archaic social structure (the predominance of peasantry, the sharp reduction of the aristocracy as a result of the World War, the

³³ Heidi Hein-Kircher, Steffen Kailitz, *op. cit.*, p. 746.

relatively insignificant working class, the social heterogeneity of the bourgeoisie), the complexity of national relations and the growing discontent of national minorities), the unstable socio-economic situation, the lack of real national-state unity (the regionalism problems inherited from the imperial past) resulted in the powerlessness of those political forces that have received the power after WWI to govern in a democratic way. Therefore, from the very beginning, the most aggressive and cohesive political groups in this part of Europe were inclined towards dictatorial, authoritarian ways of governing. Consequently, the relatively rapid evolution of the political system – from democracy to authoritarianism – was largely ‘programmed’ by the insurmountable imperial heritage, which affected the public consciousness, the social psychology, the political practice, and the national policies of Central and Eastern European states throughout the interwar period. The nationalism became another reason for such evolution and it had a negative impact on the fate of democracy in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the interwar period.



Proceeding from it, it is possible to draw an obvious conclusion that the civilizational choice made by the Central-Eastern European countries after WWI, – from the point of view of carrying out the socio-political and economic modernization of the Western model, – turned out to be short-lived and generally ineffective (with the exception of Czechoslovakia). Consequently, according to Winston Churchill, “Central and Southern Europe had broken into intensely nationalistic fragments sundered from each other by enmities and jealousies, by particularist tariffs and local armaments”³⁴. There were states with low levels of socio-economic modernization, politically divisive ethnolinguistic cleavages, and limited – and generally unsuccessful – experience with democracy.

At the same time, it should not be assumed that the Central European region did not take advantage of this new civilization experience. Even a short stay in a democratic system initiated the process of setting the foundations for a modern civil society, and the authoritarian dictatorships established by conservative forces could not fully restore the traditional society and solve the urgent problems. Moreover, the rulers of these authoritarian regimes involved their countries into the Second World War on the side of Nazi Germany, placing them, thus, on the brink of a national catastrophe. Therefore, after WWII, the issue of civilizational choice was again on the agenda of their state and national existence.

³⁴ Winston Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

NEW INDEPENDENT STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA: MOBILIZATION EXPERIENCE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

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Abstract. *Some drastic shifts have occurred in the development of Central Asia over the past twenty years. Although they cover a short period from a historical perspective, these years are the equivalent to a century-worth of evolution in terms of its importance and force for the region. To overcome negative tendencies in the economic sphere, most Central Asian countries create and implement long-term plans and socio-economic development programs. Concurrently, the promotion and revitalization of civil society contributes to overcoming the social challenges that characterize the region. In some cases, the governments themselves are making conscious efforts to renounce or limit their attributions in favour of civil society institutions. These institutions include both non-governmental organizations and local traditional communities, typical for Central Asia. The study presents some aspects of social transformation in the region, problems, and prospects of the civil society development, and activity of local traditional communities, taking into account the increasingly important part they play in conquering social issues of the state.*

Keywords: *Modernization, Central Asia, traditional society, social transformation, volunteer, local communities.*

Rezumat: Noile state independente din Asia Centrală: experiența mobilizării comunităților locale. *În ultimii douăzeci de ani, în dezvoltarea Asiei Centrale s-au produs schimbări radicale. Deși, din perspectivă istorică, acești ani acoperă o perioadă scurtă de timp, ca însemnătate și importanță pentru regiune ei echivalează cu evoluția specifică unui secol. Pentru a depăși tendințele negative din sfera economică, majoritatea țărilor din Asia Centrală creează și implementează planuri pe termen lung și programe de dezvoltare socio-economică. În același timp, promovarea și revitalizarea societății civile contribuie la depășirea provocărilor sociale care caracterizează regiunea. În unele cazuri, guvernele*

însele fac eforturi conștiente în direcția renunțării sau limitării unor atribuții în favoarea instituțiilor societății civile. Acestea din urmă includ atât organizații neguvernamentale, cât și comunități tradiționale locale, tipice pentru Asia Centrală. Studiul prezintă câteva aspecte ale transformării sociale în regiune, problemele și perspectivele dezvoltării societății civile și activitatea comunităților tradiționale locale, ținând seama de rolul tot mai important pe care îl joacă în depășirea problemelor sociale.

Résumé : Nouveaux Etats indépendants de l'Asie Centrale : l'expérience de la mobilisation des communautés locales. *Les derniers vingt années, des changements radicaux se sont produits dans l'essor de l'Asie Centrale. Quoique, de perspective historique, ces années-là couvrent une période courte de temps, en tant qu'importance et signification pour la région, ils équivalent avec l'évolution spécifique pour un siècle. Pour dépasser les tendances négatives de la sphère économique, la majorité des pays de l'Asie Centrale ont créé et implémenté des plans à long terme et des programmes de développement socio-économique. En même temps, la promotion et la revitalisation de la société civile permet de dépasser les provocations sociales qui caractérisent la région. En certains cas, les gouvernements eux-mêmes firent des efforts conscients dans la direction du renoncement ou de la limitation de quelques attributions en faveur des institutions de la société civile. Les dernières incluent des organisations non-gouvernementales, mais aussi des communautés traditionnelles locales, typiques pour l'Asie Centrale. L'étude ci-jointe présente quelques aspects de la transformation sociale dans la région, les problèmes et les perspectives du développement de la société civile et l'activité des communautés traditionnelles locales, tenant compte du rôle de plus en plus important que surmonter les problèmes sociaux signifie.*

INTRODUCTION

The pursuit of region-wide sustainable social and economic growth, the identification of appropriate development strategies and corresponding social and economic policies are now becoming ever more relevant to all Central Asian States. Since gaining independence in 1991, the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia (now newly independent states), had to choose a route of development, while being majorly influenced by the initial socio-economic situation, national circumstances, and goals and attitudes of political leaders. As a consequence, the social sphere took the hardest crushing hit shortly after independence, which led to the education system, health care, and social security needing special support.

It is noteworthy that some researchers compare the states that emerged from the fall of USSR to barbarian kingdoms, referencing to the parallel of Europe's conditions about the 5th – 9th centuries. They find the underlying correlation of the starting-points of the events, which gave rise to the formation

of the CIS and current situation, and the events of early medieval Europe. There certainly was the collapse of an empire in both cases¹.

Over 60 million people now live in the newly independent states of Central Asia – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The countries of the region sharply differ in sizes, population numbers, economic and natural resources potentials, as well as in social, ecological, and administrative domains².

THE ROLE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN SOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY

Many states throughout the world still tend to bring communities forward in answer to the social problems of society. It may be argued that the existence of associations is a necessary preliminary condition of any effective self-government. Generalizing from facts obtained in “the third world”³, Milton J. Esman and Norman T. Uphoff conclude that local associations are the key element of successful development of the village: “The solid network of civil organizations is essential to any serious effort aimed at overcoming mass poverty in developing countries. (...) And in spite of the fact that infrastructure investments, public support, suitable technologies, bureaucratic and market institutes are also necessary, it is difficult to imagine a little perfect development strategy of the village in absence or debility of *local* organizations”. At the same time, the mentioned authors assumed that local organizations “transplanted” from outside are doomed to failure⁴. Those who realize native, “nationalistic” initiatives in rather solid local communities achieve the greatest progress.

The national construction of many states of the region relies on the ideas of national identity and attempts to prove the existence of a “special”, own path of development. Traditional social institutions play a significant role in the upkeep of the notion.

¹ С. Каспэ, *Содружество варварских королевств: независимые государства в поисках империи* [Commonwealth of barbarian kingdoms: independent states in search of empire], in “Полития” [Politiya Journal], 2008, no. 1 (48), p. 17-26.

² Roza Zharkynbayeva, *Characteristics of the Demographic Development of the Central Asian region during independence*, in “Central Asia and Caucasus”, 2011, no. 4, p. 66-73.

³ Milton Esman, Norman Uphoff, *Local Organizations: Intermediaries in Rural Development*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1984, p.40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99-180; David Korten, *Community Organization and Rural Development: A learning Process Approach*, in “Public Administration Review”, 1980, no. 40, p. 480-511.

Having received a reference point from the West, keeping in mind both mistakes and progress achieved, over the past two and a half decades the states of the region have been trying to develop a modernization model that would meet the thousand-year spiritual and moral quest of the people of Central Asia. It is important to note that, undeterred by the paradigm-altering structural social, economic, and ideological shifts in Central Asia, local traditional institutes showed incredible stability and importance of the role they play in social relation micromanagement. Being the provider of legitimacy, the cultural base of these institutes should be considered when searching for community involvement into administration and development at the local level.

The activities of local traditional institutes require thorough consideration and reflection on both positive and negative aspects, so as to efficiently integrate their potential into the development of the region's socio-economic development plans and programs.

For that reason, exploration of local communities' role in tackling social problems poses an important challenge for both foreign and regional researchers. Foreign researchers are chiefly interested in the problem of transformation of the traditional social institutions, particularly the Uzbek mahallas. In this respect, the works of David M. Abramson can be highlighted: *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union* of Terry Martin⁵, *Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations* of E. Sievers⁶, and *From Soviet to Mahalla: Community and Transition in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan*⁷.

At present, there are instances when the State government makes a conscious effort to relinquish or limit its functions in favour of civil society institutions. Thereby, the institution network mobilizes and attracts major fixed assets and manpower to the State, leading to the reduction of load on public institutions and mitigation of their shortcomings (excessive bureaucracy and inflexibility in addressing specific problems).

What is interesting is the experience of effective community mobilization efforts in the states of Central Asia. Territorial, ethnic and patrimonial factors of self-

⁵ Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001.

⁶ Eric Sievers, *Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations*, in "The Journal of International and Comparative Law", 2002, Vol. 2, p. 92-158.

⁷ David Abramson, *From Soviet to Mahalla: Community and Transition in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan* [Ph.D. dissertation], Bloomington, Indiana University, 1998; Masaru Suda, *The Politics of Civil Society, Mahalla and NGOs: Uzbekistan*, in "Slavic Eurasian Studies", 2006, no. 10, p. 335-370.

organization manifest most in shaping local communities in Central Asia, which have resulted in steady formations such as Mahalla, Guzar (the word 'Mahalla' – meeting space – refers broadly to a neighbourhood or local community, meaning "local" in its Uzbek derivation of the Arabic term, mahalla is residential community associations that were once common throughout the Islamic world⁸), Jamoat (*Jamoat* is an institution of self-government in towns and villages⁹) and Avlod (*avlod* is a patriarchal community of blood relatives who have a common ancestor and common interests, and in many cases shared property and means of production and consolidated or coordinated household budgets¹⁰). Numerous informal institutions created and operating within local communities, their functions and social relations that emanate from the traditional social structure are typical for Central Asia. Overall, the experts define community as a form of social self-organization on various grounds: patrimonial, ethnic, territorial, confessional, as well as self-organization based on home economics (country communities, artisans' bands, and other) and on diaspora feature (community of migrants). Communes and municipalities, cooperatives and associations can also be classified as the highest communal forms of people self-organization. Thus, social ties and processes of self-control within local communities might rest on relationship, neighbourhood, religion and other grounds.

Mahalla institution is one of Uzbekistan's traditional social system features. The neighbour's community as a form of a certain district's societal organization has existed since ancient times. It had several names – the Mahalla, Mahallaat-district, Neighbourhood, Zhamoat, Guzar, and it was not only a territorial but also an administrative unit, the most civic-oriented cell of urban and rural divisions¹¹. Mahalla is one of the names for local social institutions and networks that enmeshed Central Asian pre-industrial society. At the same time, in different regions and cities, it was called differently, e.g. a city block in the pre-Soviet Bukhara was called "Guzar". In the Soviet period, the state inherited former colonial practice to create a

⁸ Eric Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 92-158.

⁹ Mamadsho Ilov, Mirodasen Khudoiyev, *Local Government in Tajikistan*, in Igor Munteanu, Victor Popa (eds.), *Developing New Rules in the Old Environment*, Open Society Institute, 2001, p. 608: <https://www.legal-tools.org/doc/6f8ec8/pdf/> (Accessed on 12.01.2019).

¹⁰ Muzaffar Olimov, Saodat Olimova, *Ethnic Factors and Local Self-Government in Tajikistan*, in Valery Tishkov, Elena Filippova (Eds.), *Local governance and minority empowerment in the CIS*, Budapest, Local Government and Public Service Initiative, Open Society Institute, 2002, p. 249.

¹¹ Zoia Arifkhanova, *Traditional Communities in Modern Uzbekistan*, in "Central Asia and Caucasus", 2000, no. 4, p. 53-61.

more ideological view of the makhallia as a public institution with a wide range of functions¹². Thus, despite the socio-economic modernization carried out during the Soviet period, the indigenous ethnic groups of Central Asia and Kazakhstan largely retained traditional social structures. To reduce administrative expenses of the republic, a decision was made to assign the distribution of those means to the Mahalla. The distinctive feature of the “Mahalla” (residential area) social care system is the use of the Mahalla social care program committees (since 1994) assigned to determine and grant allowances for children (up to 16 years of age) since 1997. The Mahalla committees carry out a vast range of official (social care administration) and non-official functions (organization of wedding ceremonies, assistance to the settlement of disputes)¹³. “Our people have such traditional levers of society’s stability as a family and the Mahalla – bases of our mentality”, noted the former President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov. “Family and the Mahalla are helping people to confront the challenges of the transitional period and keep the continuity of past and present”¹⁴.

In 1999 the law on Self-government Institutions of Citizens, focusing on objectives of the Mahalla, was passed. In addition to the aforementioned functions, Mahalla was entrusted with new duties: protection of the interests of family and women, care for the elderly, social support for the Mahalla, provision of public order, prevention of delinquency among juveniles, retail shops, and commercial services monitoring, environmental surveillance, etc.¹⁵

Uzbekistani researchers demonstrate diverse views on the expansion of the Council's functions:

- the excessive expansion of the Mahalla’s scope of work often results in the formalization of the Mahalla committees and serves as a distraction from basic traditional roles¹⁶;

¹² С. Абашин, *Советская власть и узбекская махалля* [Soviet power and Uzbek mahalla], in <http://www.islamsng.com/uzb/culture/3485> (Accessed on 06.01.2019)

¹³ *World Bank Report. Uzbekistan - Social and structural policy review*, in <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/983241468779117007/Uzbekistan-Social-and-structural-policy-review> (Accessed on 06.09.2018)

¹⁴ С. Абашин, В. Бушков, *Ферганская долина: этничность, этнические процессы, этнические конфликты* [Fergana Valley: ethnicity, ethnic processes, ethnic conflicts], Москва, Наука, 2004, с. 149.

¹⁵ *Закон Республики Узбекистан от 14 апреля 1999 года N 758-I “Об органах самоуправления граждан”* [Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan of April 14, 1999 N 758-I “On bodies of self-government of citizens”], in “Ведомости Олий Мажлиса Республики Узбекистан” [Vedomosti of the Oliy Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan], 1999, no. 5, ст. 110.

¹⁶ Zoia Arifkhanova, *op. cit.*, p.53-61.

- the nature of activities undertaken, including the provision of social care and handling of people-related affairs, needs to be fundamentally distinct from the State's public actions. No legal regulation should equate Mahalla to the government bodies or subject them to étatisation¹⁷.

According to Sergey Abashin, because of the independent Uzbekistan leadership's policy, Mahalla took firm shape as a State institution in the post-Soviet period, having layers of bureaucratic officials, uniform credentials and strict binding to a certain territory. The process of Uzbekistan's "mahallazation" that started in the Soviet period was brought to its logical conclusion following the collapse of the USSR¹⁸.

The Uzbek researcher Farhod Musurmankulov reaffirms the views of the Japanese scientist Yutaka Tsujinaka: "We studied the process involved in the formation of civil society in 13 countries of the East and the West. The results of the research proved once again that the Uzbek Mahalla is a unique national democratic institute, strongly different from the self-government paradigms in other countries. The Mahalla primary values its historical traditions that are maintained and developed. All the citizens actively participate in the process, including youth and women. It has an important role to fulfil in society democratization and promotion of peace and interethnic harmony. It also has very strong mandates on matters related to territory, target-oriented social protection, humanitarian, social and household-related affairs. The Mahalla is a very strong and sustainable structure. Throughout the development of civil society in Uzbekistan, the state has been steadily drawing down its functions and passing them on to the Mahallas, who assumed the responsibility. The experience of the Mahalla deserves to be widely circulated."¹⁹

Japanese scientists even draw analogies between the Uzbek Mahalla and the Japanese "chōnaikai" (local community of citizens, a neighbourhood association, residential area, micro district), both of which consist of groups of locals, officially

¹⁷ Р. Алимов (Ed.), *Узбекистан на пути к гражданскому обществу. Сборник статей* [Uzbekistan on the way to civil society. Collection of articles], Ташкент, Шарк, 2003, с. 111.

¹⁸ С. Абашин, *Узбекская махалля: XX век* [The Uzbek mahalla: the 20th century], in "Ислам в странах Содружества Независимых Государств: международная политика и сфера безопасности. Ежеквартальный научный альманах" [Islam in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States: international politics and security. Quarterly scientific almanac], 2011, no. 4 (5), p. 122.

¹⁹ Ф. У. Мусурманкулов, *Махалля – важный субъект самоуправления граждан* [Mahalla is an important subject of self-government], in "Молодой ученый" [Young Scientist Journal], 2013, №7, p. 351-353.

independent of the municipality. According to the sources, "chōnaikai" was formed in times of war and remains dutifully active to this date, keeping order and cleanness, strengthening the relationship between inhabitants, etc. The Mahallas of Uzbekistan have committees consisting of the representatives of the local population (nowadays defined as the Citizens self-government institutions), which is similar to "chōnaikai" in a way²⁰.

A new edition of "Law on Self-government Institutions of Citizens" came into force in April 2013 in Uzbekistan. The legal powers of the Citizens' self-government institutions have been substantially expanded in terms of implementation of target programs aimed at supporting socially vulnerable segments of the population, providing financial assistance to young people from low-income families in the events of marriage and wedding celebrations. The citizens' self-government institutions have also been entrusted with allocating and paying childcare benefits to unemployed mothers, as well as to mothers working in budgetary organizations and persons in loco parentis with children under two years of age²¹.

The self-government in the states of Central Asia is the Councils of People's Deputies. In Uzbekistan, they are called Kengashi, in Kazakhstan – Kenesy, in Kyrgyzstan – Kenesh, in Turkmenistan – Gengeshi. Kengashi is a group of residents with additional authorities in the youth employment support and social welfare, including support for single aged people, pensioners, the disabled, and persons in need of social support. The meeting of residents of villages, kishlaks, auls and the makhallas of cities is given the discretion to establish, reorganize and disband businesses in their respective areas in the manner prescribed by law. Aside from that, members of kengashi have authority to act as guarantors of business entities for obtaining loans in accordance with the established procedure. The self-government together with other public authorities and economic management bodies, banks, non-state and non-profit organizations and other entities are now also able to provide additional financial support to young

²⁰ Масато Хиватари, *Роль общины в экономическом развитии: "махалля" в Узбекистане и "мура" в Японии* [The Role of Communities in Economic Development: Mahalla in Uzbekistan and Mura in Japan], in <http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2115/42738/1/DPA222.pdf> (Accessed on 06.09.2018).

²¹ Закон Республики Узбекистан "Об органах самоуправления граждан" (новая редакция) [Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On self-governing bodies of citizens" (new version)], in http://lex.uz/pages/GetAct.aspx?lact_id=86238 (Accessed on 06.09.2018).

people from low-income families, including aid in the events of marriage and wedding celebrations. The Mahalla committees gained powers to create counselling centres within their territories to encourage the development of business, including family entrepreneurship and handicraft activities²².

In Kyrgyzstan, the role of local communities is also rather significant. Representative bodies of local self-government are the local keneshies. The Law of the Kyrgyz Republic on Local Government and Local Public Administration reiterates: "Local self-government is exercised in form of councils and committees of micro-districts, housing complexes, house/street/block-committees, zhamaat (communities) and other forms that do not contradict the Constitution, the present Law and other laws of the Kyrgyz Republic"²³.

