

MINISTRY OF HEALTH CARE OF UKRAINE

Kharkiv National Medical University

HISTORY OF UKRAINE AND UKRAINIAN CULTURE

the textbook for international students

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The textbook is intended for the first-year English Medium students of higher educational institutions and a wide range of readers to get substantively acquainted with the complex and centuries-old history and culture of Ukraine. The main attention is drawn to the formation of students' understanding of historical and cultural processes and regularities inherent for Ukraine in different historical periods. For a better understanding of that, the textbook contains maps and illustrations, as well as original creative questions and tasks aimed at thinking development.

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Chapter I. Exordium. Ukrainian Lands in Ancient Times

1. General issues.
2. Primitive society in the lands of modern Ukraine. Greek colonies.
3. East Slavic Tribes

1. General issues.

The integrated course “History of Ukraine and Ukrainian Culture” consists of 2 components – historical and cultural. The first one, History, is the science that studies the development of human society from the appearance of the first human to nowadays basing on historical sources. *Historical sources* are ones that directly reflect historical process. It may be archaeological items before the appearance of writing, documentary sources, ethnographical, oral, linguistical, photo and films, phonodocuments. *Historiography* is the totality of scientific researches in the field of history dedicated to a particular topic, problem or historical period. These are books and articles based on historical sources. Also it is considered as a scientific discipline that studies a history of historical science.

To be a science discipline needs its own object and subject. The *object* is the same for all the Social Sciences. This is society. But the *subject* is specific for separate disciplines. For History it is a historical development of human society, for History of culture it is a cultural development of human society.

The subject of History of Ukraine is a historical development of human society on the territory of modern Ukraine from the appearance of the first human there approximately 1 million years ago. Subject of history of culture is a complex study of big variety of spheres: history of science and technique, household activities, education and social thought, folklore and literature studies, history of arts. History of culture generalizes all these knowledge and investigates culture as a system of different branches. The development of human society includes culture, so we can use the subject of History of Ukraine as the subject for the whole course.

The main particularity of History of Ukraine is the separation of lands under the rule of different countries during the part of its history. Western Ukraine was separated for a long time. In Western Ukraine there are several historical regions that have their own history. There are Eastern Galicia (or Halychyna) with the historical center of Lviv (Lvov, Lwow, Lemberg), Northern Bukovina (also Bukovyna, historical center is Chernivtsi), Volhynia (main center is Lutsk), Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia, historical center is Uzhhorod (Uzhgorod)).

In the main part that was predominantly under the rule of Russian state. We also have specific regions: Sloboda Region (the center is Kharkov (Kharkiv)), The Donbas (the center is Donetsk), Novorussia (the center is Odessa), Podolia (Podillia, the center is Vynnytsia), Sivershina (the center is Chernihiv (Chernigov)), Central Ukraine (the center is Kiev (Kyiv)), Zaporizhzhia (Zaporozhye) (the center is Dnipro (Dnepropetrovsk)). The status of Crimea and some other regions are under the question. War conflict is continuing. But according to the Constitution modern Ukraine has an area of 603,628 km² (233,062 sq. m.), making it the largest country

entirely within Europe excluding Russia. According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine information on the 1st of July of 2017, the population was 42,297,400 residents, including Crimea and the Donbas.



Ukraine is located in Central-Eastern Europe and borders Russia to the east, northeast and south, Belorussia to the northwest, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary to the west, Romania and Moldova to the southwest, and the Black Sea and Sea of Azov to the south and southeast. The capital of Ukraine is Kiev. Also Ukraine consists of two parts: Left and Right bank from Dnieper River. But it is vice versa on the map

because it depends on the direction of the river flow (to the south). Historically, this was an important trade route, and many of the first major settlements in Ukraine, including its capital city, Kiev, were established on the banks of the Dnieper.

2. Primitive society in the lands of modern Ukraine. Greek colonies.

Primitive society is the first social and economic formation with a low level of development of productive forces and classless social organization – *primitive communism*.

Primitive culture had its own characteristic feature – *syncretism*. It means that forms of consciousness, economic activities, social life, and art were not separated and opposed to each other. Any type of activity contained another one. So, it is hard and pointless to separate history and culture of that period.

History of Ukraine started in Transcarpathia 1 million years ago when the first archaeoanthropic human had come to this area. 40,000 years ago first people of modern type (Cro-Magnons) came to the territory of Ukraine and replaced the previous type – the Neanderthals.

The period of primitive society was the most long-drawn-out in human history. It is 99 % of its history and culture. Archaic culture is the longest, the most mysterious and difficult for our understanding period of the cultural development. So, it has its own periods. Periods received its names according the main materials for making tools. The first one, Stone Age, includes Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Eneolithic periods. These periods lasted different time for different areas.

Paleolithic means “Old Stone Age” and begun with the first use of stone tools. But Paleolithic humans made tools not only of stone, but of bone and wood.

Due to the absence of written records from this time period, nearly all of our knowledge of Paleolithic human culture and way of life comes from archaeology and ethnographic comparisons to modern hunter-gatherer cultures that live similarly to their Paleolithic predecessors.

The earliest part of the Paleolithic is called the *Lower Paleolithic* (during excavations, the most ancient objects were found deeper, hence the name), beginning with first arhaeantrops and with the earliest stone tools. It had lasted in the world since 3 million years BC for 10 thousand years ago. Primitive people started not only to use things but also to create it, to sharpen stick so on. These poorly adjusted people in 200-150 thousand years ago could live only in areas of Ukraine with mild climate: in the cave Kiik-Koba in Crimea, near modern villages Luka-Vrublevetska on the Dniester, Amvrosievka in the Donbas, and Koroliovo in Transcarpathia.

Cro-Magnons emerged in the *Upper Paleolithic* that had lasted since 35 for 10 thousand years BC. Anatomic changes indicating modern language capacity also arise during this time. The systematic burial of the dead, the music, early art, and the use of increasingly sophisticated multi-part tools were highlights of the period.

Throughout the Paleolithic, humans generally lived as nomadic hunters and gatherers. People lived in primitive flocks. Prehistoric flocks lived in the open air or used caves. Relations between people were close to ones of animals. Humans hunted wild animals for meat and gathered food, firewood, and materials for their tools, clothes, or shelters. Human population density was extremely low, around only one

person per square mile. At the end of the Paleolithic, in the Upper Paleolithic, humans began to produce works of art such as cave paintings, rock art and jewelry and began to engage in religious behavior such as burial and ritual. Lower Paleolithic humans used a big variety of stone tools, including hand axes and choppers. Choppers and scrapers were used for skinning and butchering animals and sharp ended sticks were often obtained for digging up edible roots. Presumably, early humans used wooden spears to hunt small animals. Lower Paleolithic humans constructed wood shelters. Lower Paleolithic hominid *Homo erectus* possibly invented rafts to travel over large bodies of water.

The primitive flock was changed by ilk matriarchal community. A *matriarchy* was a social organizational form in which the mother or oldest female heads the family. Females had more valuable rate in the structure of production and it was the reason.



Paleolithic Venus

“Venus” figurines used by primitive people were found. There were prehistoric statuettes of women portrayed with similar physical attributes from the Upper Paleolithic. It was the reflection of their role in society. There was no family and kinship was conducted by the maternal line. “*Paleolithic Venuses*” were connected with the cult of the Mother-ancestress. Researchers assume that primitive people did not understand the connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of children. Therefore, the appearance of

the newborn was seen as a manifestation of a higher power.

In that time women were responsible for gathering wild plants and firewood, and men were responsible for hunting. Sexual division of labor may have been developed to allow humans to acquire food and other resources more efficiently. Ilk communities joined into tribes and tribal system emerged.

Fire was used at first by the Lower Paleolithic hominid *Homo erectus* as early as 1.5 million years ago. However, the usage of fire became common in the societies of the following Middle Stone Age. Usage of fire reduced mortality rates and provided protection against predators. Early hominids may have begun to cook their food. It was also the chance to colonize cold regions.

In Upper Paleolithic first *primitive forms of religion* have established themselves. Also, the question of the existence of religious ideas among the Neanderthals before this period is being discussed. For example, this point of view is evidenced by the nature of the burial in the cave Kiik-Koba. It were *animism* (belief in animateness of world), *magic* (the witchcraft before hunting), *fetishism* (belief in supernatural features of items), and *totemism* (belief in the origin of man from a particular animal). Music may have played a large role in the religious life of Upper Paleolithic people. Like in modern hunter and gatherer societies, music may have been used in ritual. Paleolithic man left among the images on cave walls drawings of horses, wild bulls, rhinos, buffaloes, lions, bears, mammoths. These animals were

drew in reason of they were hunted, they were also the main source of human food and clothes, and people were afraid of them. In most cases, the drawings are covered with holes and scratches from the arrows, which confirm the view of the rock art as an integral part of the magical rituals of primitive people. Eventually, mythology was formed. *Mythology* is a system of tales that transmit views of ancient peoples on the origin of the world, the phenomena of nature, human's place in the world. Variety of *taboo* that means bans played a large role in the organization of primitive society. Violation of the prohibitions was severely punished.

The *Mesolithic* or “Middle Stone Age” had lasted since 10 till 6 thousand years BC. The Mesolithic period finished with the introduction of agriculture, the date of which varied by geographic region. The Ice Age was over and people started colonization of northern lands.

Big animals became extinct and no more enough big aims to hunt, so it was necessary to increase the role of gathering and fishing. Bows and arrows were invented to hunt little animals. The efficiency of hunting increased. The Mesolithic is characterized in most areas by small composite stone tools – microliths. Fishing tackle, stone adzes and wooden objects, canoes have been found. First attempts to domesticate animals have been made. Wolves were domesticated between 10 and 15 thousand years ago presumably to aid in hunting. Later they became dogs.

Next period has name *Neolithic* that means “New Stone Age”. It had lasted since 6 till 3 thousand years BC. It was a period of fast technological and social development that led to the end of the Stone Age. The Neolithic period saw the development of early villages, agriculture, animal domestication, tools and the onset of the earliest known incidents of warfare. A major change in Neolithic was the *Neolithic Revolution*. It was the transition from the appropriating forms of economy to producing ones. Agriculture emerged instead of hunting and gathering. Stone tools reached perfection, pottery emerged.

Also transitional period existed. It was *Eneolithic* (Copper-Stone Age) that had lasted since 4 till 2 thousand years BC. People started to use bronze that is alloy of copper and tin. The development of production led to the first great division of labour into agriculture and cattle breeding 2 thousand years BC. The development of cattle breeding led to replacement of matriarchy by *patriarchy* – power of men – because their labour became more important. Ilk community changed by territorial based on the same territory and economical activities.

In that time the first agricultural tribes appeared on the territory of Ukraine. It was the *Cucuteni-Trypillian culture* which flourished between 4th and 3rd millennium BC, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Dniester and Dnieper regions in modern-day Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine, encompassing an area of more than 35 thousand square km (13,500 square miles). At its peak the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture built the largest settlements in Neolithic Europe, several of which had populations of up to 15 thousand inhabitants.

The culture was initially named after the village of Cucuteni in Yassy region in Romania, where the first objects associated with it were discovered. We do not know the real name of that people. They were named in accordance with the names of modern villages. In 1884, a scholar Theodor Burada researched the hill next to the

village of Cucuteni where he unearthed fragments of pottery and terracotta figurines. Then he decided to carry out further explorations of the site, and subsequently began the first archeological excavations at Cucuteni in the spring of 1885. In 1893 archaeologist Vincent Khvoika uncovered the first of close to one hundred Cucuteni-Trypillian settlements in the Russian Empire. Khvoika announced this discovery at the 11th Congress of Archaeologists in 1897, which is considered the official date of the discovery of the Trypillian culture in Ukraine. In 1897 similar objects were excavated in the village of Trypillia in Kiev region. Later scholars came to recognize that Romanian Cucuteni and Ukrainian Trypillian sites belonged to the same archaeological culture.



Localization of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture

that the inhabitants of these settlements believed that every house symbolized an organic, almost living, entity. As with living beings, the settlements may have been seen as also having a life cycle of death and rebirth. It lasted for 15 centuries.

Many Cucuteni-Trypillian homes had two-stores, and evidence shows that the members of this culture sometimes decorated the outsides of their homes with many of the same red-ochre complex swirling designs that may to be found on their pottery. Most houses had thatched roofs and wooden floors covered with clay.

Inhabitants practiced agriculture, raised domestic cattle and hunted wild animals for food. It was main occupations of most of the members of this society. There is also evidence that they may have bred bees. Grapes were cultivated by these people.



Cucuteni-Trypillian pottery

Every 60 to 80 years the inhabitants of a settlement would burn their entire village. The reason for the burning of the settlements is a subject of debate among scholars. May be the main reason was soil depletion and necessity to change place. Many of the settlements were reconstructed several times on top of earlier ones, preserving the shape and the orientation of the older buildings. Scholars have theorized

that the inhabitants of these settlements believed that every house symbolized an organic, almost living, entity. As with living beings, the settlements may have been seen as also having a life cycle of death and rebirth. It lasted for 15 centuries.

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Grains were grew and baked as unleavened bread in clay ovens or on heated stones in the hearth fireplace in the house. They used traps to catch their prey, as well as various weapons, including bows, arrows and spears.

One of the most recognizable aspects of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture was a pottery. Borrowing from the Linear Pottery culture, the Cucuteni-Trypillian potters made improvements, mastering the modeling and temperature control of the manufacturing process, and decorating the clayware with a genuine and well-developed aesthetic sense of artistry. There have been a seeming

countless number of ceramic artifacts which include pottery in many shapes and sizes, statues and figurines of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic patterns, tools, and even furniture. Among these artifacts were ones made from an assortment of materials, including stone, bone, antler, wood, leather, clay, sinew, straw, and cloth. Toward the end of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture's existence copper traded from other areas began to appear throughout the region, and members of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture began to acquire skills necessary to use it, to create various items. However, there has been only a very few copper weapons found that were designed for defense against human enemies. Inhabitants of this culture lived with very little threat from possible enemy attack for almost 3000 years.

Trypillians worshipped their own gods. The main cult was one of Mother Goddess. As evidence from archaeology, thousands of artifacts from Neolithic Europe have been discovered, mostly in the form of female figurines. As a result a goddess theory has occurred.

Modern science has not found ethno-genetic connection of Trypillian tribes with newcomers. Trypillian culture had no direct genetic continuation here. So, we could not say that Trypillians were Ukrainian ancestors. Ukrainian people was formed and integrated much later.

Earlier societies of hunter gatherer tribes had no social stratification, and later societies of the Bronze Age had noticeable social stratification, which saw the creation of occupational specialization, the state, and social classes of individuals who were of the elite ruling or religious classes, full-time warriors, and wealthy merchants, contrasted with those individuals on the other end of the economic spectrum who were poor.



Cimmerians, reconstruction

Iron Age had lasted since 1st millenium BC till 1st millenium AD. The Iron Age refers to the advent of ferrous metallurgy. The first known from historical sources tribes in the territory of Ukraine were Iranian nomads *Cimmerians*. They had lived there since the end of 10th till 7th century BC. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, the Cimmerians inhabited the region north of the Caucasus and the Black Sea. They used iron at first, but generally used copper and bronze. These nomads had powerful cavalry. Early Cimmerians used permanent dwellings. They knew farming, but at the end of 10th century BC they became a nomadic people, and mostly bred horses. Cimmerians had nomadic stock-raising, high culture of bronze and ceramics with colorful inlays.

According to the "History" by Herodotus, the Cimmerians had been expelled from the Steppe by the Scythians. To ensure burial in their ancestral homeland, the men of the Cimmerian royal family divided into groups and fought each other to the death. But the Assyrians recorded the migrations of the Cimmerians, as the former king Sargon II was killed in battle against them in 705 BC. The Cimmerians were

subsequently recorded as having conquered Phrygia in 696-695 BC, prompting the Phrygian king Midas to take poison rather than face capture. In 654 BC or 652 BC – the exact date is unclear – the Cimmerians attacked the kingdom of Lydia, killing the Lydian king Gyges and causing great destruction to the Lydian capital of Sardis. The Greek poets Callinus and Archilochus recorded the fear that it inspired in the Greek colonies of Ionia, some of which were attacked by the Cimmerians. Archaeological monuments left by the Cimmerians on the territory of Ukraine are mostly burial mounds of warriors with weapons and horsemen equipment.

The new tribes, *Scythians* were also of Iranian origin. They had lived there since



Scythian warrior, reconstruction

the 7th till 3rd century BC. Term “Scythian” was used by the Greeks to refer to heterogeneous groups of horse-riding nomadic pastoralists who dwelt in the Black Sea Steppe. However, the name Scythian was also used to refer to various peoples seen as similar to the Scythians, or who lived anywhere in the area covering present-day Central Asia, Russia, and Ukraine.

Much of the surviving information about the Scythians comes from the Greek historian Herodotus in his “History” about the war between the Greeks and Persians, and archaeologically from the depictions of Scythian life shown in relief on exquisite goldwork found in Scythian burial mounds in Ukraine and Southern Russia. Herodotus provides a depiction but apparently knew little of the eastern part of Scythia. For Herodotus, the Scythians were

outlandish barbarians living north of the Black Sea in what are now Moldova and Ukraine. The Scythians firstly appeared in the historical record in the 8th century BC.

In 512 BC, when Persian king Darius the Great attacked the Scythians, he penetrated into Scythians land after crossing the Danube. Herodotus relates that the nomad Scythians succeeded in frustrating the designs of the Persian army by letting it march through the entire country without an engagement. According to Herodotus, Darius in this manner came as far as the Volga River. The lay against these nomads was unsuccessful. In Ancient world the Scythians were recognized as fierceness warriors. Scythians also had a reputation for the use of poisoned arrows of several types, for a nomadic life centered on horses – “fed from horse-blood” according to Herodotus.

During the 5th to 3rd centuries BC, the Scythians evidently prospered. In the 5th century BC, Greeks distinguished Scythia Minor in present-day Romania and Bulgaria from a Greater Scythia that extended eastwards for a 20-day ride from the Danube River, across the Steppe of today’s East Ukraine to the lower Don basin. The Don, then known as Tanais, has served as a major trading route ever since. The Scythians apparently obtained their wealth from their control over the slavetrade from the north to Greece through the Greek Black Sea colonial ports of Olbia,

Chersonesos, Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Gorgippia. They also grew grain, and shipped wheat, flocks, and cheese to Greece.

Archaeological remains of the Scythians include kurgan tombs ranging from simple exemplars to elaborate “Royal kurgans”



containing the “Scythian triad” of weapons, horse-harness, and Scythian-style wild-animal art, gold, silk, and animal sacrifices, in places also with suspected human sacrifices. Scythian art is one of the most vibrant areas of artistic culture. Objects were decorated with images in *animalistic style*. There were animal fight scenes. We have stone sculptures of schematized Scythian warriors which mounted on the mounds, unique wall paintings presented in Naples Scythian. Mummification techniques and permafrost have aided in the relative preservation of certain remains. Some Scythian

Scythian pectoral in animalistic style cultures may have given rise to Greek stories of Amazons. Graves of armed females have been found in southern Ukraine and Russia.

The capital of their protostate was Naples in Crimea. Scythians lived in confederated tribes, a political form of voluntary association which regulated pastures and organized a common defense against encroaching neighbors for the pastoral tribes of mostly equestrian herdsman. While the productivity of domesticated animal-breeding greatly exceeded that of the settled agricultural societies, the pastoral economy also needed supplemental agricultural produce, and stable nomadic confederations developed either symbiotic or forced alliances with sedentary peoples

– in exchange for animal produce and military protection.



Sarmatians, reconstruction

As far as we know, the Scythians had no writing system. They had a taste for elaborate personal jewelry, weapon-ornaments and horse-trappings. They executed Central-Asian animal motifs with Greek realism: winged gryphons attacking horses, battling stags, deer, and eagles, combined with everyday motifs like milking ewes. The religious beliefs of the Scythians were a type of Pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion. The use of cannabis to induce trance and divination by soothsayers was a characteristic of the Scythian belief system.

In the 3rd century BC Scythians were expelled to Crimea, beyond Danube and Dniester by also Iranian nomads *Sarmatians*. They ruled here till 3rd century AD. The descendants of the Sarmatians became known as the Alans during the Early Middle Ages.

In the early period of Sarmatian culture animalistic style was typical in clothing, weapons, utensils and other household items. It was decorated by stylized images of

animals. Later Sarmatian tribes achieved mastery in jewelry; there are images of anthropomorphic beings, and floral motifs. In 2-3rd century AD “multicolored style” flourishes. Clothing, shoes, metal objects were decorated with gems, beads, colored enamel, etc. Geometric pattern became dominative.

At the end of Iron Age inequality of property was established. The process of transition of communal property to tribal rulers started. Debtors and prisoners of war were turned to slaves. It testifies about the primitive society decomposition.

In 7th century BC, the Greeks started to create colonies on the shores of the Black Sea. The main among them were Olbia, Thira, Theodosius, Chersonesos, Pantikapaion. In general colonies were democratic city-states or “*polises*”. Bosphorian Kingdom with the capital in Pantikapaion only was monarchy. The greatest among polises was Olbia.



Remnants of Olbia

Pontic Olbia (“rich” and “happy” in translation) was a colony founded by the Greek Miletians on the shores of the Southern Bug estuary. Its harbor was one of the main on the Black Sea for export of cereals, fish, and slaves to Greece, and for the import of Greek sophisticated goods to Scythia. The triangular site of the colony covers the area of fifty hectares. The lower town was occupied chiefly by the dockyards and houses of artisans. The upper

town was a main residential quarter, composed of square blocks and centered on the center – “agora” – with temples scattered in the vicinity. The town was ringed by the stone wall with towers.

This Greek colony, highly important commercially, endured for a millennium. During the 5th century BC, when the colony was visited by Herodotus, it minted distinctive cast bronze money in the shape of leaping dolphins.

After the town adopted a democratic constitution, its relations with Miletus were regulated by the treaty. By the end of the 3rd century, the town declined economically and accepted the overlordship of King Skilurus of Scythia. It flourished under Mithridates Eupator of Bosphorus but was sacked by the Goth tribes, a catastrophe which brought Olbia’s economic prominence to an abrupt end. Having lost two thirds of its settled area, Olbia was restored by the Romans, albeit on a small scale and with a large admixture of “barbarian” non-Greek population. The site of Olbia, designated an archaeological reservation, is situated near the village of Parutino in Nikolaev region. Excavations were conducted under the lead of Boris Farmakovskiy from 1901 to 1915 and from 1924 to 1926. The site was never reoccupied and archaeological finds were rich.

Greek city-states drove a trade into two directions: with Greece and the Scythians. Production reached high level. In general, Greek colonies played very

important role in the development of cultural, economic and political spheres of the Black Sea coast region. In 3 and 4th century colonies were destroyed by tribes of Goths and Huns.

3. East Slavic Tribes



Slavic people in Europe

The *Slavic people* are an Indo-European ethno-linguistic group, living in the Central, Eastern, Southeastern Europe, and Asia. The worldwide population of people of Slavic descent is close to 350 million. It is the biggest community in Europe. The three largest Slavic ethnic groups are Russians (133 million), Poles (55 million), and Ukrainians (41 million). Present-day Slavic people are classified into East Slavic (including the Russians,

Ukrainians, and Belorussians, some researches are separating Rusins), West Slavic (including the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Sorbs), and South Slavic (including the Bulgarians, Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats). Most Slavic populations gradually adopted Christianity (the East Slavic adopted Orthodox Christianity and the West Slavic Roman Catholicism). South Slavic people split between two branches of Christianity and Islam. From the early 6th century they inhabited most of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

The first mention of the name “Slavic” dates to the 6th century, by which time the Slavic tribes inhabited a vast area of Central-Eastern Europe. Over the following two centuries, the Slavic people expanded further, towards the Balkans and the Alps to the south and west, and the Volga in the north and east.

Their origin is unclear. Attempts have been made to identify the Slavic people, or their ancestors, with earlier groups. At first Slavic people mentioned in 1st century by Roman authors such as Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy and Tacitus under the name of the *Veneds* who attacked the Roman Empire. Later, Byzantine historians Jordan, Procopius Caesarean, and Johann Ephesian also mentioned Slavic tribes. They occupied the area between the Oder and Vistula river basins. Then they split on the *Antes* and *Sklavines*. Procopius Caesarean was sure that they were parts of the same people. Antes in 4-7th centuries settled on the territory of Ukraine between Seversky Donets and Dniester rivers and assimilated local population of Iranian Scythians and Sarmatians. At the beginning of 7th century, Antes were crushed by Avarian nomads and settled in hard-to-reach forests of modern Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia. Eastern Slavic culture and identity, such as it was, survived, however, and the Avar Empire fell in the early 800s. Eventually, part of the eastern Slavic tribes in more

southern regions fell under the control of the Khazars, a Turkic people. Farther to the north, the Vikings held sway over some tribes of eastern Slavic people.

Early Slavic settlements were no larger than a half to 2 hectares. Settlements were often temporary, perhaps a reflection of the extensive form agriculture they practiced. Agricultural character of their economics affected Slavic way of life. Settlements were often located on river terraces. Each house contained a stone or clay oven in one of the corners. On average, each settlement consisted of fifty to seventy individuals. Settlements were structured in specific manner; there was a central, open area that served for communal activities and ceremonies. The settlement was polarized, divided into a production zone and settlement zone. Settlements were not uniformly distributed, but tended to form clusters separated by areas where settlement density falls. The clustering was a result of the expansion of single settlements. These “settlement cells” were therefore linked by family or clan relationships. Settlement cells formed the basis of the simplest form of territorial organization.

Religion of East Slavic people was typically *polytheistic*, it means that they worshipped many gods. People could not understand and explain different natural phenomena and divinized it creating pantheon of gods, who “patronized” different sides of their life. The main god of East Slavic people was Perun (God of thunder and lightning), Dazhbog cared of the harvest, Strybog – god of wind and weather, Svarog was blacksmith’s god, Veles was god of animals, Yarylo was solar god. Cults of Mother-Earth and Golden Plow (that was given by Svarog) also were spread. The main pantheon of Slavic gods added kind deities of lower



Heathen kapyshche of Slavic people

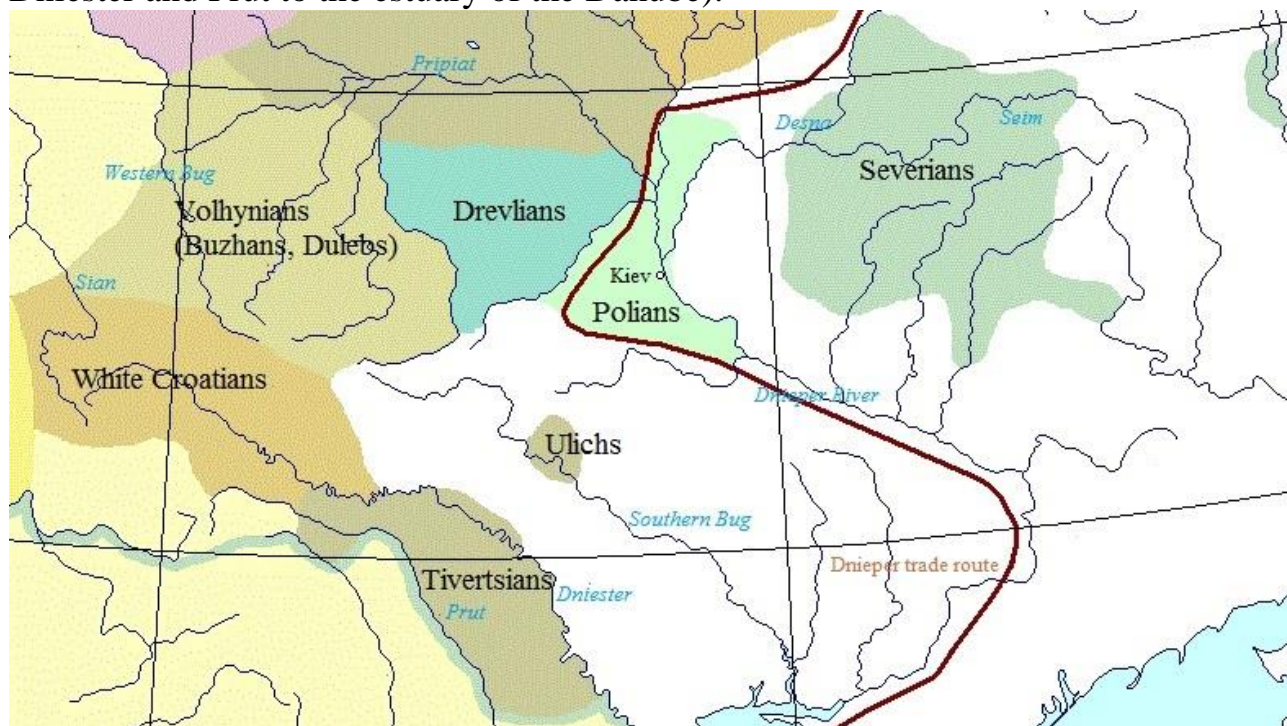
level: mermaids, water inhabitants, spirits, etc. With the help of gods Slavic people constructed the mythical world, understood changes of seasons, and relations with nature. People believed that gods and goddesses patronized definite activities, clans and families. The basis of heathen beliefs was worshipping to nature, the Sun was accepted as a source of life, land like wet-nurse of all live beings. In culture of that period we can find traces of totemism. Early Slavic people worshipped birds and trees, and believed that their clans originated or patronized by definite kind of bird or tree. We can understand that in culture of Early Slavic people there were two groups of beliefs: worship to nature and cult of veneration of ancestors.

Early Slavic people did not have special buildings for praying. In pre-Christian period Slavic people had special places for that. They had a name “kapyshche”. Kapyshche’s were similar to English Stonehenge. Magicians, so called “volchves”, were mediators between people and gods. Heathen beliefs were practiced till 13th century, and their traces we can find even today.

Anthropocentrism was the important feature of Slavic outlook. It means an extreme form of anthropomorphism, cognitive statement, which declares the presence of the human dimension in any knowledge about the nature and society.

Very few native Rus' documents dating before the 11th century have been discovered. The earliest major manuscript with information on Rus' history is the "Tale of Bygone Years" ("Russian Primary Chronicle"), written in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. It lists twelve Slavic tribal unions which by the 9th century settled between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. These tribal unions were the Polians, Drevlians, Dregovichs, Radimichs, Viatichs, Krivichs, Slovens, Dulebes (later known as Volhynians and Buzhans), White Croats, Severians, Ulichs, and Tivertsians.

Their south-western group became the basis for the formation of the future Ukrainian population: Polians (lived mostly on on the right bank of Dnieper), Drevlians (lived to the south from the Pripjat river), Severians (lived to the east of the Dnieper, near the rivers Desna, Seim and Sula), Volhynians (also called Buzhans and Dulebs, lived near the Western Bug river), White Croats (in the basin of the rivers Dniester and Sian), Tivertsians and Ulichs (lived between the rivers Southern Bug, Dniester and Prut to the estuary of the Danube).



Eastern Slavic tribes in modern Ukrainian lands

Separate tribes eventually united in protostates. According to the testimony of Arab sources in VIII – IX centuries there were three such formations – Kyiavia with the center in Kiev, Slavia centered in Novgorod and the most mysterious among them was Artania. It is not even known where it was located.

In the 2nd part of 5th century, Kiev appeared as an urban settlement in lands of the Polians. The chronicler gives the legend that the city was founded by brothers Kii, Sheck and Horiv, and their sister Lybid. Kii became the prince and started the war campaign against Constantinople. The reliability of the legend is unclear.

The Eastern Slavic statehood had a long tradition. But the creation of state was not reached till IX century, when Kiev became the capital of the most powerful state in Europe.

Questions and tasks

1. Indicate the difference between historiography and historical sources. Give few examples.
2. Formulate the subject and the object of the course “History of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture”.
3. Point the main particularity of History of Ukraine. How did it influence history and the present of this country?
4. Think why was syncretism a characteristic of namely primitive culture?
5. Study the presentation “Journey of Mankind” on the site of Bradshaw Foundation (<http://www.bradshawfoundation.com/journey/>). How do Genetics help us to investigate prehistory?
6. How are “Paleolithic Venuses” characterizing the life and beliefs of primitive people?
7. Which primitive forms of religion do you know? Try to find practical examples.
8. What is Neolithic Revolution? How did it effect the development of human society?
9. Which tribe was the first one that practiced agriculture in Ukrainian lands? What do you know about its achievements?
10. Compare lifestyles of early Iron Age tribes on the territory of Ukraine.
11. Think what was the main reason for Greek colonization of Black Sea shores? Why did the first dwellers of Pontic Olbia name their new home “rich” and “happy”?
12. How did Greek culture influence local tribes?
13. Which branches of Slavic people do you know? Which branch do the Ukrainians belong to?
14. Why did Early Slavic people divinize nature in their polytheistic religion? Express your opinion.
15. What does allow us to assert that Eastern Slavic statehood had a long tradition?

Chapter II. Princely Era (9th century – 1340-s of 14th century)

1. Kievan Rus as an early feudal state.
2. Disintegration of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia Principality.
3. Development of culture during the Princely Era.

1. Kievan Rus as an early feudal state

As we concluded in the previous chapter, the Eastern Slavic statehood had a long tradition. But the creation of state was not reached yet. In 9th century that situation has been changed.

In the middle of the 9th century, *the Vikings* (Varangians or Normans) from Scandinavia began to appear on the lands of the Eastern Slavic people. There are two polar views on the role of the Vikings in the emergence of Eastern Slavic state.

Supporters of the *Normanist conception* believe that the Eastern Slavic state was brought by the Vikings. The founders of this theory were German scientists who worked in Russia in the 18th century: G. Baier, A. Schlotzer and G. Miller.

Antinormanists denied Vikings' major role in the development of ancient Rus state. Invitation of the Vikings was called under the question. The founders of this theory were outstanding Russian scientist Michael Lomonosov and historian Basil Tatishchev.



Varangian warrior

Anyway, the Vikings have provided an impetus to the formation of the state, but the preconditions for it had already existed. Even if the earliest rulers of Kievan Rus were not Slavic, however, they became Slavic by culture. Approximately in 862 Varangian warlord *Riurik* was invited to reign in Novgorod and united several East Slavic and Finnish-Ugric tribes on the north: Ilmen Slovenes, Kriviches, Chud, Meria, and Vesi. He founded a powerful state with its capital in Novgorod and Riurikid dynasty. It reigned in the Russian State until 1598.

In 882, the Novgorod warlord *Oleg (Oleh) the Prophetic* collected large army and went down the river Dnieper. He captured the town of Smolensk, Liubech and Kiev. In Kiev he had killed prince Askold, and made it the capital of his possession that paid a tribute to Novgorod. According to the chronicle, Oleg declared that Kiev should be the “mother of all Rus cities”. In fact, there was a birth of united Kievan Rus. *Kievan Rus* (also Kyivan Rus in Ukrainian tradition) was an early medieval state in Eastern Europe, from the late 9th to the mid-13th century. This name was given by scientists according the second capital, but the endonym was Rus only. Oleg also subdued tribes of the Polians, Drevlians, Severians and Radimiches, undertook in 907 successful campaign against the Byzantine Empire, and forced it to sign disadvantageous trade agreement. In 911, he signed a commercial treaty with the Byzantine Empire as an equal partner. Rus state prospered because it had an abundant supply of furs, beeswax and honey for export and because

it controlled three main trade routes of Eastern Europe: the Volga trade route from the Baltic Sea to the Orient, the Dnieper trade route from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, and the trade route from the Khazars to the Germans.

After the death of Oleg during the war against Baghdad Caliphate in 912, the Drevlians managed to break away, but were conquered again by new prince *Igor (Ihor)*, the son of Riurik. In 914, Igor made the peace treaty with the Pechenegians, a nomadic tribe that was passing through Rus towards the Danube River in order to attack the Byzantine Empire. In 941 and 944, he made two campaigns against the Byzantine Empire, the first one was unsuccessful, and the second led to the less profitable treaty. In 943, Igor captured the towns of Derbent, Shirvan, and Berdaa. Also he waged wars against the tribes of the Pechenegians and the Khazar Khaganate. Igor was killed in 945 during an attempt to gather a tribute from the Drevlians for the second time. Drevlians bent two birches, strapped Igor to it, and then released.

In 945-947, Rus was under the rule of Igor's wife regent *Olga (Olha)*. She cruelly punished the Drevlians, burnt their capital Iskorosten, and turned survivors into slaves. After that Olga has streamlined the gathering of tribute by setting up of its size and gathering places. In internal policy less and less violence was used against subordinated tribes. Diplomatic relations with the Byzantine Empire and Western European countries were intensified. Olga became Christian. In 952, the first Christian church was built. But in her reign Rus came under the rule of the Khazar Khaganate and paid a tribute.



Kievan druzhina warrior

Olga ruled as regent until her son *Sviatoslav the Brave (957-972)* reached maturity. His decade-long reign was marked by rapid glorious expansion through the conquest of the Khazars and invasion to the Balkans. In the North Caucasus he annexed Ossetia and Adygea. By the end of his short life, Sviatoslav carved out for himself the largest state in Europe. In contrast with his mother's conversion to Christianity, Sviatoslav, like his elite warriors, "druzhina", remained a staunch pagan. He was distinguished by extreme hostility to the Christians and cruelty. Due to his abrupt death in Pechenegian ambush, Sviatoslav's conquests, for the most part, were not consolidated into a functioning empire, while his failure to establish a stable succession led to fratricidal feud among his sons, resulted in two of his three sons were

killed.

By the 972, Rus split into fiefdoms. Yaropolk, the eldest son of Sviatoslav, secretly adopted Catholicism, established close ties with the Western European states, and made an alliance with the Pechenegians, nomadic tribe which killed his father. He killed his brother Oleg and forced prince Vladimir to flee. The last with the help of Viking army in 980 defeated Yaropolk, took Kiev and killed his brother.

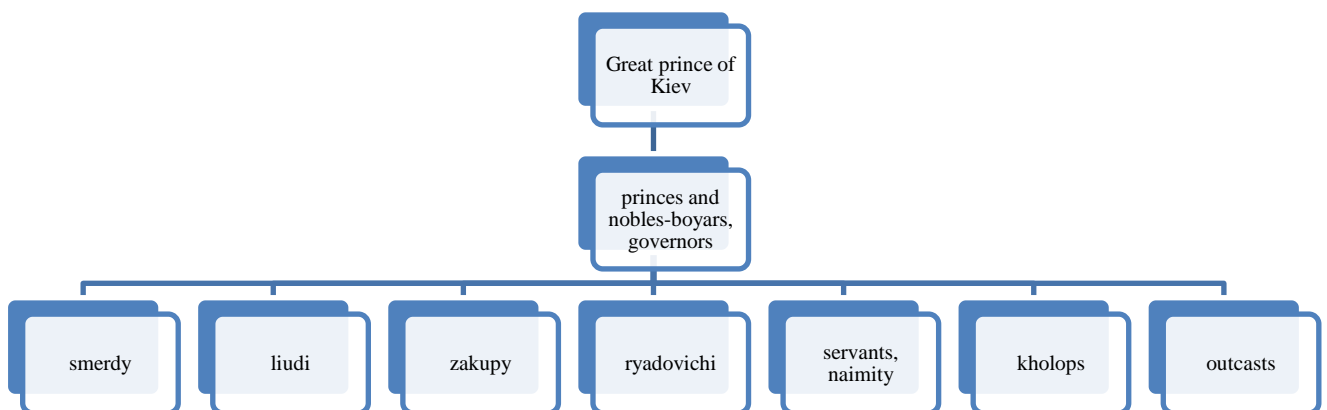
Vladimir (Volodymyr) the Great had ruled in Kiev since 980 till 1015. He recaptured from the Poles Rus towns of Peremyshl, Cherven, Vladimir and Belz, captured new lands from the Lithuanian tribe Yatvingians and founded the town of Brest, captured Chersonesos in Crimea from Byzantine. Wars against the Pechenegians were successful. All the campaigns were led by his warlords, and Vladimir remained in Kiev. Thus, under the authority of the Great Prince Vladimir Rus was the largest state in Europe again. This prince baptized Kievan Rus. In 1015, Vladimir died, and a period of internal strife began.

Yaroslav (1019-1054), known as “the Wise”, struggled for power against his brothers. A son of Vladimir the Great, he was a vice-regent of Novgorod at the time of his father’s death. Subsequently, his eldest brother, Sviatopolk the Accursed, killed three of his other brothers and seized power in Kiev. Yaroslav, with an active support of the Novgorodians and Viking mercenaries, defeated Sviatopolk and became the Great prince in 1019. Yaroslav recaptured from Poland Chervenian towns again, conquered tribes of Chud and Yatvingians. In 1036, the prince’s squad defeated Pechenegian horde under the walls of Kiev.

Like Vladimir, Yaroslav was eager to improve relations with the rest of Europe, especially the Byzantine Empire. An envoy from France reported that “This land [Rus] is more unified, happier, stronger, and more civilized than France herself”. Yaroslav’s granddaughter, Eupraxia was married to Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor. Yaroslav also arranged marriages for his sister and three daughters to the kings of Poland, France, Hungary, and Norway. He became known as the “father-in-law of Europe”, a reflection of the power of Kievan Rus. Yaroslav adopted the first East Slavic law code “Rus Truth”; he built Saint Sophia Cathedrals in Kiev and Novgorod; patronized local clergy; and is said to have founded a school system.

The reigns of Vladimir the Great and his son Yaroslav the Wise constituted the “Golden Age” of Kievan Rus.

Kievan Rus was an early medieval monarchy. The head of the state was the *Great prince of Kiev*, the supreme ruler of all the lands. Separate parts of the state were ruled by *princes and nobles-boyars, governors*. At the other extreme of ancient Rus society was feudal dependent population: *smerdy, liudi, zakupy, ryadovichi, servants, naimity, kholops, and outcasts*.



Social and political structure of Kievan Rus

The main category of the population was smerdy, free peasants who had their own homestead and paid a tribute. Kholops were close to slaves. The majority of

settlements in Kievan Rus were villages. Most of cities were dependent on feudal lords. From the main cities only Novgorod, Pskov, and Polotsk had developed self-government. Urban merchants, artisans and labourers sometimes exercised political influence through a city assembly, the *veche council*, which included all the adult males in the population. Lands belonged to the feudal lords.

Feudalism is the socio-economic system, which is based on the feudal lord ownership on the means of production and partial ownership on peasants who are linked to landowners. Landowners are rulers in their lands subordinated to each other, headed by the monarch. Great prince of Kiev was such monarch.

Modern scholars estimated that 13-15 % of the population of Rus had lived in urban centers. The chronicles indicate that there were about 240 towns and cities in this land. However, it is probable that as many as 150 of these were nothing more than fortified settlements inhabited by a semiagrarian population. Of the approximately ninety large towns and cities, Kiev was the largest. Kiev during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise had been transformed into the big cultural center, center of handicraft and trade. There were 8 markets and 400 churches. By the end of 11th century, Kiev was at the same level like Rome, Antiochiya, and Alexandriya. Before Mongol and Tatar invasion the number of population in Kiev was 50 thousand people. London reached 20 thousand people one hundred years later. Petty merchants and artisans made up most of the population of these towns because handicrafts were highly developed. In Kiev, for example, between forty and sixty different handicrafts were represented, the most important practitioners of which were carpenters, smiths, potters, and leather workers. Blacksmith was one of the most important handicrafts. Blacksmith masters produced more than 150 kinds of iron and steel goods.

Countering those historians who stress the commercial character of the Kievan Rus economy are those who contend that agriculture constituted its basis. Ukrainian scholars such as M. Hrushevsky and D. Bahaliy, as well as the leading Soviet specialists in the field, are adherents of the latter view. They argue that because the Slavic people had traditionally been an agrarian people, it is unlikely that they would have suddenly changed their way of living during the Rus period. Additional support for this view comes from the frequent references in chronicles to agricultural activity in Kievan Rus, the agrarian orientation of the ancient Slavic calendar and mythology, and archaeological evidences.

Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that iron plowshares were in use in Ukraine by the 10th century and that the relatively advanced two- or three-field crop rotation system was also used, as it was in Western Europe. Wheat, oats, rye and barley were the favored crops. Livestock breeding was also widespread among the peasants of Rus, providing them not only with meat and milk, but also with leather for clothing and shoes. Rus people raised horse, swine, sheep, geese, chickens, and pigeons. Oxen made cultivation possible on a larger scale. Although peasants often owned the implements necessary for farming the land on their own, they usually banded together in communes, or *obshchyna* (which consisted of blood relatives from several generations led by a patriarch), to help each other. Communes could also be territorially based and include unrelated neighbors.

Development and growing sophistication of agriculture encouraged the appearance of numerous handicrafts and where these became concentrated, towns arose. Trade played an important role in their expansion, but this trade was primarily between the towns and their agrarian hinterlands rather than large-scale foreign-transit trade.

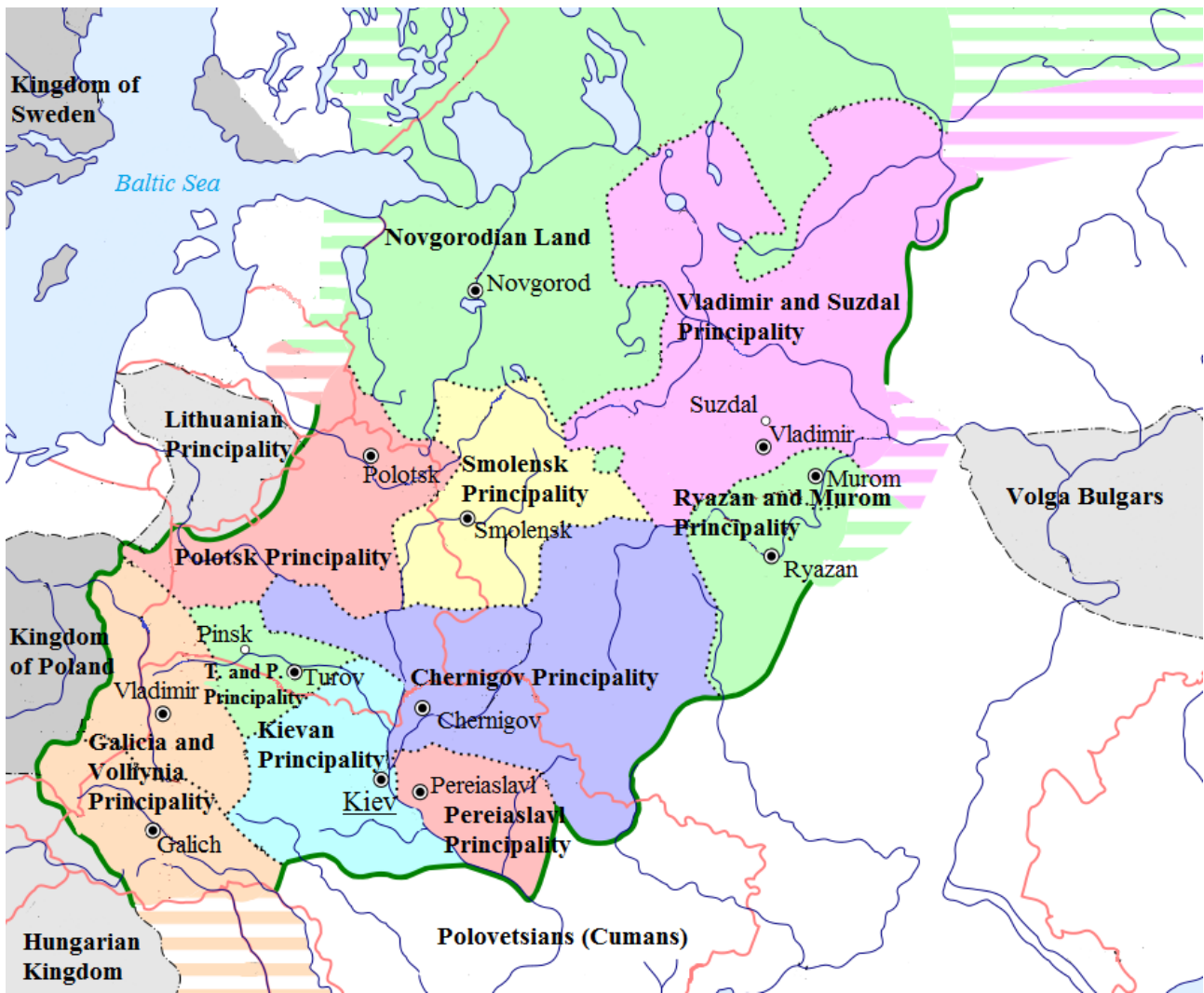
2. Disintegration of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia Principality

The gradual *disintegration of Kievan Rus* began in the 11th century, after the death of Yaroslav the Wise. The position of the Great prince of Kiev was weakened by the growing influence of regional elites. Local economy developed and elites needed no supreme power to reign. Economic independence inevitably leads to political *separatism*. Large state could not control the local princes effectively. Attacks from nomadic tribes made it difficult for Rus to control its southern border toward the Black Sea. International trade routes changed, and economic role of Kiev has fallen. During his life, Yaroslav distributed land among his sons. He exhorted them not to fight with each other, as he and his own brothers had done. But it was not established who will be the Great prince.

In 1097, on the initiative of prince Vladimir Monomakh, one of the grandsons of Yaroslav, congress of princes was held in Liubech. Participants sworn to stop the strife and unite their efforts against common enemy, Polovetsian hordes. However, the feudal disintegration was legally fixed by this congress.

In 1113, *Vladimir (Volodymyr) Monomakh* (1113-1125) took the throne. He managed to unite most of the fragmented Rus lands and made legal reforms to expand the rights of the lower classes. Prince slowed down feudal disintegration and controlled $\frac{3}{4}$ of lands belonged to Yaroslav the Wise. But Novgorod, for example, acknowledged his authority only nominally, without even paying a tribute. His son Mstyslav (1125-1132) continued policy of centralization. Principalities increasingly fragmented into smaller and reached the number of 250. These principalities gained *de facto* independence from Kiev. Control of Kiev city, however, was still a prize, subject to political instability (24 princes ruled it from 1146 to 1246) and even military attacks from would-be princes.

As the result of disintegration and the lack of central power, Rus became defenseless in front of the *Mongolian and Tatar conquest*.



The most powerful principalities and its spheres of influence at the eve of Mongolian conquest

In 1206, Genghis Khan became the supreme ruler of the Mongols. He united all the Mongols in the Horde, the nomadic state. The Mongols created a powerful army, their cavalry was the best in the world, and they had the first-class battering rams.



Mongolian horseman

China and Khorezm fell under the strikes of the Mongolian hordes, the Siberia was conquered. 30 thousand army led by warlords Jebe and Subedei passed the Caucasus to strike Polovetsian (Cuman) horde. Surrounded Polovetsians appealed to the Russian princes. At the same time Mongolian ambassadors came to Kiev. They offered peace for preservation of neutrality in the war against the Polovetsians. However, the congress of princes in Kiev decided to assist the Polovetsians. Mongolian embassy was killed.

In 1223, Rus and Polovetsian armies were defeated near the Kalka River. Khans put boards on captured princes and started a feast on the top had executing them in such way. According to Mongolian tradition it was the honorable penalty without shedding of blood. Right on it had only members of the ruling dynasties. In pursuit for the remnants of Rus army, the

Mongols reached the Dnieper and Kiev, but Volga Bulgars suddenly struck the rear of the Mongols, and they decided to fall back. In 1235, Batu Khan, grandson of the notorious Mongol leader Genghis Khan, decided to finish the conquest. In 1237, the Mongols defeated Ryazan Principality. Rus princes continued to quarrel with each other. In the spring of 1239, the Mongols invaded Ukrainian lands. Pereyaslavl and Chernigov principalities took the first strike. In 1240 Batu army stormed and captured Kiev. From 50 thousands of Kievites only 2 thousands survived. Kiev would not recover its glory, and, in a move rich in symbolic and practical importance, in 1299, its metropolitan was transferred to Vladimir (in Vladimir and Suzdal Principality) and later to Moscow. In 1241, Rus completely came under the rule of Batu Khan.

In the late 12th century, among local Rus principalities Volhynian excelled as the strongest. Separate dynasty was founded in Volhynia by Vladimir Monomakh's grandson Iziaslav Mstyslavovych, who reigned main town Vladimir in 1136-1142 and 1146-1154. After his death in 1170 Volhynia was divided among his sons, the eldest son Roman Mstyslavovych received the capital.

In 1084, in Galicia three principalities were formed ruled by grandchildren of Yaroslav the Wise. In 1099 they defeated army of Hungarian king and stopped his expansion for a while. Prince Vladimirko united Peremyshl, Terebovlia, and Zvenigorod land into one principality. In 1144, he made Galich town his capital and expanded principality to the Dniester, Prut and Seret rivers.

Galician Principality reached the greatest power during the reign of *Yaroslav Osmomysl* (1145-1152). His principality extended along the river Dniester to the South; even lands in the lower reaches of the Prut and Danube depended on Galich. Growing of Dniester importance in the international trade contributed to the development of towns of the principality. Galician prince enjoyed authority in the international arena, maintained diplomatic relations not only with his neighbors, but also with the Byzantine and Holy Roman Empires.

Volhynia and Galicia had long maintained close economic and cultural ties. These relationships have become a prerequisite for Volhynia and Galicia association in one principality. Shortly after the death of Yaroslav Osmomysl Volhynian prince *Roman Mstyslavovych* at the invitation of Galician boyars took control of Galich, but could not establish his power there. Only after the death of the last representative of the Galician Rostislavyches dynasty he achieved the goal. In 1099 Roman Mstyslavovych united principalities. Then he conquered Kiev and assumed the title of Great prince of Kievan Rus. According to the opinion of historian M. Hrushevsky *Galician-Volhynian Principality* inherited Kievan traditions.

Galicia-Volhynia state with the center in Vladimir stretched from the Carpathians to the Dnieper and was the strongest in Rus. Roman Mstyslavovych gained authority by brave and successful campaigns against the Polovetsians and Lithuanians. In 1205, he was killed in a fight against the army of Krakow prince.

Galician boyars used it for removal from power his young sons *Daniel* (Daniil, Danylo) and Vasylo. Upon reaching adulthood, they started a long struggle for the throne of Volhynia, and later Galicia. For the boyars Hungarian foreign patrons were more profitable because their power was based not on the local people, but on boyars. In 1213, boyar Vladislav Kormilchich even took the throne.

A year later the Hungarians with the help of the boyars captured Galich and proclaimed their king as the prince. But the campaign of Novgorod prince Mstyslav the Daring and prince Daniel of Galicia led to the defeat of the Polish-Hungarian army and the liberation of Galich. In 1237-1238, prince Daniel Romanovych ultimately strengthened in Galicia. He left Volhynia for his younger brother Vasylko, who acted together with Daniel.

In 1238, Daniel defeated the Teutonic Knights that seized Dorogochin town. Shortly before the destruction of Kiev by Batu Khan he strengthened in the city, having acquired the status of the Great prince. He chose Kholm town as the new capital. He led an active building and prepared fortifications. And not without any reason. In 1241, Batu Khan launched an offensive in Volhynia and Galicia. Galicia-Volhynia was defeated but suffered less than other principalities. After the withdrawal of the horde the recovering was started, many cities were built, including Lvov. In 1245, Daniel of Galicia troops defeated the army of the Hungarian king, and in 1250 the relations with Hungary were improved. In 1253, Daniel received the royal title from Pope Innocent IV. Despite attempts to form a coalition, attempts to free from Horde dependence failed. He appealed to European powers such as Poland and Hungary for assistance. In 1254-1255, prince Daniel's troops captured several towns, that subordinated to the Mongols. However, in 1258, troops of Burunday forced him to ruin the largest fortresses in order to prove that he is Horde ally.

After the death of Daniel in 1264, his son Shvarno Daniilovych for a short time united Galician Principality with Lithuania. Prince Lev Daniilovych inherited Lvov and Peremysl, and after the death of Shvarno Kholm and Galich towns. He controlled Lublin and a part of Transcarpathia with Mukachevo town. Prince Yuri I took the title of king, calling himself the king of Rus and prince of Volhynia. He succeeded in establishing a separate Galician archdiocese. First Galician metropolitan Peter later became the first metropolitan of Moscow.

Exhausting struggle against foreign enemies, sharp internal conflicts between princes and boyars and princes among themselves weakened the forces of Galicia-Volhynia Principality, and it was used by neighboring states. After the death of the last Galicia-Volhynia prince Yuri II during 14th century Lithuania conquered main part of the principality. Poland occupied Galicia until 1772. Moldavia took control of Bukovina, Hungary captured Transcarpathia.

3. Development of culture during the Princely Era

We can conditionally subdivide cultural history of Kievan Rus into two cultural epochs: *pre-Christian* and *Christian* after baptizing of Rus and rising of the influence of Byzantine Greek culture. Any discussion of the culture of a medieval society concentrates first and foremost on its religious beliefs and institutions. In the case of Kievan Rus we have two distinct religions, and therefore cultural epochs to consider. In pre-Christian time polytheism and animism based on the deification of the forces of nature and on ancestor worship, were the means by which the early East Slavic people sought to satisfy their spiritual needs.

Vladimir's the Great the most notable achievement was the *Christianization of Kievan Rus*, a process that began in 988. He tried to reform polytheistic paganism, to

transform it into monotheistic, with the cult of supreme god Perun. In 980 the new pagan “*kapyshche*” was built. It was held in frames of religious reform of Vladimir. But reform had not required results. As early as 981, Vladimir called to destroy Christian churches. Early in his reign he was known for his cruelty as well as his collection of hundreds of concubines.

But in order to strengthen the unity of the state and raise its credibility, the prince decided to establish a state religion. Pagan cult of many gods slowed down the process of state consolidation. Also it could help in relations with European states and development of culture. The population was unwilling to part with ancestors’ faith, some pagan temples functioned until the 2nd half of 13th century. People who rejected baptizing were proclaimed the enemies of the prince. Christianization slowly entered in all fields of social life. Before this event, there were Christians among the Rus, including Olga, Vladimir’s grandmother; and legends even claimed that St. Andrew, brother of St. Peter, came on a mission; however, there had been no wholesale effort to convert East Slavic tribes en masse to Christianity.

According to the “Tale of Bygone Years”, Vladimir decided that he needed to modernize his new empire, which, among other things, meant the adoption of a new religion. He considered several options. Islam was rejected because it meant circumcision and abstinence from pork and alcohol. “Drinking”, he allegedly said, “is the joy of the Ruses and we cannot exist without that pleasure”. Judaism, the religion of a stateless people, lacked sufficient prestige. Finally, Christianity, as practiced by the Byzantine (Greek) Empire, proved to be most impressive, both for the splendor of its churches (particularly Saint Sophia in Constantinople) and the wonders of their services.

The East Slavic people did not raise imposing temples to their gods, nor did they have a hierarchically organized priesthood – a fact that helps to explain the relatively weak resistance of their religion to Christianity. Nevertheless, native beliefs did not vanish completely with the coming of the new faith. Dvuverie or religious dualism, the practice of originally pagan customs and rites (such as those marking the coming of spring) persisted among the East Slavic people for centuries under the guise of Christianity.

In pre-Christian period Rus had own way of writing and people were literate. We can find the evidence of that in assigning of treaties with foreign rulers, inscriptions on applied crafts, notes from Byzantium and Roman chronicles. Bulgarian writer monk Hrabr, at early 10th century in his work “About Writing” mentioned that Slavic people did not have books, but could read and write. Pannonian



Glagolitic writing

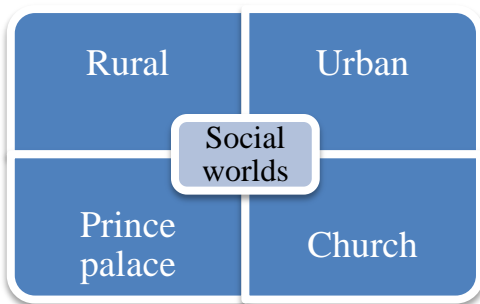
legend of Slavic educators Cyril and Methodius told about Cyril’s trip to Khazars (860) found in Hersonissos Gospel and Psalter, had written by Russian language, and spoken to a man in that language.

On the wall of Michael’s Altar of Sofian Cathedral in Kiev researcher Sergey Vysotsky (1923-1998) had found “Sofian ABC”. It was so called Glagolitic writing. Some scientists discussed the point of transitional period of East Slavic writing, started with

the addition of letters for the interpretation of phonetic peculiarities of Slavic language.

Christianization became the hegemonic impulse for cultural process. In the first half of 10th century the authentic culture of new type had been formed. It was oriented onto the cultural achievements of the Byzantine Empire and the baptizing of Rus encouraged this. Kiev state experienced a cultural flourishing.

Christianity's impact on how the populace of Rus expressed itself intellectually was equally decisive. A written language, based on an alphabet originally devised by Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Greek missionaries came into use soon after 988. Unlike Rome with its insistence on the use Latin in liturgical matters, Constantinople acquiesced in the use of native languages among its converts. Thus, Church Slavic, a literary language based on a Southern Slavic dialect and easily understood by all Slavic people, was utilized in church services and other religious observances. Gradually, it became the vehicle for both religious and secular literary expression of an increasing richness and variety.



Culture of this period was not homogeneous. It included different subcultures. Ukrainian philosopher and cultural scientist Myroslav Popovych in his book "Essays on the History of Ukrainian Culture" underlined, that culture of that period was presented by four "social worlds" – rural and urban areas, prince palace, and church. They were different according to the system of values, main activities; household realities (house, clothes, tools or weapons) so on.

With the acceptance of Christianity, Kievan Rus was introduced to a new, sophisticated, and highly structured religion. In 1037, upon the arrival from Constantinople of the first in a long line of Greek metropolitans, a metropolitan diocese was established. Initially, the diocese of Rus contained eight eparchies or bishoprics, but their number was eventually increased to sixteen. Of these, ten were located in what is Ukraine today. Many of the bishops also came from Byzantium, bringing along with them their entourages of clerks, assistants, and artisans and thereby making their bishoprics centers for the dissemination of Byzantine culture. The clergy was subdivided into two categories: the "white" clergy, or parish priests who took no vows of celibacy and were usually heads of families chosen from the communities, and the "black" clergy, who were monks from whose mid and high church officials were chosen. Intent on escaping the evils and temptations of this world by living in seclusion, monks were viewed as the elite of the faithful and their monasteries were centers of Christian devotion and learning. Churches and monasteries became the centers of spiritual, political, educational and artistic life.

The chronicles inform us that in 988 Vladimir ordered boyar children to be given an education. There were three types of schools in Kievan Rus: palace school of higher type (it existed for princes' fee); school of "book study" (the main aim of it was training of clergymen and monks); secular school of home training for children of craftsmen and merchants. Schools were organized according to Greek example. Children learned basics of writing, reading, arithmetic, singing, music, poetic,

rhetoric, foreign languages, mostly Greek and Latin. Teaching was realized by Church Slavic language. The main task of these schools was elementary education, learning of basic principles of Orthodox religion, and integration of believers around the church. Such schools existed up to the 16th century. Bishops organized schools for clergymen. At the basis of churches there were primary schools for ordinary people. The question of how widespread education was among the masses is more difficult to resolve. The discovery in Novgorod of alphabets written on birch bark for use by schoolboys or of graffiti written on the walls of St. Sophia is viewed by some scholars as an indication that the lower classes also had access to education. However, many other specialists believe that, by and large, education in general and familiarity with Byzantine-Christian culture in particular was the domain of the secular and ecclesiastical elites and thus remained out of reach for the masses.

Written works, no matter how evocative, were inaccessible to Kievan Rus masses. For them, oral literature – songs, proverbs, riddles, fairy tales, and especially oral epics or “*byliny*” – served as the repository of folk wisdom and creativity. Passed on orally from generation to generation, the *byliny* recounted the exploits of such popular heroes as the peasant’s son Ilia Muromets; the shrewd priest’s son Aliosha Popovych; and nobleman’s son Dobrynia Nikitich – all members of prince Vladimir’s mythical “*druzhina*”.



Tithe Church. Supposed view

989 (it was finished in 996). Specific name of this church is connected with that 1/10 of all prince’s profits were directed to the building of this church.

The construction of just one cathedral, the famous St. Sophia in Kiev, illustrates graphically how widespread the church’s influence was on arts. Built in 1037 during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, this splendid stone edifice, which was constructed by Greek artisans and modeled on the St. Sophia in Constantinople, had five apses, five naves, and thirteen cupolas. Marble and alabaster columns supported a sumptuously

Christian church used monumental-decorative art for psychological influence on believers. Architecture also started to develop in Kiev lands after baptizing. In old Kiev chronicle “Tale of Bygone Years” by monk Nestor mentioned that Christian churches started to build on the holy places of heathens. Stone was the main building material in 10-12th centuries. With Christianity cross-domed church form came to Rus. Tithe Church was the first cult building in Kiev. Prince Vladimir initiated the building of it in



St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. Reconstruction of primary view

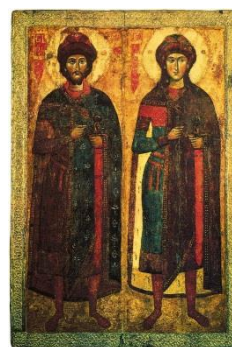
decorated interior. For Kievites who were accustomed to modest wooden structures, this house of the Christian god must have been dazzling. For instance, because the Byzantines frowned on the use of statues in their churches, sculpture never developed. There were no sculptural compositions inside the churches in Rus.