The function of social solidarity is carried out by ayilas (villages, where the majority of the country poor can be found) that essentially are the basis of Kyrgyzstani social organization. Of special interest is the fact that in the earliest days of the Soviet system, political party functionaries sounded the alarm concerning the peasants' pursuit of integration into collective farms basing on the descent. However, the struggle against "patrimonial collective farms" and "patrimonial villages" stopped short of achieving its goal – the collective farms were formed based on tribal lines²⁴. It is important that the organization of settlements' residents was made possible owing to participation and public service of the poor in the self-help groups. The purpose of this service is to empower the disadvantaged and help them regain confidence and self-esteem. Moreover, it is planned that the target self-help groups will gradually exert influence over society to approach crosscutting issues. Thus, the poor, women and the youth will have a chance at fair opportunities, a possibility which will help the local community to manage its problems independently²⁵.

In Kazakhstan, local communities are also under a considerable emphasis in the context of local self-government development. The Commune-elected local

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Закон Кыргызской Республики "О местном самоуправлении и местной государственной администрации" [Law of the Kyrgyz Republic "On local self-government and local state administration"], in *Нормативные правовые акты Кыргызской Республики для органов местного самоуправления* [Normative legal acts of the Kyrgyz Republic for local governments], Бишкек, 2010, с. 260.

²⁴ Dzhenish Dzhunushaliev, Victor Ploskikh, *Tribalism and Nation Building in Kyrgyzstan*, in "Central Asia and Caucasus", 2000, no. 3. p.146-155.

²⁵ *Инвестиции в человека. Программа Развития ООН в Кыргызстане* [Investing in people. United Nations Development Program in Kyrgyzstan], Бишкек, 1999, с. 79.

government of the relevant rural or city local community is the Kenes (council). The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of January 23, 2001, No. 148-II on Local Public Administration and Self-government in the Republic of Kazakhstan, defines local community as a society (local community members) living in the corresponding administrative territorial unit within the boundaries of which the local government is formed and operating²⁶.

The key challenges the local government faces are as follows: substance and revitalization of public spaces (parks, boulevards, beaches, recreation areas and other objects); landscaping; monitoring of heat, electricity, gas and water supply to the population; rendering support to the development of preschools, secondary and professional educational institutions and establishments of social and cultural sphere. The tasks also include assistance in the organization of transport services for the population, assistance to the socially vulnerable groups, promotion of entrepreneurship, promotion of community policing, and provision of legal assistance to the citizens living within the territory of the local community²⁷.

Measures to address socio-economic challenges in the Republic of Kazakhstan include the use of local resource mobilization. It is expected that this model will make a major contribution to the development and reconstruction of the market and civil society²⁸. Since April of 2010, a joint project of UN Volunteers Programme, Civic Alliance of Kazakhstan, and Kazakhstani volunteer organizations on establishing a unified nationwide volunteer network – National Volunteer Network (NVN) – has been active in Kazakhstan. The NVN mission is the creation and development of the volunteer culture and work; the purpose of

²⁶ Закон Республики Казахстан от 23 января 2001 года № 148-II «О местном государственном управлении и самоуправлении в Республике Казахстан» [Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of January 23, 2001 No. 148-II "On Local Government Administration and Self-Government in the Republic of Kazakhstan"], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1021546 (Accessed on 06.09.2018)

²⁷ Закон Республики Казахстан от 23 января 2001 года № 148-II «О местном государственном управлении и самоуправлении в Республике Казахстан» [Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of January 23, 2001 No. 148-II "On Local Government Administration and Self-Government in the Republic of Kazakhstan"], in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1021546 (Accessed on 06.09.2018)

²⁸ З. Байсакова, *Мобилизация усилий местного сообщества по преодолению бедности в Алматинской области* [Mobilization of the efforts of the local community to overcome poverty in the Almaty region], in *Проблемы борьбы с бедностью в Казахстане в условиях глобализации, Материалы межд. конф.* [Proceedings of the international conference "Problems of combating poverty in Kazakhstan in the context of globalization"], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2004, с. 125-129.

the project is the comprehensive and progressive development of voluntary initiatives. One of the efforts in the direction of realizing the main objectives is the provision of educational services on volunteerism for the representatives of civil society, non-governmental non-profit organizations, state agencies and other persons interested in the advance of the NVN ideas of national volunteerism on a voluntary basis²⁹.

In Turkmenistan, a rural community of the Turkmen existed as an autonomous and independent link that undertook the basic functions of the State. Structurally, the rural community consisted of a set of households. As Chary Yazlyev noted, the solemn duty of a family was to support community members, to share both joy and sorrow if it were ever needed. The Turkmen family was constrained by thousands of obligations towards fellow community members, especially towards the blood relatives³⁰. There are also six social and religious groups known among the Turkmen under a collective name "*Ovlyad*", which were mistakenly characterized as tribes³¹. However, the studies indicate that as of today the people of Turkmenistan are becoming more and more interested in the return to traditional family institutions as an alternative to social security programs that will meet the living needs and overcome harsh circumstances of the current stage of economic development. This, in turn, means the transition of the Turkmen's system of values from a socialist model, which gave priority to the public interest and common good, to the value system where the private interest of a person and their family are becoming increasingly important³². Article 115 of

²⁹ Р. Жаркынбаева, *Об истории и специфике добровольчества в Центральной Азии Социальная работа в современном мире: взаимодействие науки, образования и практики* [On the history and specificity of volunteering in Central Asia Social work in the modern world: the interaction of science, education and practice], in *Материалы VI Международ. науч.- практ. конф.* [Proceedings of the 6th conference], Белгород, 2014, 384 с.

³⁰ Ч. Язлыев, *Туркменская сельская община* [Turkmen rural community], Ашхабад, Ылым, 1992, 300 с.

³¹ М. Демидов, *Туркменские овляды* [Turkmen Ovides], Ашхабад, Ылым, 1976, 109 с.

³² А. Куртов, *Туркменистан: особенности транзита и безопасность региона* [Turkmenistan: transit features and regional security], in "Казахстан в глобальных процессах" [Kazakhstan in global processes Journal], 2007, no. 1, p. 43-47.

the Constitution of Turkmenistan states that the “system of local self-government is formed by the Gengeshes and bodies of territorial public self-government”.³³

In Tajikistan, institutes for mutual assistance and social support, men's associations, special organizations for women's social and cultural activity (as well as for the representatives of separate professions), the principles and values of workplace ethics were formed and developed within the traditional network of society. Residential settlements and villages are the local governance in Tajikistan, as recognized in the Constitution of 1994. The Law on Authorities and Village and Rural Communities Self-Government Act regulates the organization and functioning of the local governance. These local self-administrations cover the territories of residential settlements they were created in. The mission of the jamaats (Jamoat in the Tajik language) is to assist in implementing the right of citizens to partake in the managing affairs of the society and the State, to unite them and address social, economic and other important issues that directly affect public interests. They also aim to aid and ensure the State Government authorities to implement the Constitution, laws and other legislation.

Tajikistan emphasizes the following key priority directions of the state administration development:

- enhancing the capacity of local authorities and rural communities' self-government.
- strengthening the role of civil society in the adoption and implementation of public decisions³⁴.

The Jamoat as a local governing body is typically composed of the elected representatives (delegates) of the villages, streets, and the Mahallas, who then meet at least twice a year. The Jamoat elects its own Chairperson, a Vice-Chairperson and a Secretary for the term of five years. There is a small staff of civil servants to the Chairperson, the number of which is determined by the chairperson of the district (city) or by the Mazhlisi of People's Deputies of the area (city)³⁵.

Khojend, Isfara, Ur-Tyube, Kanibadam, Kulyab, Gissar, etc. are the historical cities of Tajikistan that have preserved their traditional multi-layered social

³³ *Constitution of Turkmenistan (new edition)* (with amendments and additions as of 10/11/2017), in https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=31337929 (Accessed on 06.09.2018).

³⁴ *Стратегия повышения уровня благосостояния населения Таджикистана на 2013-2015 годы* [The strategy of increasing the level of well-being of the population of Tajikistan for 2013-2015], Душанбе, Контраст, 2013, 146 с.

³⁵ Abdusattor Jabborov, *Nation-Building in Tajikistan*, in “Central Asia and Caucasus”, 2004, no. 1 (31), p. 55-62.

organization in many respects. The set of micro-communities (Mahalla, Guzar, etc.) continues to be the base layer of urban society, concentrating actual mechanisms of city management. That is the reason behind the stability and sustainability of Tajikistan's old towns, despite the upheavals of the last years³⁶.

In Tajik society, the tribal communities of Avlods are a powerful force. According to the findings of many ethnographers and anthropologists researching Tajik social institutes, the Avlod represents a combination of both living and dead male relatives and their wives, descending from a single forefather, i.e. a blood-related, patrilineal descendant group – a community. It has the necessary complex of life support systems, economic, territorial, legal, spiritual, cultural, and ideological mechanisms that made the Avlod some sort of a micro-state and provided the community's survival, relative independence, and adaptability³⁷. As Valentin Bushkov has rightly commented, the involvement of new socio-economic structures did not manage to completely replace Central Asian traditional, largely "tribal" and "patrimonial" social relations. The first small collective farms in the Leninabad area were shaped by the power of the family-related Avlods, and even the collectivized land was considered the property of the Avlod³⁸. Parallel to the "avlod", the terms "kaum" and "heysh" are sometimes employed interchangeably, as well as the "mahalla" can also be named "guzar". Bushkov says that the social fabric of Tajik society remains largely unchanged, far from the westernized model that some scholars wanted to use as the framework for the social assessment, given the fact of the cursory transformation of its structures. The blood-related, patrilineal Avlods remain the very heart of this society, while the small families never achieved the position of its primary cell³⁹.

The Avlod as a social institution remains valuable in all spheres of the social life of Tajikistan. The Tajikistani researcher Saodat Olimova assumes that social organisms, namely the Avlods, were the real participants of the inter-Tajik

³⁶ С. Олимова, М. Олимов, *Таджикистан на пороге перемен* [Tajikistan on the verge of change], Москва, Центр стратегических и политических исследований, 1999, 168 с.

³⁷ В. Бушков, *Таджикский авлод тысячелетия спустя* [Tajik avlod millennium later], in "Восток" (Orient Journal), 1991, no. 5, с. 80-90.

³⁸ Idem, *Население Северного Таджикистана: формирование и расселение* [The population of Northern Tajikistan: formation and resettlement], Москва, Институт этнологии антропологии имени Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая, 1995, 173 с.

³⁹ В. Бушков, Д. Микульский, *Анатомия гражданской войны в Таджикистане (этно-социальные процессы и политическая борьба, 1992–1995)* [Anatomy of the civil war in Tajikistan (ethno-social processes and political struggle, 1992-1995)], Москва, Институт этнологии и антропологии, 1996, 169 с.

conflict, and the Avlod heads played the key role in conflict development⁴⁰. Currently, the communal structures of various types are strengthening throughout the republic. War, destruction, mass migration, the collapse of the infrastructure (communication systems included), naturalization, weakness of the State and its institutions – all of that contributed to the restoration of the traditional social structure.

The progress has been discontinuous and uneven from one region to another. The re-actualization of traditional social institutes and, particularly the Avlods, occurs in the mass-migration areas, primarily labour-related ones. In several of the areas most affected by war, the Avlods were induced to assume duties of all the social institutions, including those of the State⁴¹.

As Valentin Bushkov noted it, the preservation of traditional institutions stems from the fact that “the collectivist mentality had never been fully replaced with the individual one”, hence human life is defined not so much by the individual will “but rather by the decisions of family and community networks”⁴².

Even so, the traditional institutions are not always supportive of the democratic principles that entail people’s audit and government’s accountability. The desire of the elitists to abuse local cultural patterns is often the cause of non-acceptance, as these institutions are not conducive to the establishment of a democratic society. Another aspect that gives a cause for concern is that existing institutions are geared towards the reproduction of gender inequality. Certain traditional institutions’ doctrine of gender bias regarding the roles and identities of females impede the inclusion of women in the equal-opportunities programs.

THE IDEA OF VOLUNTEERING

The inextricable cultural and historical ties people of the region have with each other are due to the shared history, long-standing cultural affinities, the

⁴⁰ С. Олимова, *Социальная структура Таджикистана и ее влияние на процессы демократизации* [The social structure of Tajikistan and its impact on the democratization processes], in “Демократические процессы в Центральной Азии: опыт и перспективы”, Мат. межд. Научно-практ. Конференции [Proceedings of the conference “Democratic Processes in Central Asia: Experience and Prospects”], Бишкек, 1998, с. 68-77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² В. Бушков, *Таджикистан: традиционное сообщество в постиндустриальном мире* [Tajikistan: a traditional community in the post-industrial world], in “Этнографическое обозрение” [Ethnographic Review], 1995, no. 4, с. 84-92.

likeness of traditions, and the lack of language barriers. One of such strong, long-lived and prevailing Central Asian traditions is the practice of volunteerism, "assar" in the Kazakh language, "khashar" in Uzbek, Tajik and Turkmen languages. This centuries-old practice of collective volunteer labour represents brotherly kinship, the integrity of compatriots, and selfless willingness to help one another, all of which take place at a time when a person is unable to cope with the large-scale tasks. The Central Asian idea of volunteering is generally thought to trace back to the pre-Islamic period and has been maintained as a cultural and historical tradition. The distinguishing feature of the said form of volunteerism is that people carry out the work on a voluntary basis and free of charge; the hosts were only requested to provide the food necessary for the period of work. In the event the relatives or neighbours were left without homes or belongings due to an accident or natural calamities, necessary assistance was always granted. Voluntary initiatives were not limited just to the cases above and were carried out for the large undertakings that required assistance, e.g. house construction, tilling or harvesting, various household events⁴³.

Based on his field research, Dr. Johan Rasanayagam writes that the inhabitants of a kishlak claimed that during the Soviet period all people helped with the construction of private houses, and this work was mainly organized by the aksakals (village elders, headmen) of the Mahalla. At present, only the people maintaining close social connections with each other are ready to help with similar construction. The inhabitants say that currently, people have much less free time as it takes more effort and energy to earn a living than it did before. The owner of a plot might share a certain part of the harvest with the people who rendered help with the harvesting, though the quantity is unrelated to the amount of work done. It is not uncommon for the helpers to do their work on a non-reimbursable basis, yet there had been cases of the work being remunerated albeit well below their market value⁴⁴.

⁴³ Р. Жаркынбаева, *Об истории и специфике добровольчества в Центральной Азии Социальная работа в современном мире: взаимодействие науки, образования и практики* [On the history and specificity of volunteering in Central Asia Social work in the modern world: the interaction of science, education and practice], in *Материалы VI Международ. науч.-практ. конф.* [Proceedings of the 6th International scientific conference], Белгород, 2014, 384 с.

⁴⁴ Johan Rasanayagam, *Об этнической принадлежности, государственной идеологии и концепции "общества" в Узбекистане* [On ethnicity, state ideology and the concept of "society" in Uzbekistan], cited in *Ферганская долина: этничность, этнические*

As stated above, volunteering in Central Asia is carried out within local communities, which play an important role in addressing pressing social issues. The peculiarity of it lays in the incentive and fundamental idea that while the money savings are limited, people can benefit from each other by sharing experiences, skills, stock and, most importantly, labour. This informal traditional practice was successfully used by both the state and international organizations to establish the development programs to address social problems of the society.

For example, a joint initiative of the UN and UNDP in Uzbekistan – the program to raise the living standards is being implemented in various areas of Uzbekistan since 2005. One of its three key elements is to “expand the rights and possibilities of local communities in the sphere of social security improvement by encouraging them to implement self-help schemes and restore the social service infrastructure”⁴⁵.

The Program team met with the well-respected people in the local community – village elders, female activists, and local authorities’ representatives – to help and identify the most pressing problems of the area. The locals themselves decided what should be done to improve the quality of life in their community. After that, the UN and PROON calculated the funds necessary to solve the problem. This model was utilized to encourage the villagers to work on a voluntary basis for the good of the community. The project, which aimed to improve the water supply in Karakalpakstan and Namangan, helped some 5,000 residents of settlements to gain access to clean running water.⁴⁶

One more example of a civil activity is the local public association “Aybek” that has been using the local Jamoat community as the “Yrys Aldy Yntymak” model group since 2003 (the word is derived from the Arabic, meaning “community of the faithful” and “group”). Following the devastating flooding and mudslides in the city of Kerben and the Chong-Tash village, the Yrys Aldy Yntymak’s steering committee convened a special community meeting where it was decided to build

процессы, этнические конфликты [Fergana Valley: ethnicity, ethnic processes, ethnic conflicts], Москва, Наука, 2004, 224 с.

⁴⁵ Доклад ПРООН “Понимание добровольчества в целях развития в Юго-Восточной Европе и Содружестве Независимых Государств: Уроки, направленные на расширение деятельности” [UNDP Report “Understanding Volunteering for Development in South-Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Lessons to expand activities”], 2010, 57 с. in http://www.kdobru.ru/netcat_files/171/143/Ponimanie_dobrovolchestva_v_celjakh_razvitija_OON.pdf (Accessed on 06.09.2018)

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

a dam on the Avletim river using the “ashar” method⁴⁷. Therefore, the communities mobilize the efforts of its members in rendering social assistance and peer support.

In accordance with Dr. Johan Rasanayagam’s opinion, the areas of social interaction emphasized with the principles of public participation and the framework of contributions and consumption, represent the “spectrums of public participation”. These spectrums may remain constant over time, for example in the case of housekeeping, or may be utilized during a certain length of time in such instances as road paving. It should also be noted that the collective farms, the government, and the State still could be incorporated in the spectrum of public participation. In the Soviet period, the collective farms constructed roads and schools for a kishlak and provided it with electricity and gas. Nowadays it is unable to carry out similar projects on its own means due to the lack of resources. The institutions of social service, such as school or medical institutions may also be included in the spectrum of public participation. The wealthy residents support these establishments financially through private sponsorship to public institutions. Furthermore, the sponsorship of establishments and projects for public benefit is viewed as the ethical commitment and supportive involvement in the community on behalf of the affluent people⁴⁸.

Traditional leaning to ritualism is of great importance to the people of Central Asia. It is particularly noticeable with the organization of marriage ceremonies (in most cases, marriage was arranged according to the decision of parents), births of children (besik – or beshik-toy), circumcision ceremonies for boys (sundet – or sunnat-toy), and funerals. All of the mentioned activities involve the feasting tradition, which is one of the reasons the celebrations are rather financially costly, labour-intensive and time-consuming. Marfua Tokhtokhodzhayeva views the matter in the following regard: “The need to adhere to traditional ritualism as a form of national identity is not just an individual commitment to the cultural traditions, but can be explained as the sign of low self-esteem and the pressure of community opinion. There were never complaints on the huge costs for marriages and funerals, people just did everything they could to avoid accusations of pettiness, disrespect to the relatives and contempt for the customs. It was important because the public opinion of the Mahalla determined a person’s place in society. (...) The ceremonialism as a

⁴⁷ Bakyt Baimatov, *Indigenous Dimensions of “Civil Society” in Kyrgyzstan – Perspectives from the Margins*, in “Central Asia and Caucasus”, 2006, no. 4, p.17-30.

⁴⁸ Johan Rasanayagam, *op. cit.*

phenomenon has predetermined the stability of traditionalism and its consolidation, which ultimately led to the degradation of society. People were working for the sake of ceremonies and not for their very own development. (...) The average household could afford a “standard” ceremony under the tighter spending conditions that included cutting expenses on food, health-care, education and personal needs”⁴⁹.

Central Asia has its own specific traditions of mutual support within local communities. These traditions existed during the pre-Soviet times, they line-up with a contemporary understanding of volunteering as a form of social behaviour, free of financial motivation and aiming to benefit others. If the development of the individual forms of charity and volunteer activity was characteristic for the 1980-1990s, the growth of the non-governmental organizations, supported by the international contributors has become another turning point in the mid-1990s. The region’s governments are starting to realize the major role volunteering plays in supporting both the non-governmental sector and the government bodies involved with the most vulnerable segments of the society. The state support of the NGOs contributes to the volunteers’ involvement in the NGOs’ activities. Thus, at present, the public authorities, the political elites, and the non-governmental organizations are interested in the development of volunteering in Central Asia. There is an increasing awareness of the role of volunteering in responding to social problems and bringing stability to the state. In Central Asia the development of the non-governmental sector, and through it, the volunteering agenda has advanced significantly over 25 years of independence.