Golden Gates. Reconstruction of 1982

Yaroslav the Wise built a lot at the territory of Kiev. There was a big earthen wall around the city. It was 3,5 km long, 14 meters high and at the basis it had about 30 meters. At the top there was a special entrance to the city through the Southern Golden Gates. These Gates were mentioned in the Chronicle of 1037. There was an Announcement Church over them (similar to the Trinity church in Kiev Cave monastery). In 13th century Batu Khan troops ruined this architectural building. But in 1982 it was reconstructed.

Icon-painting was widely spread in Kievan Rus. Another means of inspiring reverence was through the use of icons – religious images painted on specially prepared wooden planks. Icon is face image or a sacred event of church history, the subject of veneration of Orthodox. Icons soon spread from the churches to private homes, where it became the most prized of family heirlooms. All of these new art forms were initially heavily influenced by Greek models. It was one of the most important among fine arts here. The biggest workshops for icons were in Kiev Cave monastery. By the end of 11th century Kiev icon-painting school was formed. *Frescos* (painting on damp plaster, usually on walls) and *mosaics* (picture or tracery made from colored fastened stones, pieces of glass, enamel, etc.) were usually too of religious content.



Icon of St. Boris and Gleb, 13th century

The decorative-applied arts were also spread in Kievan Rus. Kiev goldsmith masters were very skillful. They made golden and silver wedding ear-rings, rings, crosses, bracelets, coral beads, cups, goblets and bowls. Masterpieces of Kiev goldsmiths were famous abroad in Scandinavia, Bulgaria, Byzantine. Early Slavic people knew weaving from the ancient times like a female activity. Women had been spinning yarn of flax and hemp, while using tow and spindle. Archaeologists found weaving tools in Slavic graves. *Vybiyky* was a special field in producing of fabrics. It was a specific technology of displacement of floral or geometric ornaments on white fabrics. This kind of fabric was used for pillowcases, quilts, curtains, aprons and male trousers. Embroidery also was very popular. In Slavic tradition embroidery was used for the decoration of sleeves and necks. Slavic traditional embroidery had mostly floristic motives.

As might be expected, most of the earliest examples of written literature were associated with the Christian religion. Thus, excerpts from the Old and New Testaments, hymns, sermons, and lives of saints abounded. Hilarion, the metropolitan of Kiev in the mid-11th century in his famous work, “On Law and Grace”, skillfully counterpoised Christianity against paganism and described the Christianization of

Rus. His work revealed a sophisticated grasp of Byzantine rhetoric, and also a great familiarity with the Bible. Yet, despite his indebtedness to Greek culture, Hilarion was not slavishly Greekophile. In “On Law and Grace” he emphasized the importance and splendor of Rus, downplayed Byzantium’s role in its conversion, and assigned all the credit for this historical event to Vladimir.

There were many hand-writing copies of Gospels – Ostromyr Gospel (1056-1057), fragments of Turov Gospel (11th century), etc. Psalter (collection of religious songs-anthems), apocryphal works, Lives of Saints and the Fathers and theological literature of famous clergymen were also popular in that period.

Literary works were also produced by members of the secular elite. Despite his constant involvement in political affairs, prince Vladimir Monomakh wrote his moving and philosophical “Testament”. This book is called the first secular sermon on Christian ethics.

Anonymous author of the most magnificent poetical work of the Kievan period, “The Tale of the Host of Igor” (1185-1187), belonged to courtly circles. While recounting the story of a disastrous campaign by a minor prince against the nomads Polovetsians, the author infused it with a passionate appeal to all feuding princes of Rus to unite for the common good.

As the result of political unity absence, culture of Kievan Rus experienced hard strike from Mongol and Tatar invasion, capturing of lands by foreign countries. It will reborn in new severe conditions.

Questions and tasks

1. Which conception of Rus state formation do you support? Why?
2. Fulfill the chart about the rulers of Kievan Rus

Dates of the reign	Name of prince	Main achievements

3. What is feudalism? Why was Kievan Rus a feudal state?
4. What was the character of Kievan Rus economy?
5. Identify the reasons for feudal disintegration of Rus. Which one was the main?
6. Analyze the consequences of feudal disintegration.
7. Why did Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky think that initially Galician-Volhynian Principality inherited Kievan traditions? Express your opinion.
8. Why did glorious earlier Galician-Volhynian Principality collapse? Try to find a complex of reasons.
9. Why did prince Vladimir adopt Christianity?
10. How did Christianity influence a culture of Kievan Rus?
11. Why did M. Popovych single out several “social worlds” in a culture of Kievan Rus?
12. Characterize the level of Kievan Rus culture development.

Chapter III. Ukrainian Lands under the Power of Poland and Lithuania

1. Political, social, and economic features of Ukrainian lands in the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
2. Culture of Lithuanian and Polish Period

1. Political, social, and economic features of Ukrainian lands in the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The Grand Principality (Duchy) of Lithuania was an European state from the 12th century until 1569 and then as a constituent part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until 1791 when Constitution abolished it in favor of the unitary state. It was the territory affiliated with Kievan Rus before. Later principality expanded to include large portions of the former Kievan Rus, covering the territory of present-day Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania and parts of Estonia, Moldova, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. In the 15th century, it was the largest state in Europe. It was a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state with great diversity in languages, religion, and cultural heritage.

Mindaugas (1230-1263), the first ruler of Grand Principality, was crowned in 1253 and started expansion. He made an attempt to capture Chernigov. Lithuanian princes took care of restructuring of military affairs. It was decided that everyone who owns the land must serve in the army. If someone refused military service, lands should be confiscated.

In 1340, the Lithuanian prince Gediminas (1316-1341) with the help of his son Liubart took Volhynia. Through the marriage of his children, Gediminas founded kinship with the Belorussian and Ukrainian princes.

In the second half of the 14th century Lithuania occupied the Northern and central Ukrainian lands. Principality annexed it almost without resistance. Algirdas (1345-1377), the son of Gediminas, captured Chernigov lands and Kiev in 1362. Thus, he became the Grand prince of Rus. Algirdas declared, "All Rus must simply belong to the Lithuanians".

In 1363, the Lithuanian army defeated the Tatars near the Siniukha river. Thereafter, Lithuania captured Podolia. However, in 1399 Grand prince of Lithuania Vytautas together with Belorussian and Ukrainian princes were defeated by the Tatars on the river Vorskla (Poltava region). But after that the Lithuanians successfully defended occupied Ruthenian lands. At the end of the 14th century 90 % of Lithuanian state consisted of Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian lands. Grand Principality of Lithuania was not built only on military aggression, as its existence always depended on diplomacy just as much as on arms. Most, while not all, cities it annexed were never defeated in battle but agreed to be vassals of Grand Principality of Lithuania.



Lithuanian knight, late 14th century

In Lithuania Belorussian and Ukrainian population was not subjected to national oppression. Rus princes were part of the top management bodies of Lithuania, Ancient Rus language was the

official language of Lithuania, Rus law was continuing to act in the Lithuanian state. Lithuanians' principle was: *"We do not change the old and do not introduce the new"*. Orthodox religion was the state religion in Lithuania. Political system of Lithuania was largely copied from the Ancient Rus. In the 13th century, the center of the Grand Principality of Lithuania, was inhabited by a majority which spoke Lithuanian, but it was not a written language till 16th century. In the other parts of the Principality, especially in the economically better developed Belorussia, the majority of population, including Rus nobles and ordinary people used both spoken and written Ancient Rus language. The Lithuanians managed to gain control over the region because they were welcomed by local Slavic populations. It was no reason for resistance.



But over time, the situation began to change. The international situation for Lithuania has deteriorated. It was threatened by the German Teutonic Order of knights from the West and Russian Grand Principality of Moscow from the East. Lithuania was in search for an ally to protect itself. The Kingdom of Poland became its natural geopolitical ally.

Expansion of the Poles into the Ukrainian lands began under the king Kasimir III the Great. In 1340 and 1349, he fought against Lithuania for Galicia. As the result, Poland obtained Galicia, and Lithuania gained Volhynia.

Algirdas' successor Jogaila signed the *Union of Krevo* in 1386, bringing two major changes in the history of Grand Principality of Lithuania: conversion into Catholicism and establishment of a dynastic union between the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. He has become also Polish king. After the sign of the Krevo Union Jogaila presented a lot of land in Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine to the Polish gentry known as "*szlachta*". In 1387, Jogaila helped Poland to conquer Galicia, that was occupied by Hungary. Such pro-Polish policy of Jogaila was the cause for discontent of Belorussian, Ukrainian and some Lithuanian princes. The opposition, led by the his brother Vytautas, forced Jogaila to abandon the Lithuanian throne.

However, Vytautas acknowledged vassalage of Lithuania. The reign of Vytautas the Great marked both the greatest territorial expansion of the Grand Principality and the defeat of the Teutonic Knights in the *Battle of Grunwald* in 1410. The battle was very fierce. Knight's army lost 18 thousand and was crushed, the blow was devastating. That time also was marked by the rise of the Lithuanian nobility. Lithuanian noblemen attempted to break the personal union with Poland.

However, the unsuccessful wars against the Grand Principality of Moscow forced the union to remain intact. Since 1413, the so-called *Gorodlo Union* limited the participation of Orthodox in government. Only Catholics got the right to become governors, mayors, judges, counselors and others. The Catholic Church has concentrated in its hands all the education. New lands were giving only to Catholics. Rus principalities were turned into Lithuanian provinces. Such discriminatory measures against Orthodox caused the mass conversion of elite to Catholicism.

Moscow tsar Ivan III the Great had declared himself as the "sovereign of all Rus" after glorious victories over another local Rus principalities and Lithuania. The loss of land to Moscow and the continued pressure threatened the survival of the state of Lithuania. Eventually, the *Union of Lublin* of 1569 created a new state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this federation, the Grand Principality of Lithuania maintained its political distinctiveness and had a separate government, laws, army, and treasury. According to the Union many of the territories formerly controlled by the largely Ruthenized Grand Principality of Lithuania were transferred to the Crown of the Polish Kingdom, while the gradual process of Polonization slowly drew Lithuania itself under Polish domination. *Polonization* is a specific term for policy of Polish government, providing of Polish culture. The king was forced by the *szlachta* to incorporate the southern Lithuanian-controlled lands of Podlasie, Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev regions into Poland. The lands of nobles who refused to do so, were

confiscated. The Union of Lublin replaced the personal union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Principality of Lithuania with a real union and an elective monarchy. After the Union Lithuanian nobles had the same formal rights as the Polish to rule the lands and subjects.

During this period, the development of the feudal economy enhanced, the role of crafts and trade, commodity and money relations expanded. New towns emerged, the population of large cities achieved self-government. Despite the economic oppression, as well as the devastating by Tatar-Turkish raids, the number of people who lived in the Ukrainian lands increased. At the beginning of the 15th century about 3.3 million people lived in Ukraine. At the end of the first quarter of the 17th century population reached 5.6 million.

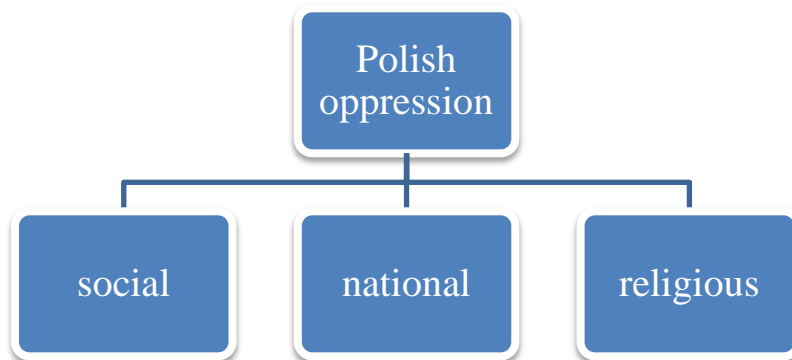
Since the end of the 14th century and for most of the 15th, number of large feudal landholdings in Ukrainian lands increased. Landowners who had great wealth, gradually formed the higher feudal class – “*magnates*” or tycoons and reached broad political rights and privileges that were significantly different from medium and small feudal lords. At a time when other states (e. g., France, England, Spain) in Europe were moving toward centralization, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was remarkably decentralized. The nobility retained much political power. It was one of the reasons for Commonwealth’s decline. Eventually, powerful local nobles, enjoying the right of individual vetoes over legislative activity, were able to paralyze the work of the Sejm.

On average, in the Right-Bank Ukraine the number of szlachta in the first half of the 17th century was approximately 38.5 thousand or about 2.3 % of the population. The clergy was a separate large social stratum. Even small villages had their own church. The main productive force was the peasantry – the main population of the Ukrainian lands. According to the level of the dependence peasantry was divided into three groups: 1) free peasants, who had the right of unconditional withdrawal from the feudal after finishing their obligations; 2) dependent peasants was the largest group, they had the right to move away from the feudal lord, but with some conditions: at the certain time, after the payment of ransom or replacement by the peasant of the same degree of dependence; 3) enslaved peasants, who were not allowed to escape from the feudal lord. The peasants’ right of transition to another lord was subsequently abolished. Together with the growth of feudal estates two processes took place: 1) dispossession of the peasantry; 2) strengthening and legalization of serfdom.

So, at the beginning of the 15th century Eastern Galicia peasants practiced 14 days of serfdom per the year, and at the end of the century – 2 days per week that is 104 days a year, and in the middle of the 16th century in many estates corvee reached 4 days per a week or 208 days per a year. The peasantry should pay natural and cash taxes to the state, local feudal lords, and tithes to the Church. In addition, the peasants of the Ukrainian lands were serving duties in favor to the state: built and repaired the Polish king and Grand prince of Lithuania castles, constructed bridges, erected dams, roads, so on.

In addition to agriculture, the population of Ukrainian lands were pastoralists, grew vegetables, crops, hemp, flax, etc. Gardening and beekeeping has been

distributed. An important place belonged to fishing and hunting, especially in wooded areas in Polesie. Mainly in the feudal estates processing of agricultural raw materials was carrying out. Flour production was an important sector of agriculture and monopoly of feudal lords.



The growth of production and trade in the late 15th – the first half of the 16th century contributed to the development of cities, strengthening old and create new ones. Ukrainian Medieval towns were divided into the Grand prince property reported directly to the central public authorities, private, and church. In the 13th – 15th century, about 80 % of all the Ukrainian cities and towns were private property of feudal lords. *Magdeburg law* for self-government of cities created a new legal framework for the development of local government. Lithuanian and Polish princes gladly issued charters for the introduction of Magdeburg law, considering it as means of colonizing new lands. Providing of this right meant the abolition of the ordinary rules of law, the elimination of feudal lords and another administrators of all Great princes power over citizens. Function of power was transmitted to the appointed by Grand prince or king “voit”, who was the highest official of the city. However, Magdeburg Law was applied only to the Catholics.

2. Culture of Lithuanian and Polish Period

Describing a culture we should mention main features of that time cultural life. Firstly, the *Renaissance* was a cultural movement that spanned the period roughly from the 14th to the 17th century, beginning in Italy in the Late Middle Ages and later spreading to the rest of Europe. The main principle and ideological ground was *humanism*, the central role of human being. Because of that there was the interest to education, books, and science. Also humanists took into account sinful nature of human being.

Secondly, the *Baroque* was an artistic style that has been used exaggerated motion and clear, easily interpreted detail to produce drama, tension, exuberance, and grandeur in sculpture, painting, architecture, literature, dance, and music. The style began around 1600 in Italy and spread to most of Europe.



St. Peter's Square in Rome, a vivid example of the Baroque

Just as it was in Kievan times, Orthodoxy remained synonymous with culture in the 15th – 16th centuries. Indeed, its role in Ukrainian society grew: with no state of their own, their church served for the Ukrainians as the only institutional means of expressing their collective identity. Close relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic rulers of Poland-Lithuania was difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. In the 15th century Eastern Church was in deep crisis, because Byzantium had lost political and cultural influence, and later occupation of the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire. From the middle of 15th century Moscow metropolitanate emerged. Unwilling to leave their numerous Orthodox subjects under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Moscow, the Grand princes of Lithuania reestablished a Kiev metropolitanate in 1458.

Orthodox Church at the territory of Lithuanian Principality was in better conditions, than in Russian province of Poland. In this reason resistance to Catholic suppression was the strongest and well-organized in Galicia. The Catholic Church has sought to establish its authority over the Ukrainian lands.

To resolve the matter, a church council was called in Brest in 1596. Never had Ukraine and Belorussia seen such a multitudinous church gathering. To ensure Orthodox safety of Polish fanaticism, Orthodox prince Ostrozhsky brought along part of his private army. It was immediately apparent that the two sides could not find common ground. Realizing that negotiations were pointless, the pro-union or Uniate side publicly reiterated its intention to enter into the union.

Despite protests and threats, the Orthodox could not force them to retreat. Thus, former Rus society split in two: on the one hand were the Orthodox magnates, the majority of the clergy, and the masses, while on the other, backed by the king, was the former hierarchy and a handful of followers. Consequently, a situation existed in which there was a hierarchy without faithful, and faithful without a hierarchy. Under the terms of the *Union of Brest* Orthodox Church in Ukraine was united with the Catholic and obeyed the Pope. *Greek Catholic* or *Uniate Church* arose. The most characteristic feature of church life in Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century was a struggle against uniatism.

Cultural confrontation between the Ukrainians and Poles cost the former dearly: it forced Ukrainian nobles to choose between their own stagnant, impoverished cultural heritage and the vibrant, attractive Catholic Polish culture. Not surprisingly, the vast majority opted for Catholicism and the Polonization that invariably followed. Consequently, the Ukrainians lost their noble elite. Polish language was used like an official one and was compulsory for education and in all spheres of social life. At the top of political elite appeared people, who had spoken Polish and adopted

Catholicism instead of Orthodox religion. The pressure of Polonization was harder to resist with each subsequent generation and eventually almost all of the Rus nobility was Polonized. And this development was of epochal importance for their subsequent history. However, the commoners continued to speak their own languages and to practice the Orthodox religion. It eventually created a significant rift between the lower social classes and the nobility in the Lithuanian and so called Ruthenian areas of the Commonwealth.

Another far-reaching by-product of the Orthodox-Catholic confrontation, specifically of the Union of Brest, was that it divided the Ukrainians into Orthodox and Greek Catholics, thereby laying the foundation for the many sharp distinctions that eventually developed between East and West Ukrainians.

Complicated situation in Church affairs was closely connected with the situation in education. Education transformed from private into state policy. Foreigners were impressed by high level of literacy of the Ukrainians. Paul from Aleppo in 1653 traveled about Ukraine underlined that educated the Ukrainians knew laws, rhetoric, logic and philosophy. The majority of population was literate. Even women and girls could read and were skillful in church singing. Clergymen taught orphans and did not give them the chance to be tramps. Obviously this is an exaggeration. But it is well known that nearly each Ukrainian village had a school, because in this case church and school were same institution.

There were many changes in education of late 16th – early 17th centuries. Influential Ukrainian magnates spent money for its development. Prince Constantine-Basil Ostrozhsky was one of them. He cared of culture and charity. Ostrozhsky supported the idea of cultural and religious autonomy of Ukrainian and Belorussian people, patronized Orthodox institutions, medical and educational institutions. He organized the circle of writers in his private town Ostrog (Ostroh), collegium (school) with printing press, founded schools. Ostrog School was of highest European level. Prince gathered the best scientific forces of Ukraine. There had been taught “seven free arts”: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. 500 pupils graduated this school between 1576 and 1636.

The circle of theologians and philologists was the part of Ostrog educational branch. Gerasim Smotrytsky was one of the most famous participants of it. He was a rector of Ostrog School. His son Meletius was also very talented person. He was a teacher, translator, writer and polemist, religious and political leader. But the most thing made him famous – his “Slavic grammar” (1619).

Ruthenians got high education in European universities. In 15th century, for Ruthenian students in Prague and Krakow Universities there were special hostels. They got the education in Bologna, Padua, Basel, Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Leiden. The part of the Ruthenians left for work in Western Europe. Some of them became the outstanding representatives of West-European humanistic culture.

Yuri Kotermak (more famous like Yuri Drohobych) (1450-1494) was a scientist of European level, and provided ideas of humanism and new achievements of science. He was born in the family of Drohobych merchant. In 1469 he entered Yagellon University in Krakow, studied astronomy and medicine. In 1478 he got Doctor Degree in Philosophy and became a professor. In the period of 1478-1482 he

gave lectures in astronomy in Bologna University. He even was the rector of that University in 1481-1482. In 1482 he got Doctor Degree in Medicine. He was the first Ruthenian, who got it in Bologna University, did an autopsy of the human body for understanding of causes of diseases to find the best way of treatment. He had medical practice also. For great contribution into national culture he got the title of citizen of Bologna.

In many European countries the name of Stanislaw Orzechowski (1513-1566) a Ruthenian and Polish philosopher, political writer and theologian was famous. His father was Catholic and mother was Orthodox. He got education in Krakow, Wittenberg, Padua, and Bologna Universities. The most of life he spent in Italy.

In conditions of foreign expansion the Ruthenians had to preserve national identity. In Orthodox Ukraine Catholic churches started to build and Jesuit schools were formed at the basis of these churches. The attractive Polish model of the privileged nobleman exerted the influence on the Ukrainian nobility. And the obvious superiority of its culture intensified the appeal of all things Polish. The Jesuits, sure of their victory over Protestantism, now focused their attention on the “schismatics”, as they called the Orthodox. Catholics felt their privileged position, because of that they did not give the chance for Orthodox believers to follow the traditions: to toll, to organize funeral processions, to build new church, forced to participate in Catholic festivals. Ukrainians resisted this situation. Uprisings happened very often in late 16th – early 17th centuries.

By late 16th – early 17th centuries, collective organs started to form in Ukraine – *brotherhoods*. These were national-religious and public cultural organizations. They started to form because Ruthenian culture appeared in the situation of limitation. Brotherhoods protected human rights of Ukrainian people, the Orthodox faith, educated the Ruthenians, organized and supported schools, trained writers, philosophers, orators, teachers, cared of historical and cultural monuments, chronicles, books, supported poor people, paid ransoms for Ruthenian people, who appeared in Turkish captivity. Brotherhoods presented national consciousness, played an important role in protection of Orthodox religion, in the struggle against Polonization. They were church-household, religious and philanthropic organizations. Among the main tasks of these organizations there were: increasing of moral and intellectual level of members, education, and protection of Orthodox religion. In 1588 Lvov brotherhood was formed. Members of it wanted self-government for Ukrainians in this town and to protect Orthodox traditions. By the end of 16th century, brotherhoods in other towns were organized.

Brotherhoods built schools. Pedagogic principles of brotherhoods' schools were based on the humanism. In the Statute of Lvov brotherhood school in 1586 there was a principle of value of each person despite of his origin or wealth. Lvov brotherhood school taught children of landlords, priests, blacksmith masters, bakers, painters, tailors, furriers, and even poor people. Brotherhood schools had Greek-Slavic character. Latin and Polish languages were also among the main subjects of such schools. Pupils studied reading, writing, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, poetry, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

At the beginning of 17th century, Kiev renewed as a cultural center of Ukraine. Elizabeth Hulevych, daughter of Lutsk nobleman, gave money for the foundation of Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood (it was the most numerable one in Ukraine). It united the best representatives of Ukrainian nobility, clergymen, craftsmen and merchants. We should underline that Kiev brotherhood school (1615) influenced a lot on Ukrainian cultural development. Famous Ukrainian humanists Job (Yov) Boretsky, Elisha Pletenetsky, Taras Zemka, and Zacharias Kopystensky were among founders of Kiev school. Job Boretsky was the first rector of Kiev brotherhood school. This educational institution was named “Kiev Schools”, because it consisted from 4 schools: one elementary, and 3 humanitarian. Old Slavic, Greek and Latin languages, rhetoric, poetry, philosophy were among school subjects.

In autumn of 1631, archimandrite of Kiev-Pechersk lavra Peter Mohyla founded the school. Lavra and brotherhood school united and received the name Kiev collegium. Later, this collegium became an Academy the only Ukrainian high educational institution. It got the name of the founder Peter Mohyla.

Peter (Petro) Mohyla (1596-1647) was the prominent Ruthenian cultural public figure. He originated from rich noble dynasty, graduated Lvov brotherhood school, after that studied abroad in Paris. Later, he moved to Kiev. In 1625 he became the monk of Kiev Cave monastery and in 2 years was elected as archimandrite. Then Mohyla became a metropolitan of Kievan and Galician regions. Peter Mohyla led an active struggle against Uniatic church. He asked Polish king for legalization of Orthodox Church in Ukraine and received back some Orthodox houses and cult buildings of St. Sophia Church and Kiev Vydubitsky monastery.

But in general Polish state demonstrated hostility to Ruthenian educational institutions, especially Kiev collegium. Polish king Wladyslav IV ordered to liquidate all Latin schools in Kiev and in 1635 Polish Sejm forbade to teach philosophy. In spite of state prohibition the philosophical course and theology preserved in Kiev collegium. Uniatic bishops had written to the Pope that co-operation between Kiev brotherhood and disobedient Cossack people threaten Catholicism.

Brotherhoods also had their defects. Lack of funds was always a problem. Despite their proliferation, the brotherhoods never formed an umbrella organization and their links with each other were sporadic.

Among popular literary genres in Ukraine of 14th – the first half of 17th centuries there was Chronicles’ writing. “Hustyn Chronicle” was compiled between 1623-1627 by Zacharias Kopystensky (?-1627). This chronicle dwelled on the events from the time of Kievan Rus up to the late 16th century in the context of world history. Kiev-Pechersk Paterik, Lithuanian and Kiev Chronicles were the most famous ones of that period. Author of Lithuanian Chronicle wanted to increase the authority of princes, because of that their origin he connected with the Roman patricians. This was the history of Lithuania from the ancient times up to the middle of the 16th century.

In 1556-1561, monk of Peresopnytsia Orthodox monastery in Volhynia Michael Vasylevych made one of the first translations of Gospel’s texts from Southern Slavic Bulgarian language into everyday one. In manuscript of Peresopnytsia Gospel there were phonetic, grammar and lexical features of folk language of the 16th century. Text of this Gospel was written by calligraphic handwriting. Ornamental motives and

compositions were used for decoration of this book. It became the most valuable Ukrainian Holy book.

The controversy surrounding the Union of Brest evoked an unprecedented outburst of polemical writing. *Polemic literature* was the reflection of struggle between Catholic and Orthodox in means of religious works. It played an important role in the struggle of the Ruthenians for social and national liberation. It started its active development especially in 16-17th centuries. The majority of polemicists accepted necessity of 'educational programs' perfection and arising role of school in youth upbringing.

Not unexpectedly, the indefatigable Jesuit Peter Skarga fired the first shot in this bitter war of words with his "Union of Brest and Its Defense" (1597). In his work "The Unity of God's Church", Peter Skarga argued that the state of Orthodoxy was so hopeless that its adherents' only alternative was union with Rome. "The Greeks fooled you, Ruthenian people", Skarga wrote, "for in giving you the Holy Faith, they did not give you the Greek language, forcing you to use the Slavic one so that you could never attain true understanding and learning ... for one can never attain learning by means of the Slavic language".

Despite its weaknesses, Orthodoxy was able to mount a response to the Polish Catholic challenge. In Ostrog, a nobleman Martin Bronevsky, writing under the pseudonym of Christopher Filalet, published that same year in Polish and in 1598 in Ruthenian his "Apokrisis". It contained a compilation of documents revealing the Greek Catholic bishops' machinations, as well as arguments defending the legitimacy of the Orthodox. On the Greek Catholic side there was only one noteworthy writer – Hypatius Potij. Using well-developed Jesuit models, he published in 1599, in Ruthenian, his "Anti-Apokrisis", a temperamental response to Bronevsky's polemic.

Gerasim and Meletius Smotrytskys were famous Ukrainian polemic writers of this period. Meletius Smotrytsky in his book "Threnos" of 1610 had shown that nobility betrayed the Orthodox faith by the adoption of Catholic religion. He bemoaned the loss to Rus and Orthodoxy of its leading families: "Where are the priceless jewels of [Orthodoxy's] crown, such famous families of Ruthenian princes as the Slutsky, Zaslavsky, Zbarazky, Vyshnevetsky, Sangushsky, Chartorysky, Pronsky, Ruzhynsky, Solomyretsky, Holovchynnyky, Koropynsky, Masalsky, Horsky, Sokolynsky, Lukomsky, Ruzyna, and others without number? Where are those who surrounded them ... the wellborn, glorious, brave, strong, and ancient houses of the Ruthenian nation who were renowned throughout the world for their high repute, power, and bravery?" The question was obviously rhetorical, for it was common knowledge that all of these illustrious magnate families had joined the Catholic-Polish camp.

"Threnos" influenced a lot on some generations of educated Ruthenians. Polish king Sigismund III ordered the seizure and burning of all copies, closing of the printing press, where the book was published. He also wanted to punish all people responsible for this publication. "Threnos" had been written in Polish language. Therefore, it was addressed to the elite.

Ivan Vyshensky (1550-1620) from Galicia was the most outstanding polemic writer. In 1596, he was the monk of Athos monastery in Greece. This monastery was

a big religious center of Orthodox Church. We can find for about 20 polemic works of this writer now. He defended the traditional Orthodox doctrine, engaged the propaganda for natural equality of people, collectivism, offered the socialization of property, etc. He considered that the ideal social organization should be built on the principles of early Christianity. He was against a system of secular education, thought that it is not necessary to study foreign languages and antique philosophy, supported church-scholastic upbringing. Writing in simple but powerful prose, Vyshensky mercilessly castigated the Greek Catholics in such works as “A Letter to the Bishops Who Abandoned Orthodoxy” and “A Short Response to Peter Skarga”. But he also criticized the Orthodox, emphasizing the egoism, self-indulgence, and corruption of their nobility, wealthy burghers, and clergy as being responsible for the sorry state of their Church. Very much a man of the people, Vyshensky was unique in bemoaning the enslavement of peasants and fearless in denouncing their exploiters.

Early 17th century was the time, when prince Ostrozhsky died and his support of Orthodox Church and Ruthenian culture stopped. In 1612, Ostrog printing press stopped to exist. The school without material support also stopped its activity by 1640. Granddaughter of Constantine Ostrozhsky Anne-Aloize Hodkevych followed Jesuits. She organized Jesuit collegiums (1642) and even re-baptized bones of her father Alexander Ostrozhsky.

Book printing in Europe was formed thanks to the efforts of Johann Guttenberg from Mainz. The first book was printed in 1440. In Ukrainian lands printing formation was connected with the name of Ivan Fedorov (about 1525-1583). Earlier existence of printing in Ukraine has not proved by scientists. In 1553 I. Fedorov managed to start the building of Moscow printing press. There he edited in 1564 with his friend Peter Mstislavets the first Russian book “Apostle”. Later they moved to Lithuania. There, in town Zabludov they opened the printing press and edited “The Didactic Gospel” in 1569 and “Psalter” in 1570. In 1572 I. Fedorov moved to Lvov and in 1573 he founded the first Ukrainian printing press. The brotherhood helped him to establish it. 1574, at Lvov monastery of St. Onufry he prepared the second edition of “The Apostle”. Later, there were more editions of this book in Kiev (1630), Lvov (1639), and Lutsk (1640). Very soon after the edition of “The Apostle” Ivan Fedorov edited “The Alphabet” with grammar. It was the first East-Slavic printed alphabet. It was the text book of Slavic language. There we could find the patriotic acclaims directed to the youth.

Because of financial difficulties at the beginning of 1575 I. Fedorov moved from Lvov to Ostrog under the protectorate of Constantine Ostrozhsky. In 1578 he printed “The Alphabet” for pupils of Ostrog school. There, in Ostrog, I. Fedorov started cooperation with Gerasim Smotrytsky. “The Ostrog Bible” was edited in 1581. It was real polygraph masterpiece. It was the first full edition of the Bible in Church Slavic language. Later editions of this Bible in Moscow (1663) and St. Petersburg (1751) were only re-editions of it with some phonetic changes.

The most famous Ukrainian cultural public figure of the early 17th century was Elisha Pletenetsky (1554-1624). He was an archimandrite of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery from 1599 up to 1624. In 1615 he founded the first printing press in lavra. More than that he organized in Radomyshl a big paper manufacture. By the end of

16th century there were 7 paper manufactures in Ukraine and they exported the paper to Russia.

Usually the majority of printed books were devoted to ecclesiastic topics. But there were also educational books. In 1627 the printing press of Kiev Cave monastery published the fundamental Slavic-Ruthenian dictionary “The Lexicon Sloveno-Russian or the interpretation of names”. It was used in school education. Lexicon contents 6982 definitions with the translation and interpretation in Ruthenian language. Pamva Berynda was the editor of this dictionary.



Lutsk castle, current state

Architecture of 14th – 15th centuries in Ukraine had some peculiarities. Historical and social processes demanded building of fortified cities and castles. The majority of them were wooden, so they did not preserved up to nowadays.

Classic castle architecture we can find in Lutsk, Kamianets, and Zbarazh. Old castles were in organic unity with landscapes. They were built at the tops of hills, on the banks of rivers or lakes. In castles-fortresses there was everything for

the protection of inhabitants. Later, from the middle of 16th century elements of defensive architecture were changed by elements of Renaissance castle building. Castles in Berezhany and Medzhybizh were built in this style.

In castles of that period defensive buildings around the perimeter were changed by dwelling ones. In walls outside there were loopholes, but inside there were big windows, and two-layer open galleries. There are many wonderful castles in Ukraine of that period: Hotyn, Olesko, Mukachevo, and others.

Bizantium-Russian style was dominative in church architecture. Many churches and monasteries were built at that time. In late 16th century Anna Hoyiska founded Pochaev monastery, in 1612-1615 Michael Vyshnevetsky founded two monasteries – Hustynsky and Mgarsky – not far from Pryluky. Western influences in church architecture we can find in Lvov, Rohatyn, and Drohobych.

Ukrainian artists of 14th – 15th centuries presented Renaissance influences in fine arts. West-European influences we find in frescoes in Horiany in Uzhgorod, which was under Hungarian rule. These frescoes were made in new stylistic manner. In frescos we can see ordinary people in traditional costumes. Dynamic poses, gestures, and countenances reflected emotions of characters.



Iconostasis in Orthodox church

iconostasis (mixture of painting, sculpture, and ornamental carving).

Wooden icon-painting also developed at that period. Icons were cheaper than frescoes. Churches were equipped by monumental-decorative compositions of

In 16th – 17th centuries, two kinds of theatre were formed. School theatre was very popular. *Vertep* was a puppet-theatre, which was the part of Christmas celebration.

Under the conditions of Polish Catholic oppression the struggle to preserve its cultural identity has long been a central theme in the history of Orthodox Rus people. An intense confrontation developed that flared up into religious and cultural warfare. Formulated primarily in terms of Orthodoxy and Catholicism – religion was the preeminent ideological issue for all Europeans at that time – this confrontation sparked the first major ideological debate in Ukrainian history. In such severe conditions specific Ukrainian culture was born.

Questions and tasks

1. Fill the chart

Criteria for comparison	The Grand Principality of Lithuania	Poland
Social and economic policy		
Role of the Ancient Rus language		
Attitude to Orthodox Christianity		

2. Why did the Lithuanians occupy Ruthenian lands almost without a resistance?
3. Highlight the stages of Lithuania and Poland association. What was the reason for it?
4. How did an association of Lithuania and Poland influenced the fate of Ukrainian lands?
5. Which directions of Polish oppression do you know? Give few examples.
6. What is the Renaissance? How did the Renaissance influence Ruthenian culture?
7. Indicate the consequences of Brest Union.
8. How did the Ukrainians lose their noble elite?
9. What were polemic literature and brotherhoods? Why did they arise?
10. Who was the first to publish a book in Ukraine? Which importance did it have?

Chapter IV. Time of the Cossacks

1. The emergence of the Cossacks in Ukrainian lands.
2. Liberation War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky.
3. The Ruin.
4. Specific character of Cossack culture.

1. The emergence of the Cossacks in Ukrainian lands.

Cossacks are known as members of democratic, self-governing, semi-military communities, predominantly located in contemporary Ukraine and Russian Federation. They inhabited sparsely populated areas and islands in the lower Dnieper, Don, Kuban, Terek, Amur and Ural rivers, Siberia, and Transbaikalia. In Ukrainian lands the Cossacks had their specific features.

Strengthening of social, national and religious oppression in that time, military danger caused the resistance of the Ruthenian people. At the head of this resistance were already mentioned Ukrainian Cossacks. Strengthening of oppression was considered in the previous chapter, and military danger was the following. At the end of the 15th century, a new state emerged in the Southern lands of modern Ukraine, it was *Crimean Khanate*. It dissociated from the Golden Horde in 1449 and in 1475 recognized vassalage to the Ottoman Empire. In 1482 the Crimean khan Mengli Giray attacked Kiev and devastated it. After that, the Tatars almost annually repeated their raids to Ukraine, and the population was taken into slavery as so-called “*yasyr*”. From 1450 to 1556 hordes of the Crimean Tatars made 86 large raids to the



Cossacks are liberating their captured compatriots Ukrainian lands. Lithuania was unable to protect its own lands. The huge territory of South-Eastern Ukraine has become almost a desert. Constant threat from the Crimean Tatars was the impetus for the emergence of Cossacks in those lands. So, in these conditions new phenomenon of social life emerged. During the raids of retribution to the Black Sea shores of the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate, the Cossacks not only robbed rich settlements, but liberated their compatriots from slavery.

The word “Cossack” is of Turkic origin. The first mention about Ukrainian Cossacks in the diplomatic correspondence of neighboring states dated by end of the 15th century. Initially, it meant “unmarried man”. Over time, term transformed in men separated from their social environment, renegade, desperate vagrant and robber. Until the end of the 16th century, the term “Cossack” fixed not a social status but the lifestyle. National composition of these groups was extremely diverse: Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Lithuanians, Armenians, Karaites, Krymchaks,

Kipchaks, Tatars. Early Cossacks seemed to have included a significant number of Tatar descendants judging from the records of their names. From the mid-15th century, the Cossacks are mostly mentioned with Russian and Ukrainian names.



Zaporizhian Cossack

For the protection against Tatars settlers of devastated “*Wild Field*” gathered in militias and lived in fortified settlements. The *Zaporizhian Cossacks* or simply Zaporizhians were Ukrainian Cossacks who lived beyond the rapids of the Dnieper, the land also known as the Great Meadow in today’s Central Southern Ukraine. Cossacks not only protected themselves against the Tatars, but also started to attack them and rob the neighboring Tatar villages. In 1492 the Crimean khan was complaining that the Cossacks attacked his ship and the Grand prince of Lithuania Alexander I promised to find the guilty among the Cossacks. Towards the end of the 15th century, the Ukrainian Cossacks formed the *Zaporizhian Sich (Host)* centered on the fortified Dnieper islands. The name Zaporizhian Host comes from the location of their fortress, the Sich, in Zaporizhzhia, the

“the land beyond the rapids”. The term “Sich” is a noun derived from the verb in Eastern Slavic languages “to chop” or “cut”, meaning to clear a forest for an encampment, or to build a fortification with the trees that have been chopped down. The first mention about the Sich was done in 1551. In 1552 on the banks of the Lower Dnieper the first recorded Zaporizhian Host was formed when Dmytro Vyshnevetsky built a fortress on the island of Khortytsia. Host was initially a vassal of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. But the increasing of social and religious pressure from the Poles caused the Cossacks to defend their interests. The Zaporizhian Sich grew rapidly in the 15th century from serfs fleeing the more controlled parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia establishing itself as a well-respected political entity with a parliamentary system of government. It was Cossack republic with direct democracy.



Zaporizhian Sich. Reconstruction

In 1558, however, first Sich fortress was destroyed by the Tatars. Soon another Sich was created on the now-flooded island of Tomakivka as a fortified encampment 40 miles to the south of modern city Marganets. That Sich also was razed by the Tatars in 1593. With the destruction of the Tomakivka Sich the third Sich was created on the Bazavluk island in

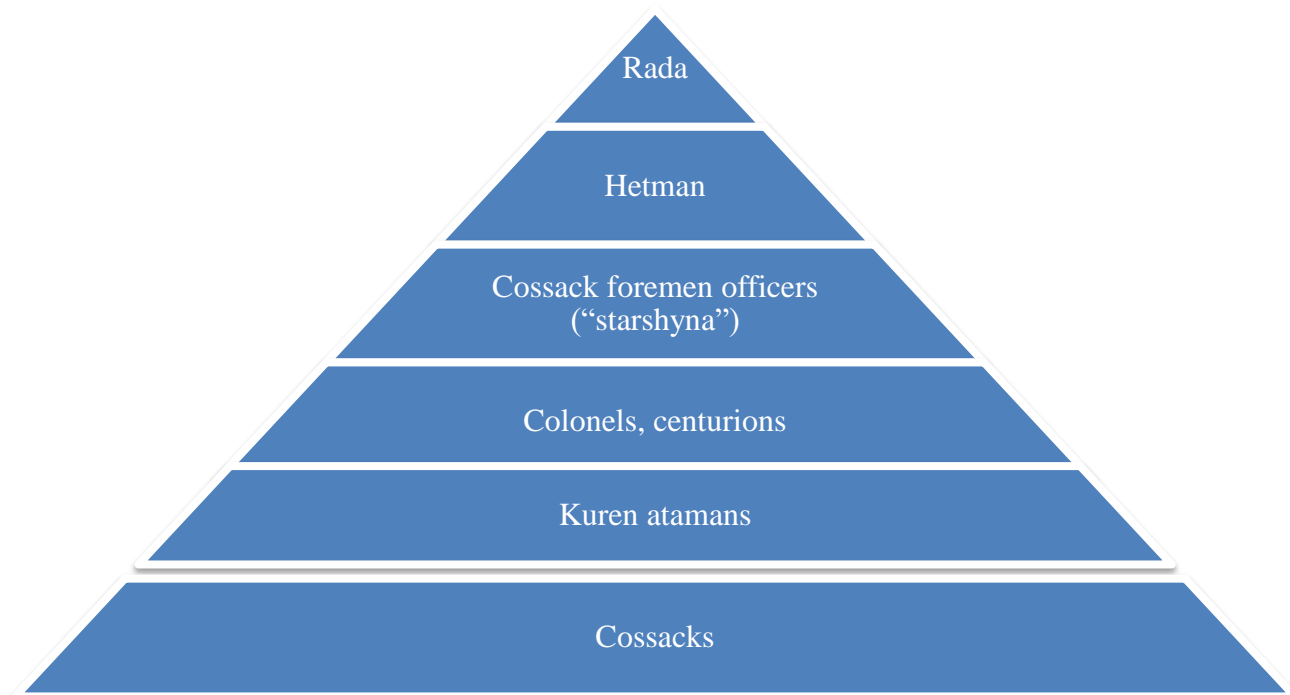
1593 that today is also flooded. It managed to stay until 1638 when it was destroyed by the Polish expeditionary force against the Cossack uprising. There also was

another Sich which was first mentioned in 1628 as Mykytynska Sich near the today's city of Nikopol.

In the 15th century, the Cossack society was described as a loose federation of independent communities, often forming local armies, entirely independent from the neighboring states of Poland, Grand Principality of Moscow or Crimean Khanate. Rulers of Grand Principality of Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth employed the Cossacks as mobile guards against Tatar raids from the South in the territories of the present-day Southwestern Russia and Southern Ukraine. The Zaporizhian Cossacks played an important role in European geopolitics, participating in a series of conflicts and alliances with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.

The Zaporizhian Host as a military political establishment has developed based upon unique traditions and customs. The supreme authority in the Sich was *Rada* – the common meeting of the Cossacks – a kind of Cossack parliament. Rada chose *hetman*, who had all the power. Rada chose also an auxiliary apparatus – Cossack foreman officers or “*starshyna*”. Decisions of this council were considered the opinion of whole Host and obligated to its execution each member of the Cossack comradeship. At Sich Rada issues of internal and foreign policies were reviewed, conducted elections of military *starshyna*, division of assigned land, punishment of criminals who committed the worst crimes, etc.

The *ataman* was in charge of Sich. Sich was divided into regiments consisting of 500 people and commanded by *colonels*. Regiments consisted of *hundreds*, which contained smaller “*kurens*” with its own *atamans*. There were 38 *kurens* and five to eight *palankas* (territorial districts).



Political structure of the Sich

Based on the same customs and traditions the rights and duties of officers were explicitly codified. There was a Cossack military court that severely punished violence and stealing among compatriots; the bringing of women to the Sich; the

consumption of alcohol in periods of conflict, etc. In times of peace, Cossacks were engaged into their occupations, living with their families.

From the second part of the 16th century, Cossacks started active raiding to Ottoman territories. The Polish government could not control the fiercely independent Cossacks, but since they were nominally subjects of the Commonwealth, it was held responsible for the raids. Reciprocally, the Tatars living under Ottoman rule launched raids into the Commonwealth, mostly in the sparsely inhabited South-Eastern territories of Ukraine. Cossacks, however, were raiding wealthy merchant port cities in the heart of the Ottoman Empire, which were just two days away by boat from the mouth of the Dnieper. Using small, shallow-draft, and highly maneuverable galleys known as “chaikas”, the Cossacks moved swiftly across the Black Sea. These vessels, carrying a 50 to 70 man crew, could reach the coast of Asia Minor from the mouth of the Dnieper River in forty hours. The raids also acquired a distinct political purpose after Peter Konashevych-Sahaidachny became hetman in 1613. By 1615 and 1625, Cossacks had even managed to raze townships on the outskirts of Constantinople, forcing the Ottoman sultan to flee his palace. The ensuing chaos and string of retaliations often turned the entire South-Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth border into a low-intensity war zone and led to escalation of Commonwealth-Ottoman warfare. The Cossacks tried to defend Orthodoxy from Polish Catholicism and people from oppression of Polish nobles. It created problems in relationships. The waning loyalty of the Cossacks and the szlachta’s arrogance towards them resulted in several Cossack uprisings against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late 16th – early 17th century.

In 1591-1593, a rebellion of Krzysztof Kosynsky took place, in 1594-1596 new rebellion was led by Severyn Nalyvaiko. In 1625 the Sich Cossacks under the lead of Mark Zhmailo came to help the Cossack rebels in Kiev region. It provided increasing of number of state service registered Cossacks to 6 thousand. In 1630, there was a revolt led by Taras Fedorovych, nicknamed Triasylo, after the victory of rebels the registry increased to 8 thousand people. In 1635 the Cossacks led by Ivan Sulyma destroyed Polish outpost fortress Kodak on the Dnieper. In the summer of 1637 a new Cossack and peasant uprising began. It was headed by the hetman of the unregistered Cossacks Paul But nicknamed Pavliuk. In 1638, the rebels were defeated, and the rights and privileges of the Cossacks were reduced. In March 1638, troops of the Cossacks headed by atamans Dmitry Gunia, Karp Skidanov and Jacob Ostrianin proceeded deep into Ukraine. Kiev and Poltava regions were in the fire of rebellion again. The revolt was suppressed, and the Cossacks escaped to Russia. By 1638 uprisings ended. Cossack registry was limited to 6 thousand. The rest of the Cossacks were obliged to return to their landlords as serfs, and Zaporizhian Cossacks were outlawed.

2. Liberation War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky

In 1648, the *National Liberation War* of Ukrainian people against the Polish domination has begun. Cossacks were the main driving force of it. Its main reason was unprecedented strengthening of oppression of the Ruthenian people by Polish nobility. Among the reasons of the National Liberation War were:

1. *In the political sphere.* Poland formulated an imperial doctrine, according to which the territory of Ukraine was declared as historical Polish lands. The Cossacks were the spokesmen of national interests and carriers of Ruthenian statehood. Interests of the political development of the Ukrainian lands came into a conflict with the imperial interests of Poland.

2. *In the national-religious sphere.* In the middle of the 17th century, policy of national and religious oppression of Orthodox became more evident. Policy aimed at banning Orthodox faith and the introduction of the Catholicism and the Uniatic Church was implementing, discrimination in language and national education was intensified.

3. *In the socio-economic sphere.* Peasants were dissatisfied by growing Polish exploitation and enslavement. Formation of the Cossack stratum was accompanied by the development of a qualitatively new type of economy – farms, which caused controversy between it and feudal economy, which was based on the labor of enslaved peasants. Because of it the Cossacks acted as their defenders.

4. *In the psychological sphere.* In 1620-1640-ies, there was a process of impoverishment of the population in Ukraine; constant Tatars' attacks and repressions made by the Polish government suppressed instincts of individual and group self-preservation both, and the spread of serfdom led to the loss of freedom. During 1647-1648, hunger covered most areas of the country. The population was dissatisfied and ready to fight.



Hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky

Ukrainian lands were waiting only for a leader who was able to lead the nation. *Bogdan (Bohdan) Khmelnytsky* became such leader. He was born in 1595 in the family of registered Cossack, received a solid in those days education. He was fluent in Latin, Russian, Polish, Tatar, Turkish, had knowledge of history, geography and law. At the age of 22, he joined his father in the service of the Commonwealth. As a registered Cossack of the Polish army, he gained a lot of military experience in the struggle against the Tartars, Turks, and Russians. After

being held captive in Constantinople, he returned to life as a registered Cossack, settling in his steading of Subotov. Then he was promoted to the high position of general troop scribe. After the ban for the Cossacks to obtain this position Khmelnytsky became the centurion of Chyhyryn. Polish nobleman Daniel Chaplinsky, who served magnate Koniecpolsky, made a personal insult to B. Khmelnytsky, attacked his land and family. King was unwilling or powerless to confront the will of the magnate. Khmelnytsky was unable to punish the offender and

went to the Sich. There he urged the Cossacks to start the revolt. Cossacks enthusiastically picked up the call of Khmelnytsky and chose him as their leader – hetman. At first, the aim of war was personal revenge and renewing of Cossack privileges.

The Uprising started as the rebellion of the Cossacks, but as other Orthodox Christian strata of the Ukrainian palatinates joined them, the ultimate aim was liberation from Polish oppressors.

The Cossack rebellion might have fizzled in the same manner as the previous rebellions. But Khmelnytsky who having taken part in the 1637 rebellion realised that the Cossacks while having an excellent infantry could not hope to match Polish cavalry which was probably the best in Europe at that time. However, combining Cossack infantry with Crimean Tatar cavalry could have provided a balanced military force and given the Cossacks a chance to beat the Polish army. Khmelnytsky managed to overcome more than a century of mutual hostility between the Cossacks and Tatars. He paid the khan of Crimea for it with jasyr.

In January of 1648, Khmelnytsky brought a contingent of 500 Cossacks to the Zaporizhian Sich and quickly dispatched the guards assigned by the Commonwealth to protect the entrance. As his men repelled an attempt by Commonwealth forces to retake the Sich more recruits joined his cause.



National Liberation War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky

By April 1648, news about an uprising had spread through the Commonwealth. Either because they underestimated the size of the uprising, or because they wanted to act quickly to prevent it from spreading, the Commonwealth's grand crown hetman Nicholas Potocky and field crown hetman Martin Kalinowsky sent 3 thousand

soldiers under the command of Potocky's son, Stefan, towards Khmelnytsky, without waiting for gathering additional forces. Khmelnytsky quickly marshaled his forces to meet his enemy en route. He met them near the river *Zhovti Vody* in May. Registered Cossacks changed their allegiance from the Commonwealth to Khmelnytsky. This victory was quickly followed by defeat of the Commonwealth's army at the *Battle of Korsun*. Potocky and Kalinowsky were captured and imprisoned by the Tatars.

In addition to the loss of significant forces and military leadership, king Wladyslaw IV Vasa died in 1648, leaving the Crown of Poland leaderless and in disarray at the time of rebellion. The szlachta was on the run from its peasants, their palaces and estates were in flames. Khmelnytsky's army marched westward.

In September Khmelnytsky joined forces with peasants' revolt and won the *Battle of Piliavtsy*, striking another terrible blow to weakened and depleted Polish forces. Khmelnytsky was persuaded not to lay *siege of Lvov* in exchange for 200 thousand red guildens. After the obtaining of ransom he moved to besiege *Zamostie*, when he finally heard about the election of new Polish king, Jan Kasimir II whom Khmelnytsky favored. The king sent him a letter in which informed Khmelnytsky about his election and assured him to grant the Cossacks and all of the Orthodox faith various privileges. The way to the Polish capitals Krakow and Warsaw was open, but Khmelnytsky refused to continue fighting.

In 1648, during his triumphal entry into Kiev Khmelnytsky said that began to struggle from a personal reasons, and it will continue in the name of "the whole of the Ruthenian people".

Winter of 1648-1649 passed in diplomatic negotiations, as well as concerns about strengthening the army and building common basis of statehood. Negotiations with the Poles were almost fruitless. The only result was a truce until the May of 1649. It became clear to the Polish envoys that Khmelnytsky had positioned himself no longer as simply a leader of the Zaporizhian Cossacks, but that of the state and stated his claims to the heritage of the Rus.

Khmelnytsky managed to create a powerful army of 130 thousand soldiers, including 40 thousand Tatars. Regimental army formation was transferred to the administrative-territorial structure of land, which were controlled by the hetman. Cossack occupied lands were divided into the regiments.

But in the spring of 1649 Poland showed determination to put an end to the turmoil. Soon fighting resumed under *Zbarazh* and *Zborov* in Eastern Galicia. Both sides suffered great losses, the Polish king was on the verge of captivity. But near Zborov the Tatars left the battlefield. For them excessive growth of Khmelnytsky's power was unprofitable. Besides, the Poles bribed the Tatars by promising of tribute. Under pressure from the Crimean khan Khmelnytsky signed *Zborov treaty* with the Poles.

Under the terms of the treaty Cossack register was increased from 6 to 40 thousand. But other persons were obligate to return to their landlords. Under the authority of the hetman was a big part of Ukraine. This part of Ukraine received autonomy within the Commonwealth. Polish army, Polish officials, Jesuit monks and the Jews were removed from these lands. Zborov treaty was a compromise. For the

Ukrainians these concessions were not sufficient, and Polish nobility dreamed about full restoration of its rule in full size.

Hostilities resumed in June of 1651 by the *Battle of Berestechko* in Volhynia. Poles defeated the Cossack army. German mercenaries broke through to the headquarters of khan and the Tatars left the battlefield again, capturing the hetman and holding him for over a month. After that the Lithuanians and Poles occupied Kiev.

In the September 1651, a peace *Treaty of Bila Tserkva* was signed. Its conditions were unfavorable for Ukraine: Cossack registry was limited to 20 thousand; Khmelnytsky had to submit to the crown hetman, break the alliance with the Tatars, to stop any external relations; Kiev region only remained under the rule of hetman, szlachta could return to their estates. But the agreement was never ratified by the Polish Sejm. Both sides were not satisfied again, the preparation for new battles started.

Hetman increased his international activities. To achieve his goals Khmelnytsky tried to form a coalition that would include *Zaporizhian Host* (official name of his possessions and troops, not only the Sich), the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, Transylvania, and Brandenburg. But interference in Moldovan affairs failed. In 1650 hetman took Jassy and married his son to the daughter of the Moldavian ruler. As a result, relations with Wallachia, Transylvania and Turkey have been spoiled. In 1653 the Moldovan campaign culminated by military defeat from the Polish-Wallachian-Transylvanian troops. However, the Turkish sultan responded to the protectorate request of B. Khmelnytsky and recognized his land as a vassal. But the intensification of the struggle for power in the Ottoman Empire made providing of real assistance to Khmelnytsky impossible. Anyway, the idea of Islamic ruler protectorate was unpopular among the population.

It should be understood that B. Khmelnytsky did not set for himself the task of creating a legally independent, sovereign Ukrainian state. There was no sufficient power to build and protect it. In the context of the existing political rules Khmelnytsky was agree to be a vassal under the sovereignty of powerful and benevolent patron-overlord.

A year later, in 1652, the Cossacks had their revenge at the *Battle of Batog* in Podolia. In 1653 Tatars betrayed allies again under *Zhvanets* and soon made a separate peace with the Poles. Khmelnytsky had to decide either to stay under the Polish-Lithuanian oppression or ally with the Moscow state.

Ukraine and Russia had a common Orthodox religion and history. From the very beginning of the uprising Bogdan Khmelnytsky appealed for help to the Russian tsar Alexey Mikhailovich. But Moscow reacted very carefully. Russia was not ready for war yet. But only yet. In 1653, tsar Alexey convened Zemsky Sobor, the parliament with an extraordinary authority. Sobor decided to ask the tsar for the protection of the Orthodox faith, to take Ukraine “under the high royal hand” and free tsar from the curse of alliance with Poland. It meant war against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

After a series of negotiations, it was agreed that the Cossacks would accept the tsar’s overlordship. To finalize the treaty, a Moscow embassy led by boyar Basil

Buturlin came to Pereyaslav, where on 18 January 1654 the Cossack Rada was called and the treaty concluded. There is still no unanimity among historians as to the true intentions of both Moscow state and Khmelnytsky in signing this agreement. For tsar Alexey Mikhailovich the treaty legitimized Moscow's claims to the territory of Kievan Rus' and strengthened his influence in the region. For Khmelnytsky the *Treaty of Pereyaslav* offered first and foremost a legitimate monarch's protection and support from a friendly Orthodox power. There have been a number of conflicting opinions as to what kind of union Khmelnytsky had in mind, whether it was to be a military union, suzerainty or complete incorporation of Ukraine into the Russian state.

Autonomous position of Ukraine in Russia was finally legally formalized in the so-called "*March Articles*" of 1654. "Articles" confirmed the elections of the hetman, rights of Ukrainian Cossack officers, the Cossacks, the clergy, citizens, the size of salaries for representatives of the highest military officers was determined, registry consisted of 60 thousand. Hetman had the right to meet foreign ambassadors, excepting the ambassadors of Poland and the Ottoman Empire, the content of negotiations should be reported to Russian government. The treaty contained obligation for Russia to start the war against Poland, Zaporizhian Host should give the Cossack army under the tsar's command for protection against external enemies.

On the basis of the agreements reached, Russia declared war on Poland. Tatars were afraid of strengthening of Russia and joined the Poles. Russian-Ukrainian troops liberated Belorussia, occupied Lithuania. After that the first of friction between Russia and Ukraine started. Khmelnytsky wanted to annex Belorussia to his autonomous unit, but the tsar Alexey Mikhailovich found there Russian administration.

Another power joined the melee was Sweden. They were the old adversaries of both Poland and Russia, but did not attack Russia, instead being quick to occupy their share of Lithuania before the Russians could get there.

That put Khmelnytsky into a delicate situation in regard to the tsar, as he had been negotiating with the Swedes for some time, coordinating attacks on the Commonwealth. Besides being hostile to Sweden in general, this also displeased Russia because Russia had its eyes on the Swedish Baltic provinces. In 1656 with the Commonwealth increasingly war-torn but also increasingly hostile and successful against the Swedes, the ruler of Transylvania, George II Rakoczi, also joined in – a last straw effort of Charles X of Sweden to save the war effort due to the massive Polish popular opposition against the Swedes. Under blows from all sides the Commonwealth only survived thanks to its steely unity in the face of destruction. Russia was not interested in strengthening of Sweden. Tsar made peace treaty with the Poles in Vilna in 1656. Hetman's emissaries were not even allowed to attend the negotiations. That prompted Khmelnytsky to write an irate letter to the tsar accusing him of breaking the Pereyaslav agreement.

Russia attacked Sweden in July 1656 when Sweden was deeply involved with its situation in Poland. That war ended in status quo two years later, but it complicated matters even further for Khmelnytsky, as his ally was now fighting his overlord.

In addition to diplomatic tensions with Russia, the Cossack army with their Transylvanian allies in Poland suffered a number of setbacks. As a result, Khmelnytsky had to deal with a Cossack rebellion on the home front. Troubling news also came from Crimea, as Tatars, in alliance with Poland, were preparing for a new invasion of Ukraine. Though already ill, Khmelnytsky continued to conduct diplomatic activity. He became paralyzed after his audience with the Kiev colonel Zhdanovych whose expedition to Galicia failed due to mutiny within his army. On 27 July 1657 B. Khmelnytsky died. With his death, we can draw a line under the National Liberation War.

It is hard to overestimate Khmelnytsky's contribution and role in the history of Eastern Europe. He not only shaped the future of Ukraine but significantly changed the balance of power in Eastern Europe. As with any other prominent personality his role in the events and his actions were viewed differently by his various contemporaries, and even now different people sometimes have quite opposing views on his legacy. In Ukraine, Khmelnytsky is generally regarded as a national hero and a father of the nation. A city and a region of the country bear his name. His image is prominently displayed on Ukrainian banknotes and his monument in the centre of Kiev is the focal point of the Ukrainian capital. There have also been several issues of the Order of Bogdan Khmelnytsky – one of the highest in the former Soviet Union. Khmelnytsky's role in the history of the Polish State has been viewed mostly in a negative light. The rebellion of 1648 proved to be the end of the Golden Age of the Commonwealth and the beginning of its demise. Even though it would survive the rebellion and the period of so called "Deluge" followed. Khmelnytsky is viewed as a national hero of Russia for bringing Ukraine into the "eternal union" of all the Russians – Great, Little and White Russia. As such, he was much respected and venerated in Imperial Russia. His role was presented as a model for all Ukrainians to follow – to aspire for closer ties with Great Russia. Soviet historiography also considered him as a hero for organizing the class struggle of oppressed Ukrainians against Polish exploiters.

3. The Ruin

The Ruin was a period of Ukrainian history from the death of hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky in 1657 and until the ascension of hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1687. This period was characterized by continuous strife, civil war, and foreign intervention of Ukraine's neighbors.

At the time of Khmelnytsky's death, the Cossack state had a territory of about 250 thousand square miles (650,000 sq. km) and a population of around 1.5 million. Society consisted of the remaining non-Catholic nobles, the starshyna, the mass of the Cossacks, and those peasants who did not bear arms.

Seventeen percent of the land was held by the Orthodox Church and 33 % by the starshyna. The remaining 50 % had been confiscated from the Poles and was up for grabs. The confiscated lands could easily change hands in any conflict. The land was a frontier society with no natural borders, no tradition of statehood and a population committed to Cossack liberty or anarchy. There was an unresolved conflict between the mass of poorer Cossacks and the wealthier group who aspired to semi-noble

status. The state was weak and needed a protector, but the Poles wanted their land back, Russian autocracy fitted ill with Cossack liberty, the Tatars were mainly interested in slave raiding.

Already at the end of B. Khmelnytsky's life, his son Yuri Khmelnytsky was elected as his successor. However, he was unfortunately not only young and inexperienced, but clearly lacked the charisma and leadership qualities of his father.

Instead, *Ivan Vyhovsky*, the general scribe of the Hetmanate and an adviser to Bogdan Khmelnytsky was elected hetman in 1657 by the starshyna council of Cossack higher officers. The fact of him being elected by the starshyna council grew into a wide discontent among regiments and Zaporizhian Sich who sent their runners to Moscow with complains. Because of that new elections were called that same year at which Vyhovsky was reelected once again at the Cossack Rada. His election was confirmed also by the Moscow authorities who were informed according to the Pereyaslav treaty. He was Polish noble and wanted to reunite Polish state.

In 1658, this position caused rebellion led by the Zaporizhian ataman Jacob Barabash and Poltava colonel Martin Pushkar. In the spring of 1658 with the help of the Tatars Vyhovsky crossed Dnieper and confronted mutineers near Poltava. During the battle, Pushkar was killed and replaced with a new colonel while all the leaders of the uprising were strictly repressed. After that Vyhovsky and the general starshyna counted the relationships with Moscow broken.

A manifest of nullifying the union with Moscow was sent throughout Europe. The main reasons were conducting friendly relationships with Poland and supporting regional opposition within the Hetmanate. On September 16, 1658 in *Hadiach* an official document was signed between representatives of the Cossack Hetmanate and Poland.