The traditions of volunteering in Central Asia have deep roots and this historical heritage represents a huge potential for the further development of volunteering and its adaptation to the quickly changing conditions of the region. Strong traditions of collective mutual aid, which can be shown through *asar*, *ashar*, *khashar* in the region, successfully endured the Soviet period and still are a common practice in the rural areas.

CONCLUSIONS

Globalization presents many challenges and opportunities for the future and viability of the region. One source of great concern is negative repercussions

⁴⁹ М. Тохтаходжаева, *Утомленные прошлым. Реисламизация общества и положение женщин в Узбекистане* [Tired by the past. The re-islamization of society and the status of women in Uzbekistan], Ташкент, 2001, 352 с.

of the region's states existing serious problems, such as risks of economic underdevelopment and transformation into mere suppliers of raw materials for more developed countries, a decline in living standards, extremism, a drop in the education standards and a disadvantage in access to cutting-edge technologies. Another continuing problem concerns the migratory outflow, which has resulted in a talented workforce drain, social polarization, and gender inequality.

To meet those challenges, the region needs to create and develop its civil society. In general, the region's civil society falls under three essential categories, the first and the lowest, nationalistically authentic of which is embodied by local traditional communities; non-governmental organizations (NGOs) represent the second, middle level. Despite operating quantitatively impressive figures, most NGOs are in fact dependent on western funders and target well-educated urban population most of which are proficient in English. The third level consists of political parties, associations, and movements. Yet, the states of the region have forged almost one-party governments, barely tempered with parties that are small and powerless in terms of influence on people.

At present, it is too early to speak of the established system of interaction between the layers of civil society: traditional social institutions, NGOs and political parties and movements in the region. It is also necessary to take account of Central Asian society's idiosyncrasies that bears the hallmarks of both traditional and modern sides of society. The quest for modernization, the manufacturing industry, and a well-educated population are features of modern society. However, the widespread of the conventional socio-cultural line of reasoning, tribalism, regionalism, and nepotism demonstrates that the society of the countries in Central Asia is more traditional than modern. The role of traditional social institutions cannot be overemphasized in that regard.

In view of the above, local communities of Central Asia may be classified as the territorial communities founded on spatial proximity, where people have frequent contacts on many questions concerning the residency in the specific area. Certain psychological relationships and generally accepted behaviour standards for all the residents also represent a particular phenomenon, along with the specific social style of life. The individuals subject themselves to the rules and all aspects of this community life – family, leisure, work and religion that create a strong sense of identity. Members of the community know each other very well; local economic and social relations provide all the necessary things, while they get to hold a certain position in the developed hierarchy and the system of social communications. There is a feeling of kinship and mutual support among both male and female parts of the population, mainly related to domestic and family

aspects of life. At the same time, by introducing certain social stereotypes to the consciousness of people, local communities of the region are capable not only to assist with solving a number of social and domestic problems, but also to revive and cultivate the burdensome traditional ritualism as well as resurrect the prejudices and discrimination against women existing in the society.

The question of the real role of local communities is eliciting mixed reactions in the modern world. On the one hand, for the Post-Soviet states, local communities are one of the main tools and indicators of the formation of democracy in the context of the development of the local government. Practically all states of the region legislatively fixed the modernized forms of the communities within the local government – the meetings of citizens of a residential settlement, a kishlak, an aul and Mahallas of cities (Uzbekistan), the zhamaatas, courts of aksakals, women's councils, youth councils and other committees (Kyrgyzstan) are designated as various forms of the local government.

On the other hand, the processes of urbanization, the internal and external migration of the population, technologization, growth of cultural exchanges, and many other phenomena accompanying the modernization process, force “the communal culture” out. So, with the formation of the urbanized culture in the modern states of Central Asia, with its orientation to industrialization and globalization, there are noticeable changes, hostile to the traditional style of life with its informal relationships between people⁵⁰. The rural traditional way of life represents a more ancient form of public relations, which is now exposed to new threats and challenges from the arising capitalist relations and its carriers of the middle and highest classes of the society.

Thus, *Mahallas, Ayylas, Jamaats, Auylas* in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan as well as rural communities in Turkmenistan, and patrimonial Avlods in Tajikistan play a large role in the mobilization of efforts of local communities in solving social problems in Central Asia. The phenomenon of a patrimonial organization of the local community exists in all Central Asian states. It has a connection with the Muslim tradition, the difference is that for some it plays a major role, and for others – a minor one.

In general, the appeal to traditionalism in Central Asia is rather justified as it promotes the economy of resources and keeps the order in society in emergency conditions. The development of modern views takes place in the region against the antagonism of various purposes and ideals, at the opposition of traditionalism

⁵⁰ Kadyrzhan Smagulov, Gulnar Nasimova, *Analysis of the protest mood in the western region of Kazakhstan*, in “Central Asia and Caucasus”, 2016, no. 3, p. 38-47.

and modernity. Whereby, for the city dwellers, the western standards of life and views are more habitual, where the borrowed ideas, theories, and norms are exposed to synthesizing and changes. In the transit societies of Central Asia, the modernity coexists with the traditionalism, forming freakish combinations and sometimes resisting one another.

Local traditional communities have some strong points about their performance. They provide a more universal means of approaching the problem without complicating the issue with redundant state bureaucracy; facilitate the resolution of disputes and conflicts between citizens; act as mediators between the government and the people; carry out duties of local self-government; contribute to the persistence of national values and traditions; provide assistance in the organization of numerous traditional activities within a community.

Nevertheless, these strong points entail or otherwise involve the following shortcomings. Traditional communities, *inter alia*, do not represent the interests of a specific social group; they have no voice in government's policy development processes and may not interfere with the adoption of laws; their power is limited to tackling social issues; they encourage the revival and protection of burdensome conventional ritualism; they contribute to put pressure on women and coerce them into a subordinate position in society; they are not conducive towards modernization and democratization of political life in a country.

Along with the traditional forms of mutual support within the community, new forms of volunteer activity are being established to contribute to the social, economic, and cultural development of the states of the region. The most popular forms of the volunteer activity, apart from the direct assistance to the ones in need, are the network activities, the counselling and information provision, the office work, the visiting friends initiative, and the protection or representation of people's interests. Currently, there is considerable potential in Central Asia to ensure the person-focused development and improvement of people's life by means of volunteering. Together with that, such factors as a decline of collectivism values and a growth of the individualism, as well as a decrease in the living standard of population force people to focus primarily on the personal well-being. An insufficiently strong economic basis of the NGOs serves as the limiting factor for the further development of volunteering in the region.

At the same time, it should be noted that for the majority of countries the state is still the subject of social policy, consolidating interests of various strata of the population. It is especially characteristic for the Post-Soviet republics that have a shared totalitarian history, given that a considerable part of the residents did not manage to free themselves from the state and paternalistic complex, and

the governments do not wish to share the authority. Because of the drastic transformations in the economic and public life of the society, the state loses its exclusive role in the course of the social policy formation, considering the further democratization of the country and the formation of institutes of the civil society.

However, in the Post-Soviet countries, the role of the civil society in solving social problems is not big enough, but it may become more powerful eventually. It is impossible to count on the wide public interest in the process of civil society development without substantial growth in the living standard of the region's population. For the Central Asian states, the activity of the NGOs and the further active development of international interactions such as "national diplomacy" is essential. It is aimed to promote the expansion and deepen cultural collaboration and mutual influence, which are the relevant factors of the establishment of an open civil society that in turn is one of the main signs of the democratization and modernization of the state.

**NIKOLAJ VON WASSILKO.
BUKOVINIAN STATESMAN AND DIPLOMAT**

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Abstract: *The article is dedicated to the study of the political biography of Nikolaj von Wassilko, a well-known Bukovinian leader, one of the most controversial personages among Ukrainian politicians of Austria-Hungary at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. It is worth mentioning that many scientists from various countries wrote about N. Wassilko, but separate studies about his life and political activities have not been written yet. Author paid considerable attention to the formation of N. Wassilko's political views, the evolution of his preferences from conservative Rusynism and Moscovophilia philosophy to the populist doctrine. Since the beginning of the 20th century, N. Wassilko became almost the sole leader of Ukrainians in Bukovina. The article presents the analysis of his activities in the Austrian Parliament, the Diet of Bukovina, public organizations, and his initiatives to resolve various regional issues. His activities in the years of World War I were equally rich. In particular, the article shows his diplomatic activities as the ambassador of the ZUNR (West Ukrainian People's Republic) in Vienna, the ambassador of the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) in Switzerland and other countries. At the end of the research, the author points out the remarkable path of N. Wassilko in the history of the Ukrainian movement in Bukovina in the early twentieth century, as one of the central figures of the Ukrainian diplomacy during 1918-1924.*

Keywords: *N. Wassilko, S. Smal-Stotsky, Bukovina, Austria-Hungary, Ukrainian People's Republic, World War I, Austrian Parliament, The Diet of Bukovina.*

Rezumat: *Nicolai Wassilko, om politic și diplomat bucovinean. Articolul este dedicat prezentării biografiei politice a lui Nicolae cavalier de Wassilko, un bine-cunoscut lider bucovinean, unul din cele mai controversate personaje dintre politicienii ucraineni din Austria-Ungaria de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului al XX-lea. În pofida faptului că despre Nicolai Wassilko au scris numeroși cercetători din diferite țări, până în prezent nu au fost întocmite studii distincte cu privire la viața și activitatea lui politică. Autorul acordă atenție deosebită formării opiniilor politice ale lui Nicolai Wassilko, evoluției preferințelor sale de la filosofia rusinismului conservator și moscoviliei la doctrina populistă. De la începutul secolului al XX-lea, Wassilko a devenit practic liderul incontestabil al*

ucrainenilor din Bucovina. În articol sunt analizate activitatea sa în Parlamentul austriac, Dieta Bucovinei, diverse organizații publice, precum și inițiativele sale de rezolvare a variatelor probleme regionale. Totodată, autorul reflectă bogata activitate a omului politic bucovinean în anii Primului Război Mondial. De asemenea, în articol sunt abordate activitățile diplomatice ale lui Nicolai Wassilko, în calitate de ambasador al Republicii Populare Vest-Ucrainene la Viena, ambasador al Republicii Populare Ucrainene în Elveția și în alte state. În partea finală a studiului, autorul subliniază parcursul remarcabil al lui Nicolai Wassilko în cadrul mișcării ucrainenilor bucovineni la începutul secolului XX și scoate în evidență rolul lui central în cadrul diplomației ucrainene în perioada anilor 1918-1924.

Résumé: Nikolaj von Wassilko – politicien et diplomate bucovinien. L'article est consacré à l'étude de la biographie politique de Nikolaj von Wassilko, dirigeant réputé de Bucovine, l'un des personnages les plus controversés parmi les personnalités politiques ukrainiennes autrichiennes et autrichiennes à la fin du XIXe siècle ou au début du XXe siècle. Il est à noter que de nombreux scientifiques de différents pays ont écrit sur N. Wassilko, mais que des études distinctes sur sa vie et ses activités politiques n'ont pas encore été écrites. L'auteur a accordé une attention particulière à la formation des opinions politiques de N. Wassilko, à l'évolution de ses préférences du philosophie conservateur rusinisme et moscophilia à la doctrine populiste. Depuis le début du 20ème siècle, N. Wassilko est devenu presque le seul dirigeant des Ukrainiens à Bucovine. L'article présente l'analyse de ses activités au Parlement autrichien, à la Diète de Bucovine, au sein d'organisations publiques, et ses initiatives pour résoudre divers problèmes régionaux. Ses activités au cours des années de la Première Guerre mondiale étaient également riches. L'article montre notamment ses activités diplomatiques en tant qu'ambassadeur de la ZUNR (République populaire d'Ukraine occidentale) à Vienne, ambassadeur de l'UPR (République populaire ukrainienne) en Suisse et dans d'autres pays. À la fin de la recherche, l'auteur souligne le parcours remarquable de N. Wassilko dans l'histoire du mouvement ukrainien à Bucovine au début du XXe siècle, en tant qu'une des figures centrales de la diplomatie ukrainienne de 1918-1924.

INTRODUCTION

Among the Ukrainian politicians of the West Ukrainian lands of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, N. Wassilko is rightly considered a great figure. Most researchers agree that he became the sole leader of the Ukrainian national movement in Bukovina on the eve of World War I, one of the few Ukrainian activists belonging to the Austrian political elite, a self-confident figure in the highest echelons of the imperial power. His personality became even more important in the years of World War I and the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people in 1917-1921.

However, N. Wassilko's activities, social preferences, ways of solving political problems, eventually his contribution to the development of the Ukrainian national movement and Ukrainian state formation still remain little known. Only a few publications about him as a prominent figure can be mentioned. Thus, K. Levytskyi in his work *Ukrainian politicians: Sylvets of our longtime ambassadors and politicians*, among several dozen political portraits of famous people of Galicia and Bukovina, presented an essay about N. Wassilko. The author, based on his own memories, showed some fragments of N. Wassilko's activity as member of the Austrian Parliament. Summing up, K. Levytskyi wrote that "Not all Galician Ukrainians had full confidence in the person of Ambassador Wassilko because he was not trusted by reason of close relations with government factors ... But my life experience from the long-term cooperation with Ambassador Wassilko tells me to publicly admit that he was working with us sincerely".¹

Some information about N. Wassilko is contained in the work *Bukovyna*, a historical essay by T. Bryndzan, D. Kvitkovskiy, A. Zhukovskiy.²

In the case studies of Bukovina, which appeared in the independent Ukraine, N. Wassilko's great achievements were noted in the consolidation and political growth of the Ukrainians of Bukovina.³ However, there are currently no special studies that would analyse the entire life course and activities of this outstanding person. The same applies to researchers from other countries. Among the authors, who in one way or another wrote about N. Wassilko, it is worth mentioning I. Nistor, M. Hausleitner, I. Cocuz, R. Wagner, M. Ceaușu,⁴ and others.

¹ Кость Левицький, *Українські політики: Сильветки наших давніх послів і політичних діячів* [Ukrainian Politicians: Silhouettes of Our Longtime Ambassadors and Politicians], Львів, Діло, 1936, Т. 1, с. 97-98.

² Денис Квітковський, Теофіл Бриндзан, Аркадій Жуковський, *Буковина. Її минуле і сучасне* [Bukovina. It's Past and Present], Париж-Філадельфія-Детройт, Зелена Буковина, 1956.

³ Олександр Добржанський, *Національний рух українців Буковини другої половини XIX – початку XX ст.* [National Movement of Ukrainians of Bukovina of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999; В. Ляхоцький, *Микола Василько: парадокси пам'яті та забуття* [Mykola Vasylo: Paradoxes of Memory and Oblivion], in *Україна дипломатична* [Diplomatic Ukraine], Київ, 2002; Олександр Добржанський, *Микола Василько – визначний український дипломат австрійської школи* [Mykola Vasylo – a Distinguished Ukrainian Diplomat of the Austrian School], in *Дипломатична та консульська служба у вимірі особистості. Колективна монографія* [Diplomatic and Consular Service in the Measurement of Personality. Collective monograph], Київ, 2016.

⁴ Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina], București, Editura Humanitas, 1991;

Nevertheless, their works showed only some aspects of N. Wassilko's activities and not his integral portrait.

It is high time to present N. Wassilko's figure as an outstanding politician and diplomat. After all, Ukrainian politicians of this magnitude, who were active in the first decades of the twentieth century, can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Historical sources that give an idea of N. Wassilko's activity in Bukovina are the materials of the State Archives of the Chernivtsi oblast. The Central State Archives of the supreme governmental bodies and administrations of Ukraine have a separate N. Wassilko⁵ fund and the vast majority of documents on his diplomatic activity are concentrated there. The N. Wassilko fund, which is kept at the Viennese United Administrative Archives, is quite large.⁶ The well-known Bukovinian politician in the early 1920s wrote his life memoirs in 3 volumes. Unfortunately, for incomprehensible reasons, the managing director of N. Wassilko's house burned his records. There are documents in the fund of N. Wassilko that have probably been used to write memoirs.

The verbatim records of the meetings in the Austrian Parliament and the Diet of Bukovina, the publication of the periodicals, and the memoir literature made great sense in shaping the vision of N. Wassilko's activities.

The objective of this study is to create the political portrait of N. Wassilko, analyse his entry into high-level politics and his attempts to orient in the difficult social situation in Bukovina in the late 19th – early 20th century, the activities as member of the Diet of Bukovina and the Austrian Parliament, and leader of various political associations and groups. One of the important tasks is to determine the contribution of N. Wassilko to the development of the national movement in

Marianna Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina* [The Romanization of Bukovina], München, R. Oldenburg Verlag, 2001; Ioan Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina: 1862–1914* [Romanian Political Parties in Bukovina: 1862–1914], Suceava, Cuvântul Nostru, 2003; R. Wagner, *Der Parlamentarismus und nationale Ausgleich in der ehemals österreichischen Bukowina* [Parliamentarism and National Compromise in Former Austrian Bukovina], München, 1984; Mihai Ștefan Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică 1848–1918. Contribuții la istoria parlamentarismului în spațiul central-est european* [Parliamentarism, Parties and Political Elite in Habsburg Bukovina of 1848–1918. Contributions to the History of Parliamentarism in the Central Eastern European Area], Iași, Junimea, 2004.

⁵ ЦДАВО [Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine], Fond. 4456, *Василько Микола (1868–1924) громадський і політичний діяч, дипломат* [Mykola Vasylo (1868–1924), a Public and Political Figure, and Diplomat]

⁶ Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, *Nachlaß von N. Wassilko* [M. Vasylo Heritage], Karton 1–2.

Bukovina, the organization of Ukrainian forces of Vest-Ukrainian lands under the conditions of World War I, and to disclose his diplomatic activity as a representative of the Vest-Ukrainian, and later the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The chronological and biographical methods of research that allowed the analysis of the way of life, and the main political and diplomatic achievements of N. Wassilko were used in the elaboration of this article.

FORMATION OF NIKOLAJ VON WASSILKO AS A STATESMAN

The Wassilkos were an ancient Bukovinian boyar family. Since the Middle Ages, they had owned the Lukawetz estate. It is known that Alexander the Good, the Prince of Moldova, confirmed in 1428 to Yurii and Kuzma, the sons of Stanislav Lukawetzki, the right to own the Lukawetz estate.⁷ The Wassilkos family originated from the Lukawetzki family.

Many references to the family of Wassilko-Lukawetzki can be found in the Moldavian principality documents. For example, on July 10, 1710, Ivan Wassilko Lukawetzki confirmed that Iliana from the Turculs family transferred a part of the land in the villages of Horoschoutz and Bojanczuk to his brother's wife Antimia, the widow of Constantin Turcul.⁸ On November 20, 1755, Alexander Wassilko, as a public scribe, made an agreement according to which Parascovia and Silion, the children of Gheorghii Onciul gave Mihalachi Crâșcu 1/8 of their land plot in the estates of Lukawetz and Berhometh for debts,⁹ etc.

The surname Wassilko was first mentioned in the Austrian documents in 1776. They mentioned that Alexander Wassilko, a mazil from Lukawetz, owned the village of Berhometh where he was a master.¹⁰ On October 1, 1777, as a part of 93 mazils, Alexander Wassilko took the oath to the Austrian emperor in Chernivtsi.¹¹

According to the decree of March 14, 1787, the Bukovinian nobility had equal rights with the Galician nobility. It was assumed that the Bukovinian gentry

⁷ *Der Adel von Galizien, Lodomerien und der Bukowina* [The Nobility of Galicia, Lodomeria and Bukovina], Wien, 1985, s. 8.

⁸ Teodor Bălan, *Familia Onciul. Studiu și documente* [The Onciul Family. Study and Documents], Cernăuți, 1927, p. 62-63.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.

¹⁰ Daniel Werenka, *Topographie der Bukowina zur Zeit ihrer erwerbung durch Oesterreich (1775-1785)* [Topography of Bukovina at the Time of Acquisition by Austria (1775-1785)], Czernowitz, 1895.