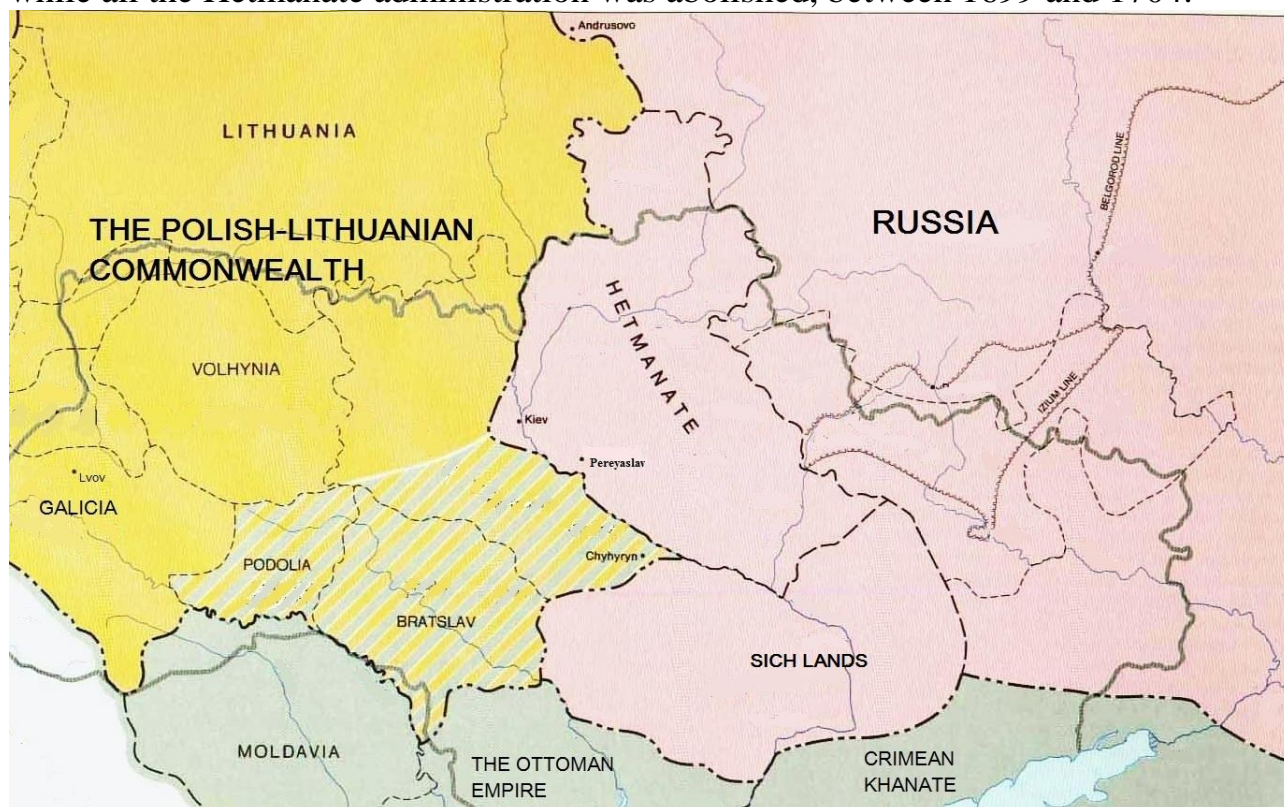
Under the conditions of the treaty, Ukraine would become a third and autonomous component of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, under the ultimate sovereignty of the king of Poland, but with its own military, courts, and treasury. But the treaty, although ratified by the Sejm in May 1659, was never implemented because it was unpopular among the lower classes of the Ukrainian society where more pro-Russian Cossack rebellions occurred and Russian army started offensive. Eventually Vyhovsky fled to Poland.

The newly installed *Yuri Khmelnytsky* signed the newly composed Pereyaslav Articles that were more unfavorable for the Hetmanate. The number of Russian governors and garrisons was increased, as well as officials who collected taxes to the royal treasury; it was forbidden to enter into foreign relations without the permission of the tsar; elective Cossack management should be approved by Moscow; hetman lost the right to appoint and dismiss the colonels, execute starshyna, wage wars without the tsar's approval. Frustrated Yuri Khmelnytsky in 1660 chose the side of Poland and signed new *Slobodishche treatise* on terms of Hadiach without a point about the "Ruthenian Grand Principality". But the Left-Bank regiments under the command of Yakim Somko remained loyal to the tsar and opposed Y. Khmelnytsky. Depressed by this effective partition of Ukraine, in January 1663, Yuri surrendered his hetman's mace and retired to a monastery. Somko favored the upper class provoking the opposition of the Zaporizhians under Ivan Briukhovetsky. First one

lost also the support of Moscow. At the Black Council of 1663 he was replaced by Briukhovetsky and executed.

Ivan Briukhovetsky (1663-1668) was almost completely dependent on Russia. He went to Moscow and signed the Moscow Articles of 1665. Russian tax collectors and soldiers were allowed in, a Russian was to be head of the church, a Russian representative was to be present at hetman elections and the hetman has to go to Moscow for confirmation. A series of revolts broke out. In the spring of 1668, as Right-Bank hetman Doroshenko's forces crossed the Dnieper; Briukhovetsky was beaten to death by a mob.

In 1667, the Russo-Polish war ended with the *Treaty of Andrusovo* which split the Cossack Hetmanate along the Dnieper River into Left-bank Ukraine, enjoyed a degree of autonomy within the Tsardom of Russia, and Right-Bank Ukraine remained part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, temporary occupied by the Ottoman Empire in the period of 1672-1699. Finally, the Right-Bank Ukraine, excepting the city of Kiev, was reincorporated back into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth while all the Hetmanate administration was abolished, between 1699 and 1704.



Partition of Ukraine according to the Treaty of Andrusovo

Hetman *Paul (Pavlo) Teteria* (1663-1665), who held only the Right-Bank, followed a strongly pro-Polish policy. When his invasion of the left bank failed, he returned to deal with the numerous rebellions that had broken out against the Poles. The behavior of his Polish allies cost him that little support he had and he resigned and fled to Poland.

The goal of hetman *Peter (Petro) Doroshenko* (1665-1676) was to re-unite the two halves of Ukraine. He held frequent councils to cultivate the poorer Cossacks and created a 20 thousand man band of mercenaries to free himself from the starshyna. In response of Treaty of Andrusovo, Doroshenko turned to the Turks. In the fall of 1667

Ottoman-Cossack force invaded Galicia and compelled the king to grant Doroshenko extensive autonomy. He accepted a loose Ottoman overlordship, invaded the Left-Bank Ukraine, removed the rival hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky and in 1668 declared himself hetman of a united Ukraine. Crimean Tatars backed a rival hetman and the Poles backed Michael Khanenko, with whom they invaded the Right-Bank. Turning to meet the invaders, he placed *Damien Mnohohrishny* in control of the Left-Bank, which quickly came under Russian control. Mnohohrishny protected local interests. He made some progress in restoring law and order, but could not control the starshyna. Some of them denounced him to the tsar, who had arrested him, tortured and exiled to Siberia.

When *Ivan Samoilovych* (1672-1687) was elected the hetman he agreed to limit his power. He could not judge the starshyna or carry on foreign relations without the consent of the starshyna council. He disbanded the hired troops under the hetman's direct control. In 1674 and 1676 he and his Russian ally besieged Doroshenko at Chyhyryn.

In 1672, Doroshenko helped the Turks to annex Podolia. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1676-1681, he aided the Turks against Russia. This involvement with non-Christians cost him his remaining support. On 19 September 1676, he gave up authority to Ivan Samoilovych in the Left-Bank Ukraine and went into exile to Russia. Samoilovych declared himself as the hetman of united Ukraine. But within two years the Turks drove him back across the Dnieper. Poland and Russia signed the Eternal Peace Treaty of 1686 which again recognized Polish rule of the Right-Bank and removed the Poles from Zaporizhzhia, a major disappointment for Samoilovych. In 1687, 100 thousand Russians and 50 thousand Cossacks launched an attack on the Crimea, which failed.

In 1678, the Turks, who had a large army in the area, appointed their prisoner Yuri Khmelnytsky as hetman. He participated in the second campaign of Chyhyryn and was deposed by the Turks in 1681.

4. Specific character of Cossack culture

At this period the Cossacks played an important role in cultural life of society. Orthodoxy was obligate for people who wanted to be the Cossacks. Hetman *Peter Sagaidachny* with his entire 20 thousand Host became the members of Kiev brotherhood. He supported this brotherhood by money. Thanks to Cossack support Kiev brotherhood became strong organization of national liberation and cultural movement. P. Sagaidachny helped to renew the Orthodox Church hierarchy which was cancelled after Brest Union of 1596. Five days before his death in 1622, hetman left his property for educational-scientific purposes, religious-church needs, and charity. He gifted 1500 gold rubles to Kiev and Lvov brotherhood schools. The administration of the Sich used Orthodox churches and schools for the religious and secular education of children. In that time Uniatic bishops had written to the Pope that co-operation between Kiev brotherhood and the Cossacks threaten Catholicism.

Educated Cossack starshyna created original chronicles of Eyewitness, Gregory Hrabianka, and Samuel Velichko. Now we can use it as important sources of Ukrainian history.

Cossack culture is a folk culture. In this period oral folk creativity, especially historical poetry, was formed. Here we could find full presentation of spiritual peculiarities of Cossack culture. Historical songs or *dumas* appeared at the time, when Ukrainian people struggled against Polish and Turkish-Tatar aggression. The formation of Zaporizhian Sich gave the impulse for the development of popular song creativity. *Dumas* had a very specific ideological subtext and formed moral and patriotic codes. “Song of Baida” was the original one of popular poetry of the mid.-to-late 16th century. It dwells upon the execution of prominent Cossack leader Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, who devoted his life to the struggle against Turkish-Tatar aggression.

As a Cossack specific dance the *hopak* has developed. It was practiced in the lands of present-day Ukraine since the 16th century. Kobzars and other musicians would gather their instruments – violins, bagpipes, cimbaloms, and fifes – while other participants would dance.

So, we can conclude that Cossack culture had Orthodox, militarist and mainly folk character.

Questions and tasks

1. Famous writer Nicholas Gogol had written about the phenomenon of the Cossacks: “It was thrown out of the people’s chest by a flint of troubles”. Why did he write so? What were the reasons for the formation of Cossack stratum?
2. Why Zaporizhian Sich is usually called a Cossack republic? Could you find features of democracy in Cossack’s political life?
3. Why did Polish domination in the Ukrainian lands faced with a hostility of native population? Point the reasons for National Liberation War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky.
4. What was the role of B. Khmelnytsky in the uprising? Would it have started without him? Express your opinion.
5. What was the content of the “March Articles” of B. Khmelnytsky? What did it mean for Ukraine? Why did he choose Russia?
6. What was the Ruin? Which consequences did it have for the Ukrainian lands?
7. Why did Ukrainian Cossack culture have an original character?

Chapter V. Ukrainian Lands in 18th Century

1. Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa.
2. Limitation of Hetmanate autonomy. Ukrainian lands in Poland.
3. Ukrainian culture of 18th century.

1. Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa

Previous period of Ruin was a time of great devastation in Ukrainian history. But with *Ivan Mazepa's* (1687-1709) election to the Hetmanate, the Ruin effectively comes to its end and the history of the Left-Bank merges with the Hetmanate as a part of Russia. Newly elected hetman Mazepa was an educated man; lived in various European countries for a long time, in particular at the court of French king



Mazepa's portrait, 1706

Louis XIV, was fluent in several languages, and was well versed in literature, art, military affairs, crafty, and clever.

Serving for the Polish royal court, Ivan Mazepa flew over to the Right-Bank Ukraine hetman Peter Doroshenko. Then, being a prisoner of the Left-Bank hetman Ivan Samoilovych, Mazepa managed to work for him. He rose to the rank of general esaul, and was the tutor of hetman's sons. But as a result of a Mazepa's conspiracy Samoilovych was deprived of the hetman's mace and exiled to Siberia, his property was confiscated.

After the bribe of influential prince Golitsyn Mazepa was chosen as a hetman. He signed Kolomak articles with Russia in 1687; the registry according to it amounted to 30 thousand. Hetman Mazepa became one of the richest men in Europe.

He owned land with 100 thousand peasants in Ukraine, and 20 thousand – in Russia. In addition, Mazepa exclusively exported Ukrainian vodka and had extraordinary income. However, it should be noted that part of his immense wealth he donated for the construction of churches, educational and cultural institutions. He paid great attention to cultural and educational activities.

In social policy Ivan Mazepa relied on starshyna. His pro-starshyna policy displeased ordinary Cossacks, and even led to their rebellion led by Peter Ivanenko in 1692, who defected to the Crimean Tatars. The uprising was crushed. Mazepa supported the revival of serfdom in Ukraine; estates temporarily received by foreman for service became permanent. In his edicts Mazepa legally recognized serfdom twice a week. Hetman defended his power by all means, including punitive expeditions, provocations and mass executions.

Firstly Mazepa had a close relationship with the Russian tsar Peter I the Great. He actively assisted the tsar in the wars against Turkey and Crimean Khanate. Mazepa's troops participated in 11 campaigns, for example in the capture of Azov in 1696. He was an adviser to the tsar in the Polish question. In 1704, taking advantage

of the defeat of Poland in the war against Sweden, Mazepa for several years united the Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine.

In 1700-1721, Russia was at war against Sweden for lands in the Baltics. This war has received the name of the *Great Northern War*. In the Northern War Russia was using Ukrainian Cossack army actively, the losses could be 50-60 %. Frequent campaigns ruined Cossacks' economy.

Cossacks were unwilling to fight far away from the borders of the Hetmanate, and the tsar sent them to fight in the Baltics, Poland, and even Germany. During the reign of Peter I, Ukrainian Cossacks at his command participated in several expeditions to the Caucasus and Persia. Ukrainian peasants had to keep Russian troops on the territory of Ukraine and work on the construction of fortifications. In connection with the war taxes to the state treasury greatly increased. Tsar sent many Ukrainian Cossacks and peasants to other parts of the country for the construction of water canals, fortifications, and finally, the new capital of the state – the city of St. Petersburg. At the same time, the builders did not receive payment; working and living conditions were extremely bad. Peter I created a single strong centralized Russian Empire, without any autonomy. In Mazepa's opinion, the strengthening of Russia's central power could put at risk the broad autonomy granted to the Cossack Hetmanate under the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654.

Therefore, hetman Mazepa decided to take side of the enemy. In 1708, the army of the Swedish king Charles XII invaded Hetmanate through Lithuania and Belorussia. Plan of attack on Moscow failed, and the Swedes turned the South. Charles promised Mazepa help in creating of Ukrainian state under the protection of Sweden, and he agreed. Mazepa's attempts to raise the people to fight against Russia were unsuccessful. Sympathy for the Russians was stronger than discontent by the royal power. Mazepa managed to gather only about 4 thousand people, part of Zaporizhian Cossacks led by the ataman Kost Gordienko and Cossack officers. A few days later most of them flew out. The majority of troops decided to join the army of Peter I. Mazepa's call to arms was further weakened by the Orthodox clergy's allegiance for the tsar. Learning of Mazepa's treason, Russian army sacked and razed the Cossack Hetmanate capital of Baturyn, killing most of the defending garrison.

The Battle of Poltava on 27 June 1709 was the decisive victory of Peter I of Russia over Charles XII of Sweden in the Northern War. It is widely believed to have been the beginning of Sweden's decline as a great power; the Russians took their place as the leading nation of Northern Europe. This also meant the rise of Imperial Russia. King and hetman fled to Moldavia under the protection of Turkish sultan. Remains of the Swedish army were surrounded and surrendered. Hetman soon died in Bendery. Companions of Mazepa – Mazepians – eventually settled in different countries. They became the first Ukrainian political émigrés.

Mazepa's image of a disgraceful traitor persisted throughout Russian and Soviet history. The Russian Orthodox Church anathematized and excommunicated him. After Ukraine's independence in 1991, Mazepa was proclaimed as a national hero in Ukraine's official historiography and mainstream media. This view however is still disputed. According to an April 2009 survey by the Research & Branding Group 30 percent of the population of Ukraine views Mazepa as "a man who fought for the

independence of Ukraine”, while 28 percent view him “as a turncoat who joined the enemy’s ranks”.

After the Mazepa’s “castling”, hetmans were elected by the Council of starshyna and confirmed by the tsar. They served more as military administrators and had little influence over the domestic policies. The tsar also frequently appointed the colonels of each regimental district. Control over Ukraine increased.

2. Limitation of Hetmanate autonomy. Ukrainian lands in Poland

The process of elimination of autonomy started, and since 1721 Russian state has been declared the Empire. Complaints by members of different social strata of Ukraine on each other and on the hetman government were used as an occasion for intervention of the Russian administration. And the Ukrainians themselves provided a huge amount of such complaints and denunciations.

After the death of Ivan Mazepa his successor *Philip (Pylyp) Orlyk*, hetman in exile, tried to take the lands of Right-Bank using the Cossacks, Tatars, Poles, and Turks, but to no avail. He was only able in 1711 to empty Ukrainian lands together with the Tatars. Russian army forced Orlyk to retreat to Moldavian Bendery. In 1710 he developed the first *Constitution* that has never acted. Zaporizhian Host was declared independent; the supreme legislative power belonged to the Cossack Rada, which consisted mostly of starshyna. Hetman’s treasury was separated from the military, and the power of hetman was limited by accountability to the Rada. It is in fact defending of starshyna privileges.

Those Cossacks who did not side with Mazepa elected a new hetman, *Ivan Skoropadsky*. Surprisingly, the only significant support which he gathered came from the Zaporizhian Sich, which, though at odds with the hetman in the past, considered him and the nobility he represented a lesser evil compared with the tsar. The Sich Cossacks paid dearly for their support of Mazepa’s betrayal, as Peter I ordered the Sich to be razed in 1709 and a decree was issued to execute any active Zaporizhian Cossack. They went South under the protection of the Ottoman Empire. Only in 1734 Russian empress allowed the Cossacks to return home and build New Sich.

To the new hetman a representative of the tsar – the resident – was attached to control the hetman’s government. During the Northern War Skoropadsky was a Cossack colonel of the Ukrainian Starodub regiment and after Swedish army crossed into Ukraine in 1708, refused to join Ivan Mazepa. Ivan Skoropadsky moved the capital of the Cossack Hetmanate from Baturyn which was razed by the Russian army for Mazepa’s rebellion, to the town of Glukhov near the Russian border. Skoropadsky thought to regain a trust of Peter I and yet negotiate greater autonomy for the Hetmanate and greater rights for the Cossack nobility, often resisting Peter the Great’s policy of incorporation of the Hetmanate lands into the Russian Empire. His careful negotiations allowed him to achieve both, and the Hetmanate regained much of its lost power.

The next blow to the autonomy of the Hetmanate was the foundation by Peter I in 1722 the *First Little Russian Board* led by a brigadier S. Veliaminov. It was appointed in Moscow and consisted of six Russian military officers stationed in the Hetmanate who acted as a parallel government. Its duty was ostensibly to protect the

rights of rank-and-file Cossacks and peasants against repressions by Cossack officers. Board was a kind of Ministry of Ukraine Affairs. Prior to this, relations between the imperial and the hetman's government made through Collegium of Foreign Affairs. After creating the Little Russian Board Ukraine fell under the jurisdiction of the Senate, as well as other Russian provinces. Skoropadsky protested, but unsuccessfully. In the same year he died.

Paul (Pavlo) Polubotok was elected as a temporary replacement of hetman. In 1706, he became a colonel of Chernigov regiment and during the Northern War remained loyal to the Russians and fought against Sweden. Paul Polubotok was seen as a possible replacement of the disgraced hetman, but tsar Peter the Great distrusted Polubotok and supported Ivan Skoropadsky, who became the next hetman. Nonetheless, Polubotok's loyalty was rewarded when wealthy estates throughout Ukraine were given to him.

Polubotok supported greater autonomy for Cossack Hetmanate within the Russian Empire and defended old privileges of Cossack nobility. He wrote numerous petitions to Peter the Great asking him to re-instate the former way of electing the hetman by the starshyna. Hetman started conflict with the First Little Russian Board. In 1723, Polubotok was arrested, implicated in secret dealing with the self-proclaimed hetman Philip Orlyk and accused of treason. The hetman was incarcerated in the Petropavlovsk fortress and died there less than a year later. The Little Russian Board then ruled the Hetmanate until 1727, when it was abolished and a new hetman, *Daniel (Danylo) Apostol*, was elected.

Hetman focused his efforts on making full use of his modest possibilities. Daniel Apostol lost his eye during the capture of Persian Derbent fortress; this gave him a nickname "blind hetman". With the election of the new hetman new set of articles was signed. The new document, known as the 28 Authoritative Ordinances, stipulated that the Hetmanate would not conduct its own foreign relations, although it could deal directly with Poland, Crimean Khanate, and the Ottoman Empire about border problems as long as these agreements did not contradict Russian treaties. The Hetmanate continued to control ten regiments, although it was limited to have three mercenary regiments only. It continued to be in force until the Hetmanate's dissolution. Hetman was freely chosen, general and regimental officers were chosen by regimental starshyna, and centurions – by the Cossacks.

During the rule of Daniel Apostol, Little Russian and Cossack nobility increased their wealth and estates at the same time as it was further incorporated into the Russian Empire. But he delayed the process of integration of the Hetmanate into the state structure of the Russian Empire. Daniel Apostol died in 1734, and the new hetman was not elected until 1750.

Empress Anna banned the election of a new hetman and created the so-called "*Board of Hetman Government*". The head of this institution prince Alexey Shakhovskoi received secret instructions to promote the idea of the ineffectiveness of the hetman rule and to convince the population that they will benefit from the elimination of the Hetmanate.

In 1741, Elizabeth I took the Russian throne. During her reign, a huge influence on affairs of state had the empress' favorite Cossack Alexey Rozum, who was called "night emperor".

His brother, *Cyril (Kyrylo) Rozumovsky* was appointed the President of the Russian Academy of Sciences when he just turned 18 years old. In 1750, he was elected and subsequently appointed hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks, a title he held until Catherine II forced him to abdicate in 1764. During his reign, Baturyn was re-established as the capital of the Hetmanate and Rozumovsky had opulent baroque palaces erected both in Baturyn as well as in Glukhov. He also planned opening of the university in Baturyn.

In July 1762, Cyril Rozumovsky supported the coup d'état of Catherine the Great staged against her husband, the legitimate ruler of the Russian Empire, tsar Peter III. Shortly thereafter, in 1763, Cyril Rozumovsky, backed by the general starshyna of the Hetmanate, declared the heredity of the title in primogeniture for his descendants in the male line. As the result, in 1764 the Hetmanate was abolished by Catherine II and its authority replaced by the *Second Little Russian Board* that was transformed out of the Little Russian Ministry subordinated to the Ambassadorial Office of the Russian Empire.

The Board consisted of four Russian appointees and four Cossack representatives headed by the president, count Peter Rumiantsev, who proceeded to cautiously but firmly eliminate the vestiges of local autonomy. In 1781, the regimental system was dismantled and the Little Russian Board abolished. Two years later, peasants' freedom of movement was restricted and the process of enserfment was completed. Ordinary Cossacks were integrated into the cavalry of Russian army, while the Cossack officers were granted by status of Russian nobles. Ukrainian Cossack foreman gradually turned into landlords. By the end of the 18th century it was 1 % of the population that owned 50 % of the land. As had previously been the practice elsewhere in the Russian Empire, lands were confiscated from the Church. The territory of the Hetmanate was reorganized into three Russian provinces-governorates whose administration was not different from that of any other provinces within the Russian Empire.

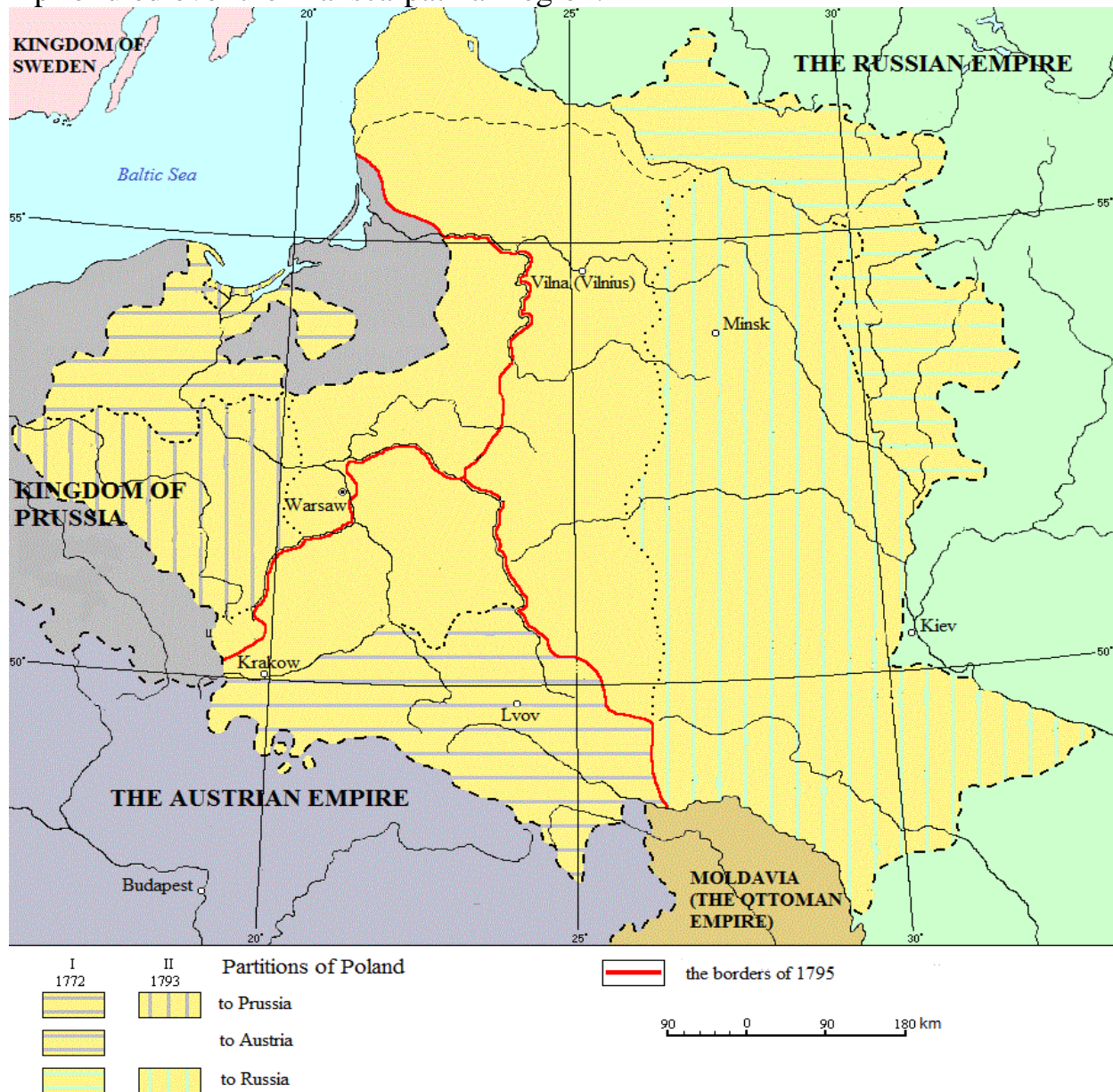
In 1774, Russian-Turkish war finished. Under the terms of the peace treaty, Turkey renounced its suzerainty over Crimean Khanate. Crimea annexation by Russia was only a matter of time that was realized in 1783. After the conquest of Crimea, Zaporizhian Cossacks became unnecessary. There was no threat. In 1775, Russian troops returning from the Crimean theater of warfare, completely destroyed the Sich.

Cossacks in Poland were forbidden. The exception was the Cossack storage. Without Cossacks peasants could not withstand the attacks of the szlachta. Therefore, the people wanted to return the former Cossack power. The oppression was very strong. Peasants united in groups and attacked the Polish szlachta. They were called *haidamaks* (from Turkish "hajda" – to bother). The first significant revolt of haidamaks flared up in 1734 and was associated with the intervention of Russia in Polish affairs. Poland became a weak state. When Russian forces came it was the signal for the pro-Russian peasants' and Cossacks' revolt of centurion Verlan. But unexpectedly Russian troops helped the Poles to crush the rebellion. The second rise

of haidamak movement in Galicia and on the Right-Bank occurred in 1750. The most massive pro-Russian haidamak revolt against Polish occupation occurred in 1768 and was named *Koliivshchyna* from the word “to stick”. It was headed by Cossack Maxim Zalizniak. The result was the same like in 1734 and 1750.

In Western Ukraine guerrilla movement of *oprishki* arose and acted from 15th to 19th century. The most famous leader of them was Oleksa Dovbush.

After the partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795, the west of Ukraine – Galicia, and later Northern Bukovina – fell under the control of the Austrians, with the rest as part of the Russian Empire. Hungary as a part of Austrian Habsburg Empire ruled over the Transcarpathian region.



3. Ukrainian culture of 18th century

During the reign of Ivan Mazepa, the new phenomenon of *Cossack Baroque* was formed. It was national variant of European style in arts. Cossack Baroque (or Ukrainian Baroque and Mazepa Baroque) was a style that emerged in Ukraine during

the Hetmanate era, in the 17th and 18th centuries, mainly in architecture. Ukrainian Baroque is distinct from the Western European Baroque in having more moderate ornamentation and simpler forms, and as such was considered more constructivist. Baroque became the universal artistic trend spread in all fields of arts: poetry, fine arts, music, and theatre.

European variant of this style was oriented onto court-aristocratic art, but Ukrainian one was more democratic, oriented to all strata of society. By the way, hetman Ivan Mazepa became the attractive romantic figure for his contemporaries: Voltaire, George Byron, Juliusz Slowacki, Alexander Pushkin, and Franz Liszt. Ukrainian songs were popular, and great composers (Ludwig van Beethoven, Karl Weber, and Alexander Aliabiev) created instrumental variations of it.

Cultural context of the Baroque development in Ukraine was very specific. National character was formed under the influence of Cossack knight's ideal. It added outlook-aesthetic originality to Cossack Baroque. Decline of Hetmanate caused the decadence of the style.

Baroque style in Ukraine had the brightest manifestations in architecture:



Lizogub's house in Sednev

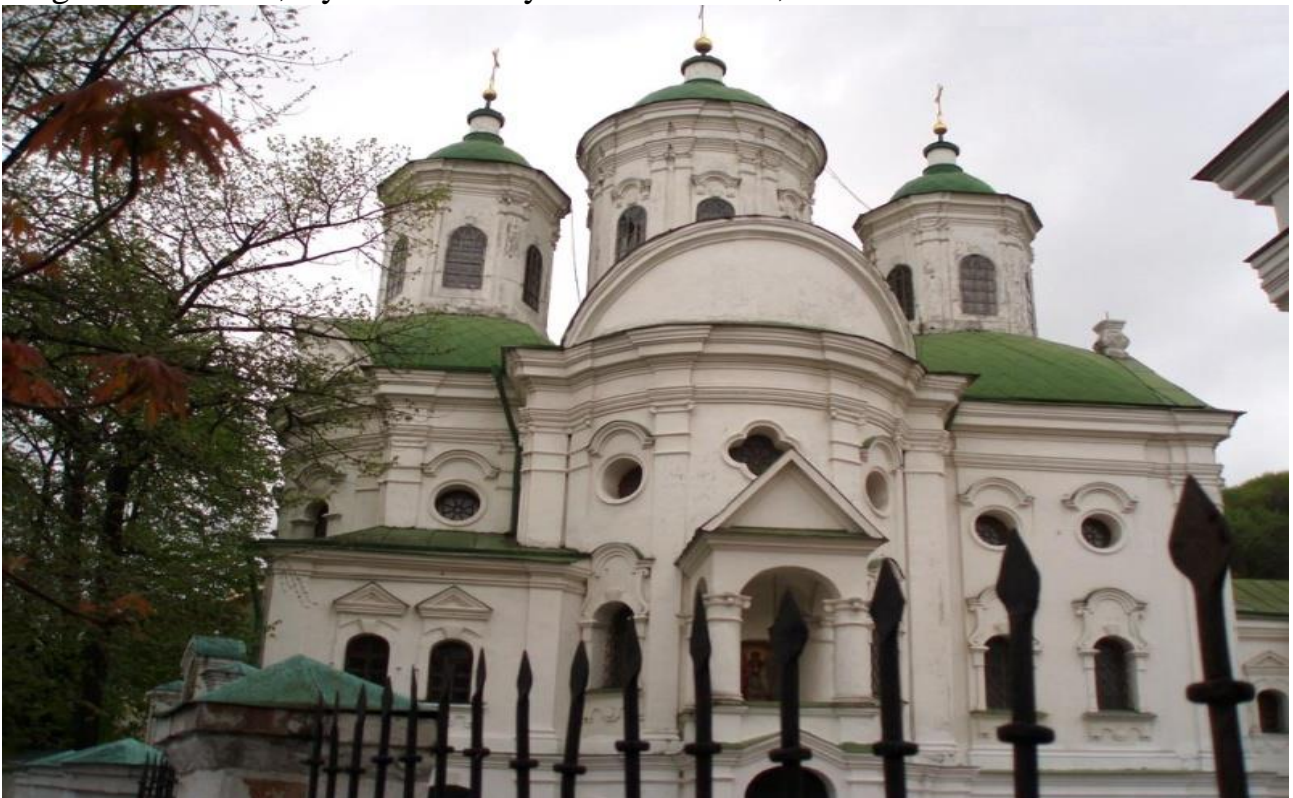
plastic forms, bright and dark walls, decorative details, raised ornaments, etc. Active building started in Kiev, Central and Left-Bank Ukraine. Many new churches, cathedrals, monasteries, educational institutions, houses of Cossack foremen were built at that time. For example, Lizogub estate in Sednev. Exactly these were the elite variant of buildings. Outwalls were decorated with the help of architectural decorations.