¹¹ Jochan Polek, *Die Huldigung der Bukowina am 12 Oktober 1777*, in „Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museum“, Czernowitz, 1902, s. 38.

should be divided into the status of the masters and the status of the knights. The status of the lords consisted of earls and barons. These titles were given to 12 families, which at the time of the Moldavian principality occupied the highest state posts, as well as those nobles who had at least 3 thousand florins of annual income. The knight's status was given to all other boyars, and to the mazils – those who were listed in the registers of the Moldavian principality.¹² On August 10, 1792, Nikolai (Nikolaus), Vasile and Stephan Wassilko received the confirmation of their knight rank from the Austrian authorities, and in two years on February 22, 1794, N. Wassilko bought from the Onciuls family a part of the land plot in Moldavian Banilla.¹³ In 1802, Nikolai Wassilko owned the estate in the villages of Ispas, Moldavian Banilla and Baince, his brother, Vasile Wassilko had the estate in the villages of Lukawetz, Berhometh, Panka, Zadowa, Mihowa, and their other brother, Stephan Wassilko – in Kalinestie.¹⁴

In the middle of the 19th century, Jordaki Wassilko, who owned the estates in Lukawetz and Berhometh, received the Order of the Iron Crown, Second Class, and the title of Baron on January 1, 1855 (diploma of July 14, 1855) by the Emperor's highest decision.¹⁵ His son, Alexander von Wassilko, was a Marshal of the Diet of Bukovina in 1870-1871.¹⁶ He was awarded the honorary title Serecki (named after the river of Seret, where his main village of residence, Berhometh, was situated). He took an active part in the political struggle in Bukovina and was one of the leaders of the Romanian national movement in the province.

Nikolaj, another son of Jordaki Wassilko, was elected February 7, 1867, to the Diet of Bukovina of the curia of large landowners. However, he did not show any special activity in the Diet. He did not like politics at all. Therefore, Nikolaj Wassilko did not take part in the next elections to the Seim of 1870. He was known as a great philosopher and probably, therefore, he was quickly disappointed with the Seim's work. Nikolaj Wassilko had a small estate in the village of Slobodzia-Komarestie. Both brothers, like their father, considered themselves Vlachs (Romanians).¹⁷

¹² ДАЧО [State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast], Fond. 1026, List. 7, File 25, p. 1-3.

¹³ Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁴ ДАЧО [State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast], Fond 1026, List. 2, File 1, p. 8-15.

¹⁵ *Der Adel von Galizien, Lodomerien und der Bukowina* [The Nobility of Galicia, Lodomeria and Bukovina], Wien, 1985, s. 8.

¹⁶ *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die zweite Session der dritten Wahlperiode. 1871* [Minutes of the Diet of Bukovina, the 2nd Session of the 3rd Term. 1871], Czernowitz, 1871, s.1.

¹⁷ *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags für die erste Session der zweiten*

On March 24, 1868, a son was born in the family of Nikolaj Wassilko in the village of Slobodzia-Komarestie, Storozynetz district. His name was also Nikolaj (Nikolaus). Up to the age of 10, Nikolaj was educated at home under the guidance of Aglaia Freiin von Petrino-Armis, his mother. A Romanian-German home-based training was carried out.

In 1878, Nikolaj von Wassilko's parents sent him to Vienna for study at the prestigious closed institution Theresianum. It trained children of nobles, high-ranking officials, military men, who were preparing for state and diplomatic activities. The Theresianum school director in the early 1880s was the Austrian future prime-minister, Paul Gautsch Freiherr von Frankenthurn. Unfortunately, there is no information about N. Wassilko's years of studying in Vienna. One can only say with certainty that young Nikolaj had already got acquainted with many peers who later became influential people in the internal and external policies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. N. Wassilko successfully finished his schooling in Vienna in 1887.

After the Theresianum school, Wassilko spent one-year in military service in the 16th hussar regiment in Chernivtsi in 1887-1888.¹⁸ Iancu Flondor, George Popovici, and Hilarion Iacobovici, who later became the leaders of the Romanian national movement in Bukovina, were under the military service during the same time and in the same regiment as N. Wassilko. Seven months later, Wassilko was discharged due to his health conditions. He was admitted to Chernivtsi University and studied law school there until 1891.¹⁹

N. Wassilko remembered those times speaking at one of the meetings of the Diet of Bukovina Seim: "Then I was a very frustrated living young man, all who remember me since then know that. Then I backstabbed (schemed against - Auth.) anyone who only hit me (laughter) and was also allowed to be backstabbed by all (long-lasting fun) ...".²⁰ He led a safe, fun life, spending large sums of money, not giving up all sorts of pleasures. He had enough money, moreover, that after the death of his father and mother, N. Wassilko took possession of the estate of Slobodzia-Komarestie (two communities).

Periode. 1867 [Minutes of the Diet of Bukovina, the 1st Session of the 2nd Term. 1867], Czernowitz, 1867, s. 11.

¹⁸ Микола Василько, *Посольська діяльність в державній раді і в крайовому сеймі в роках 1901–1903* [Ambassadorial Activity in the State Council and in the Regional Seim in 1901-1903], Чернівці, 1904, с. 372.

¹⁹ Anton Norst, *Alma Mater Francisko-Josephina* [Alma Mater Francisko-Josephina], Czernowitz, 1900, s. 131.

²⁰ Микола Василько, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

Raised up in the Romanian-German spirit, in recent years N. Wassilko maintained close relations with Romanian national associations. He donated over 100 guildens each year for 6 years for the Junimea society and was in the honorary committee at the parties held by society members. For some time, at the personal request of the famous Romanian politician, Ioan Zotta, Nikolaj Wassilko was in the Concordia society, but soon defiantly left because of the anti-Semitic statements of one of the leaders of this society, the consistorial adviser, Zurkan.²¹ It should be noted that Wassilko never tried to occupy a prominent place in Romanian societies, and, as he noted later, he collaborated with them primarily under the influence of his comrades.²²

On October 29 (November 3), 1890 N. Wassilko married Olga von Gherghel, who belonged to the noble family of Gherghely-Forgacs and had a dowry of 140 thousand crowns.²³ After that, he decided to sell the property in the village of Slobodzia-Komarestie and bought the estate of the village Ober-Lukawetz, which, as already mentioned, was the Wassilkos family seat for more than 400 years. It was here that he began his social activities. He was elected a local elder and he was interested in the problems of ordinary Ukrainian peasants among the villagers. During the next few years, Wassilko was concerned with the interests of Ukrainians. He took lessons of Ukrainian from a local teacher, introduced the Ukrainian language in public office and church services, and helped establish a village reading room. A new church in the village was built at the expense of N. Wassilko.²⁴ The rapid Ukrainization took place due to the fact that he had rather tense relationships with some leaders of the Romanian movement.

There are several reasons which could explain N. Wassilko's sincere, friendly attitude towards Ukrainian peasants and their national needs. First, it is his innate sense of the political situation and the understanding of the peasants' demands. His studies and training in Teresianum, which at that time had many teachers with progressive ideas, played a certain role. Secondly, Basil von Wolan, a Bukovinian physician and political figure, had a great influence on N. Wassilko. His wife was N. Wassilko's aunt. Basil von Wolan, who was a professor of medicine, director of the regional hospital, member of the Austrian Parliament and the Diet of Bukovina, had

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 380-381.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 380.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

²⁴ Г. Савчук. *Посол на соймъ краевый и русский бояринъ Николай Василько* [G. Savchuk. Nikolaj Wassilko – Member of Regional Diet and Ruthenian Boyar], in “Селянинъ” [The Peasant], 1898, 1 вересня.

a significant influence on the political relations in the province. Together with Ivan Tymynski, they presented in 1892 the idea of creating a third political trend in the Ukrainian movement, which would operate separately from the Populists and Russophiles and took an intermediate position between the Ukrainians and the Romanians. Basil von Wolan and his supporters called themselves conservative Rusyns. The major foundations of this current were the slogan "Bukovina for the Bukovinians!", the protection of the Orthodox faith from the onset of Catholicism and Uniate, the idea of Orthodox solidarity of Ukrainians and Romanians in solving regional problems, the provision of priority rights in Bukovina for Ukrainians and Romanians as autochthonous peoples.²⁵ Such ideas were close to N. Wassilko, so he established close contacts with Basil von Wolan, recognizing him as his ideological leader. Thirdly, as N. Wassilko noted later, he had rather tense relations with some leaders of the Romanian movement, which apparently did not contribute to his political career in the Romanian camp and determined the search for opportunities to introduce himself to the Ukrainian movement. He perfectly understood that the Ukrainian movement, where there were few politicians of noble origin, may provide a more successful political career and, in particular, the chance to become a member of the representative bodies of power.

While maintaining close relations with the conservative Rusyns and Russophiles, during the 1890s, N. Wassilko simultaneously began to form associations in which he was recognized as a sole leader. Thus, in 1897 he founded "The Wiznitz-Putilla Council" association whose main task was to support N. Wassilko at the elections to the Diet. The following year he was elected as member of the Diet of Bukovina, and, in 1899, he became the youngest representative of Bukovina in the Austrian Parliament.

His activity as an MP made N. Wassilko a popular politician. Quite quickly he was spoken about as a talented speaker, visionary figure able to count his actions in advance. Certain hopes for a while were laid upon him by the Russophiles, who after the death of Basil von Wolan in 1899 were joined by a part of the former conservative Rusyns. However, N. Wassilko did not seek to justify these hopes. He did not disclose his position in the discussion between the Russophiles and the Populists, maintaining a neutral position for some time, and maintaining contacts with both sides.

Thus, a native of a noble boyar family, brought up in a Romanian-German spirit, having received a solid education in Vienna, N. Wassilko joined the

²⁵ *Руське питання на Буковині. Обговорив буковинський православний русин* [Ruthenian Issues in Bukovina. Orthodox Ruthenian Discussed It], Чернівці, 1892, с. 1 - 23.

conservative Rusyns in the 1890s, became a member of the Diet of Bukovina and the Austrian Parliament, and began his political career as a defender of the Ukrainians of Bukovina. The first steps were successful, but in order to continue to operate in the political arena, he needed to determine the ideological benchmarks, to choose between two currents in the Ukrainian movement that operated at that time – the Russophiles or the Populists.

THE LEADER OF THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN BUKOVINA

In the early 20th century, N. Wassilko presented the idea of uniting the Ukrainian parties, to stop internal quarrels in the Ukrainian camp. This was an obviously impracticable idea and perhaps it was understood by N. Wassilko himself. However, he gained additional popularity by such statements, and this position was supported by the official authorities.

Speaking in the Diet and Parliament, N. Wassilko was not afraid to show the most acute criticism of his opponents, regardless of the positions they occupied. He described the abuse of local Bukovinian officials in the management of the religious fund, forest trade, frauds with loans for various government works, and so on. When discussing the budget on February 27, 1902, N. Wassilko condemned the Austrian authorities for sending them to the Bukovina officials, who were completely uninterested in regional affairs and, through their inactivity, affected many local affairs. N. Wassilko said the following about Klahr, the president of the Regional Court, who had been sent to Bukovina from Graz: “We do not need a court president sitting in the Christian-German Society, having a beer there and “doing” politics there. We need a president of the court who cares about our land...”²⁶

Such an uncompromising struggle, such as that of N. Wassilko, was not to the liking of many politicians. They tried to discredit him in the Diet of Bukovina. However, N. Wassilko was supported by S. Smal-Stotsky and Ye. Pigulyak, members of the Seim from Narodovtsi. On July 7, 1902, they called the popular assembly, which gathered more than 4 thousand people.²⁷ N. Wassilko together with S. Smal-Stotsky, Ye. Pigulyak and other Diet Ukrainian members explained their policy and got the support of all those present. That assembly was extremely important for the further political career of N. Wassilko. He stated that he was done with the Russophiles and the conservative Rusyns and finally joined the Populists camp.

²⁶ Микола Василько, *op. cit.*, p.45.

²⁷ “Руслан” (Львів) [Ruslan (Lviv)], 1902, 28 червня.

This transition was regarded by most contemporaries as a great success of the Ukrainian camp. The Russian consul in Chernivtsi, Dolivo-Dobrovolskyi, reported in 1902 to St. Petersburg that "Ukrainians have recently made a valuable asset in the person of a former advocate of the Old Russian party, an adventurer, a member of the Diet and the Parliament, Nikolai Ritter von Wassilko."²⁸

N. Wassilko has easily experienced all the political upheavals associated with the transition to the camp of the Populists. Already on October 30, 1902, he gave a vibrant speech in the Austrian Parliament on the abuses during the elections in Galicia, supported the requests of Ukrainian members of the parliament on the need to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv and protected the agricultural strikers in Eastern Galicia. That is, he confidently defended the demands put forward by the Ukrainian Populists not only in Bukovina but also in Galicia.

In the early 20th century in Bukovina, there was a matter of the utmost urgency concerning a series of reforms that were supposed to modernize the social, political and economic relations in the province and eliminate the domination of the local oligarchs-landowners.

Under these conditions, the three well-known politicians of this land have come closer: N. Wassilko, leader of the democratic Romanians, A. Onciul and B. Straucher, the vice-president (later president) of the Jewish community of Chernivtsi. For the first time in a joint meeting, three local leaders and Moriz Stekel, the editor of the "Bukowiner Post" newspaper gathered in the N. Wassilko's apartment in Vienna, on May 25, 1903.²⁹ This was the beginning of an international parliamentary association, which made history as the so-called Conscientious Union. N. Wassilko became one of the organizers and leaders of this association.

The next year, supporters of the Conscientious Union ideas won the elections or the Diet of Bukovina, having secured a solid majority. After the election, six months after the meetings in 1904, the members of the union managed to promote through the Diet and submitted for the Emperor's approval a number of bills that would significantly modernize the social relations in Bukovina. In particular, it was a proposal on the reform of the Diet of Bukovina and the electoral law, the establishment of the Regional Bank, the increase of teacher salaries, the abolition of the exclusive right to produce and sell alcoholic beverages, reorganizing the self-governance of rural communities and the system of elections in public administration, etc. These laws and their approval process

²⁸ Архив внешней политики Российской империи [Russian Empire Foreign Policy Archives], Fond 172, List 514/1, File. 1497, p.26

²⁹ "Bukowiner Post" [Bukovinian Post], 1903, 26 June.

in Vienna, which was very slow, became the core around which the political struggle in Bukovina revolved up to the beginning of World War I.

N. Wassilko actively defended and popularized the proposed laws during the next decade, despite the fact that in 1905 the Conscientious Union collapsed.

As a politician who does not compromise and has a sharp tongue, Mr. Wassilko has regularly entered disputes of all kinds with his opponents. Thus, his relations with Iancu Flondor, his friend in the 1890s, worsened in 1903. The latter inspired a series of articles against the members of the Conscientious Union and N. Wassilko personally in the "Bukowinaer Journal" published unsigned. They provided groundless allegations and disseminated unreliable information. I. Flondor initially objected to his involvement in the articles. But soon, Max Rainer, the editor of the "Bukowinaer Journal", admitted that one of the provocative articles was dictated to him by I. Flondor.

The scandal went beyond Bukovina. The Viennese and Galician newspapers wrote much about it. A special Diet Commission led by A. Skedl was set up to consider the case. Although it took a rather cautious decision, which saved I. Flondor from the court of honour, the reputation of the latter was severely affected. As a protest, Baron G. Wassilko left the Romanian Club of the Diet—and, after such a scandal, I. Flondor was forced to leave the political scene for a while.³⁰

After the collapse of the Conscientious Union, N. Wassilko's relationship with A. Onciul became tense. During the by-elections for the Austrian parliament in 1908, N. Wassilko even supported Dori Popovici, the representative of the Romanian National Party, against A. Onciul. In response, A. Onciul initiated a series of articles in which he accused N. Wassilko of dishonest financial operations concerning the cement factory of Axelrod and having received an illegal income of a total of 60,000 crowns.³¹ N. Wassilko filed charges against him. The trial, which took place on October 1, 1908, found A. Onciul's statement unsubstantiated; he was sentenced to 1 month of arrest or a fine of 3,000 crowns. In addition, he had to pay legal fees in the amount of 2,000 crowns³².

Periodically, newspaper quarrels appeared between N. Wassilko and Benno Straucher. The truth was that there were no trials, but both politicians harmed each other whenever they could, and the only winners in that case were those who

³⁰ *Die Flondor Affaire im Bukowiner Landtage* [The Flondor Affair in the Bukovinian Seim], Czernowitz, 1903, p. 117-121.

³¹ *Процес посла Василька проти Ончула* [Deputy of Parliament Wasilko vs Onciul Legal Process], in "Буковина" [Bukovyna], 1908, 2 october.

³² *По процесі* [After the Process], in "Буковина" [Bukovyna], 1908, 4 october.

sought to preserve the old order in Bukovina, which existed before the Conscientious Union.

In 1905-1907, in the Austrian part of Austria-Hungary, the issue of reforming the electoral law for the parliament, the introduction of general, equal, secret and direct elections was addressed. At the end of March that year, the Austrian Parliament created a commission for electoral reform that included 49 members of the House of Deputies, to which N. Wassilko was appointed by the Ukrainians. He actively defended the Ukrainian election rights both in Galicia and in Bukovina, especially by insisting that electoral districts should be created taking into account the ethnic composition of the population.³³

Elections for the Austrian Parliament under the new electoral law of 1907 became a new success for the Ukrainians in Bukovina. They won in all Ukrainian constituencies and for the first time since 1848, they elected 5 deputies to the parliament: N. Wassilko, Ye. Piguliak, I. Semak, A. Lukashevych, M. Spinul. Together with the Ukrainian deputies from Galicia, they formed the Ukrainian Club. Yu. Romanchuk was elected as chair, and N. Wassilko as deputy.³⁴

Since that time, N. Wassilko had been acting not only as a representative of Bukovina, but above all as a leader of the joint association of the Galician and Bukovinian members of parliament, who considered the problem of the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary as a whole, and not only as a representative of the separate region.

N. Wassilko personified the flow of coercion and adaptation among the Ukrainian members of the parliament. He believed that it was necessary to obtain concessions in favour of the Ukrainians through negotiations, and the conclusion of various unions and secret agreements with representatives of government authorities. As one of the newspapers noted, "Ukrainians would not oppose the desire of the monarch, since N. Wassilko is still meaningful to them."³⁵

Such a line of action, as a rule, was supported by the Bukovinian MPs. But the Galician people did not always agree with N. Wassilko, demanding more radical and decisive actions. Therefore, the Bukovinian parliamentary club had left the United Ukrainian club several times and then returned. This was the case

³³ *Бесіда посла Н. Василька* [MP N. Wassilko's Conversation], in "Буковина" [Bukovyna], 1906, 12 november; *Виборча реформа* [Election Reform], in "Буковина" [Bukovyna], 1906, 15 September.

³⁴ *Ruthenische Wahlbezirke* [Ruthenian Electoral Districts], in "Bukowinaer Post" [Bukovinian Post], 1907, 15 Mai; *Wahlbildchen*, in "Bukowinaer Post" [Bukovinian Post], 1907, 12. Mai.

³⁵ "Neues Wiener Journal" [New Viennese Journal], 1912, 16 june.

in 1909, 1912 and 1913. When leaving the United Ukrainian club in 1909 N. Wassilko said: "We, Bukovinian Rusyns, are still waiting for our position – but when our Galician brothers will not be better than before, we will again be on their side and will fight them until the wave that brings us salvation or death!"³⁶

N. Wassilko has actively participated in many parliamentary events, including the struggle to expand the national rights of the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary. In 1903, when the Czech MP Karl Kramarz presented the idea of rebuilding Austria into the federation of autonomous territories, N. Wassilko gave a great speech in which he explained that such an idea was not good for the Ukrainians since Galicia had long been a state within a state where the Ukrainians were under Polish domination. Expanding regional autonomy would further aggravate the situation of the Ukrainians. Therefore, N. Wassilko proposed the autonomy of the peoples, and not the autonomy of the lands, and further developed the long-standing idea of the Ukrainians concerning the creation of a separate Ukrainian crown region in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina. That speech caused a huge public uproar in the empire. Later, N. Wassilko, in his parliamentary speeches, repeatedly raised the idea of creating a separate autonomous Ukrainian region and proposed plans to solve this issue.

From 1905-1906, N. Wassilko, while speaking to Parliament, regularly addressed the problem of Russophilia in the West Ukrainian lands. Initially, he was referring more to Galicia and to the union of Russophiles with the Poles, but then the politician took over this issue throughout Austria. Particularly, his speech on December 11, 1909, was widely publicized. N. Wassilko stated that in the early 20th century Russophilia in Galicia and in Bukovina was almost gone. There were only the remains of Old Ruthenians – "Altruthenes". However, after the 1907 elections in Austria-Hungary, Russophilia began to gain ground as a result of the support of the Poles in Galicia and receiving Russian rubles.³⁷ To a large extent, it was N. Wassilko who was inspired by the defeat of Russophilia societies in Bukovina in 1910 and increased the control over the receiving of Russian money for public organizations in Galicia and Bukovina.

The activities of N. Wassilko in the Diet of Bukovina turned to a different direction. Somewhere in the years 1903-1904, they had an informal division of

³⁶ К. Левицький, *Історія політичної думки галицьких українців 1848 – 1914* [History of Political Thought of Galician Ukrainians in 1848-1914], Львів, 1927, Частина 2, с. 519.

³⁷ *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates im Jahre 1910. XX. Session* [Minutes on the Meetings of the House of Deputies of the Austrian Parliament in 1910. 20th Session], Bd. 1, s. 953-959.

labour with Stepan Smal-Stotsky. N. Wassilko was engaged mainly in parliamentary affairs, and Smal-Stotsky, who became a vice-marshal of the Diet from 1904, was responsible for the Diet cases. However, the situation gradually changed. N. Wassilko's popularity, and at the same time his political influence has increased rapidly. This was also facilitated by the fact that he managed to solve a number of lagging issues of the region. One of them was the opening of the Vyzhnytsia gymnasium. Thanks to his considerable efforts, N. Wassilko managed to solve this problem in 1908. On October 23, the emperor signed a rescript on the Vyzhnytsia Gymnasia, and on November 22, the grand opening of this educational institution took place, which turned into a grand national holiday. All those present at the event unanimously recognized the merit of N. Wassilko in solving the issue of Vyzhnytsia Gymnasia; in his honour, a magnificent triumphal gate was decorated with banners.

The popularity of N. Wassilko also increased due to the fact that he several times sought to allocate significant funds to solve the economic needs of Bukovina. The image of a person who could solve and decide matters was firmly rooted in him.

Such a situation could not but cause increased tension between the two leaders. At first, everything was veiled. Both showed mutual respect in public, but there has already been a confrontation in the actions. In 1909, N. Wassilko was elected as chairman of the Progressive Party. In comparison, S. Smal-Stotsky organized a peasant party in Russka Rada. The rivalry was also noticeable in the national-cultural societies, in the formation of parliamentary groups, and so on.

In 1912, a financial abuse scandal concerning the Ukrainian Peasant Fund broke out, led by S. Smal-Stotsky. N. Wassilko decided to take advantage of the situation. He held behind-the-scenes talks to appoint T. Drachynskyi instead of Smal-Stotsky as Deputy Marshal of the Diet. When Smal-Stotsky learned about this, an open conflict broke out, which lasted until the beginning of the war. Most of the Ukrainian community supported N. Wassilko, having acknowledged him as the leader.

On the eve of the World War, N. Wassilko and his supporters had an influence on the "Nova Bukovyna" (New Bukovina) and the "Narodnyi Holos" (People's Voice) newspapers and joined the National Democratic Party.

The name of N. Wassilko in the pre-war period was connected with the greatest successes of the Ukrainian national movement, but there were other issues as well. He used any methods to achieve the goals. He believed that everything could be solved by secret methods, through secret negotiations, behind-the-scenes intrigues, which attracted a narrow circle of supporters. The influential Viennese newspaper "Neues Wiener Journal", which placed the

political portrait of N. Wassilko as an editorial, wrote: "MP Wassilko is a diplomat in Austrian domestic politics. He looks at every situation with a smile because everyone knows in advance what will happen. As some action begins, everyone has a plan sent from the top. At the same time, he shows all his instincts with his quick mind. And this is the secret of his political successes."³⁸ Some political combinations of N. Wassilko really impressed contemporaries with their elegance and unpredictability.

With the start of World War I, the Galician politicians formed the Major Ukrainian Council, which made a statement on the position of Ukrainians regarding the war. The union of Ukrainian parliamentary and Diet Ambassadors of Bukovina, led by N. Wassilko, also prepared an appeal *To the Ukrainian people of Bukovina*, which noted that together with all peoples, Ukrainians will defend the Habsburg Monarchy.³⁹

During the war, N. Wassilko mainly stayed in Vienna. Most of the Bukovinian MPs also moved to the capital where they formed the Bukovina Club, which held meetings under the chairmanship of N. Wassilko every Tuesday.⁴⁰ Members of the club were engaged in the publishing business, they were asked to help the Ukrainian refugees, the widows, and the orphans of killed soldiers, and they also helped the wounded.

During the first months of the war, N. Wassilko started the organization of the Hutsul-Bukovina Corps (legion). This idea was implemented by his relative Yurii Wassilko at home. From the very beginning, the legion was under the command of Gendarmerie Colonel E. Fischer. A total of 1,500 Ukrainian volunteers were recruited. At the same time, 1,500 Romanian volunteers were recruited. From November 29, 1914, to January 1915, the Hutsul gunners held all paths to the Siret River, and from January 1 to February 19, 1915, the legion took part in battles near Moldova, Pojorâta, Mestecăniș, Cârlibaba. In March 1915, after the Russian troops were thrown away from the Prut River, they helped liberate Rohizna, Buda, Chornivka, and Sadhora.⁴¹

³⁸ N. Wassilko, in "Neues Wiener Journal", 1912, 16 June.

³⁹ С. Попик, *Українці в Австрії 1914-1918. Австрійська політика в українському питанні періоду Великої війни* [Ukrainians in Austria in 1914-1918. Austrian Policy on the Ukrainian Issue of the Great War Period], Київ-Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999, с. 48.

⁴⁰ М. Никифорак, *Представництво Буковини в Австрійській державній раді* [Representation of Bukovina in the Austrian State Council], in "Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету". Серія Правознавство [Scientific Herald of Chernivtsi University. Law Series], Чернівці, 1998, вип. 33, с. 56.

⁴¹ В. Заповловський, *Національні збройні формування з Буковини в обороні краю*

The Hutsul gunners fought quite successfully furthermore and many of them received military awards. The Bukovinian intellectuals, MPs, and especially N. Wassilko, had always worried about the state of the gunners, giving them all kinds of help.⁴²

On May 5, 1915, the General Ukrainian Council substituted the Major Ukrainian Council, which had to represent the entire Ukrainian people during the war. The Council was led by K. Levytskyi. N. Wassilko was appointed as deputy chairman. This appointment was a recognition of the high authority and influence of N. Wassilko. But the dissatisfaction with the policy of the General Ukrainian Council leadership for the excessive loyalty to power increased rather quickly among the left members of parliament.

Nevertheless, in November 1916, the Ukrainian parliamentary representation of Galicia was established, which stated that it would act on its own. In turn, on December 3-5, 1916, a meeting of the Union of Parliamentarians and Diet deputies of Bukovina, who stated that they would also act on their own, took place. The traditional course expressed in the words "Dedicated to the Emperor and the State" was confirmed. It was a great time for N. Wassilko. He acted firmly, negotiating with various authorities, helping refugees, protecting ordinary Ukrainians from groundless allegations.

Thus, N. Wassilko, after moving to a camp of Ukrainian populists, quickly proved to be an energetic and far-sighted politician who had considerable support in the government circles. On the eve and during World War I, he became the sole leader of the Ukrainian movement in Bukovina, subordinating the vast majority of Ukrainian political forces of the region. The Ukrainian leaders of Galicia could not but take him into account, he was respected in the government circles of Vienna as a well-considered and visionary politician.

ON DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

From the very beginning of the Ukrainian revolution and the establishment of the Central Council in March 1917, and then the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, N. Wassilko closely followed the events in Ukrainian lands within

(1914-1916 pp.) [National Armed Forces from Bukovina in the Defense of the Region (1914-1916)], in *Буковина – мій рідний край* [Bukovina – My Native Land], Чернівці, 1997, с. 76.

⁴² *Буковинський православний календар на звичайний рік 1917* [Bukovinian Orthodox Calendar for Ordinary Year of 1917], Відень, 1916, с. 56-57.

the Russian Empire. Even in the pre-war period, he strongly supported the idea that, in the event of Russia's defeat in the war, the Ukrainian lands part of the Romanov Empire would form an independent Ukrainian state.

The most famous example of N. Wassilko's cooperation with the leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the time of the Central Rada was his participation in the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty in February 1918. During the peace talks in Brest-Litovsk, N. Wassilko proved his influence and ability to solve the most difficult problems.

Having failed to resolve all issues with the inexperienced representatives of the Central Rada, the head of the Austria-Hungary delegation at the talks, O. Czernin, in a secret telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked for N. Wassilko, with whom he had long-standing friendly relations, to come to Brest-Litovsk. However, N. Wassilko's position in Brest-Litovsk was not what O. Czernin expected from him. O. Czernin wrote in his diary on February 6, 1918: "The situation was also cleared because yesterday, the leader of the Austrian Rusyns, Nikolai von Wassilko arrived. And although he is obviously enthralled with the role his Russian-Ukrainian comrades play in Brest, he speaks here in a more national chauvinistic manner than before in Vienna, we still managed to finally find out the minimum of Ukrainian demands."⁴³ N. Wassilko put the real Ukrainian interests first, after informing the delegation of the UPR about the real situation in Austria-Hungary and insisting on steadfastly adhering to Ukrainian claims. Under the influence of N. Wassilko, O. Czernin decided to sign a peace treaty with the UPR and a secret annex to it. Undoubtedly, this was a great success of the Ukrainians and N. Wassilko as a politician. D. Doroshenko wrote: "Thanks to his (N. Wassilko – Aut.) help, the Brest Treaty was expressed in a very favourable form for Ukraine, we had to use it."⁴⁴

During 1918, events developed extremely fast. N. Wassilko finally defended the idea of the Ukrainian autonomous region as part of the Austrian Empire. He was a member of the Ukrainian National Council on October 18-19 in Lviv and then left for Vienna. He founded in Vienna the first foreign representation of the WUNR for Austria (and in fact for Germany). This mission was kept at the expense of N. Wassilko himself.

⁴³ О. Чернин, *В дни мировой войны* [Days of World War], Москва-Петроград, 1923, с. 265-266.

⁴⁴ Д. Дорошенко, *Мої спомини про недавнє минуле (1914-1918)* [My Memories of the Recent Past (1914-1918)], in "Український історичний журнал" [Ukrainian Journal of History], Київ, 1993, № 4-6, с. 89.

The main purpose of N. Wassilko at that time was to popularize the idea of Ukrainian independence in the influential circles of Vienna and Berlin. The significance of the ZUNR Embassy in Vienna was highlighted by the fact that this city was the centre of the foreign policy of Western Ukrainians. N. Wassilko's diplomatic work in Vienna was very successful and could not be seen in Kyiv.

After uniting the ZUNR and the UPR, on May 10, 1919 N. Wassilko led the Embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Switzerland. The objective that N. Wassilko faced was to deepen the relations of the Government of the UPR with other states whose embassies were represented in Bern. The result of his activity was the recognition of Ukraine by neighbouring states. At the end of the appointment decree, N. Wassilko's powers were determined, "... it is your authority, for all our missions which are located in Switzerland, and those who are there, whether political, military or economic, to supervise their activities; they are all obliged, subject to your assignment, for which you will be responsible to the Government".⁴⁵

Despite the fact that N. Wassilko was considered "Germanophile", and the expectant policy of the representatives of the Entente countries towards him in Switzerland, he began the active diplomatic activity, striving to establish relations with diplomats of Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia as soon as possible. For this purpose, N. Wassilko made not only official but also private visits, he made everything possible to keep those Ukrainian civil servants who could hurt the mission activities "away" from Switzerland. This was also explained by the fact that since the second half of 1919, the UPR government was forced to change some of its foreign policy activities and refused to fight for Bukovina and Bessarabia in exchange for an agreement with Romania and other neighbouring states that could guarantee Ukraine's recognition and assisting in the fight against its enemies. In this respect, it is indicative that N. Wassilko tried to prevent the stay of H. Hasenko, the former head of the UPR special mission in Romania, known for his anti-Romanian views, in Switzerland⁴⁶. The reason for such a move was the dissatisfaction of the Romanian envoy with the content of the interview with H. Hasenko to one of the newspapers, in which the former head of mission presented his views on the situation in the Ukrainian-Romanian relations, interfering, according to the Romanians, in the internal affairs of the kingdom⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ ЦДІАВО [Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine]. – Fond 3696, List 1, File 24, p. 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 50.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, List 1, File 167, p. 11.

In the first months, N. Wassilko, the head of the Bern mission, paid the most attention to strengthening relations with Romania and Poland. In this regard, his communication with the new head of the extraordinary diplomatic missions of the UPR in Romania, K. Matsiyevych, significantly intensified. It started at the initiative of N. Wassilko. K. Matsiyevych, congratulating his colleague on his appointment, presented an analysis of the internal events in Romania and its foreign policy situation, emphasizing that the territories annexed by Romania may not be recognized by the Entente, and because of this, Romania is looking for an accomplice, which Ukraine can do⁴⁸.

Regarding the relations with the Polish representatives, in one of the letters to the Ministry in July 1919, N. Wassilko described in detail the content of the conversation with the military attaché of Poland in Bern, Major Gurko. From the conversation, it became clear that future relations between Ukraine and Poland largely relied on the successes of General A. Denikin, the activity of peasant detachments, that is, the events in Ukraine itself. Analysing the situation in Poland, according to the information of the attaché, N. Wassilko mentioned that the statements of A. Denikin on the annexation of Galicia and Bessarabia caused a negative attitude in Poland towards the white guard Russia (It should be noted that not only A. Denikin, but A. Kolchak also made statements that both Galicia, Bukovina and Bessarabia should be part of Russia).⁴⁹ Because of this, the independence of Ukraine became extremely desirable for Poland. Thus, N. Wassilko noted a turning point in Polish foreign policy, emphasizing that the head of the Polish government "is undoubtedly a supporter of the Ukrainian orientation and a great enemy of Russia." It was precisely because of this position of the highest Polish official, Major Gurko, who assured N. Wassilko that the Polish government would go on to conclude an agreement with S. Petliura.

N. Wassilko was head of the diplomatic mission in Switzerland to his death. In 1919 only, for the needs of Ukrainian diplomacy in Switzerland, N. Wassilko spent 100,000 francs of his personal funds.⁵⁰

By Decree of Prime Minister of the UPR, I. Mazepa, of November 19, 1919, N. Wassilko was appointed as ambassador to Berlin. However, N. Wassilko did not accept this proposal because he was afraid that his appointment to Berlin would

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, File 172, p. 1.

⁴⁹ О. Павлюк, *США і східно-галицьке питання на Паризькій мирній конференції 1919 р.* [The USA and the East Galician Issue at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919], in "Київська старовина" [Kyiv Antiquity], Київ, 1999, № 6, с. 71. 73.

⁵⁰ ЦДАВО, Fond 4453, List 1, File 17, P. 168.

cause misunderstanding with the Entente powers.⁵¹ However, almost to the end of the UPR Embassy in Berlin (1923), N. Wassilko, following the instructions of the Government of the UPR and S. Petliura, took an active part in its activities and carried out an informal leadership. In December 1919 – January 1920, as well as from March 1 to June 1920, N. Wassilko stayed in Berlin. He energetically set up a meeting with the ambassadors of Poland and France, who had previously unfriendly treated the UPR.

N. Wassilko was also responsible for the work of the Ukrainian mission in Italy, and S. Petliura repeatedly insisted that N. Wassilko moved to Rome, but N. Wassilko believed that he had more opportunities for establishing diplomatic relations in Switzerland.

In July 1920, in Belgium (the city of Spa), an international conference was held, which had to deal with the implementation of the Versailles peace decisions and the claims of the Entente to Germany, and therefore the official representatives there were only the states of the Entente and Germany. Not only members of the Quadruple Union, but also neutral states were invited there.

N. Wassilko visited the City of Spa. However, attempts of the Ukrainian delegation to resolve the Ukrainian issue were rejected by the official participants to the conference.

This forced N. Wassilko to analyse the work of the Ukrainian delegations at the international conferences. In particular, having been acquainted with the work of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris, N. Wassilko gave a negative assessment to its leader, Count Tyshkevych, who did not use the opportunities to promote within the diplomatic circles an agreement between the UPR and Poland on April 22, 1920, did not maintain close relations with official institutions, but as an “aristocrat, clerical and anti-Semitic” figure, he stayed in touch only with individuals.⁵²

S. Petliura paid considerable attention to the establishment of ties with the necessary states, recruitment of staff for this important part of state work. He suggested that more experienced diplomats provide advice and timely assistance to inexperienced diplomats. Nikolaj von Wassilko, as already noted, in addition to the Embassy in Switzerland, was ordered to exercise political control and responsibility for the embassies in Italy, Germany, and in Hungary. The financing of these and some other embassies was under his control. He was an ambassador with the rank of minister, and he was given broad powers in carrying out separate actions on behalf of the state. There is a certificate in the archives that was signed

⁵¹*Ibid*, Fond 3695, List.1, File 199, p. 41.

⁵² *Ibid*, File.236, p. 44.

by the head of the Directorate and Chief, Otaman S. Petliura: "Our Minister, Mr. Mykola Wassilko, is specifically authorized to hold political, military and financial conferences and take on responsible commitments, for which he is given legitimate and power authorities".⁵³

In the last year of his life, N. Wassilko, tremendously tired and in a bad state of health, intended to resign. However, S. Petliura and A. Livytskyi, chairman of the government, urged him to stay. Nikolaj von Wassilko still had to carry on the burden of financial support for the diplomatic embassies and missions, as well as helping certain individuals of Ukrainian emigration, in addition to active diplomatic activities. And he did that until his death, which suddenly occurred on August 2, 1924, due to an attack of a severe form of asthma.

CONCLUSIONS

N. Wassilko was an extraordinary figure of the Ukrainian movement in Bukovina in the late 19th – early 20th century, an atypical representative of the diplomatic corps of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Taking into consideration his education and upbringing, he had to become an active member of the Romanian movement. However, he deliberately chose the Ukrainism and managed to become one of the leaders of the Ukrainian movement first in Bukovina, and then in Western Ukraine lands, as a whole. He did a lot to modernize and democratize social relations in Bukovina, strengthen the political positions of Ukrainian people and unite Ukrainians as a nation. At the same time, his tactics repeatedly caused contradictory responses, his sharp statements and actions often led to sharp conflicts with those with whom he had previously collaborated. However, no matter how we treat N. Wassilko, nobody will deny that this extraordinary person has left a noticeable footprint in history, without his figure it is impossible to understand the events that took place in Bukovina and in Austria-Hungary as a whole in the early 20th century.

⁵³ *Ibid*, Fond 3695, List 1, File 125, p. 26.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA AND THE MOLDAVIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IN THE MATRIX OF BREZHNEV'S SOCIALISM AND CEAUȘESCU'S NATIONAL COMMUNISM. THE HIGH-LEVEL VISITS (1976)

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Abstract: *The Romanian-Moldovan rapports in the post-war era were rather a reflection of those between Bucharest and Moscow. Although there had been registered reciprocal activities among the organizations, which were functioning alongside the Council of Ministers or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova, there were rare remarkable moments. Among these, one can mention the presence of a Romanian delegation led by Nicolae Ceaușescu in Chișinău on 2nd and 3rd August 1976. It was the first visit made by a Romanian head of state to the MSSR during the Communist regime, followed by both a visit of the General Secretary of the Soviet Union Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev in the same year in Bucharest and of a delegation led by Ivan Bodiul.*

The Romanian delegation's visit coincided with the 36th formation anniversary of the Soviet Moldova. In the context of disagreements, which were affecting the relationships between Bucharest and Moscow, the visit in Chișinău wanted to be a chance to „freshen up” the connections of USSR with the Socialist Republic of Romania. The acceptance of invitation by the Romanian leader was interpreted as a gesture of renunciation at Bessarabia. At the end of their stay in the Soviet Moldova, the Romanian part launched an invitation to the hosts to come to Romania. The visit of the Moldovan delegation took place at the end of the same year, but it was preceded by the arrival of Leonid Brezhnev in Bucharest. At the same time, in 1976 there were discussed the Treaty regarding the Soviet-Romanian border status, the cooperation and assistance in borders issues.