Among the most outstanding architects in Ukraine we should mention Stephen Kovnir and Ivan Grygorovych-Barsky. Stephen Kovnir (1695-1786) finished Klovsky Palace in Klovska Square in Kiev, built Trinity Church in Kutaiv hermitage not far from Kiev, Anthony and Theodosius Pechersky Church in Vasylkov, and a bell tower in Far Caves at the territory of Kiev Cave monastery.



Klovsky Palace in Kiev by Stephen Kovnir

Ivan Grygorovych-Barsky (1713-1785) designed many buildings: Shroud Church and Church of Nicholas Naberezhny in Kiev, Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in Kozelets, Cyril Monastery in Zolotonosha, etc.



Shroud Church in Kiev by I. Grygorovych-Barsky

Foreign architects Johann-Gottfried Schadel from Germany and Bartolomeo Rastrelli from Italy designed in Baroque style. J. Schadel (1680-1752) was the author

of the best buildings in this style: Old Kiev Mohyla Academic Building, Assumption Cathedral in Kiev Cave Monastery, Bell Tower of St. Sophia Cathedral, and Zaborovsky Gate.



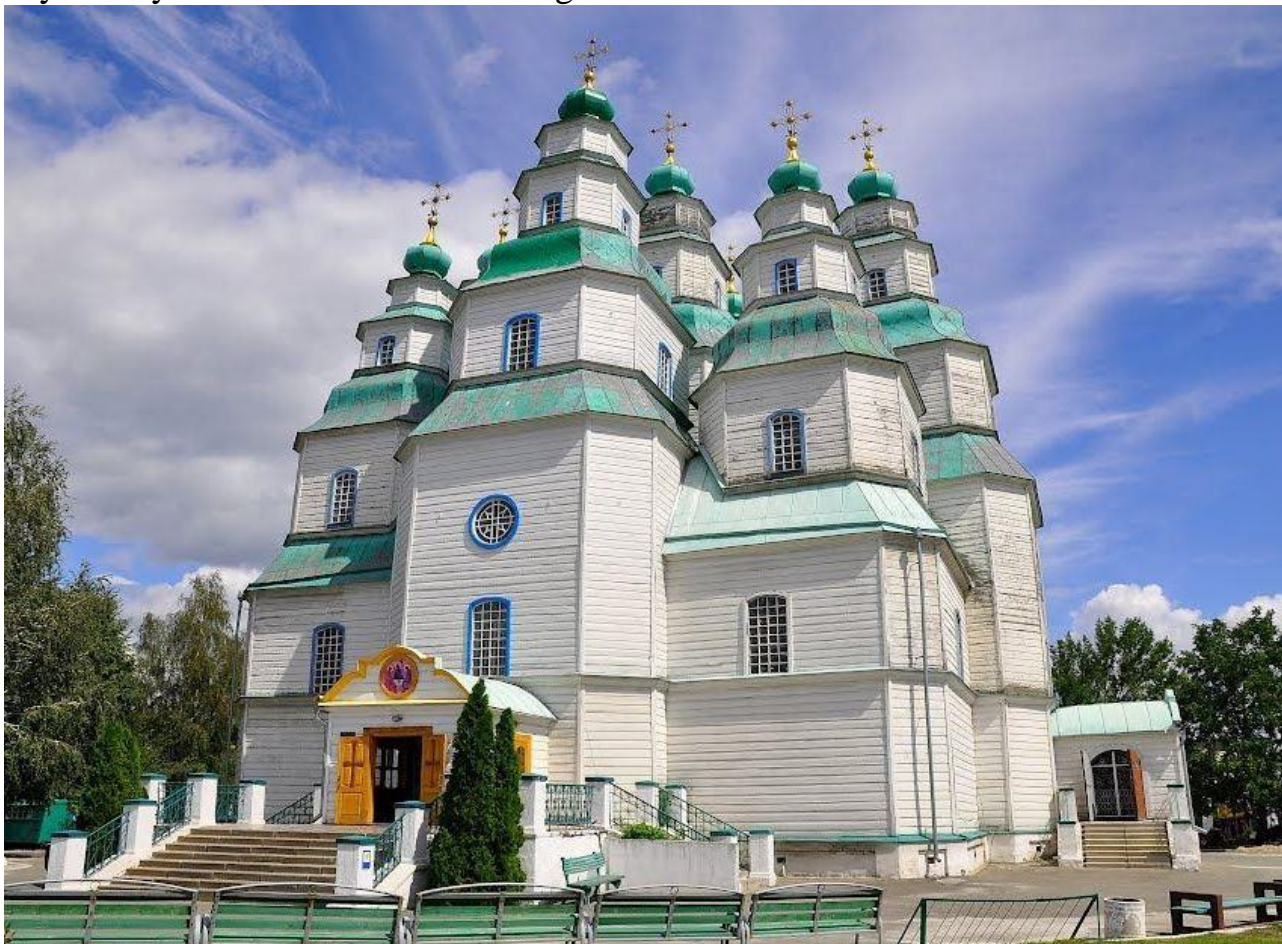
Assumption Cathedral in Kiev Cave monastery by J. Schadel

Structures of Italian architect Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700-1771) were original and unique. According to his projects St. Andrew Church and Mariinsky Palace were built in Kiev. Mariinsky Palace presented the architectural and landscape ensembles of Baroque style.



Mariinsky Palace in Kiev by B. Rastrelli

Up to nowadays Baroque wooden churches had preserved. They were high multi-storied buildings with complicated and dynamic forms. The best example of such cult building is Trinity Cathedral in Novomoskovsk. It had been built without any nail by national master Jakim Pogribniak in 1772-1781.



Trinity Cathedral in Novomoskovsk by J. Pogribniak



Town Hall in Buchach

In the West-Ukrainian lands monumental architecture of this period developed under the influence of Catholic culture and Polish Baroque. Also *Rococo* was the development of Baroque. Among the most famous buildings in West-European Baroque and Rococo styles at the territory of Western Ukraine we should mention Dominican Church (architects Jan de Witte and Martin Urbanic), St. George's Cathedral (Baroque-Rococo style, architect Bernard Meretin, 1744-1760), Town Hall in Buchach (Rococo style, Bernard Meretin, 1751), and Pochaev Lavra (Polish architect Gottfried Hoffmann reconstructed some buildings during in 1771-1791).

Painting of the Baroque is a special page of Ukrainian culture. It developed under the influence of European and Ukrainian folk arts. Like in previous periods monumental and easel painting developed. Monumental painting of



St. Sofia Cathedral Baroque frescos

that period was connected with decoration of cult buildings. Frescoes and iconostases of Kiev Cave monastery, St. Sophia and St. Michael's Cathedrals were the best examples of Baroque monumental painting.

Classicism was the trend in European literature and arts of 17th – early 19th centuries. It refers generally to a high regard for a classical period, Antiquity.

There were some characteristic features of Classicism: orientation on the examples of Ancient Greece and Rome (classic examples); rationalism, striving to build arts at the rational basis; strict regulation, rules and regulations for the theater: “law of three unities” (action, time, and place); compulsory following of canonic rules in written creativity (hero should perform public duties, division of characters into positive and negative, proportion in all parts of play, harmony of composition, etc.); hierarchy and division of genres into “serious”, “high” (tragedy, epic, novel, elegy, and idyll) and “low”, “entertainments” (travestied poem, comedy, fable, and epigram); taking into account of tastes and demands of noble stratum to increase artistic creativity over daily routine. Classical language had to be clear and pure, aphoristic, conceptual.

Classicism in Ukraine was spreading in 17th – 18th centuries in school dramas, oriented on Antique and Renaissance heritage.



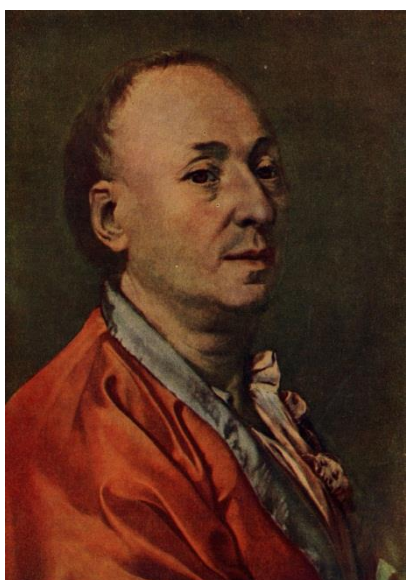
Rozumovsky's Palace in Pochep



Savior's Transfiguration Cathedral in Novgorod-Seversky by G. Quarenghi

Palace of hetman Cyril Rozumovsky in Pochep was the oldest classical building in Ukraine. Alexey Yanovsky built it according to the project of French architect J. B. Vallin de la Mothe. Savior's Transfiguration Cathedral in Novgorod-Seversky by architect Giakomo Quarenghi was one of the best buildings of the 18th century.

In visual arts Classicism manifested in works of Russian artists of Ukrainian origin Dmitry Levitsky and Vladimir Borovikovsky.



Portrait of D. Didro by
D. Levitsky

Dmitry Levitsky (1735-1822) was outstanding portraitist and painter. In 1758 he entered Petersburg Academy of Arts and became a student of Alexey Antropov. In 1763 Levitsky was a fashionable portraitist in Petersburg. His collection of Smolny pupils was real masterpiece of portraits. In 1764 he started independent artistic practice in Moscow. In 1764 D. Levitsky headed the portrait class in Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts. He painted many famous people of that time. In Geneva Museum there is a portrait of encyclopedist D. Didro painted by D. Levitsky. D. Didro recognized this portrait the best one.

Vladimir Borovikovsky was born in Mirgorod in 1757. By the end of 1780-s V. Borovikovsky moved to Petersburg. His early works were connected with

traditions of Ukrainian painting of 18th century. His miniatures and portraits (especially female ones: Catherine Arsenyeva (1796) and Maria Lopukhina (1797)) were the most famous.

Some of the pictures were painted in *Sentimentalism* style. It was literary and art movement that paid attention on people's feelings.

In these portraits, lonely female figures full of elegiac mood were painted in a state of dreamy abstraction at the rural background. The last period of Borovikovsky's creativity was connected with sacral thematic. He participated in the painting of iconostases of many cult buildings in Russia and Ukraine: Kazan Cathedral and Trinity Cathedral of Alexander Nevsky Lavra in Petersburg, Shroud Church in Chernigov, etc. Late period of his work was coincided with the Patriotic war of 1812. V. Borovikovsky created about 200 portraits and many icons.



Portrait of M. Lopukhina by
V. Borovikovsky in *Sentimentalism*
style

Cultural phenomenon of the *Enlightenment* and progress of natural sciences formed new rational world view. The Age of Enlightenment (or Age of Reason) was a cultural movement of intellectuals beginning in late 17th-century Europe emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition. The Enlightenment was a revolution in human thought. Its purpose was to reform society using reason, to challenge ideas grounded in tradition and faith, and to advance knowledge through the scientific method. It promoted scientific thought, skepticism, and intellectual interchange. This new way of thinking was that rational thought begins with clearly stated principles, uses logic to do conclusions.

Russification started that was a form of cultural assimilation process during which non-Russian communities give up their culture and language in favor of the

Russian one. In a narrow sense, Russification is used to indicate the influence of the Russian language on Slavic, Baltic, and other languages and cultures in areas currently or formerly controlled by Russia. In a historical sense, the term refers to both official and unofficial policies of Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union with respect to their national constituents and to national minorities in Russia, aimed at Russian cultural domination.

Western Ukraine was closely connected with Europe. There was only one university in Ukrainian lands, but it was generally Polish. Lvov University was founded in 1661 after special order of Polish king Jan II Kazimir at the basis of Lvov Jesuit school-college. There were 4 faculties there: philosophic, theologian, judicial, and medical. Teaching was realized by Latin language, and after the incorporation of Galicia in 1722 to Austrian state – in German or Polish. Polish-run primary education was practically unavailable to Ukrainian peasants. This was one of the reasons why the Right-Bank played only a minor role in Ukrainian cultural life of the period.

Education in Hetmanate attained high level. Three types of schools existed at that time: primary, secondary (brotherhood schools and collegiums) and high (Kiev Mohyla Academy). In 1740 there were 866 primary schools at the basis of churches, where children studied reading and writing.

At 1780-s new educational institutions – public schools – opened their doors for pupils. They had 4-year course. Pupils studied Russian grammar, history, arithmetic, mechanics, physics, and architecture. In 2-year schools children studied reading, writing and counting. In Right-Bank Ukraine brotherhoods opened elementary schools for ordinary children. Nobility taught their children in Jesuit and Basilian schools.

Collegiums played an important role in the development of secondary education in Ukraine. There were 3 collegiums in Ukraine in 18th century: Chernigov (1700), Kharkov (1721), and Pereyaslav (1738). They mostly prepared clergymen, teachers for elementary schools, and officials for state institutions. Among pupils there were children of nobility, clergymen, rich bourgeois and the Cossacks, although not infrequently the sons of ordinary Cossacks and even peasants also gained access. Kharkov collegium was one of the most important educational centers. 800 pupils studied there. Later, the new types of educational institutions – Artillery and Navigational Schools – were opened in Nikolaev. In Western Ukraine there were mostly Jesuit collegiums: in Lutsk, Kamianets, Lvov, and Peremyshl.

Kiev Mohyla Collegium received the judicial rights and the title of academy in 1701. It was the spiritual, educational, scientific and cultural center of Ukraine. For the whole period of its existence 25 thousand students graduated it. Approximately all the prominent public figures studied here. This academy trained the intellectual, church, and military elite. Here studied or worked famous scientists, writers, teachers and cultural public figures, politicians and philosophers: I. Gizel, T. Prokopovych, L. Baranovych, M. Berezovsky, D. Bortniansky, A. Vedel, I. Grygorovych-Barsky, S. Yavorivsky, Th. Lopatynsky, I. Galyatovsky, Y. Konysky, G. Poletyka, P. Zavadovsky, A. Bezborodko, M. Lomonosov. Michael Lomonosov in the middle of 18th century founded Moscow University and became the first Russian Member of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Grandfather of Russian famous composer

Peter Tchaikovsky studied there. Since the second half of 17th century professors of Kiev Mohyla Academy had been invited by Russian schools and church. Eventually, the famous old institution was transformed into a theological seminary.

Theophane Prokopovych (1681-1736) was one of the most prominent scientists of encyclopedic knowledge (he was a philosopher, publicist, historian, mathematician, and astronomer). He was the head of “scientific guard” of Russian tsar Peter the Great. Th. Prokopovych got his education in Poland and Italy. He had been studied in Roman Catholic Academy. Literary and scientific heritage of Theophane Prokopovych is amazing. He had written numerous “Words” and homilies, he was the author of educational courses, such as: poetics, rhetoric, logic, natural philosophy, and mathematic. He wrote poems in Ukrainian, Russian, and Latin languages. He also knew Polish. Many of his works were edited abroad in English, German, French and Swedish. Among the main ideas of his philosophical conceptions we could find the right of each human being for happiness, he was absolutely sure that mind and practical experience should be over than theology and church dogmas. He criticized the blind fanatic faith in authorities. Th. Prokopovych started to support the importance of Moscow as “the third Rome”, the religious idea of elder monk Filofey stated in 1523-1524.

In 18th century science had not become complete system of knowledge. There were no systematic study, but in medicine we can mention the progress. System of quarantines was created for prevention of epidemics. In 1740 in Vasylykov (in Kiev region) the first medical quarantine house started to work. Military hospitals in Kherson, Sevastopol and Kiev were opened by the end of 18th century. A network of pharmacies was formed. Medical educational schools were also founded. In 1773 Lvov medical collegium opened doors for students. It was the part of medical faculty of Lvov University. In 1787 Yelisavethgrad Medical-Surgical School started to work. Among famous scientists there was *Daniel Samoilovych* (1742-1805) the founder of epidemiology. He was the author of the scientific work devoted to the plague. Founder of obstetrics and pediatrics in the Russian Empire *Nestor Ambodik-Maksimovych* (1744-1812) was the author of many works in different fields: obstetrics, human physiology, botany, and physiotherapy.

Philosophy was one of the major points of high education. At the basis of Aristotle’s philosophy teachers of Kiev Mohyla academy had been teaching logic, dialectic, physics, metaphysics, and ethics.

Undoubtedly, *Gregory (Hryhorii) Skovoroda* (1722-1794) was the most original intellectual of the age in Ukrainian lands. He was one of the most famous philosophers of Ukraine, the father of Russian religious philosophy. Often called the “Ruthenian Socrates”, Skovoroda traversed his native Left-Bank and Sloboda region on foot. His major concern was the attainment of true happiness for an individual. The main points of his philosophic concept were anthropologism and self-cognition. He was sure that the world consisted of three levels: microcosm (inner world of human being), macrocosm (external world, Universe), and the world of symbols (the Holy Bible), which united both material and spiritual worlds. The aim of human life from his point of view was the happiness of “labor by calling”. It was the activity, which took into account all human talents. He spent the period from 1745 to 1750 in

Hungary and is thought to have traveled elsewhere in Europe during this period as well. In 1750 he returned to Ukraine where he taught poetics in Pereyaslav from 1750. For most of the period since 1753 for 1759, Skovoroda was a tutor in the family of a landowner. From 1759 to 1769, with interruptions, he taught such subjects as poetry, syntax, Greek, and ethics at the Kharkov Collegium. After an attack on his course of ethics in 1769 he decided to abandon teaching. Skovoroda was known as a composer of liturgical music, as well as a number of songs to his own texts. Personal independence had to be maintained at all cost and unnecessary riches and honors avoided. This conviction led Skovoroda to criticize the Cossack officers and clergy openly for their exploitation of the peasantry. Living as he preached, Skovoroda enjoyed great popularity among the common people and many of his views were incorporated into folk songs and dumy. It is said that for his gravestone Skovoroda prepared the following epitaph: “The world tried to entrap me, but it did not succeed”.

Literature of this period was full of many interesting works. The most famous of Chronicles was “Chronicle” (1762) by Theodosius Safonovych, “Synopsis” (1674) by Innocent Gizel, and “Chronicler” (1699) by Leonti Bobolynsky. These works were the evidence of continuing of chronography tradition and new approaches to systematization and comments of historical facts. Theodosius Safonovych underlined that each person should know and tell about the history of family and Motherland. “Synopsis” was brief text-book in history, which had many re-editions. Till 19th century, it was used as schoolbook, which dealt with early Ukrainian and Russian history and was permeated with a pro-tsarist spirit. In the 150 years following its appearance in 1674, work was published in twenty editions.

By and large, the Kievan scholastics, who were all churchmen, still perceived the central issues of life in religious terms. Anti-Catholic and anti-Greek Catholic themes predominated in their works and a favorite political idea-fixe of theirs reflected in Ioannicius Galiatovsky’s “The Swan”, was the formation of a union of all Orthodox Slavic people. Stefan Javorsky, a rector of the Kiev Academy, who in 1721 rose to the highest position in the Russian church, was famous for his elegant poems written in Ukrainian, Polish, and Latin. While in Russia, he wrote “The Rock of the Faith” that was an eloquent attack on Protestantism.

This dramatic period was marked by the restriction and abolition of Ukrainian autonomy, but the influence of the Ukrainians on the development of the Russian Empire was enormous, especially in the cultural sphere.

Questions and tasks

1. Who was Ivan Mazepa, a businessman or a statesman, a hero or a traitor? Express your opinion.
2. Read the article about I. Mazepa and health care (<http://repo.knmu.edu.ua/handle/123456789/16912>). How did he use Medicine for his own purposes? How was local health care organized?
3. What were the consequences of the Battle of Poltava for Ukraine and Russia?

4. Identify the main stages of the liquidation of the Ukrainian autonomy after the defeat of Mazepa.
5. What was the significance of the Constitution of Philip Orlyk?
6. Why Zaporizhian Sich was liquidated initially in 1775?
7. Who were the haidamaks and oprishki and what were the reasons for their emergence?
8. What were the main features of Ukrainian Baroque, Classicism, and Sentimentalism?
9. What was the significance of the Age of Enlightenment for the development of culture?
10. What were the main ideas of the teachings of Gregory Skovoroda?
11. How did the Ukrainians influenced the development of culture in the Russian Empire?
12. Why did the Polish and later Austrian parts of Ukraine play a lesser role in culture?

Chapter VI. Ukrainian Lands during the “Long” 19th Century

1. Age of crisis, Modernization in the Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian lands.
2. Western Ukrainian lands in the Habsburg Empire.
3. Ukrainian cultural revival. Mentality.
4. Development of literature and fine arts.
5. Education and science.

1. Age of crisis, Modernization in the Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian lands

The “long” 19th century is a term coined for the period of 1789-1914 by British historian and author Eric Hobsbawm. Named faithful period lasted from the beginning of the French Revolution till the start of the first in history of mankind World war. That time had its specific feature – the process of society’s *Modernization*, the transition from agrarian society to industrial one.

Since the end of the 18th century until 1917 Ukrainian lands were ruled by two empires – the Russian and Austrian. Russia controlled 80 % and Austria – 20 %.

After the abolition of Magdeburg law in the 1830s imperial administrative system completely engulfed the whole of Ukraine with Russia. In 1840 “Lithuanian Statute” was canceled, which since the time of the Grand Principality of Lithuania regulated court proceedings in Ukraine, and it ceased to be different from the Russian court system. The name “Ukraine” practically stopped to be used and has been replaced by the names of Little Russia, South-West Region and the New Russia or Novorussia.

After the defeat of Polish uprising in 1831, the tsarist authorities provided the unification of the former Polish lands. In 1832, Kiev general-governorate was created. Ukrainian lands were divided into 9 provinces, where lived the population of 7.5 million people, of which 5.5 million were serfs. By the middle of the 19th century, Russian part of Ukraine’s population had grown to 23.5 million. The number of the Russian population increased up to 12 %. In 1791, the Line of Settlement for the Jews was established, to the east of that they had no right to live. In this regard, cities of the Right-Bank were on 80 % inhabited by the Jews. To reduce the cost of maintenance of the army in the Eastern and Southern provinces of Ukraine military settlements were introduced, which were self-reliant. Hard work and military service led to uprisings of military settlers.

Landlords concentrated in their hands 70 % of the land. Increased exploitation of the peasants was needed to increase profits. The number of landless peasants also increased. In this regard it should be noted that Ustim Karmaliuk’s rebel groups in 1812-1835 made over a thousand attacks on the Right-Bank szlachta’s estates.

Since the 1840s, the *Industrial Revolution* began that was the replacement of manual labor by machine one. In Ukraine it was particularly evident in sugar plants.

In 1821, in Ukraine under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution *Southern Decembrist Society* arose. It was in alliance with more moderate *Northern Decembrist Society* in St. Petersburg. Head of the Southern Society Paul Pestel wrote

a program called “Rus Truth”. He wanted to overthrow the autocracy, the abolition of serfdom, the equality of citizens, granting land to peasants. He denied the possibility of secession from Russia, making an exception only for Poland. *United Slavic people society* was created in 1823, and called for the democratic Slavic union. Armed uprising of North Decembrist Society in St. Petersburg in 1825 was supported in Ukraine. But at the beginning of 1826 the rebels were defeated, and Pestel was executed.

The *Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius* was a short-lived secret political society that existed in Kiev. It was founded in 1845. Created under the initiative of Nicholas Kostomarov, a famous historian of Russia and Ukraine, the society was named after saints, widely regarded as worthy characters for the Slavic nations celebrated for spreading Christianity and inventing the Cyrillic alphabet.

The goals of the society were liberalization of the political and social system of the Imperial Russia in accordance with the members’ Christian principles and the Slavophilic views that gained popularity among the country’s liberal intellectuals. The society goals also included the abolition of serfdom, broad access to public education, creation of a federation of free Slavic people centered in Kiev (Ukrainians from society members’ point of view were distinguished by their special love of freedom and democratism), implementation of the liberal democratic principles of freedom of speech and thought. Members included Taras Shevchenko, Panteleimon Kulish, Basil Bilozersky, Nicholas Hulak, etc. The society was quickly suppressed by the government in March 1847 with most of the members punished by exile or imprisonment. Shevchenko was sentenced to 10 years of military service in Kazakhstan with prohibition to write and draw. Only in 1857 he returned to St. Petersburg.

A series of victorious wars of 1806-1829 against Turkey and Napoleon, where many Ukrainians took part, assured the Russian authorities in rightness of chosen policy. In 1828, Transdanubian Cossacks who settled in the Turkish dominion after the ruination of the Sich returned into the Russian citizenship in the connection with the Russian-Turkish war.

The situation was cloudless. But Russia’s defeat in the *Crimean (Eastern) War* of 1853-1856 identified the economic gap between Russia and the West, and coming to power of new emperor Alexander II introducing of *Great reforms* began.

It began to take place in the Russian Empire in the 60-70-es of 19th century. The goal was to transform the feudal Russian monarchy into a bourgeois and to prevent thus the social explosion. The most important and first of all reforms was the so-called *Peasant reform* of 1861 that meant the abolition of serfdom. For Ukrainians it was reform of great importance, because 42 % of Ukrainians of the Russian Empire were serfs before. The peasants were freed without lands. It remained the property of landlords; peasants paid its price in extortionate rates. But it gave a great impulse for the development of industry which received free workers.

Another reforms of Alexander II democratized administrative system. In 1864 zemstvos were introduced. It was local noble government. Zemstvo reform was distributed to the Right-Bank only in 1911 due to the political unreliability of szlachta. Thus, the Polish nobility was prevented from organizing themselves in order

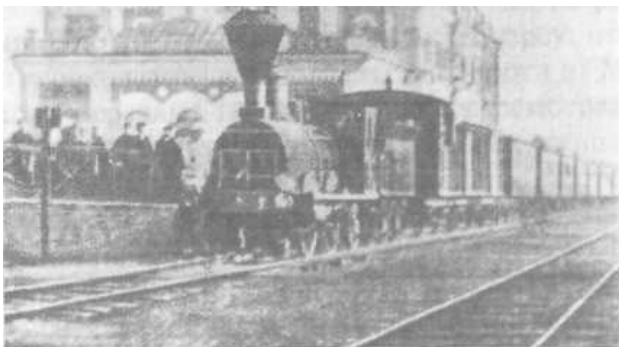
to prepare for the next uprising (before in 1794, 1830, and 1863-1864). Judicial system was reformed: court proceedings became classless, transparent, and open, trial by jury emerged, such as the prosecutor and the advocate. Secondary and higher education has become more accessible for people, in 1864 a unified system of primary education was introduced. In 1860-1864, the financial reform has been done, the State Bank was established; excise taxes on alcohol instead of leases introduced; indirect taxes increased. In 1865, a reform of censorship of publications has been done and as a result it became stronger. In 1870, a reform of municipal government took place, establishing of municipal parliaments and governments. Military reform of 1862-1874 replaced conscription by compulsory military service. 10 military districts were established, of which 3 were in Ukraine. The term of military service was reduced to 6 years in the army and 7 in the navy.

The abolition of serfdom and the subsequent reforms have resulted in a process of rapid economic development of Ukrainian lands of Russian Empire. Capitalist industry began to develop, foreign investors were attracted.

Capitalism is a socio-economic system based on private property on the means of production and the exploitation of hired labor force by capitalists. Capitalism replaced feudalism. Pre-capitalist forms of political superstructure should be changed by bourgeois political, legal, ideological, and other public institutions.

The rapid growth of cities in Ukraine was in sight in the post-reform period. The largest city was Odessa. Its population increased in 1860-1897 from 113 to 404 thousand. Population of Kiev at the same time grew from 55 to 248 thousand, Kharkov – from 50 to 174 thousand. Shops and exchange trade supplanted fairs.

But mainstay of the economy of Ukraine was agriculture. The Modernization was started only. Ukrainian peasants had being lost their lands, and it ruined the rural world. Peasants were forced to join the ranks of the proletariat. *Stolypin agrarian reform* of 1906-1911 assisted to capitalist development of a village. The aim was the destruction of rural community and the creation of farms, using of free lands. In 1906 redemption payments for lands by peasants were canceled.



The first train is arriving to Kharkov, 1869

The first railway in the Russian part of Ukraine was built in 1865 between Balta and Odessa for the export of grain abroad. The first railway in Austrian Ukraine was Lvov-Peremyshl, which was opened in 1861. By the end of the 19th century a network of railroads covered the whole Ukraine. In the last quarter of the 19th century Donets Basin or Donbas and Krivoy Rog Iron Basin or Krivbas became

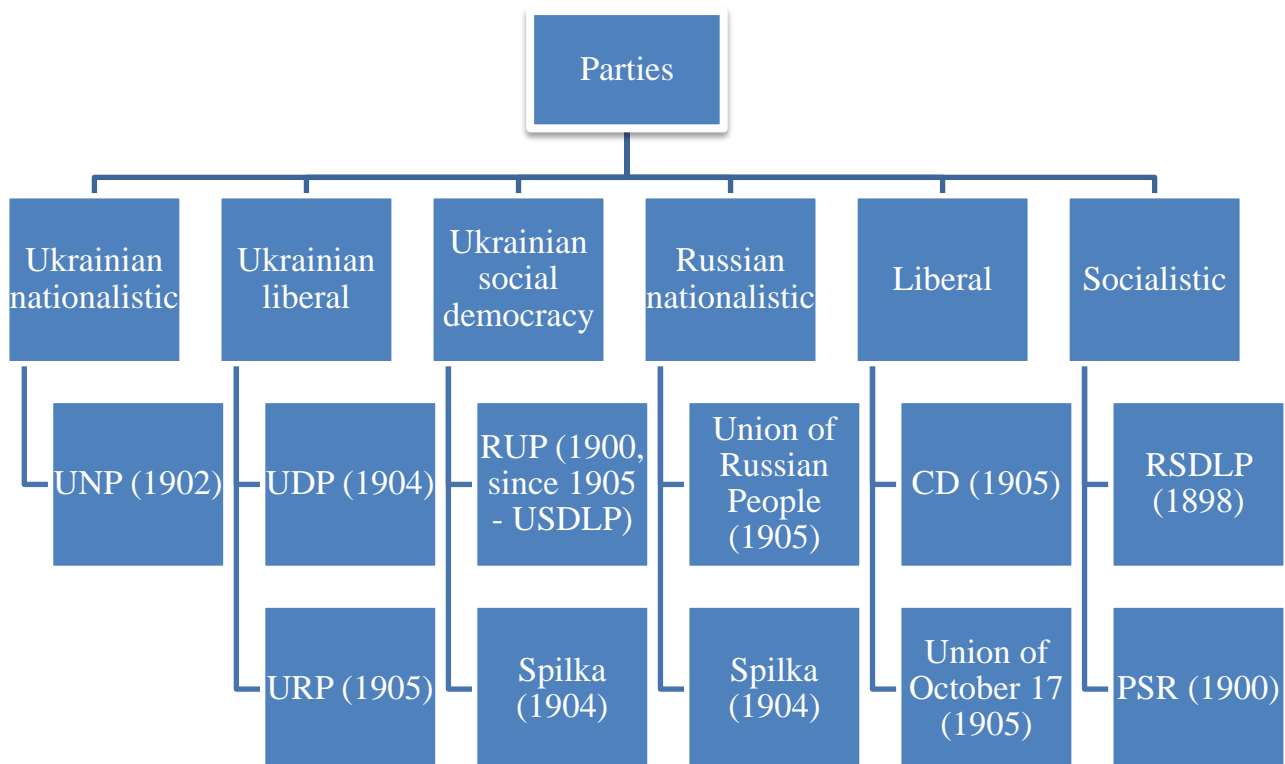
the most developed industrial regions. The first monopolistic associations in the industry emerged. It were “Prodamet” and “Produgol” for trading of iron and coal.