The year 1976 marked a development of the Soviet/Moldovan-Romanian relations, in the context in which the Kremlin, seconded by the party leadership in Chișinău, consistently sought to limit as much as possible the contacts of the inhabitants from both sides of the Prut River.

Keywords: *Romania, Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, communism, high-level visit, Ivan Bodiul, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Leonid Brezhnev.*

Rezumat: *Relațiile dintre Republica Socialistă România și Republica Sovietică Socialistă Moldovenească în matricea socialismului brejnevist și a comunismului*

național ceaușist. Vizitele la nivel înalt (1976). Raporturile româno-moldovenești din perioada postbelică au fost mai mult o reflexie a relațiilor dintre București și Moscova. În pofida derulării unor activități bilaterale pe linia organismelor care funcționau pe lângă Consiliul de Miniștri sau Comitetul Central al Partidului Comunist Moldovenesc, au fost puține momente marcante. În rândul evenimentelor importante se numără vizita la Chișinău în zilele de 2 și 3 august 1976, a unei delegații conduse de Nicolae Ceaușescu. A fost prima vizită efectuată de un șef de stat român în RSSM în perioada comunistă, urmată de deplasarea la București, în același an, a lui Leonid Brejnev, secretarul general al Partidului Comunist al Uniunii Sovietice, dar și a unei delegații conduse de Ivan Bodiul.

Vizita delegației române a coincis cu celebrarea celei de-a 36-a aniversări de la formarea Moldovei Sovietice. În contextul disensiunilor care afectau relațiile dintre București și Moscova, vizita la Chișinău se dorea a fi o șansă de „înviorare” a legăturilor dintre URSS cu RSR. Acceptarea invitației de către liderul român a fost interpretată ca un gest de renunțare la Basarabia. La finalul șederii în Moldova Sovietică, partea română a lansat invitația către gazde de a veni în România. Vizita delegației moldovene s-a produs la finele aceluiași an, fiind însă precedată de venirea lui Leonid Brejnev în București. Totodată, în anul 1976 s-a discutat pe marginea textului Tratatului privind regimul frontierei de stat sovieto-române, colaborarea și asistența mutuală în probleme de frontieră.

Anul 1976 a marcat o dezvoltare a relațiilor sovieto/moldo-române, în contextul în care Kremlinul, secondat de conducerea de partid de la Chișinău, a urmărit cu consecvență să limiteze cât mai mult contactele locuitorilor de pe ambele maluri ale râului Prut.

Résumé: Les relations entre la République Socialiste de Roumanie et la République Socialiste Soviétique Moldave dans la matrice du socialisme de Brejnev et du communisme national de Ceaușescu. Les visites à haut niveau (1976). Les rapports entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie dans l'après-guerre étaient plutôt un reflet des relations entre Bucarest et Moscou. Bien que des activités réciproques aient été enregistrées entre les organisations fonctionnant auprès du Conseil des ministres ou du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Moldave, il y a eu peu de moments importants. Parmi ceux-ci, on peut mentionner la présence d'une délégation roumaine conduite par Nicolae Ceaușescu à Chișinău le 2 et le 3 août 1976. Il s'agissait de la première visite effectuée par un président roumain dans la RSSM pendant la période communiste, suivie du déplacement à Bucarest du secrétaire général du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique, Leonid Brejnev, mais aussi d'une délégation dirigée par Ivan Bodiul.

La visite de la délégation roumaine dans la capitale soviétique a coïncidé avec la célébration du 36-e anniversaire de la fondation de la Moldavie Soviétique. Dans le contexte des dissensions qui affectaient les relations entre Bucarest et Moscou, la visite à Chișinău voulut être une occasion de « rafraîchissement » des liens entre l'URSS et la RSR. On interpréta l'acceptation de l'invitation par le dirigeant roumain comme un geste de renoncement à la Bessarabie. À la fin du séjour en Moldavie soviétique, la partie roumaine invita les hôtes venir en Roumanie. La visite de la délégation moldave se produisit à la fin de la même année ;

l'arrivée de Leonid Brejnev à Bucarest la précéda. D'ailleurs, en 1976, on discuta sur le texte du Traité concernant le statut de la frontière d'Etat soviéto-roumaine, la collaboration et l'assistance mutuelle dans les problèmes douaniers.

L'année 1976 marqua le développement des relations soviéto/moldo-roumaines, dans le contexte où le Kremlin, secondé par les dirigeants du parti de Chişinău, suivirent avec conséquence à limiter le plus les contacts des habitants des deux rives de la rivière Prout.

INTRODUCTION

The preparations and the proximity of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which was to take place at Helsinki in 1975, represented at the beginning of the seventh decade of the XXth century a possibility and some hope as well to approach the topic of Bessarabia within this international forum. Among the Bessarabians who actively involved themselves and expressed their position and desire „for another state to raise this issue” at the European Conference was Pantelimon Halippa. Their greatest expectations were in Romania, which after its 1964 visit to The People's Republic of China (PRC) bothered Moscow, especially as in a bigger context, the issue of the Romanian territories occupied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was tackled in China. Practically, this is the moment when Bessarabia “comes back” on the Romanian political agenda but without being an official reference point. There followed moments such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and also other situations in which the leader's opinion from Bucharest was different from the one in Moscow. In time the rapports among the former and the Romanian-Moldovan ones, respectively met periods in which the tensions were more or less fuelled by the mentioning of the aspects and problems that did not please the Soviet counterpart. However, the official delegation of Romania who took part in the Conference in Helsinki signed alongside other 34 participating countries-The Helsinki Final Act. Among other aspects, the document included the principle of “inviolability of a state's borders” which existed at the time, in other words, it was a “victory” of the USSR regarding the occupied foreign territories after the Second World War, which meant preserving the rights over Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, the Hertsa Region).

After three decades from the Second World War, meanwhile Bessarabia being part of the Soviet Union, there were still people however, who acted in any imaginable way to make themselves heard in Bucharest. From this viewpoint, one must mention the example of the same Pantelimon Halippa who in a petition to

Nicolae Ceaușescu in the autumn of 1975 was writing: "We neither have the right to resign, nor to be quiet when the blood of our brothers is at stake. We mustn't be quiet for the socialist harmony and brotherhood's sake either".¹

Despite all insistence and persistence but especially by taking a high risk, the militants for the unification of Bessarabia and Romania did not have the support of Bucharest, which they may have wanted the most. However, the Romanians did not open this "old" topic of discussion with their Soviet partners on purpose, without totally denying its existence, though. As some historians write: "The Soviets were not pleased with the Romanian independent politics, but their constant, biggest concern was based on the leader's frequent trials to present publicly the historical truth about Bessarabia, fact which was totally in opposition with the USSR's interests, having as a main goal the claim over the former Romanian territories".²

Considering these disputes, on the right of the Prut the atmosphere was becoming extremely tense, and the local authorities in Chișinău intensified the anti-Romanian propaganda. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Moldova (CPM), Ivan Bodiul was not secretive about the fact that the entire propaganda campaign was meant both against the political course of action from The Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR) and "the nationalism" from the MSSR and its main goal was to decrease the contact between the Romanians from both banks of the River Prut. This thing happened even if within The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova or alongside the Council of Ministers were functioning certain organizations, which theoretically dealt with the Romanian-Moldovan bilateral cooperation. Here one can mention: The Intelligence and International Relationships Department or the Friendship Society. Their activity, among other things indicates that in reality, Chișinău with Moscow's approval was "considerably limiting" the number of citizens from the SRR who were coming to the MSSR and the MSSR's citizens who were visiting the SRR by using the "private visas". Moreover, the institutions responsible for meeting the tourists from the SRR had to make sure that "the groups of Romanian tourists would be accompanied by the best trained and the most mature from a political point of

¹ Ion Constantin, *Problema Basarabiei în discuțiile româno-sovietice din timpul Războiului Rece 1945-1989* [The Problem of Bessarabia in the Romanian-Soviet Talks during the Cold War 1945-1989], București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2015, p. 215

² Ioan Popa, Luiza Popa, *Românii, Basarabia și Transnistria* [Romanians, Bessarabia and Transdnistria], București, Fundația Europeană Titulescu, Centrul de Studii Strategice, 2009, p. 215.

view and the main employees from Inturist”.³

One must admit that the disputes between Bucharest and Moscow did not stop after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The controversies on historical issues even escalated after signing this act. In addition, there was a common belief that the agreements reached within the Conference had to be considered as a basis of identifying “the solutions corresponding to all problems which existed in Europe”.

The animosities felt at the Kremlin towards Romania also increased due to the received support from China. Therefore, in 1976 there appeared in the magazine “Lishi Yanjiu” (“Historical Researches”), published in Beijing a long article with the title “The Aggressiveness and Expansion of the Tsarist Russia over Romania and the Bessarabian Issue”. These situations in which Romania obviously exceeded certain permission limits made Moscow interfere directly by involving in the “political ways”. Thereby, in the spring of the year 1976, Konstantin Katuşev, the Secretary of The Soviet Union Communist Party who was dealing with establishing the connection among the Communist Parties came to Bucharest for “friendly” talks together with General Alexei Epişev, the political deputy of the Soviet Army Commander. After lengthy discussions, they reached an agreement to use certain reciprocally accepted terms regarding 1812, 1918, 1940. The Romanian officials acknowledged the existence of the MSSR but they did not accept the idea that between the Dniester and the Prut there is a people different from the Romanian one - “a Moldovan people” or “a Moldovan nation”. In addition, Romania was about to declare that it did not have any territory issues with The Soviet Union and accept that it would not publish any allegations that would contradict these official statements.⁴ Willing to be as convincing as possible in front of Katuşev, the Romanian leader read him a fragment from the speech draft, which he was to deliver at the Culture and Socialist Education Congress that had been programmed for June 1976, in which the latter claimed that Romania did not have any territorial issues with the Soviet Union.⁵

As follows, on 2nd June 1976, in his speech within the Culture and Socialist Education Congress, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party

³ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *Confruntarea sovieto-română pe frontul ideologic din RSS Moldovenească (1968-1978)* [The Soviet-Romanian Confrontation on the Ideological Field in the MSSR], Iaşi, Tipo Moldova, 2011, p. 43.

⁵ Ştefan Andrei, *Explicaţia unei declaraţii explozive a lui N. Ceauşescu la Congresul Educaţiei Politice şi al Educaţiei Socialiste (2-4 iunie 1976)* [The Explanation of a Fiery Declaration given by N. Ceauşescu at the Political and Socialist Education Congress (2-4 June 1976)], in „Flacăra lui Adrian Păunescu” [Adrian Păunescu's Flame], nr. 7, 13 octombrie 2018.

(RCP) declared that Romania considers as both “a national and international duty” to do its best so that “some inherited from the past issues, created by the oppressive classes’ policies should not overshadow the collaboration and the solidarity” between the parties and the peoples from both countries. In addition to this, N. Ceaușescu declared: *“Romania has no territorial or any other problems with the Soviet Union or the other neighbouring socialist countries. We want the borders between Romania and the other neighbouring states to be borders of friendships and collaboration to fight and work together for Socialism and Communism, for world peace and collaboration.”*⁶

On the one hand, in Moscow the interest was that of establishing a calm relationship with Bucharest, on the other hand, in 1976 there were debates in Chișinău on extra measures *to intensify the Romanian nationalist propaganda that was ruining the USSR’s interests.*⁷

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RAPPORTS BETWEEN THE MSSR AND THE SRR DURING THE YEAR 1976

During the year 1976 the Romanian Soviet relationships were in one way or another “calm”, at least this is what we infer from the Romanian leader’s softer attitude who publicly denied the existence of any territorial or any other type of requirement towards the USSR and any other socialist country. One must mention the fact that the situation remained tense in Chișinău, where the anti-Romanian policy remained constant. All the measures were taken with Moscow’s approval.

As a proof, one must mention that the year 1976 started with the meeting on 12th January of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova presided by I. Bodiul. In that meeting there was discussed the decision of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party *“regarding the supplementary measures in the ideological working field on the intensification of the Romanian nationalist propaganda which ruins the interests of the USSR”*.⁸ More of the decision’s points were to become real in the MSSR too. Among the stipulated issues one could mention the fact that the State Committee of the

⁶ Nicolae Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate* [Romania on its Way of Building the Multilateral Developed Socialist Society], vol. 13, București, Editura Politică, 1977, p. 101.

⁷ Arhiva Organizațiilor Social-Politice din Republica Moldova [Archives of the Social-Political Organizations of the Republic of Moldova. Hereinafter – **AOSPRM**], f. 51, inv. 39, d. 16, f. 1-6.

⁸ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova(CPR) in charge of radiobroadcasting, television and the republican newspapers editorial board had to transmit systematically on the radio and on TV and also publish in the press articles and materials which would uncover the attempts of the Occidental and Romanian intelligence organs to distort the past and the present of the Moldovan People.

The Sciences Academy of the MSSR, The History Institute of the CPM, the State Committee in charge of the publishing houses and polygraphies, and the Central Committee's book trade of CPM were to undertake and publish a series of monographs, exercise books, articles and documents on issues concerning the history of Moldova and Romania, the Soviet-Romanian relationships and the Moldovan-Romanian ones. The Ministry of Public Education of the MSSR had to ensure that the social sciences courses in the superior and average special environment education institutions would follow the rules of scientifically argued criticism, distortions, misrepresentations and modifications admitted by the political personalities and historians from the SRR concerning the Russian-Romanian relationships issues and the Soviet-Romanian ones.

The direction of the foreign tourism in the Central Committee of the CPM had to ensure an increase of the ideological level of the informing and propaganda activity among the foreign tourists, to take measures which would ensure the effective use of the tourist connections with the SRR in order to spread propaganda regarding the SUCP's policy and that of the Soviet Government, the USSR's and MSSR's achievements and would have as a final goal the neutralization of the Romanian part to use these connections with the Nationalist propaganda in mind.

The regional party committees, the Moldovan Friendship Society dealing with cultural bonds with the foreign countries had to increase the sending in the SRR, especially in neighbouring counties with which permanent friendship relationships had been established, informative materials, and photographic exhibitions about the history of Moldova, the Moldovan people's achievements in the economic and cultural evolution during the Soviet power years, scientific and awareness literature which was dealing with the Russian-Romanian and Soviet-Romanian issues from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the MSSR had to undergo regulation measures of the invitations for the Romanian citizens visiting Moldova as well as of the departures of the republic's citizens to the SRR and to introduce for the Romanian citizens on behalf of their reciprocity the same visiting and temporary stay rules on the territory of the Republic which had been established for the

Soviet citizens when visiting the SRR.⁹

The ideological working issues were debated in the XIVth Congress of the CPM which took place from 29th to 31st January 1976, where there was underlined that the duty of the scientists who activate in the social sciences field is that of “carrying out the propaganda in an argued and offensive manner, writing papers in which the key issues of our history and culture should be solved from correct standpoints”.¹⁰

In 1976 expired the validity of the Soviet-Romanian border status Treaty on collaboration and mutual assistance in the border issues signed in Bucharest on 27th February 1961, which took effect on 27th July the same year for a period of 10 years with the possibility of extending it for five years. Therefore, concerning this problem it was proposed to start the negotiations with the Soviet part in which either to prolong the existing Treaty or sign a new one.¹¹

On 2 February 1976, the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) took place and one of the points on its agenda included the proposals on the validity of the Romanian-Soviet Border Treaty. All those who participated in the meeting opted for maintaining the current, at the time treaty if the Soviet part did not have anything against it. Also the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defence proposed to communicate in a diplomatic manner with the USSR in order to negotiate a new border treaty where the state frontier should be similar to the Peace Treaty regulations in 1947, with the principles of marking the frontier on the navigable water courses and the principles of marking the sea routes as well as the improvement of some regulations referring to the state border status.¹²

During this time, the leaders from Chişinău totally loyal to Moscow continued to send reports to the Kremlin in which they underlined the growth of “nationalist and anti-Sovietic” publications and radio shows from Romania and also “the biased” discussions of the Romanians visiting the MSSR. At the same time, they expressed their impressions that the “anti-Soviet tendency in the activity of historians, philosophers, party workers and those from the public institutions is manoeuvred from the Centre and it is promoted through wide means of influencing the masses, the worldwide public view in order to create a unique opinion on the unjust borders, on the so-called artificial split of the

⁹ AOSPRM, f. 51, inv. 39, d. 16, f. 1-6.

¹⁰ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

Romanian people”.¹³ Therefore towards 1976 under the guidance of the Central Committee of the CPM there were published more than 130 monographs, article collections, documents and other publications on the “issues of forming the Moldovan, bourgeois and socialist nation”, school textbooks were reprinted in which there were presented in a convincing way “the problems referring to the forming and the development of the Moldovan nation, its state formation, too.”¹⁴

Despite the effort made in order to strengthen the Romanian-Soviet rapports on the one hand, however “unofficially” there were maximum control measures imposed on the Romanian citizens. Thereby, in accordance with the guidelines given by the CC of the SUCP in order to increase the efficiency and quality of the informational-propaganda work among the Romanian tourists, in Chişinău there was organised a pan-Union seminar of the guides-interpreters of the Romanian language. Its main idea was to analyse the specific aspects of working with the Romanian tourists, more topics connected with the history of Moldova, the difference between the „Moldovan” and Romanian language, the economic perspectives of the MSSR, the participants received all the necessary guidelines regarding the interpretation of all these issues.

On the other side, in March 1976 in Bucharest took place the first mass show of “The Flame Literary Circle” called the “The Festival of Spring”, coordinated by the poet Adrian Păunescu and “some hints at joining Bessarabia to the USSR” reached some authorities' ears from Chişinău.¹⁵ The shows of the literary circle became popular among the youth, especially students, even if they were watched secretly, mostly because this part of the public “was closely supervised” by the ideological and secret service authorities.¹⁶ In this context on 29th May 1976, there was a meeting between N. Ceauşescu and C. F. Katushev, the Secretary of the CC of the SUCP, in which the Romanian representative assured the latter that Romania has no territorial issues with the USSR, and the Romanian publications fully supported this statement.¹⁷

In Chişinău, the situation of the rapports with the SRR was analysed very harshly by I. Bodiul, who on 26th May 1976 transmitted an information note to the CC of the SUCP regarding the continuous misrepresentation acts of the Russian-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Adam Burakovski, *Dictatura lui Nicolae Ceauşescu. 1965-1989. Geniul Carpaţilor* [Nicolae Ceauşescu's Dictatorship 1965-1989. The Genius from the Carpathians], Bucureşti, Polirom, 2011, p. 204.

¹⁶ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Romanian and Soviet-Romanian reports in the media from the SRR. Among other things, Bodiul claimed that: *“lately, the mass media, the scientific and propaganda institutions of the SRR have increased the number of publications that contain deliberate falsification. In publications, the participation of Romania in the First World War is totally justified. If beforehand the lies of forgers were only present in the scientists' works, now they can be found in the printed or uttered words of the party and state workers, leaders of the public organizations, culture and art representatives, published on the party, state, social-political page editions – in the Romanian magazines «Scînteia» (the Spark), «România liberă» (Free Romania), «Era socialistă» (The Socialist Era), «Analele de istorie» (The Annals of History). From this point of view, one can notice the active involvement of Popescu-Puțuri and Voicu, the deputy leaders of propaganda and agitation department of the CC of the RCP, and Pascu, the deputy member of the RCP. The number of publications with such a chauvinistic and nationalist character is growing, especially focusing on the preparation campaign to celebrate, in 1977, 100 years from proclaiming the independence of Romania. The Romanian citizens who visit Moldova as tourists openly bring forth topics such as the territorial problems and other issues”*.¹⁸

WAS N. CEAUȘESCU'S VISIT IN THE MSSR ANOTHER CONCESSION?

Although the Romanian leader underlined in the Culture and Socialist Education Congress which took place in July 1976 that “Romania has no territorial or any other type of issues with the Soviet Union”, the Soviets were not totally satisfied. For further confirmation, they asked the Romanian leadership to take a one-day visit in Chișinău.¹⁹ In this atmosphere, “due to the positive evolution of the bilateral official relationships”, at the invitation of the Soviet Leadership, a delegation of the SRR, led by N. Ceaușescu went in August 1976 on a visit in the MSSR, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. The General Secretary of the RCP was accompanied by Elena Ceaușescu, Ștefan Andrei, Nicu Ceaușescu, Constantin Mitea and Gheorghe Badrus.²⁰ Even if initially the Romanian leader was not eager to visit The Soviet Moldova, later he was convinced by Ștefan Andrei's arguments who considered it as an excellent opportunity to ease the tension between the Romanian-Soviet relationships.²¹

¹⁸ AOSPRM, f. 51, inv. 40, d. 24, p. 86-109.

¹⁹ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

²¹ Vasile Buga, *Pe muchie de cuțit. Relațiile româno-sovietice, 1965-1989*, [On the edge.

Despite the Moldovan leadership's expressed dissatisfactions with the Romanian policy, on 2 August a historic moment took place in Chişinău. First, the delegation members were received at the CC of the CPM where N. Ceauşescu and the leaders of the Republic had an official talk. It was more a convenience talk and the discussed things would rather have had an informative character. For example, I. Bodiul presented the Moldovan people's achievements during Communism, emphasizing that the hosts paid a special attention to focusing and specializing on the agricultural production due to the cooperation among households and the agro-industrial integration. Nicolae Ceauşescu presented the successes of the SRR in the five-year plan, but also the prospects of developing his country in the next five years, expressing his belief in the continuous development of friendship and multilateral collaboration between the Soviet and Romanian peoples.

The programme for the Romanian guests also included a visit to the factory "Victoria" (Victory), the agro-industrial association "Moldvinprom" in Kotovsk (Hânţeşti), where N. N. Lukianov presented the principles of organising the agro-industrial institutions of planning and controlling the production. There was also organised the meeting with B. I. Glebov, the First-Secretary of the Regional Party Committee Kotovsk, who spoke about the attained success in developing the economy of the region.

The most interesting part of the visit was the moment in which the guests, accompanied by I. Bodiul, K. F. Iliăşenko, the President of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other leaders of the Republic visited the scientific association of production "Microprovod" in Chişinău. In one of the factory's departments took place a meeting with the workers, the engineers and the unit's technicians and I. Bodiul delivered a speech. The latter read a greeting card received from Leonid Ilici Brejnev, the General Secretary of the SUCP, on the occasion of celebrating the 36 years of the MSSR's existence since 2nd August 1940: "*Chişinău, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova. I warmly congratulate the working people from the Republic on the occasion of the formation of the MSSR.*"²² Then Bodiul addressing N. Ceauşescu, added: "*The Moldovan people gladly and with full satisfaction receives your visit in Moldova. We are deeply pleased that on the day of our 36th anniversary since the formation of the MSSR you have joined us. We consider it as a proof of the attention you pay to the MSSR, of the Romanian people's growing friendship with the Soviet one, of a bond which has become stronger due to*

Romanian-Soviet relations in 1965-1989], Bucureşti, Institutul Naţional pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2013, p. 180.

²² "Moldova Sovietică" [The Soviet Moldova], 3 August 1976.

the common principles, mainly Socialism."

During the talks with the members of the Romanian delegation with I. Bodiul, K. Iliashenko, N. Merenişev and other party and state leaders it was stressed out the important role that the reciprocal experience exchanges, the good neighbouring relationships the friendship among peoples. The Romanian-Soviet cooperation was positively appreciated, generating "great optimism, trust and bright prospects in life and work". The hosts made everyone sure that they had all the necessary conditions and possibilities for such friendship and solidarity, for mutual enrichment and successful development, socialist economic integration, development of the unity between the brotherly parties and peoples. To all these, the Romanian leader answered by saying that from the part of the Romanian leadership "there are no limits or reservations".²³ As the visit of the official group from the SRR had taken place before the 23rd of August, the hosts greeted their guests on the occasion of "celebrating Romania's national day."²⁴

Referring to the evolution of the Romanian-Soviet relationships, N. Ceauşescu underlined that "for the time being" there was no problem between the two parties and countries to determine "a reason for friction or misunderstanding".²⁵ Also, there was mentioned the fact that a part of the counties from the SRR had rather close relationships with some from the MSSR. Among other things, N. Ceauşescu mentioned in his speech the conference of the Communist and Working Parties from Europe which took place in Berlin and which he characterized as being "of utmost historical importance in the relationships among the communist and working parties". The programme of the group also contained a visit to the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy of the MSSR, where there could be seen the accomplishments of the republic in the years of the Soviet power.²⁶

There were rumours which claimed that the time of the visit with the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the formation of the MSSR had been programmed by the Kremlin which used this date as the day when the MSSR was formed instead of 12th October (as they usually celebrated). From N. Ceauşescu's speech, one can deduce that the former tried to ignore the festive atmosphere given by the hosts. He did not address any "greeting" with the occasion of the "great anniversary", instead the Romanian leader only emphasized his agreement with Bodiul regarding the intensification of the contacts between Romania and

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

the MSSR “within the general connections which we have with the Soviet Union”.²⁷

Another aspect about the Romanian leader's behaviour is that despite his knowing Russian rather well he only spoke Romanian with the hosts. The moment the Romanian interpreter wanted to translate in Russian the first sentence from Ceaușescu's speech, Bodiul stopped him, saying: “there is no need, they understand.” During the discussions, the Romanian delegation did not approach, on any account the issues, which would arouse suspicion in Moscow. The same thing was underlined in the informative note transmitted to the CC of the SUCP about N. Ceaușescu's visit in the MSSR and Ivan Bodiul was stressing out that the Romanian leader used the terms “the Moldovan SSR”, “the Soviet Moldova”, “the Moldovan people” and the former “corrected his translator many times as he had omitted these notions”. Bodiul was saying that the Romanian state leadership “actively supported” the increase of the relationship between Romania and the MSSR not only in the border sectors but also in other counties and towns, both socially and economically, as well as regarding the state and party bodies. The Moldovan leader admitted that the “despite the good relationships between the SRR and the USSR, the relationships between Romania and the MSSR had been rather tense”, emphasizing the idea that “the relationships between the SRR and Moldova depend to a great extent on the relationships between Romania and the USSR”.²⁸

However, at the end of the visit in the MSSR, the arguments brought forward by Ștefan Andrei would have convinced N. Ceaușescu that as a result of the visit in the Soviet Moldova there should be made an invitation to Ivan Bodiul, the First-secretary of the CC of the CPM.

The visit made by the Romanian state leader in the Soviet Moldova was perceived differently and stirred up various reactions. Some claimed that it would have been better if the visit had been avoided as it was considered as a “substantial change of Romania's policy towards the USSR”.²⁹ On the other hand, as an argument against the visit there was the idea that Ceaușescu should have avoided going to the MSSR “as a sign of not admitting the Soviet Union's right over this region”. In fact, by going to Chișinău, the Romanian leader did nothing but “confirm he had given up Bessarabia”. Others claimed that Ceaușescu “lost a great deal especially in front of Moldovans, because the position of the Romanian leadership towards Moscow had given them some hope to be reunited and this step actually turned him into the Soviets' subject. In one day only, the Romanian

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Vasile Buga, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

leader lost the sympathy feelings cherished by the Moldovan Romanians.”³⁰

The Romanian delegation's next destination was Yalta, where a meeting took place on 3rd August 1976 between N. Ceaușescu, the president of the SRR, and L. I. Brejnev, the General Secretary of the CC of the SUCP. They exchanged a few words on the visit in Moldova, as the details had already been known by the leader from the Kremlin.³¹

The visit on 1-2 August was the first and the only one made by a Romanian state leader during the Communist regime in the MSSR. Through his affirmative answer to visit the MSSR, no matter the implications, the leader of the RCP transmitted a political message to the Soviet leaders both from Chișinău and Moscow.

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S PROPOSAL TO TEAR DOWN THE BARBED WIRE FENCE AT THE ROMANIAN -SOVIET BORDER

After the visit in Chișinău, Nicolae Ceaușescu had a meeting with Leonid Brejnev on 3rd August in Yalta. Primarily, the Romanian leader emphasized from the start of his encounter that “at that time, between the two countries there were no problems which could raise any reason for friction or misunderstanding”. This tactic, which the General Secretary of the RCP approached, was considered opportune, as it did not amplify some misunderstandings that had already existed between the two countries and parties anyway.

Ceaușescu supported the idea to get rid of “the problems which caused conflicts in the past” and to consolidate “the brotherly rapports” between the RCP and the SUCP. In his turn, his Soviet counterpart shared the same declarations with the Romanian leader concerning “the absence of any territorial problems between the Soviet Union and Romania and the inviolability of the Soviet-Romanian borders.”³²

The next meeting between Ceaușescu and Brejnev took place from 22nd to 24th November 1976. That was the first official visit in Bucharest of the General Secretary of the SUCP (after 11 years from N. Ceaușescu's official visit in the USSR, in September 1965). The visit in Bucharest was an occasion in which to resume without deepening certain sensitive aspects of the rapports between the two states. The Soviet leader stressed out the agreement, which the two leaders of the parties reached that the border between the two countries was “a peace,

³⁰ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³¹ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

³² AOSPRM, f. 51, inv. 41, d. 5, f. 103-106.

friendship and brotherhood frontier.”³³

In the same context, Brejnev emphasized the special significance of the declarations given by the Romanian leader at the Culture and Socialist Education Congress as well as those given during the visit in the MSSR. The Romanian leader took advantage of this moment to underline the responsibility that both parties had, to develop the friendship between them: “In this context one must understand the declarations that I have made at the Culture and Socialist Education Congress and in Moldova concerning the fact that the borders between Romania and the Soviet Union must become peace and active collaboration borders, that this is in fact the position of our party.”³⁴

Through the way in which the problem was tackled, N. Ceaușescu considered opportune to emphasize the necessity of mutually adopting some measures of boosting the wider and free exchange among the citizens of the two countries and to draw up a daring proposal for those times – tearing down the barbed wire at the border between the two countries. “*And as we are among us I must say that it is hard to understand why we need to keep the barbed wire at our borders...I think that we should think about getting rid of some things which are truly abnormal between two Socialist and more than that friend countries and which have old collaboration traditions which we have to lift at a superior level.*”³⁵

Despite the official Romanian assurance regarding the inexistence of the territorial problems with the Soviet Union, the Soviet part continued to show suspicions towards the SRR's opinions. Therefore, Ceaușescu's trial to approach the problem of tearing down the barbed wire at the Romanian-Soviet border was only a bravery act to which the Soviet part did not react in any way.

IVAN BODIUL'S “FRIENDSHIP VISIT” IN THE SRR

After the Romanian delegation's visit in Chișinău in August 1976, Ivan Bodiul highlighted the fact that the Romanian part “actively supported” the CPM's proposals aiming at “intensifying the contacts, the experience exchanges, as well as the expansion of the relationships between Romania and the MSSR not only in the border areas but also in counties and towns, socially and economically and within the party and state bodies.”³⁶ The local leaders from Chișinău admitted that “despite the good relationships that existed between the SRR and the USSR, the

³³ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³⁴ Vasile Buga, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 608.

relationships between Romania and the MSSR were rather tense”³⁷ emphasizing the belief that “the relationships between the SRR and Moldova depend, greatly on the rapports between Romania and the USSR.”³⁸

Accepting the invitation of N. Ceaușescu, the General Secretary of the RCP, I. I. Bodiul, the First Secretary of the CC of the MSSR, together with his wife Claudia Bodiul, paid a friendly visit in the SRR from 3rd to 7th December 1976, after the two highly ranked visits made by the leaders of the SRR and the USSR. The experience was the first of its kind in the history of Romanian-Moldovan post-war relationships. Ivan Bodiul spoke with Ilie Verdeț, Executive Political Committee member, and Constantin Dăscălescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and they visited a series of industrial and agricultural objectives from the capital and Prahova and Brașov counties. At a rally in Bucharest, the leader of the Communists from the Soviet Moldova said that the good relationships with Romania had been initiated by Ceaușescu's visit in the MSSR, which led to the “expansion of the contacts and the exchanges from all points of view.”³⁹ At the end of his visit, I. Bodiul was also received by N. Ceaușescu.⁴⁰

One must mention the fact that despite the rejection of the Romanian political course, the General Secretary of the CPM after his visit in Romania expressed his deepest thanks for having been invited and “for being given the opportunity to get acquainted with the achievements obtained by the Romanian people in their endeavour to build a society with the aim of a continuous multilateral development of a close friendship between Romania and the USSR.”⁴¹ In fact, I. Bodiul's visit stressed out the obvious Romanian desire to pay attention to his presence as well as to avoid on any account the discussion of some issues, which could make the guests suspicious. The former's informative note sent to Moscow pointed out the warm welcome and the special attention shown everywhere.⁴²

Ceaușescu's visit in Chișinău, followed by Brejnev's and Bodiul's in Bucharest had some positive consequences, as the ambassador Ion Bistreanu commented: “from Moscow there was given «a green light» to the contacts with the Soviet Moldova, firstly from an economic point of view and then even to some sporadic contacts among the men of culture. However, they could not make possible the opening of a Romanian consulate in Chișinău, the Moldovans who needed the Romanian consular

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 609.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Vasile Buga, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴¹ “Scântea”, 4 decembrie 1976.

⁴² Vasile Buga, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

services had to resort to Moscow's help taking into account the fact that there had been a General Romanian Consulate in Kiev since 1971. The Soviets stubbornly refused until 1989 to set the MSSR under the jurisdiction of the consulate from Kiev. Moscow was still suspicious so the Prut remained for the common people an impassable border".⁴³ During the entire Communist epoch, the leaders from Bucharest, each with a different intensity manifested an endemic fear and an out of the ordinary caution towards the Soviets and this attitude led to making mistakes for which no solutions could be found. From this perspective, one can mention Vlad Georgescu's statement who said about the leaders from Bucharest that "in order to please Moscow they would send the Soviets data on the activity of some nationalist Bessarabians who approached Ceaușescu with the hope of being helped and supported. As a result they spent many years in the camps from Siberia".⁴⁴ Another aspect, which can be reproached to the Romanian leadership, is that only in 1970's did they show any interest towards the lost territories in the Second World War. At the time within the Exterior Intelligence Department (also known as UM 0920) belonging to the State Security Directorate the operation "Crocus" ("Brândușa" in Romanian) was set up. Their main objective was to gather information by specific means in order to know and research the real aspects from the Romanian territories occupied by the Soviet Union after the Second World War. It was especially meant at knowing the way in which the authorities and historiography presented the history of the Romanian people but also the way in which this reality was shown in studies, papers and West mass media, here including the publications of the Romanian exile.⁴⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The year 1976 represented through its magnitude and importance of its contacts a hope stage in the rapports between the MSSR and the SRR, and among the important moments one can mention the official visit in Romania, in November 1976 of the party and state delegation led by L. I. Brejnev, the General Secretary of the CC of the SUCP. The high-level Soviet-Romanian meetings were positively appreciated especially as they succeeded in "freshening up" on the one hand, the general atmosphere of the rapports between the two countries. The two parts were somehow forced to support the evolution of the bilateral relationships.⁴⁶ On the

⁴³ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁴⁴ Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria Românilor* [The History of Romanians], A.R.A., Los Angeles, 1984, p. 339.

⁴⁵ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁴⁶ AOSPRM, f. 51, inv. 47, d. 3, f. 62-63.

other hand, the visit made by the Romanian delegation represented an opportune moment, which underlined the idea that between the two countries there were no issues that could bring “a reason for friction or misunderstanding”.⁴⁷

Referring to the way in which the Romanian-Soviet rapports were shaping both the local leadership from Chişinău as well as the one in Bucharest showed their willingness to support “the intensification of the contacts and the necessity to expand the relationships of Romania with the MSSR, not only in the border areas, but also in other counties and towns”.⁴⁸ These promising statements were made with the acceptance of the Decision of the Central Committee Bureau of the CPM on 12th January 1976: “Regarding the extra measures in the ideological work issue regarding the intensification of the Romanian nationalist propaganda which damages the USSR's interests.” Thereby one can draw the conclusion that in spite of some actions and declarations which suggested a Romanian-Soviet closeness, in reality the two parts had reciprocal suspicions and did not trust each other on the basis of some old issues.

In Bucharest it was known very little about what was going on in Chişinău, even if there were reciprocal exchanges of delegations and tourist groups even since the beginning of the 1960's when the Exterior Tourism Department within the Ministers Council of the MSSR started its activity. This bilateral cooperation was often resented by the local authorities in the MSSR who were loyal to the Kremlin. The tourism was considered a risky possibility through which the population of the Soviet Moldova was “contaminated” with wrong ideas of the Romanian political course. That is why even if the expansion of the rapports between the MSSR and the SRR was officially supported, they also tried to reduce by all means the number of visits, especially the individual ones.

The challenge to the Romanian leadership to visit Chişinău represented a step that N. Ceauşescu did not refuse to take in order not to raise even higher suspicions from Moscow's part. In addition, the Romanian leader's trial to raise the problem of tearing down the barbed wire from the Romanian-Soviet border was a consequence of the “calmness” induced in the rapports between Bucharest and Moscow, but this topic was not put into practice, remaining just a “daring” idea. The discussions on the issues, which dissatisfied both parts, were resumed and the “distance” between Bucharest and Chişinău remained the same even if the local authorities expressed their need to enlarge the bilateral cooperation.

⁴⁷ Ion Constantin, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

IN HONOREM ACADEMICIAN RĂZVAN THEODORESCU

In May 2019, Răzvan Theodorescu – the Vice President of the Romanian Academy – celebrated his 80th birthday, a landmark for a prolific life spent within the family of famous and untiring professors inspired by the Muse Clio. Author of impressive historical work and exceptional researcher in the field of the Christian history, Răzvan Theodorescu has become famous especially through the investigation and promotion of the Byzantine culture and its influence on the Romanian Medieval art and civilization.

According to a traditional conception of the duty supported by professors such as A. Oțetea or I. Nestor, M. Berza, Emil Condurache, and Emil Lăzărescu, Răzvan Theodorescu has dedicated his efforts, time and resources to instruct and train many generations of students, history teachers, scholars, specialists in heritage preservation and restoration of historic buildings, researchers who carry on the message of the historical truth. The passion for thinking of evidence as a way of reconstructing the past, the respect for the historical facts, the elegant discourse, and the constant interest for openness and cooperation reflect the rich multi-faceted nature of Professor Theodorescu's activity and indicate that he exercises his profession in a special and unique manner.

His remarkable scientific work begins with *Byzantium, the Balkans, the Western World in the Beginnings of the Romanian Medieval Culture (the 10th-14th centuries, An Art Millennium on Lower Danube (400-1400), Medieval Itineraries, The Cliff of Three Holy Hierarchs*, and continues with *The Romanian Civilization from Medieval to Modern Times, The Image's Horizon (1550-1800), La peinture murale moldave de 15-eme – 16-eme siècle, Roumains et Balkaniques dans la civilisation sud-est européenne, Bukovina*. These are just a few of the titles to be mentioned in an anniversary retrospective, especially since they are, on the one hand, an invitation to a better knowledge of the Byzantine Christian spirituality and on the other hand an encouragement for a more in-depth study of existence and development of the Romanian identity and dignity in the history of mankind.

As a member of the "Romanian historiography family", along with Alexandru Elian, Virgil Cândea, Emilian Popescu, etc., Professor Răzvan Theodorescu stands for the Romanian Orthodox erudite and devout. Equally, his academic lectures – *History of the European Civilisation, History of the Ancient Romanian Arts, Course on the Typology of the Arts During the Christian Orient*, etc. – his books, studies, and

articles that have been published in Romania and abroad illustrate the history of Romanian spirituality. He has applied his knowledge in a magisterial and exemplary way in all his scientific work, which is now obligatory reading for everyone in the specialty.