Liberal reforms of Alexander II intensified the activity of Ukrainian romantic nationalists. In the 1860s, they began to develop Ukrainian national-cultural organizations, the so-called “*hromadas*”. Petersburg hromada was headed in 1861 by former members of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood Panteleimon Kulish and

Basil Bilozersky. They published the magazine “Osnova”. Kiev hromada was headed by Volodymyr Antonovych. His followers were often called “hlopomany” for trying of people from Polish nobility to be closer to Ukrainian peasants. Hromadas were established in Kharkov, Chernigov, Poltava, and Odessa. Members of these communities were called ukrainophiles.

In 1863, Russian Minister of internal affairs Peter Valuev issued a circular for forbidding of publication scientific, educational and religious works in Ukrainian, as well as the activities of Ukrainian Sunday schools. It was caused by anti-state activities of hromadas under the guise of educating people. Hromadas were disbanded soon. But 10 years later hromadas have revived; government continuously received denunciations about harmful activities of ukrainophiles. Worried about new intensification of hromadas actions, tsar Alexander II in 1876 signed the Ems Decree. The decree forbade not only the publication but also import large list of Ukrainian literature. Only artistic productions and historical documents were permitted. Restrictions were gradually abolished, finally it was done in 1905, and the hromadas did not have a significant impact.

The spread of socialist ideas in the 60-80-ies led to the emergence of *populism* with a revolutionary and reformist tendencies. The radical part of the movement after the failure of attempts to persuade people has resorted to terrorism. In 1898, in Minsk illegal *Russian Social Democratic Labor Party* (RSDLP) was founded, which operated also in Ukraine. Later it was transformed in the Communist party. In 1900, *Socialist-Revolutionary Party* emerged, focused on the peasantry.



Ukrainian political parties started to appear on the territory of the Russian Empire. The first of them was the *Revolutionary Ukrainian Party* (RUP) which appeared in 1900. In 1902, nationalist wing broke away to create a *National Ukrainian party*, in 1904 “*Spilka*” emerged that joined RSDLP. General Ukrainian

Non-party Organization became the basis for the emergence in 1904 *Ukrainian Democratic Party*, and the last one in 1905 – of *Ukrainian Radical Party*. Both parties were national-liberal. In 1905, the remaining members of the party in RUP renamed it in *Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party* (USDLP). Most of Ukrainian politicians were members of all-Russian political parties. Among them were the bourgeois *Constitutional-Democratic*, monarchical “*Union of October 17*”, and the most popular chauvinistic “*Union of Russian People*” (1905), also *Union of St. Michael* (1907) emerged.

The *First Russian Revolution* began in St. Petersburg in 1905 after the shooting of anticapitalist protesters in so-called “Bloody Sunday”. In protest actions against tsarism have begun. General political strike was organized. In December workers of large industrial centers have risen, and then the revolution began to decline. The objectives of the revolution were the destruction of the autocracy, the confiscation of landlords’ estates and transfer it to the peasants without compensation, the introduction of an 8-hour working day, the solution of the national question. By the nature it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Revolts were suppressed by the army, and the revolution was defeated.

2. Western Ukrainian lands in the Habsburg Empire

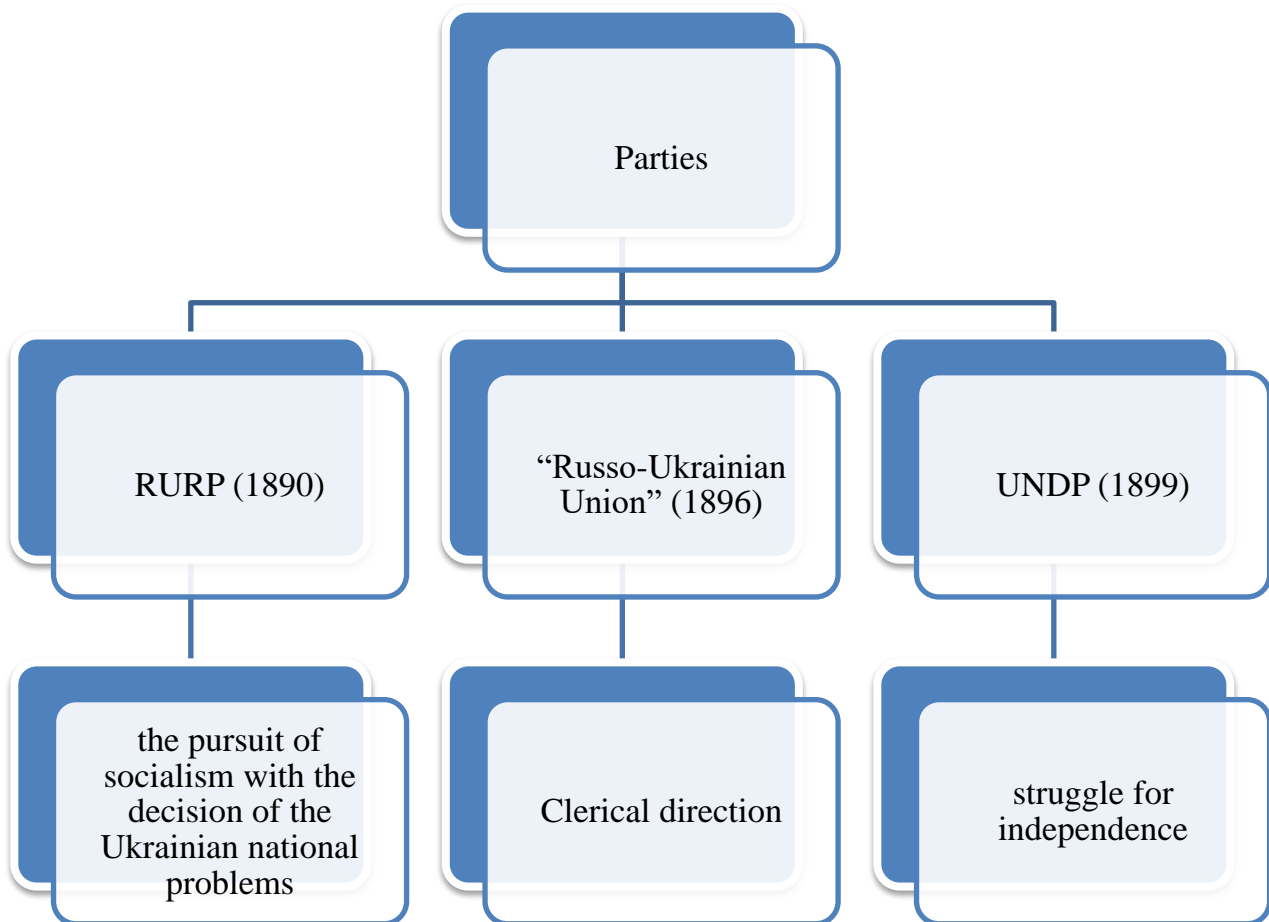
Eastern Galicia and Bukovina became part of the Austrian Habsburg Empire during the reign of archduchess Maria Theresa and her son emperor Joseph II in 18th century.

In 1832, natives of medium Uniate clergy Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vagylevych and Jacob Golovatsky founded group of “*Ruthenian Triad*”, which aims included the revival of Ruthenian culture. They wanted reunification of East Slavic lands. In 1837, activists published the almanac “*Mermaid of Dniester*” dedicated to their ancestral culture. The entire edition was confiscated by the Austrians. German police chief of Lvov noted: “These madmen want to resurrect the dead-and-buried Ruthenian nation”.

In 1843, there was an anti-feudal rebellion in Bukovina under the leadership Lucian Kobylitsia. Great changes have taken place in Western Ukraine during the *revolution of 1848-1849*. This revolution has engulfed great part of Europe. Main Russian Rada defended interests of Ukrainians against the Polish encroachments. As a result of the revolution in the Austrian Empire, serfdom was abolished and parliamentary elections were held. Ukrainians got a few places in the Austrian parliament. Provinces of the empire received local parliamentary representation. Galicia has received its own Sejm but it was controlled by the Poles. After the revolution the first Ukrainian periodicals emerged. Lvov University opened the first Ukrainian Department. But revolution was suppressed. Part of the intellectuals, which was called “*moscowphiles*” oriented on Russia, another part – “*narodovtsy*” – on their own possibilities.

In the late 19th century, Ukrainian political parties emerged in Eastern Galicia. Writer Ivan Franko was one of the founders of *Russo-Ukrainian Radical Party* in 1890. The program of the party under the influence of Michael Dragomanov united the pursuit of socialism with the decision of the Ukrainian national problems. In 1896

the party of clerical direction “*Russo-Ukrainian Union*” emerged. In 1899, *Ukrainian National Democratic Party* was formed in Lvov which was struggling for independence.



The social structure of Ukrainian population in the Austrian Empire was very simple. 95 % of the Ukrainians were poor peasants. Mainly, the ruling strata in Western Ukraine consisted of the Poles and Hungarians.

In 1900, 4.7 million people lived in Eastern Galicia, among whom 63 % were the Ukrainians, 23 % – Poles, 13 % – Jews. Excepting underdeveloped oil industry of Drohobych-Boryslav region, industry in the region was absent. Poor peasants were forced to sell their plots of land. It caused a large emigration from Western Ukraine. Region was one of the poorest lands in Europe, raw materials appendage.

In Bukovina considerable pressure from the Romanians was felt by 300 thousands of Ukrainians, and Romanization practiced. In Transcarpathia 500 thousands of the Ukrainians were under the pressure of *Magyarization*, the process of conversion into the Hungarians.

3. Ukrainian cultural revival. Mentality

In the Cultural Studies literature period of late 18th – early 20th centuries got the name “*Ukrainian national revival*”. National revival is a necessary period of the development of each ethnos on the way to independence. National revival started in Eastern Ukraine in last quarter of 18th century.

The first theoretical basis for stages of national movement was proposed by Czech historian Miroslav Hroch.

The first *phase "A"* was the emergence of the interest to native people. It arises out from a romantic enthusiasm of intellectuals and only to a clean, simple and unspoiled by town life peasantry. In this period, cultural basis of popular movements was laid that have shown interest and concern for their own language, literature and culture, but did not put forward any political demands.

In the *phase "B"* a group of intellectuals appears who rely on their ideas based on knowledge of old history of their people, and at the same time determined by their cultural and political demands. They started an agitation in the name of "people's idea". First cultural institutions started to appear. In Central and Eastern Europe the process of linguistic and cultural emancipation peoples started who has not demonstrated themselves politically yet.

In the third *phase "C"* popular movements get mass support, the first political parties and movements arose, the first political demands and objectives appeared. Favorable conditions and political success of the movement could drive to the emergence of autonomous states.

Representative of the newest Ukrainian historiography Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky (1919-1984) adopted this system for Ukrainian national-cultural revival. The first period (*noble or aristocratic*) lasted from 1780 up to 1840. It was the period of the first amateur interest. During this period, enthusiastic people tried to collect linguistic, folklore, literary, and historical remains of the nation. The second one was "*the populist period*" (1846-1890) when masses of population participated in the process of national revival. Athenaeums, theatres, libraries, museums, and schools were opened for them. Books with the information about cultural heritage were published at this period. This period ended by 1890. Third, "*modern*" period was characterized by mass national movement, when political parties and other organizations were formed. It gave the chance for the wide masses to participate in the political life of society. It was a political period (1890-1914). National political parties and organizations had been created during this period. As a result, in 1917-1918 there was an attempt to proclaim the independent Ukrainian State.

During the late 18th century, impressed with the empire's power and grandeur, attracted by its career opportunities, and placated by acceptance into the Russian imperial nobility, many members of the former Ukrainian starshyna needed little urging to become loyal, even devoted, subjects of the emperor. For them Ukraine became little more than a part, albeit an endearing one, of the imperial whole, and the Ukrainians were but a tribe of the Russian people. They were indifferent and even antagonistic to any political action based on the notion of Ukrainian separateness. Typical of the "*Little Russian mentality*" were the words of Viktor Kochubey, a Ukrainian who became the imperial chancellor in the 1830s: "Although I was born a khokhol [a term for the Ukrainians for their national forelocks], I am more Russian than anyone else ... My position puts me above all sorts of petty considerations. I look at the concerns of provinces from the point of view of the common interests of our entire society. Microscopic views are not my concern". Among 20th-century historians of the nationalist school, the Little Russian mentality has been severely criticized.

Austrian authorities supported in Western lands the proponents of so called *Ruthenianism* – mostly priests, which were characterized by an extreme provincialism that identified the Ukrainians exclusively with Galicia and Greek Catholicism.

4. Development of literature and fine arts

Ukrainian nobility tried to provide historical knowledge. In the growth of national consciousness throughout the world, the study of national history has always played a crucial role. In achieving a new sense of community, it was necessary for a people to believe that it had shared a common fate. In 1820-s anonymous manuscript “History of Ruses” was very popular among intellectuals. The main point of this work was the idea of close connection of Kievan Rus and Ukraine. This work was the political declaration of that part of Ukrainian nobility, which wanted to renew Hetmanate.

High circles of Ukrainian society tried to prove in scientific way the noble roots of Cossack foremen families. In this reason in 1822, Dmitry Bantysh-Kamensky published “History of Little Russia”. Nicholas Markevych (1804-1860) continued the investigation of ideas of this book in his 5-volumes “History of Little Russia” (1842-1843). So, at the beginning of 19th century Ukrainian historiography was formed that was a complex of historical or pseudohistorical works.

Romanticism became the significant feature of the Slavic literature formation. Romanticism (also the Romantic era or the Romantic period) was an artistic, literary, and intellectual movement that originated in Europe toward the end of the 18th century and in most areas was at its peak in the approximate period from 1800 to 1850. Partly a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, it was also a revolt against the aristocratic social and political norms of the Age of Enlightenment and a reaction against the scientific rationalization of nature. In the 19th century romantic called all the strange, fantastic, picturesque things, and existing in the books, but not in reality.

An example was Ivan Kotliarevsky’s “*Eneida*”, the first work ever written in the language of the Ukrainian peasants and townsmen of Poltava region. Its appearance in 1798 marked the advent of Ukrainian as a literary language. Significantly enough, the “*Eneida*” was a *travesty*, a *burlesque* poem – the type of comic poetry, when high heroes became buffoons. Travesty is comic instrument with talking about “low” problems in “high” style. Based on the famous “*Aeneid*” by the Latin poet Virgil, it portrayed the ancient Greek heroes and Olympian gods as rollicking the Cossacks and lusty village maidens who spoke in the pithy and colorful Ukrainian language. Kotliarevsky did not believe that his linguistic experiment was worthy of publication. Only the urging of his friends persuaded him to publish the “*Eneida*”, which to his surprise enjoyed instant success among the Left-Bank gentry.

Eugene Grebinka (1812-1848) developed folk satirical traditions. He organized the group of ukrainophiles in Petersburg. He helped poet Taras Shevchenko to publish collection of poetry and poems “*Kobzar*” in 1840.

Because the Ukrainian nobles were abandoning Ukrainian for Russian and it was only the villagers who spoke it, Peter Hulak-Artemovsky argued that the language could not be used to produce serious literature. Gregory Kvitka-

Osnovianenko disagreed with him and wanted to prove his point. In 1834, he wrote his “Little Russian Stories by Grytsko Osnovianenko”. These sad, sentimental tales heralded the beginning of Ukrainian prose writing.

A myriad of other, minor writers in Kharkov also contributed to the growth of Ukrainian prose and poetry. Surprisingly, the moving spirit of this literary activity was a Russian – Ismail Sreznevsky (1812-1880) – who later became one of Russia’s leading philologists. However, the contributions of this fervent convert to things Ukrainian were more on the organizational than on the literary level. Sreznevsky’s multivolume anthologies of Ukrainian literature, entitled “Zaporizhian Antiquities” and “Ukrainian Anthology”, represented an attempt to address the serious problem of the lack of a suitable forum for Ukrainian writers. The only regularly published journals on the Left-Bank, the “Ukrainian Herald” and the “Ukrainian Journal”, appeared in Kharkov in the 1830s, mostly in Russian. These journals had a small readership, numbering only several hundred.

Among the young men of the 1840s, one individual – *Taras Shevchenko* – is above the rest. Indeed, it may be argued that Shevchenko’s impact on his countrymen was greater than that of any other Ukrainian in modern history. That a poet should have attained such preeminence in a developing nation of 19th-century Eastern Europe is not unusual. Born in 1814 in a village on the Right-Bank, Shevchenko grew up as an orphaned serf. When his master took him along as a servant to St. Petersburg, his talents as a painter attracted the attention of several artists who, in 1838, helped him to buy his freedom. Shevchenko then entered the Imperial Academy of Arts where he obtained a first-rate education. Soon he was consumed by the need to express himself in poetry. In 1840, his first collection of Ukrainian poems, entitled “Kobzar”, appeared in print. Shevchenko did not believe in liberal, gradualistic projects of reform. His poems openly advocated radical, revolutionary solutions to injustice in society. Part of his life he spent in exile, and died in 1861 shortly before reaching the abolition of serfdom that was in Shevchenko’s dreams.

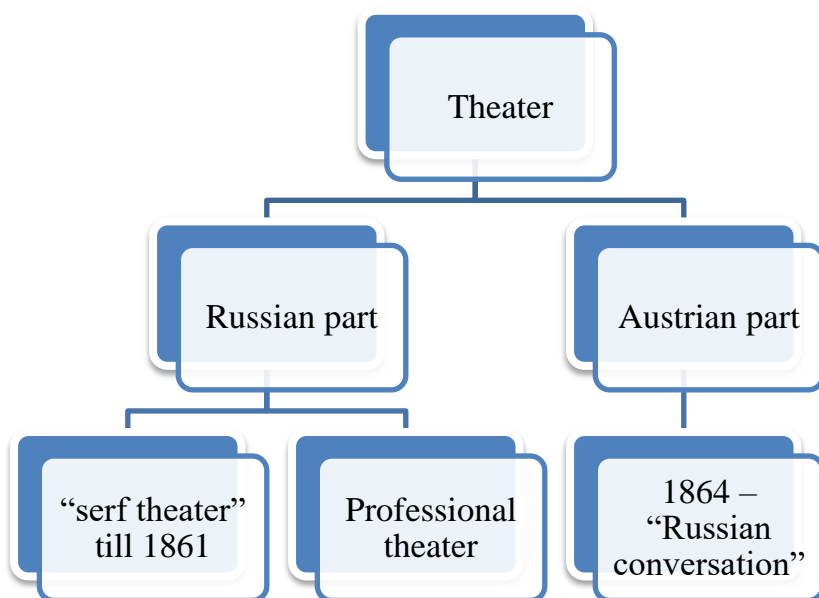
The development of Ukrainian literature of the late 19th to the early 20th century was characterized by the domination of *Critical Realism*. It was direction and artistic method that reveals the dependence of the human condition and his psychology by social environment.

Ivan Franko (1856 – 1916), a famous Western Ukrainian poet, writer, scientist, and public figure played an important role in the social life of Ukraine of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. In the novels Marco Vovchok, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, Panas Myrnyi, poems of Paul Grabovsky we could find the deep belief in happy future of Ukrainian people. P. Grabovsky translated into Ukrainian language many masterpieces of world literature. New generation of authors emerged by the turn of the century. They attempted more and more frequently to go beyond the rigid, utilitarian strictures of realism, to apply modernistic techniques, and to express individualistic perceptions. This tendency was reflected most impressively in the work of Eastern Ukraine’s two leading literary figures of this period – the novelist Michael Kotsiubynsky and the poetess Lesia Ukrainka. In his “Fata Morgana”, Kotsiubynsky focused on the traditional theme of social strife in the village. His “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors” reflected both the real and mythical world of the

Hutsul village and explored the constant movement between the conscious and subconscious world of the individual.

Representative of village-oriented realism was Volodymyr Vynnychenko, perhaps the most popular Ukrainian writer and playwright of the prerevolutionary era.

New type of Ukrainian theatre at the beginning of 19th century was connected with so called “serf theater”. It was the transition from school theatre to secular one. Kharkov and Poltava were the centers of theatrical life. In 1808 after the break Kharkov theatre started to work. G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko in 1812 became the director, producer, and actor of it. In spite of all barriers caused by tsarist government, amateur dramatic circles and theatres in Kiev, Kharkov, Poltava, Sumy, and other cities and towns existed in Ukraine. Theatre was the significant factor in progress of Ukrainian culture. In 1864, the companionship “Russian conversation” had founded the first professional theatre in Austrian Lvov.



A decisive factor in development of theater, and one of the few concessions made by the regime to the Ukrainian movement, was the government’s permission in 1881 to use Ukrainian on the stage. In 1882, the first Ukrainian professional theater was founded by dramatist Marko Kropyvnytsky in Elizavetgrad. The staff of actors was innumerate for about 100 people. Among them there were very famous actors: Nicholas Sadovsky, Mary Zankovetskaya, Panas Saksagansky, etc. The most famous playwrights were Marko Kropyvnytsky (he was the author of more than 40 plays); Michael Starytsky (he was the author of 25 plays); Ivan Karpenko-Karyi was the author of 20 plays and comedies.

Development of Ukrainian music was connected with the names of prominent composers: Semion Hulak-Artemovsky (1813-1873), he was the author of the first Ukrainian opera “Cossack beyond the Danube”; Ukrainian composer and folklorist Peter Sokalsky (1813-1873) was the author of operas “Mazepa” (1859), “May Night” (1876), “Dubno Blocade” (1884), etc.

Nicholas Lysenko (1842-1912) became the founder of classical Ukrainian music. He was the author of music drama “Taras Bulba”, symphonic fantasies, theoretic

works in basics of national musical folkloristic. He was also a famous conductor, public figure and teacher.

Music also developed in realistic direction. In 1904 for stirring up of musical life in Kiev Music and Drama school was opened. Nicholas Lysenko was the director of it. At this period Ukrainian composers Cyril Stetsenko (1882-1922), Nicholas Leontovych (1877-1921), and Stanislav Ludkevych (1879-1979) worked fruitfully. Ukrainian opera singer Solomia Krushelnyskaya (1873-1952) got the world glory.

In architecture at the beginning of 20th century the dominative style was *Modern*. Modern (from French “moderne”) or Art Nouveau (from French “art nouveau”, “new art”) is an artistic movement, the most common in the last decade of 19th to the beginning of 20th century before World War I. Its distinguishing features are the rejection of straight lines and angles in favor of “natural” lines, interest in new technologies, the flourishing of crafts and arts.



“House with Chimaeras” in Kiev, architect V. Gorodetsky

Bessarab Market in Kiev (1910) was built in this style by Polish architect Henryk Gai. In this style of Ukrainian modern the house of Poltava Zemstvo had been built in 1904-1908 by architect V. Krychevsky, and “House with Chimaeras” or “Gorodetsky House” (1902-1903) (architect V. Gorodetsky).

Realism became the dominative trend in fine arts as the style and method in art and literature, as well as a philosophical doctrine, according to which the objects of the visible world exists independently of human perception and cognition.

In fine arts there were some artists, who worked in a genre of landscape painting. Sergey Vasilkovsky (1854-1917), Ilya Repin (1844-1930), Vladimir Orlovsky (1856-1914), and Peter Levchenko (1856-1917) were the most famous. Among famous painters were Alexander Murashko (1875-1919), Ivan Trush (1869 – 1941), Alexander Novakovsky (1872 – 1935), brothers Basil and Theodor Krychevskys.



Ukrainian landscape by Sergey Vasilkovsky

The landscape painting was the best evidence of that. Sergey Vasilkovsky was born in Izum in Kharkov region. He was the author of 3 thousand pictures, mostly Ukrainian landscapes. Ilya Repin had drawn in genre of portrait, historical and genre painting (“Cossacks are writing the letter to the Turkish Sultan”, “Hobblers on the Volga”, etc.). He was born in a small town Chuguev in Kharkov region.



“Cossacks are writing the letter to the Turkish Sultan” by Ilya Repin

Modern style was dominative in late 19th – early 20th centuries. In Ukraine many outstanding artists created their masterpieces Kazimir Malevych (1879-1935) was supporter of geometric abstract art, vanguard, and suprematism. *Vanguard* (from French avant-garde) is generalized name of directions in the world art that emerged at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.



Black Suprematic Square by K. Malevych

Suprematism (from Latin “supremus”, “the highest”) was a direction of avant-garde art, founded in the 1st half of the 1910s by K. Malevych. As a kind of abstraction, suprematism was expressed in combinations of colored simple geometric shapes.

Brothers Burliuk (David, Vladimir, and Nicholas) were futurists, Alexander Bogomazov (1880-1930) was avant-garde and cubo-futurist, George Narbut (1886-1920) was an acmeist.

Futurism (from Latin “futurum”, “future”) was the avant-garde trend in literature and art that developed in the early 20th century, mostly in Italy and Russia and advocated extreme formalism,

promoted the cult of individualism, and rejected the conventional linguistic, poetic, and artistic standards.

Acmeism (from Greek. Ἀκμή – “peak, maximum”) was a trend, opposed to symbolism and emerged in the early 20th century in Russia. Acmeists proclaimed materiality, objectivity of themes and images, accuracy of the word.



*“Futuristic woman” by
D. Burliuk*



*“Cossack and the Germans” by G. Narbut in the style of
Acmeism*

Symbolism (from French “symbolisme”) was one of the greatest directions in arts that had its blossoming at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. Symbolists used symbols, an innuendo, hints of mystery, mystique. The basic mood captured by the Symbolists was pessimistic, even despair.

5. Education and science

In 1802-1804, the Russian Empire realized the reform of education system. According to this reform all educational institutions were divided into levels: parochial schools, local training schools, grammar schools, and lyceums and universities. Education of this period had social stratum character. Children of workers and peasants did not have the chance for secondary and high education. The majority of population, mainly rural, was illiterate.

At the beginning of 19th century, Kiev Mohyla Academy was the only high educational institution in Ukraine. It was not enough for normal development of high education. Ukrainian intellectuals understood the necessity of the foundation of new universities. Because of that V. N. Karazin (1773-1842) scientist in Economics, inventor, and public figure received the permission from Russian tsar for the foundation of Imperial Kharkov University in 1804. He organized the collection of money among noblemen and wrote the first Statute of this University.

In 17th of January 1805, Imperial Kharkov University opened its doors for students. University had its own Medical Faculty. It served as the basis for creation in 1920-1921 Kharkov Medical Institute, later KhNMU. At the first half of the 19th century there were only 2 universities in Russian part of Ukraine: Kharkov (1805) and Imperial Kiev St. Vladimir’s University founded in 1834. In 1864 the Imperial Novorussian University in Odessa was opened. In 1875 the Chernovtsy University in the Habsburg Empire started the training of students.

During the development of capitalism, there was the necessity in the formation of technical high educational institutions. In 1885, Technological Institute in Kharkov was opened. Now it is Polytechnic University. In 1898-1899, Kiev Polytechnic institute and Ekaterinoslav high Mining training college started their work. In 1873,

Kharkov Veterinary institute began the schooling of students. In addition, there were some institutes, which trained different kinds of specialists: Kiev and Lvov Polytechnic, Nizhyn Historical-Philological, Glukhov Teachers' institute, etc.

According to the educational reform of 1864 all elementary schools, church-parochial and secular, were transformed into elementary public training schools. Representatives of all strata of society could study there. General plans and programs for this kind of schools were adopted. Regional training schools had 6-year course and prepared specialists for industry, transport, and clerks. Among additional subjects there were: geometry, sketching, physics, botany, etc.

Secondary education had been given by gymnasiums. There were 7 years for the full course. Secondary education was divided into classical gymnasiums and real training schools. Classical gymnasium had deeper humanitarian orientation. Pupils after gymnasium could enter university without special exams. Pupils in real training schools studied exact and natural sciences. Pupils after these schools usually entered high technical institutes.

In Western Ukraine Lvov was the cultural center of this region. In 1849, the first department of Ukrainian language was organized. Jacob Golovatsky (1814-1888) became the head of the department.

Capitalism caused the development of science. Although there were some Ukrainians among the leading scientists in Ukraine, a disproportionately large number of them were the Russians. This fact can be explained, in part, by the predominance of the Russians in cities where universities were located and their easier access to higher education. Universities and scientific societies of Kharkov, Kiev, and Odessa became scientific centers. There were many scientific schools at that time. Ukrainians were more in evidence in the social sciences. Ukrainian Studies were very important for the development of national culture. Among the most famous historians and ethnographers we should mention Nicholas Kostomarov (1817-1885), Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908), Michael (Mykhailo) Dragomanov (1841-1895), etc. Well-known were natural scientists Nicholas Beketov (1827-1911), Ilia Mechnikov (1845-1916), and Alexander Liapunov (1857-1918).

The 19th century was characterized by unprecedented achievements of culture and science, political, and economic development. Inhabitants of Ukraine made a significant contribution to these achievements.

Questions and tasks

1. Explain, why did E. Hobsbawm call the 19th century “long”?
2. Why were Right-Bank towns settled mainly by the Jews?
3. Which ideas did influence the first political organizations in Ukraine? What is the difference between Ukrainian political organizations and political organizations in Ukraine?
4. How did Crimean War influence the further development of the Russian Empire?
5. Which reform of the 19th century in the Russian Empire was of the greatest historical value? What were the consequences of the Great reforms for Ukraine?

6. What is capitalism? What are its differences from feudalism?
7. What were hromadas? Why were the authorities hostile to them?
8. What were the aims of the First Russian Revolution? Was it successful?
9. How did the Revolution of 1848-1849 in the Austrian Empire influence the life of Western Ukrainians?
10. Compare economic development of Russian and Austrian parts of Ukraine.
11. What is Ukrainian national revival? Which periods did it consist of?
12. What were “Little Russian mentality” and “Ruthenianism”? What was the difference?
13. Why was Romanticism opposing to rationalism?
14. Who was the brightest Ukrainian author of 19th century? Describe the ideas reflected in his creativity.
15. Which new styles did emerge in fine arts?
16. Think, why were the higher educational institutions especially necessary in the 19th century?

Chapter VII. Ukrainian Lands during the Great War and Revolution

1. Ukraine during the World War I.
2. Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921.
3. Western Ukrainian lands in 1918-1920.
4. Cultural development of revolutionary era.

1. Ukraine during the World War I

The *First World War* (the Great War) of 1914-1918 opened in world history the contemporary era, which is still ongoing. It was a war between two groups of states for the redistribution of colonies and markets, in the case of the Russian Empire it was a seizure of the disputed territories. German block, created in 1882, was called the Triple, and then Quarter Union (*Central Powers*); it included Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy before the war, and then was joined by Turkey and Bulgaria. Another union was the *Entente*, established in 1907 and consisted of the UK, Russia, and France. Later Japan, the USA and other countries joined the Entente, Italy has changed the side.



Several times in the late 19th – early 20th century the world was on the brink of war, but formal pretext for it was destined to be the murder of the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo by Serbian nationalist Gavril Princip. The result was the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia. Russia defended Serbia, and Germany, an ally of Austria, declared war on it. Austria soon also declared war on Russia. Then Germany declared war on Russia's allies, France and Belgium. After that, the United Kingdom joined the side of Russia and France. They also declared

war on the Ottoman Empire, which has attacked Russian port cities without any declarations. Montenegro and Japan entered the war on the side of the Entente in 1914. In 1915, Italy joined the war on the side of the Entente, firstly being on the side of Germany, and in 1917 the United States joined.

It is believed that the war began on 1 of August 1914, the day when Germany declared war on Russia. Ukrainian lands were parts of Russia and Austria-Hungary that were in war among themselves. Plans of warring sides on Ukraine were the following:

1. Some political forces in Germany considered the option of entering the Ukrainian lands into the future “Greater Germany”, together with the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Poland, Baltic, and Slavic lands of the Balkan Peninsula. Ukraine was seen as a springboard for advancement to the East and the potential colony, where it will be possible to draw agricultural products and natural resources. Other political forces hoped to build an independent Ukrainian state, which would weaken Russia and close its way to Europe.

2. Austria-Hungary planned to capture Volhynia and Podolia, to strengthen its dominance in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina. The Austrian government’s goal in the war was separation from Moscow and the conquest of other Ukrainian lands and the creation of an independent Ukraine what must, in their opinion, weak the influence of Moscow.

3. The Ottoman Empire wanted to capture the Northern Black Sea region.

4. Under the banner of uniting of all Russian lands Russia sought to free Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina.

Almost all the war front passed through the territory of Ukraine. About 3 million Ukrainians fought in the Russian army and 250 thousand in Austrian. Since the war began, Ukrainian nationalists decided to support the government of Austria-Hungary against Russia, as it has promised that after the victory the Ukrainians will be able to create a state in the Dnieper lands and the Western lands will have autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, part of the Dnieper Ukrainian nationalists initially supported Russia. The Austrian government has agreed to the formation of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich riflemen or ususes. It had more than 2500 people and was one of the best Austrian units. Baptism of fire ususes received in the Carpathian Mountains in the fighting against Russian troops. Opponents of riflemen were the Kuban Cossacks, direct descendants of the Zaporizhian Cossacks. In 1916, the Legion was surrounded and crushed.