Răzvan Theodorescu's research is and will remain enormously important. It was awarded the "Bernier" Prize by the French Institute, the "Nicolae Bălcescu" Prize by the Romanian Academy, the "Nicolae Iorga" Prize by the International Ecumenical Centre for Spiritual Dialogue, and "Doctor Honoris Causa" by several prestigious universities from Romania and from abroad. In 2004, as a gesture of gratitude, love, and respect, professors, researchers, historians, theologians, unknown people, and close friends have become students again – just for a few hours – attending the festive course, in Aula Magna where Professor Theodorescu received the *Doctor Honoris Causa* honorary title. In his lecture's topic, focusing on *Romania's Position Worldwide*, he stated: "we have an Eastern mentality: the mentality of an Eastern World that fully embraces the *Autocracy*, in comparison with the other world, the western world, a world of *Austrocracy*, a world with different traditions that we have nothing in common with, the Protestant world and the Catholic world, very respectable, setting the standards for Western Europe and for its creative outskirts: Central Europe". Confronting his audience with a world that has become alien to many, in which spirituality is not only a predicate of actions but an existential condition, academician Theodorescu concluded: "Our future cannot be envisioned otherwise than belonging to this very place where we all live on, as part of South-East Europe, in Eastern Europe in excellent communion with the other Europe with which, coincidentally and institutionally, we are actually bordering with".

Yet, Professor Theodorescu stands out as an individual not only through his work but also through his conduct. He gives to his contemporaries a broader sense of possibility so that they can distance themselves from unconscious intellectual prejudgements or commitments and wonder what they think about them. A work that succeeds in generating this critical sense deserves the highest appreciation. In a time of quick changes, the Romanian academician urges through his example and accomplishments constructed on the perennial and solid values such as Country, Church, and Family. These three milestones are viewed by Răzvan Theodorescu through the lens of his self-esteem, honesty, kindness, and love.

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A NEW OUTSTANDING WORK ON “WOMEN’S HISTORY”¹

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The emergence of a new trend in historical science – the history of women – contributed to a qualitative change in research on the status of women, women’s everyday life, the problems of women’s self-organization, their participation in the political and public life of different states, performance of various social roles by women and mechanisms of their adaptation to social cataclysms, ethnology of family, gender and sexuality. Despite the fact that the women’s history has attracted the attention of researchers of different specialties from different countries, as well as artists, writers and publicists for many years, and a number of significant works have already been created in this field, the book of the holder of an Advanced Doctorate in Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Leading Researcher at the National Museum of History of Moldova Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics and Love* has already taken its special place in the scientific historical literature.

Several conditions contributed to this fact.

Firstly, it is the author of the publication. Doctor of historical sciences Lilia Zabolotnaia is known in the scientific community as a serious researcher, author of original works, publisher of archival materials shedding new light on the history of Moldova and its characters. The main topic of her research is women, first of all those women who are connected with the history of Moldova by their fate. This is the subject of L. Zabolotnaia’s works during recent decades². An

¹ Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love*, Târgoviște, Editura “Cetatea de Scaun”, 2018, 295 p.

² In particular, we are talking about monographic studies on women’s issues, published by L. P. Zabolotnaia in recent years: L. P. Zabolotnaia, *История жизни Марии Кантемир в письмах и документах* [History of Maria Cantemir’s life in letters and documents], Chișinău, Lexon Prim Publ., 2018, 271 p. (Series Women’s History).

important characteristic of the researcher is the desire to fundamentally study the problem, relying on a wide range of representative sources. That is why, exploring the 18th century, L. Zabolotnaia uses not only published documents – artefacts of the historical past of Moldova, but also relies on materials that have been kept in archives so far. Knowledge of several foreign languages allowed L. Zabolotnaia to introduce into scientific circulation documents from the archives of Poland (located in Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan), Belarus (in Minsk), Russia (in Moscow, St. Petersburg), Lithuania (in Vilnius). Special attention should be paid to the testing of the research results of L. Zabolotnaia, who made reports and published her works in the UK (Oxford), USA (Boston), Romania (Bucharest, Jassy, Suceava), Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tver, Ryazan, Yaroslavl, Smolensk, Stary Oskol), Poland (Poznan, Krakow, Warsaw, Lublin), Belarus (Minsk, Nesvizh), Ukraine (Kiev, Odessa, Pereyaslavl-Khmelnytsky), Lithuania (Vilnius), Armenia (Yerevan), Kazakhstan (Almaty). The approval of the scientific community, obtained by L. Zabolotnaia, testifies to the interest in the problems raised and in the coverage of problematic issues and historical plots by the researcher.

Secondly, it is the originality of the book. *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love* is a collection of works by L. Zabolotnaia. The articles that formed its basis were written at different times and were previously published in different languages, in various specialized and popular publications in different countries. But the interest of the scientific community to these works turned out to be so great that the question arose of publishing them in English in order to satisfy the intellectual hunger of those interested in both the history of Moldova and women's history. In order to make a single book from the

Book Review published in “Codrul Cosminului”, XXIV, 2018, No. 1, p. 257-261; *Dreptul la proprietate și la moștenire al femeilor din Moldova și țările vecine (secolele XIV-XVII). Studii și documente* [The women's right to property and inheritance in Moldova and neighboring countries (14th-17th centuries). Studies and documents], Series “Women's History”, Chișinău, Cardidact Publ., 2015, 316 p.; *Femeia în relațiile de familie din Țara Moldovei în contextul european până la începutul sec. al XVIII-lea (Căsătorie, logodnă, divorț)* [Women in the family relations in Moldova in the European context until the beginning of the 18th century (Marriage, Engagement, Divorce)]. Series “Women's History”, Chișinău, Pontos Publ., 2011, 350 p.; *Raporturile dinastice și rolul „diplomației de mariaj” în relațiile moldo-polone în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea – mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea* [Dynastic relations and the role of the “marriage diplomacy” in the Moldavian-Polish relationships in the 2nd half of the 14th century - the middle of the 17th century], Chișinău, 2004, 192 p.

scattered works L. Zabolotnaia and her Lithuanian colleagues Gabija Surdokaitė-Vitienė and Adomas Vitas edited all the articles and unified the design of the scientific apparatus, made up vocabularies of conceptions, of names, and geographical places. Having a general idea uniting all structural elements and a single logical structure, the book has been published and has already found its reader.

Thirdly, it is the support of prominent scientists – the founders of a new direction in historical science, the history of women. The first readers of the book were L. P. Repina and N. L. Pushkareva. Advanced Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Lorina Petrovna Repina is a renowned expert in the field of history methodology, historiography and intellectual history of Europe, author of studies on historical urbanism, organizer and president of the Russian Society for Intellectual History, member of the International Society for Intellectual History, the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT) at the International Congress for Historical Sciences, the All-Russian Association of Medievalists and Historians of the Early Modern Period, and the British Studies Association. Advanced Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor N. L. Pushkareva is the founder of historical feminology and gender history in Soviet and Russian science, president of the Russian Association for Research in Women's History, member of the executive committee of the International Federation for Research in Women's History and head of its Russian National Committee, founder of the theory and methodology of gender studies; she identified the main directions of scientific research in the field of ethnology of the Russian family, gender, sexuality, expanded the understanding of the history of the women's movement in Russia, the history of Russian traditional and everyday life. It was these prominent scientists who wrote the preface to the book. L. P. Repina and N. L. Pushkareva noted that, despite the large amount of scientific literature on women's and gender history, published annually in the countries of Western Europe and the USA, many subject matter related to the gender aspects of the European past, especially in the regions of Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, remain little developed or generally unexplored, while the relevance of this kind of plots for covering the history of these regions is obvious. Therefore, the edition of *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love* is a timely and expected event. The variety of topics covered in the collection largely reflects the differentiation of the subject field of women's and gender history, which is due to the development of the latest trends in the socio-humanitarian knowledge of the third millennium.

The book *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love* contains five sections, combining 19 articles on various aspects of the women's history of Moldova.

The first chapter, ***The Institution of Marriage***, includes 5 articles (*The impact of the Ottoman factor on the status of women in the South-eastern European countries in the Middle Ages through historiography perspectives; Women, marriage and canon law in the medieval Moldova; Considerations regarding the divorce of Alexander the Good and Rynghalla-Anna; Unveiling the private life of the 18th century. A divorce act of 1795; Terms of marriage between individuals of non-orthodox faith in the Russian Empire (on the basis of the letters of Nicholas I "law on marriage alliance")*) on the issues relating to the institution of family and its evolution in the Middle Ages and the Modern period. The author describes the structure of family and the status of its members, focusing on the social and legal status of women. The empirical material for the study was the state of society and historical events in Moldova and the Balkan countries (in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Wallachia) during the Ottoman period. Particular attention is paid to the legal aspects of creating a family: the conditions of marriage, the rights and duties of family members, the reasons for the dissolution of marriage, the consequences of the termination and dissolution of marriage. L. Zabolotnaia pays attention to the existence of the estate organization of society and the specifics of the regulation of marriage and family relations in different classes. Of particular interest to the researcher were the family and marriage relations of high society – rulers and boyars, analysed through the involvement of a wide range of documentary sources.

The second chapter, ***Women and Power***, contains 4 articles (*Women and power in the history of the Asan dynasty; Women's power in Moldova (14th – 17th centuries). Gender studies; Elena Voloshanka in Russian history. Dynastic, genetic and political aspects; Between politics and destiny. Ruxandra, the daughter of Vasile Lupu, from history's secular point of view*), which reflect the participation of women in government and the exercise of power by them. A woman in power is a plot, which every year more and more acquires the interest of society, and an assessment of the role of a woman in management activities is becoming increasingly relevant.

Describing the process of the formation of dominant dynasties in medieval Bulgaria and Moldova, L. Zabolotnaia concluded that women played a key role in preserving the right of the dynasty to the throne. In Bulgaria, Serbia, and Moldova, the right to inherit the throne could be transferred both through the male

and female lines. Even in cases where women did not have a direct right to the succession to the throne, they served as a “saving link”, a “saving tool” in gaining power by men. Kinship with a representative of the dominant royal dynasty was the main means of realizing political ambitions in the conditions of the realities of the Middle Ages and the Modern period.

The author gives examples of the determining the ruling dynasties in the female line. The Asen dynasty in Bulgaria as well as the Bogdan-Muşat and the Movilă dynasties in medieval Moldova received power in this way. Women took an active part in the political struggle of their husbands, sons, and brothers; mothers often provided power to their sons through the transfer of power through the regency.

As examples of the active life position of women and their important role in the political life of the country, L. Zabolotnaia cites the destinies of the heroines of the history of Moldova – Elena Voloshanka (1465/1466 - 1505), the daughter of Prince Stephen the Great (1457-1504), and Ruxandra (1629/1631 - (?)), the daughter of Prince Vasile Lupu (1634-1653). These women are outstanding persons who played an important role in the political life of their countries of their time. Elena Voloshanka entered the history of Russia as a woman who desperately fought for the power of her son, Dmitry Ivanovich. As a result, the grandson of Stephen the Great and Ivan III was officially declared heir and became Grand Prince crowned in the Assumption Cathedral of the Kremlin. However, in the confrontation with another woman, Sophia Palaiologina, Elena and her son lost not only power, but also their lives. Ruxandra, the wife of Tymish Khmel'nitsky, the son of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky, is characterized by L. Zabolotnaia as a highly educated woman who spoke four foreign languages and patronized Orthodox monasteries. Throughout her life, Ruxandra sought to help the realization of political ambitions, first to her father, and then to husband. Early widowed, Ruxandra used her full potential to assist her stepbrother Ștefăniță in gaining power.

The third chapter, *Feminine Personalities*, includes three articles (*The Mohylankas and the descendants. Unknown pages. Some contributions to the genealogy of Ieremia Movila’s descendants; The story of the courtship of Catherine “the Circassian”, the second wife of the Prince Vasile Lupu; Anna Tumarkin – the first female doctor of philosophy in Europe: the unknown pages of her life*), which give the reader the opportunity to experience the colouring of the daily life of women who have left their mark on the history of Moldova of the Middle Ages and the Modern period. Portraits of historical characters, created by

L. Zabolotnaia based on a wide range of sources make it possible to characterize both the peculiarities of the stories of these women and the typicality in their behaviour and destinies.

The heroines of the essay by L. Zabolotnaia are the four daughters of Prince Ieremia Movilă (1595-1600; 1600-1606). They were all married to representatives of the magnate Polish families. The eldest daughter of Ieremia Movilă, Raina Wiśniowiecka, was the mother of the famous Jeremi Korybut Wiśniowiecki, whose life was reflected in the famous novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz *With Fire and Sword*. She also became the grandmother of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, the first elected king of Poland. The second Movilă's daughter, Maria Potocka, raised her seven children and a niece. According to her lineage, the Movilă dynasty intermarried with the ruling dynasties of Europe: the blood of Movilă flowed in the veins of King of Poland Stanisław I Leszczyński and his daughter, the Queen of France Maria Leszczyńska; the descendants of Maria Movilă intermarried with the families of Radziwiłł, Brandenburg, Hohenzollern, Habsburg, and Hessen-Homburg.

Another character who attracted the attention of the researcher was the Moldovan Prince Vasily Lupu's spouse, who entered the history of Moldova as Catherine the Circassian (1620-1666 (?)). She played an important role not only in the personal life of the Moldavian ruler, but also in the fate of his daughters from his first marriage, Maria Radziwiłł and Ruxandra Khmel'nitsky. Catherine the Circassian showed herself as a generous patron of the arts, patron of churches and monasteries of Moldova, and during the crisis periods of the rule of her spouse and son she showed herself as a far-sighted politician with strategic thinking.

The attention of L. Zabolotnaia was also attracted by the fate of Anna Tumarkin (1875-1951), a graduate from the women's gymnasia in Chişinău, who entered the history of world science as the first woman to become a professor of philosophy. Anna Tumarkin graduated from the University of Bern. At the age of 22 she received the degree of Doctor of Science, and by the age of thirty she received the academic title of professor. Along with male scientists, Anna Tumarkin was engaged in scientific research, conducted training courses, examined doctoral candidates, and reviewed dissertations. Anna Tumarkin's attention was directed, among other issues, to problems concerning the position of women in society and the formation of the feminist movement. In the women's newspaper of Bern she published her articles about gender inequality, about the impossibility of self-realization for women, about the exploitation of women in

the workplace. She actively fought against the National Socialists. One of the streets in Bern today bears the name of Anna Tumarkin. L. Zabolotnaia notes with regret that in Chişinău there is not even a plaque on the house in which she and her family lived for many years.

The fourth chapter, **Testaments**, contains four articles (*Some considerations on the testament of Maria Cneajna, the daughter of Stephen the Great; The riddles, myths and facts concerning Maria (Lupu) Radziwiłł's last will and testament; New contributions to the biography of Maria Cantemir. The first testament of Maria Cantemir, from 1725; Funeral elements in Eastern Europe in the 16th–17th centuries. Comparative study of funeral elements in Russia and Moldova*) on the important side of life in the Middle Ages and the Modern period, namely, the making of wills, the mechanisms for the realization of the testamentary will of women, as well as the funeral customs and traditions.

Studying documents and materials from various archives in various countries, L. Zabolotnaia collected an interesting collection of testaments and testamentary letters. Analyzing them and introducing previously unpublished documents to the academic community, using various methods of complex research, L. Zabolotnaia identified and characterized the specifics of testamentary materials, funerary traditions, customs and rituals related to Moldavian women in the period under study. Based on the biographical method and an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of the wills of Maria Cneajna, daughter of Stephen the Great, Maria Radziwiłł (1627 (?) – 1660), daughter of Vasile Lupu, and Maria Cantemir (1700-1757), daughter of Dmitry Cantemir (1673-1723), author revealed not only the traditional features of the drafting and implementation of testamentary documents, but also restored the motives for writing testaments, determined their semantic content. Based on the analysis of wills and testamentary letters of women, the author reconstructed the family climate, determined the individual characteristics of the testators, attempted to determine the lifestyle of women who left these testamentary documents, taking into account the mentality of the time and the moral and spiritual foundations of society. As a matter of fact, L. Zabolotnaia, using testamentary historical sources, created portraits of her heroines in the context of their historical epoch.

The fifth chapter, **The Woman and/in the Arts**, contains three articles (*The history of private life of Maria (Lupu) Radziwiłł reflected in the images of the epoch; Maria (Lupu) Radziwiłł's portrait in the historical heritage of the Polish artist Korneli Szlegiel; The strength and weakness of Alexandra Osipovna*

Smirnova-Rosset (On the history of the origins of one of the women of the Pushkin era)). It is dedicated to women whose images are reflected in works of art.

Until now, the issue of the image of a Moldavian woman of the Middle Ages and the Modern period in painting has not been studied. In the national museums of Moldova and Romania there are no attributed female portraits (neither in the original nor in replicas) from the time under study. L. Zabolotnaia, having identified numerous portraits and engravings depicting Moldavian women in foreign archives, museums, and libraries, explores them both as works of fine art and as a fact of fixing a particular person on a painting canvas. A female portrait serves for L. Zabolotnaia as a reason to describe the character depicted, her historical epoch, and the features of the status of women during that period.

Basically, we can add some wishes to the work of L. Zabolotnaia. While entitling the book *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love*, its author announced her research interest in the destinies of the women of Moldova. But the content of the book is wider than the stated scope of the study: characterizing the heroines, L. Zabolotnaia carried out a comparative analysis of the statuses of women from different countries, in fact devoting her research not only to Moldavian, but to European women of the Middle Ages and the Modern period.

Showing the diverse aspects of the life of a European woman, the author rightly links them with the socio-economic characteristics of the era and the individual status of the person, but she did not allot in the book a special chapter on the economic situation of women, although her writings in this area are known to the scientific community.

The book about women, of course, should be published with illustrations. In the work by L. Zabolotnaia there are illustrations, but not colour, but black-and-white, therefore they do not convey the whole diversity of women's everyday life and give an idea of it in "black and white" colours.

In the new age of digital technology, it would be desirable to prepare a publication that included a CD containing an electronic version of the book. The demand for such material, including for popularizing the results of L. Zabolotnaia's research, can be predicted in advance.

Not all questions posed by L. Zabolotnaia received answers in her book *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love*. The range of problems requiring scientific understanding is defined. So, we are waiting for new meetings with new works by L. Zabolotnaia.

All the same, the book *Moldavian Women in History. Destinies, Politics, and Love* demonstrates the use by the author of various research techniques to identify the specific social situation of Moldavian women in the Middle Ages and Modern period. One of the most effective was the comparative analysis, which made it possible to compare the family, legal, and social status of women in Moldova and women in neighbouring countries: Romania, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Poland, Transylvania, Russia, Serbia and Bulgaria.

Since the world of women in the period under study was primarily a family space, L. Zabolotnaia’s particular attention to the issues of marriage and family law and the specifics of the regulation of property and inheritance relations is explicable. The researcher considers the following as features of the legal status of women in Moldova: equal rights to property with men; the right to acquire for their own money, exchange and mortgage property, as well as use it at their own discretion; the right to manage her dowry in the form of movable and immovable property without the spouse; the right to inherit movable and immovable property; the right to initiate legal proceedings, independently represent their interests in court (act as a witness, testify), challenge property claims in court with relatives and family members; the right of women to divorce and remarry after divorce; the right to use property and child custody after a divorce or death of a spouse; the right to bequeath property at their discretion to children, spouse, relatives and the right to deprive them of property.

L. Zabolotnaia believes that until the middle of the 20th century the history of mankind has been described as male history, the history of the actions and decisions of men. Only in recent decades, questions were raised about the role of gender in the distribution of powers, about the importance of women in the world political history. Ideas about political history have expanded; views on the possibility of women, deprived of access to the institutions of political power, to influence management decisions and ideas about the mechanisms of this influence have changed. In the context of new approaches, L. Zabolotnaia made an attempt to determine how women of South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and Modern period could influence political processes and realize themselves in the sphere of public authority.

The theoretical constructions presented by L. Zabolotnaia received in each section arguments and rich illustrations obtained as a result of studying a wide range of sources of various kinds. The absolute advantage of the author and her work is the use of archival documents and materials and their introduction into scientific use.

The texts are written in a scientific, but figurative language, understandable for readers of any category. The book is supplied with an apparatus criticus that may be of interest to specialists in the field of historical anthropology, ethnology, history of law, medieval studies, social history, demography, as well as anyone interested in the history of Moldova and the history of women in Europe in the Middle Ages and Modern period.

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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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