In addition to Ukrainian Sich riflemen during the war from Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army on the territory of the Austro-Hungary two divisions were formed. West Ukrainian subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire fought in ordinary Austrian and Hungarian units.

In September 1914, Russian forces launched an offensive. The *Battle of Galicia* took place, and Galicia was liberated. Aircrafts and armored trains were used at first. Eastern Front became the main. Before leaving the Austrians and Hungarians on charges of Polish administration in the pro-Russian sympathies arrested and executed hundreds of the Ukrainians, tens of thousands were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Russian authorities did the same in respect of Ukrainian

activists who collaborated with their enemy. Unifying administration with Dnieper Ukraine, Russian officials have closed unreliable Western Ukrainian cultural institutions, have imposed restrictions on the use of the Ukrainian language, launched a campaign against the Uniates.

In 1915, the Austrians were defeated in Bukovina, and it was liberated. Galicia-Bukovina general-governorate was founded. During the Austro-German offensive, in May-June the most of the Western Ukraine was abandoned. Repressions went on a new circle. Now those who cooperated with Russia were repressed.

In the summer of 1916, as a result of the offensive on all the fronts, *Brusilov Breakthrough*, Russian troops liberated part of Volhynia, Eastern Galicia, and Bukovina again. There were no main attack, the Germans were unable to fight off such widespread offensive, and Austria was on the verge of total defeat. 400 thousand Austrian and German soldiers were taken prisoner. It has been a radical change in the war in favor of the Entente. But failed Russian offensive in June 1917 resulted in a complete loss of Galicia and many other areas. Thus, during the war, Western Ukrainians suffered constantly.

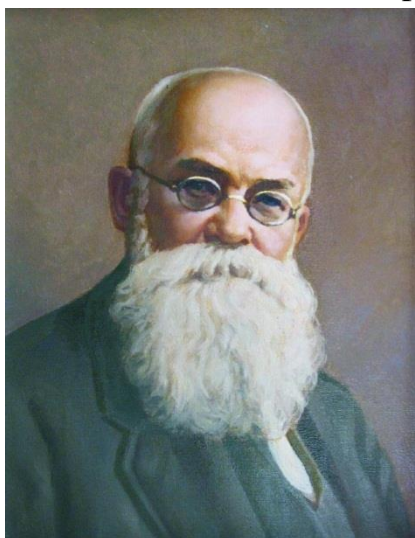
Soon two revolutions occurred in Russia, and it comes out of the war. Military operations in Ukrainian lands seriously undermined its productive forces. During 1914-1916, in Ukraine over 1400 enterprises have been closed, 26 blast furnaces liquidated. In agriculture, an acute shortage of labor and draft animals, equipment felt. At the same time taxes raised, the financial system collapsed. Workers had no salary. Card system and the natural food tax from peasants were introduced. Ukrainian nationalists intensified their activity. In Ukraine its own bourgeois-nationalist revolution was brewing.

The war was finished on 11th of November 1918 by the Quarter Union defeat. Totally 38 states participated in the war with a population of about 1.5 billion. 74 million fought in armies. New weapons: tanks, aviation, chemical weapons, flamethrowers, new types of artillery – anti-aircraft and anti-tank – were created and applied. Trench tactics was widely used. The human losses were unprecedented and shook the mass consciousness; unfair predatory peace treaties laid the groundwork for the new war.

2. Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921

In the late February – early March of 1917, in Russia a so-called *February bourgeois-democratic revolution* occurred. As a result of it, tsar Nicholas II abdicated. Autocracy in Russia was overthrown, but the chaos started. After the February Revolution a so-called “*dual power*” in Russia was established. Official authority was the *Provisional government* headed by the prince George Lvov, formed mainly from representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie. But at the beginning of its activities, it had practically no influence. The *Soviets* of workers’ and soldiers’ deputies, elected from representatives of workers and members of the revolutionary-democratic parties were informal, but influential power. Firstly, the Soviets supported the Provisional government. Against supporting the government RSDLP of Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin acted only.

In Ukraine, excepting the administration of the Provisional government and the Soviets, a third factor was presented.



Mykhailo Hrushevsky

On 3rd of March in Society of Ukrainian steppers, soon renamed in the Union of federalists and autonomists, the idea a national organization creation emerged. On 4th of March 1917 in Kiev representatives of various Ukrainian political parties, cultural, professional, other public organizations brought together and established *Ukrainian Central Rada* (Council). UCR chose *Mykhailo (Michael) Hrushevsky* as a chairman. It was Ukrainian historian and public figure, who was associated by his opponents with the Austrian intelligence. Central Rada, unlike the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, was a national political organization of the Ukrainians. The legitimacy of this institute was questionable, as its effectiveness. In the April 1917, Ukrainian National Congress re-elected

Central Rada, expanding it by the representatives of local people. V. Vynnychenko of USDLP and S. Yefremov of the Union of autonomists-federalists became substituents of Hrushevsky. Central Rada remained open to all Ukrainian organizations that may wish to send its representatives. During the May – June 1917, it was replenished by delegated deputies of Ukrainian military associations, peasants, workers, intellectuals of different groups. Central Rada began to claim the role of the Ukrainian parliament. Its social support was represented by Ukrainian bourgeoisie and intellectuals, rich peasants and townspeople of Ukrainian origin, petty officials and junior officers, zemstvo officials and rural teachers, the lower clergy.

Central Rada established the task of the struggle for national-territorial autonomy, preparations for the elections to the Constituent Assembly, cooperated with the Provisional government. In the ideological rhetoric UCR had left orientation, but in practice it was a set of bourgeois politicians.

Opponents of Central Rada were conservatives calling for the restoration of the empire; Russian patriotic forces, fearing the collapse of Russia and the defeat in World War I; radical revolutionary parties, who saw in the activities of UCR threat for the unity of the working class, its activities were considered as a “stab in the back of the revolution”.

On 5th of June 1917, the Central Rada issued its *1st Universal* – the response on the refusal of the Provisional government to grant autonomy to Ukraine. This document proclaimed the requirement of Ukrainian autonomy within Russia. UCR proclaimed itself the spokesman of the people's will. Legislative body was the Little Rada.

A few days after the 1st Universal, Central Rada announced the creation of *General Secretariat* – government of Ukraine. General Secretariat was headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Mainly, it consisted of USDLP members.

The growth of the revolutionary events in Russia forced the Provisional government to seek an agreement with the Central Rada. To overcome the differences

in the positions relating to the status of Ukraine as a part of Russia, a delegation of the Provisional Government arrived to Kiev. The sides did reciprocal concessions. The Provisional government has recognized the Central Rada and the General Secretariat as local authorities within the boundaries of five provinces – Kiev, Poltava, Podolia, Volhynia, and Chernigov. The question of the autonomy of Ukraine was postponed until the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. Central Rada agreed to replenish its composition and composition of the General Secretariat by representatives of national minorities that gave it the opportunity to act as a representative of all the people, not just the Ukrainians. These decisions were proclaimed in the 2nd *Universal* on 3rd of June 1917. According to it, over a quarter of seats (out of 800) in Central Rada and several places in the General Secretariat were given to members of non-Ukrainian parties. Places were taken by the Russians, Jews, and Poles. Concessions caused an uprising of the most radical nationalists – “samostiynyks”.



Vladimir Lenin

Soon the political situation changed. On 25-26 of October 1917 (7-8 of November according to the New Style), in Petrograd (former St. Petersburg) *October Socialist Revolution* occurred, which resulted in the overthrowing of the Provisional Government by the Bolsheviks. Formally, it was lightning bloodless Communist coup, but its effect on the social and political life was like from a great revolution. Power passed to the Soviets. Only the Bolsheviks were included in the first Soviet government. It was called the Soviet of People’s Commissars. Chairman of the government was *Vladimir Lenin*.

After the victory of armed uprising in Petrograd, Kiev Bolsheviks also tried to take power into their hands. Kiev Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee began an uprising on 11th of November 1917. It was opposed by the headquarters of Kiev military district, which has remained loyal to overthrown Provisional government. On 13th of November, Kiev uprising finished by the victory. But the victory of the Bolsheviks suddenly took Central Rada. After waiting fierce fighting of the opposing sides and retaining its strength – about 18 thousand soldiers and officers of Ukrainized units and detachments of so-called “free Cossacks” – Central Rada seized the post and telegraph offices, administrative buildings, and other important strategic points of Kiev. On 14th of November, it declared a seizure of power in 9 Ukrainian provinces. Tired and bled white in the previous three days of fighting, the Bolsheviks, who had about 6 thousand red guards and soldiers, could not resist the Central Rada, the armed forces they had inferior almost three times numerically.

Under these conditions, on 7 (20) November 1917, the Central Rada announced its 3rd *Universal*, which proclaimed the establishment of the *Ukrainian People’s Republic*, although it was noted that the UPR does not break federal relations with

Russia. They had in mind not Bolshevik Russia, but the government, which will be installed as a result of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly work. However, for the vast majority of the population of Ukraine this vaguely worded Universal remained unclear. 3rd Universal proclaimed democratic principles: freedom of speech, press, conscience, assemblies, strikes, inviolability of the person, abolition of the death penalty, an amnesty for political prisoners. The right of private ownership on land was canceled, which was declared the property of all the people and transmitted to the peasants without any compensation. The introduction of an 8-hour working day was proclaimed; the government and the workers received the right of control over the industry. National minorities obtained cultural autonomy. Central Rada in pursuit to the Universal issued explanations, that prohibited to take the land from landlords immediately before the creation of land legislation and referred only to “prepare the ground” for establishing the state control over production. In real, it was declarations only.

The Bolsheviks recognized the UPR in accordance with their program point about the right of nations for self-determination. But at the same time, the Soviet government has put forward series of pretensions to the Central Rada. These claims related to actions of Rada, regarded by the Soviet government as hostile. Firstly, the withdrawal from the front of Ukrainized units by the Rada led to its weakening. Secondly, the disarmament of Soviet troops stationed in Ukraine by Rada. Thirdly, Rada passed through the controlled territory units to the Don to help the anti-Soviet rebellions of atamans Kaledin and Dutov on the one hand and the ban for Soviet troops to pass on another. M. Hrushevsky was extremely hostile to Soviet regime.

The claims were presented in the form of an ultimatum. On 5 (18) of December 1917, the General Secretariat rejected this ultimatum. Since then, Soviet government began to consider the UPR at war with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Ukrainian Bolsheviks convened on 12 (25) December 1917 in Kharkov 1st All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, and proclaimed Soviet power. Soviet government of Ukraine was formed. It received the name People’s Secretariat. Nicholas Skrypnyk was elected as a chairman. Since December 1917, there were two powers in Ukraine: the power of the Central Rada and the Soviet government. Soviet Russia supported the Soviet power in Ukraine. Bolshevik troops launched an offensive from Gomel and Briansk. At the same time Ukrainian Bolsheviks from Kharkov began to advance in the direction of Kiev and the Donbas. During January 1918, Soviet troops seized all the Left-Bank Ukraine and came to Kiev. At the same time Kiev workers revolted against the Central Rada. Center of the uprising was a plant “Arsenal”. The revolt was cruelly suppressed. On 26 of January (8 February) 1918, Soviet troops took Kiev, the Soviet government moved there. Central Rada fled to Zhytomyr. Soviet troops began to pursue it in the Right-Bank Ukraine.

Central Rada alone was unable to resist the Bolsheviks because the sympathy of the majority of the population of Ukraine was on the side of the Communists. Bolsheviks solved agrarian question in favor of the peasants, began peace negotiations. The urban proletariat was the main social support of the Bolshevik party. Central Rada was in dire need of foreign support. Entente states were in favor of the restoration of “unitary and indivisible” Russia, able to withstand Germany and

the states of pro-German orientation. In the case of restoration of the “unitary and indivisible” Russia the Entente promised to help Russian white guards.

Quarter Union troops stood at the border of Ukraine. In addition, Ukrainian nationalists had experience of contacts with the German and Austro-Hungarian governments. Soviet government of Russia started negotiations with the Germans in December 1917, and to represent the interests of Ukraine in these negotiations volunteered Soviet government of Ukraine. Central Rada, of course, was not interested in it. Therefore, to Brest-Litovsk, where negotiations began, Central Rada sent its own delegation.

However, in order to participate in the negotiations on equal rights, Ukraine should have been a subject of international law, an independent sovereign state. Declaration of Independence of the UPR by Central Rada was proclaimed in the 4th *Universal*, dated 9 (22) of January 1918. Radical land reform was declared, 8-hour working day, so on. The document became a legal basis for the recognition of the UPR delegation in Brest-Litovsk by the Central Powers. Credentials of the delegation of Soviet Ukraine were not recognized. On 17th of January (February, 9) 1918, Central Rada has made a peace treaty with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their allies.

It was done the next day after Central Rada left Kiev, and on very favorable for the Germans and Austrians conditions. Three days after signing, the UPR government sent to German and Austrian governments request for military support, and German troops began to occupy Ukraine. Germany and Austria-Hungary promised for Central Rada to liberate Ukraine from the Bolsheviks, and the Central Rada instead had to provide agricultural products for Germany. German general Hoffmann immediately after signing the treaty commented it: “I’m interested in all the Ukraine till the nearest harvest. And then to hell with it”. Until April 1918, all the Ukrainian lands were occupied by German and Austro-Hungarian troops and Central Rada in early March returned to Kiev in their convoy.



Hetman Paul Skoropadsky

Germans began to behave in Ukraine as hosts. They openly robbed Ukrainian peasants, taking from them all the products. Firstly, the peasants responded by smoldering discontent and sabotage. Occupiers responded by entering of military courts in the territory of Ukraine, in blatant violation of formal UPR’s sovereignty. A rebellion against the German-Austrian occupation was launched. Central Rada was unable to organize systematic export of products to Germany and Austria-Hungary. Leaders were incompetent, and the administrative apparatus has not acted, people did not support the Central Rada. Therefore, the Germans decided to replace it by their own person. And they found a man. He was a lieutenant-general of the Russian imperial army, a landlord, descendant of an old genus of Cossack

starshyna *Paul (Pavlo) Skoropadsky*.

On 29 of April 1918, Central Rada adopted the Constitution. But it was its last meeting. The same day the so-called “Congress of grain-growers” that took place under the supervision of the German command declared Paul Skoropadsky as a hetman of Ukraine and the supreme authority in the state.

All the laws of the UPR were canceled. The name “Ukrainian People’s Republic” was changed to “Ukrainian State”. Hetman government program was virtually dictated by the head of the German military administration in Ukraine general V. Groener. The program, in particular, included the restoration of the pre-revolutionary rule and the state apparatus; recognition of the jurisdiction of German military courts; and moreover, the regulation of military service in Ukraine by German law, payment for military aid to the occupants. Command of the German-Austrian troops in Ukraine obtained greater power. The scale of plundering of the national economy by invaders during the Hetmanate, as was called collaborationist regime of Skoropadsky, increased.

Collaborationism is a conscious, voluntary, and intentional cooperation with the enemy, for his advantage and the detriment of the state. The term is more often used in a narrower sense – as cooperation with occupiers.

In the rest hetman regime was very close to tsarist orders. Therefore, in Ukraine began to gather counterrevolutionary elements from all over Russia. They filled up hetman’s army and administration, which operated effectively. But at the same time, great attention was paid on issues of Ukrainian culture.

Occupational regime, on strengthening of which policy has focused hetman’s government, has been attracting increasing resistance of the Ukrainian people. Peasant’s uprisings occurred. Former Central Rada’s movements, parties, and organizations were opposition to the Hetmanate. Reliance on large owners was too narrow, and Germany was losing the war.

In November 1918, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their allies were defeated in the First World War. The revolution began in Germany. Demoralized German army in Ukraine has lost its fighting capacity. In these circumstances, the former leaders of the Central Rada V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura, and other established *Directory* from 5 people to organize an uprising against the hetman Skoropadsky. The uprising began on 16th of November 1918. Germans could not help hetman and he fled with them to Germany.

Most of hetman’s troops took side of the Directory, and the rest were defeated by Sich riflemen near Kiev. Power passed to the hands of the Directory. On 19th of December, it solemnly entered Kiev. The restoration of the UPR was proclaimed. All the laws acquired the force again.

The international position of the Directory was extremely difficult. It was surrounded by enemies from all the sides. The Red Army was approaching from the North and East, Poland attacked from the North-West, from the Don army of white guard general A. Denikin threatened, who wanted to destroy Soviet Russia and Ukraine and back it into the Russian Empire. Romania claimed on the part of Ukrainian lands. South of Ukraine was occupied by troops of the Entente.

The Bolsheviks following retreating Germans quickly seized the Left-Bank Ukraine and on 5th of February 1919 entered Kiev. Directory fled to Vynnytsia. The only leader became *Symon Petliura*. In March – April of 1919, the Red Army inflicted a serious defeat to Entente troops and liberated Southern Ukraine. In May 1919, the UPR army fought against Poland and the Bolsheviks. Throughout the 1919 Directory was forced to run all the time. Popular joke of that time: “In the wagon – the Directory, under the wagon – the territory”.

In summer 1919, general Anton Denikin started an offensive against the Bolsheviks in the Left-Bank Ukraine. In early August of 1919, the UPR army launched an offensive too. On 30-31 of August 1919, UPR army occupied Kiev, but the same day passed it to Denikin. Denikin’s army returned the land to the landowners. It restored orders that existed under the tsarist rules. The peasants began the revolt against. Therefore, Petliura, who in 1919 obtained all the Directory power, declared war on Denikin. During that war, the Directory was resoundingly defeated. But the Red Army inflicted a crushing defeat on him, the remnants of Denikin’s army retreated to Crimea. Petliura went to Poland, and the Bolsheviks till the end of 1919 seized a large part of Ukraine.

On 19th of December 1919, the Bolsheviks occupied Kiev for the third time and finally. In Poland Petliura signed an agreement with the leader of the Polish state J. Pilsudsky, according to which, in exchange for military aid Poland obtained Ukrainian territory almost in 1772 boundaries. Immediately after the signing of this agreement Poland started the war against the Bolsheviks. This war was held with varying success. In March of 1921, the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the one hand and Poland on the other hand signed a *Treaty of Riga*. Under this treaty, Poland recognized Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Soviet Russia. Ukraine



The gang of atamanry time

recognized the accession of the Western Ukraine by Poland, which was promised by Petliura.

It would seem that the power in Ukraine in the period just passed from one hands to another. However, it is not absolutely so. In local areas under Petliura rule *atamanry* blossomed – the anarchist movement in fact that did not recognized any authority over itself. Arbitrariness and banditry, the killing of the Jews practiced, the real situation was chaos. Expression of it was the most

outstanding ataman – *Nestor Makhno*, who collected in 1918-1921 large military units from peasants in Southern Ukraine. He fought against all authorities, sometimes making an alliance with the Bolsheviks, and was defeated by them. There were thousands of petty atamans and gangs. Soviet state was faced with the need to defeat the gangs and restore normal life.

3. Western Ukrainian lands in 1918-1920

Until the end of World War I, lands of Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina, and Transcarpathia) were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Since September 1918, when collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became apparently inevitable, the Ukrainians began preparations to take power in Eastern Galicia. In the late September, in Lvov Ukrainian Military Committee was created for a possible armed seizure of power. Centurion of Ukrainian Sich riflemen Dmytro Vitovsky soon headed the committee.

On 18th of October 1918, in Lvov at common meetings of the parliamentary political and public figures in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina Ukrainian National Rada was formed. It announced plans to merge Eastern Galicia, Lemkiland, North-Western part of Bukovina and Transcarpathia into the one national state. The view was expressed about the future incorporation of the Ukrainian lands owned by Russia and the creation of independent state.

On 30th of October, Ukrainian parliamentary representation has put forward the Austro-Hungarian government requirement to give the Ukrainian National Council all the power in Galicia and Northern Bukovina. The governor of Galicia refused. Then the Ukrainian National Council decided to take power by force. At the night of 1st of November 1918, Ukrainian military committee took power in Lvov. Soon Ukrainian organizations took power in other cities of Eastern Galicia.

Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) was proclaimed and its government – State secretariat – formed. On 13th of November, the WUPR Constitution was adopted. WUPR planned to include Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina, and Transcarpathian Ukraine. But Transcarpathia remained under the rule of Hungary, and Northern Bukovina was occupied by Romania in November. To protect the republic *Ukrainian Galician Army* was established with 40 thousand people in its ranks.

On 22 of November 1918, Lvov was occupied as a result of the Polish troops' offensive. Government of WUPR moved firstly to Ternopol, and in late December – to Stanislav (modern Ivano-Frankovsk). *Eugene Petrushevych* was appointed as a dictator of WUPR, his government moved to the territory of the UPR, and the Galician Army joined its army. United armies the UPR and WUPR had about 80 thousand soldiers. But the leadership opposed the nationalization of enterprises and the distribution of land among peasants. The results were the emergence of Communist party, and uprising under the slogan of joining the Soviet Ukraine in April 1919 in Drohobych.

On 22 of January 1919, in Kiev "*Zluka Act*" was proclaimed. It was the union of the UPR and WUPR; the last one became an autonomous part of the UPR. But this act was only a declaration. Subsequent events did not allow uniting the UPR and WUPR. In July 1919, control of the Western regions has been lost.

In May 1919, representatives of Transcarpathia declared joining to the new state – Czechoslovakia. State Secretariat until mid-July was at war against Poland. Poland occupied Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and some another Ukrainian lands. At the Paris Peace Conference on 25th of June 1919, the Council of Ambassadors of the Entente recognized the right of Poland on that occupation. WUPR government and its armed

forces were evacuated to the territory controlled by the Directory. Armed Forces of WUPR – Ukrainian Galician Army – subsequently took side of the Bolsheviks.

By the early 20-ies of 20th century, most of Ukrainian lands were united into a state called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Ukrainian SSR). Eastern Galicia and Volhynia became parts of Poland; Transcarpathian Ukraine after the defeat of Soviet Hungary became a part of Czechoslovakia, although the population demanded reunification with Ukraine. Romania captured Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia, which the Soviet government did not recognize. But Saint-Germaine peace treaty between the Entente and Austria in 1918 illegally gave Bukovina and Bessarabia to Romanian Kingdom. Romanian occupation caused discontent of the local population. At night of 28th of January 1919, 30 thousand people rebellion prepared by the Bolsheviks began in Hotyn district in Northern Bessarabia. When in this area were put regular units of the royal Romanian army, rebels and refugees crossed the Dniester and fled to the territory of Ukraine. Poland and Romania have entered into an alliance against Soviet Ukraine and divided the Western Ukraine.

3. Cultural development of revolutionary era

Regime of Central Rada in 1917 proclaimed a revival of native language and school as a main task of educational policy. Ukrainian public organizations supported this process: society of school education; teachers' and "Prosvita" organizations. First Ukrainian schools were opened on public fee. In June, 1917, General Secretariat of Public Education started its work.

In the period only during the 1917-1918 educational year, 30 Ukrainian gymnasiums started to work in the country. Study of Ukrainian language, literature and history was compulsory at secondary schools and gymnasiums. It was allowed to form the classes with Russian language of teaching in Ukrainian schools and in Russian gymnasiums to form Ukrainian classes.

Ukrainian revolution renewed the activity of political and educational "Prosvita" organization. In summer of 1917, the central and eastern part of Ukraine had the network of reading rooms. "Prosvita" had its own theatrical companies, choral collectives, orchestras, publishing houses, libraries, and folk houses. In September, 1917, in Kiev, the first All-Ukrainian Congress of "Prosvita" organizations was held.

General Secretariat of Public Education paid the most attention to high school. Reorganization of high educational institutions was realized in two ways: Ukrainization of existed universities and institutes offering the parallel courses in Ukrainian language, and foundation of new Ukrainian high schools.

According to the decision of General Secretariat of Central Rada in 1917, Kiev Ukrainian National University was opened. There were historical-philological, physical-mathematic and judicial faculties in it. Pedagogic Academy was opened in Kiev. At that period the decision about opening of Kamianets-Podolsky University was also adopted. Ukrainian Central Rada organized the work of Kiev Geographical Institute, Kiev Judicial Institute, Kherson Pedagogic Institute and other high educational institutions.

In 1917, UCR founded the Ukrainian Academy of Arts. This academy in Soviet time was reorganized into Institute of Arts.

Central Rada sponsored the publication of Ukrainian literary works. In sphere of literature old generation of writers have been continuing their work (P. Myrnyi, V. Stefanyk, O. Kobylanska, V. Vynnychenko). But new formations in poetry started to develop: romanticism (V. Sosiura with his collection of verses “The Red Winter”), P. Tychyna (with his poem “Gold noise” and the collection of verses “Solar clarinets”, etc.); “new classics” united around the magazine “Knygar” – P. Phylypovych, M. Rylsky, etc.; symbolism – Y. Savchenko, D. Zagul; panfuturism – M. Semenko. The new generation of writers started to create their masterpieces: A. Golovko, O. Vyshnia, and S. Scliarenko.

There were many outstanding scientists, who had been working at the universities, institutes, and scientific-research centers: L. Pysarzhevsky (chemist) (1874-1938), E. Paton (bridge builder) (1870-1953), A. Krymsky (philologist, historian, and orientalist) (1871-1942), D. Bahaliy (historian), G. Proscura (hydromechanics) (1876-1958), etc. Many Russian scientists emigrated.

Hetman Paul Skoropadsky (1873-1945) continued cultural policy started by Central Rada. He initiated the opening of 54 gymnasiums in cities and villages. Even at schools with Russian language of teaching there were some compulsory subjects: Ukrainian language, history and geography of Ukraine, and history of Ukrainian literature.

Hetman’s government supported in 1918 the foundation of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, with V. Vernadsky at its head. This academy had 3 main departments: historical-philological, physical-mathematical, and social-economic. The State Ukrainian Archive, National Art Gallery, Ukrainian Historical Museum, Ukrainian National Library, were founded at that period.

That was the period of experiments, so at that time (in 1917) appeared “The Young Theatre” of *Les Kurbas*; in 1918 – Ukrainian theatre of drama and opera; in 1920, the new dramatic theatre named after I. Franko was opened in Vynnytsia (in 1923 it moved to Kharkov and later – to Kiev).

In 1918, the State symphonic orchestra under a guidance of A. Gorelyi in the Soviet time became the republican symphonic orchestra named after Nicholas Lysenko; the Ukrainian state chapel under a guidance of A. Koshits in 1919 became the Ukrainian republican chapel. Kiev musical-dramatic institute started to teach students. At that period in Ukraine worked prominent composers: Jacob Stepovoi (1883-1921), Levko Revutsky (1889-1977), George Veriovka (1895-1964), and Boris Liatoshynsky (1895-1968).

So, this tragic revolutionary time became the period of Ukrainian culture confirmation as such, not a part of Russian one.

Questions and tasks

1. What were the plans of the warring countries towards Ukraine?
2. Why was the First World War a tragedy especially for the Ukrainians?
3. Specify the consequences of the First World War for Ukraine.
4. What was the UCR? Express your opinion about its legitimacy.
5. Analyse the Universals of UCR. Fill the table.

Universal	Date	Reasons for adoption	Contents
1 st			
2 nd			
3 rd			
4 th			

6. Think, why were the UCR and the Bolsheviks (both declared Socialist principles) hostile to each other?
7. What were the reasons for the victory of the Communists?
8. What is collaborationism? Why is the regime of Paul Skoropadsky considered as collaborationist?
9. What was the Directory? Why did its power fall?
10. Why were UPR and WUPR in need of union? What was the fate of Western Ukraine and Bessarabia after the collapse of that states?
11. What was the main development direction of Ukrainian culture under the UCR, Ukrainian State, and Directory?

Chapter VIII. Ukrainian Lands in Interwar Era (20-30es of 20th Century)

1. Soviet Ukraine in the 20-30-ies.
2. Ukrainian lands as parts of Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia during the 20-30-ies of the 20th century.
3. Culture of the Early Soviet period.

1. Soviet Ukraine in the 20-30-ies

UkrSSR was finally established in Central and Eastern Ukrainian lands in December of 1919. Between the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR agreements about military, political and economic unions were signed.

The guiding force of the political system of the Ukrainian SSR was the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine (*CP(b)U*). By the end of 1920, a Civil War on the territory of Ukraine was over in general.

During the Civil War, the economic policy of “*War Communism*”, that had nothing in common with real Communism, provided extraordinary efficient arrangements for the organization of front and rear supply. Such policy was started during the WWI by the Germans. Surpluses of agricultural products were seized by the state from peasants through the mechanism of unlimited and in some cases violent repurchase products with low state prices. The plan for the bread hand overing was established. Labor service was introduced. Private trade was prohibited. The entire industry was nationalized and worked on the basis of centralized planning subordinated to objectives of national defense. Distribution was also centralized, and was of a natural character, rationed by cards. The role of money was minimized. Public utilities, transport and communication services were provided to people for free. Salary was the same for all.

With the end of the Civil War, “*War Communism*” has exhausted itself. It deprived the producers of material incentives for the development of the economy and therefore become a brake for the transition to peaceful building. General disturbance by this policy led to workers’ strikes, peasant uprisings, and covered also Ukraine. In the spring of 1921, requisitioning plan for the harvest of the previous year in Ukraine was done in less than 40 %.

In March of 1921, in Ukraine as in other Soviet republics the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) was introduced. It was a transitional form of economy from capitalism to socialism, based on multistructural economy. The beginning of the NEP was accompanied by the famine of 1921-1923, the cause of which was not only the drought and, consequently, a poor harvest in 1921, but too high grain procurement plans also. The main feature of the NEP was replacing of the requisition of bread by tax in kind. Peasants paid for the state specified fixed tax in kind, and the remains could sell in the free market. High tax was set for prosperous peasant households, middle peasants paid less, and poor ones have been released of it. Gross agricultural output of the country has almost doubled.

Salary became piecework and labor service was abolished. Utilities and other services have to be paid; 86 kinds of taxes were introduced. For the development of the economy different kinds of private trade were allowed. State trade included

mainly wholesale purchase and sale, and retail was in hands of private traders. Large fairs were recovered, exchanges opened. Small-scale industry was denationalized. The establishment of private small businesses was allowed. The role of all forms of cooperation strengthened. The state reserved all “commanding heights of the economy”, namely the land and its resources, finance, large enterprises, transport, and communication, foreign trade. Since 1921, the system of monopolistic trusts has been restored, their associations – syndicates – were created. Foreign investment was attracting.

To overcome the devastation in the economy monetary and financial reform was necessary. In April of 1922, gold and silver coins were issued. At the same time the paper chervonets was released, which equated with 10 gold rubles. The trade turnover was launched on the basis of strong currency, which reliability was recognized in the world.

In 1923, there was a crisis of sales. The reason was that prices of industrial products have been set much higher than for agricultural products. The purchasing power of peasants has fallen dramatically. Urban residents used up to six times more industrial products than the peasants. Capital was pumped out of the village for the needs of cities. Prices for agricultural products were increased, and the crisis had been overcome.

In 1927, NEP reached the goal of economic recovery and began to cancel. XV Congress of the Bolshevik party adopted guidelines for the preparation of the first five-year economic development plan, designed for 1928/29-1932/33 financial years. It put forward in a balanced way three interrelated objectives: the accelerated development of the industry (average annual growth rate of volume of production must be up to 16 %), deployment of partial collectivization in agriculture on a voluntary basis (to the end of the period it should cover up to 20 % of peasants' households) and increasing the level of national welfare. Predominance of the plan under the market was clearly proclaimed firstly. In April 1929, the XVI Conference of the Communist party studied and approved optimal variant of the plan.

Tremendous efforts were spent on establishing of moral encouragement of labor, mainly through the organization of mass production competition.

Until 1934, the capital of Soviet Ukraine was Kharkov. Population was 26 million who lived in 15 regions. Ukrainian SSR became one of the founders of the Soviet Union. On 30th of December 1922, in Moscow, representatives of Soviets of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, TSFSR (Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) decided to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR) – multinational federal state of a new type, in which all subjects of the federation had equal rights. In 1924, the first Constitution of the USSR was adopted, in 1925 – the Constitution of Ukrainian SSR. The central government of the USSR in Moscow was engaged in matters of foreign policy, foreign trade, military affairs (Red Army), transport, and communications. Power of republics was under internal issues, land affairs, justice, education, culture, health and social security. In 1936, a new, the most democratic Constitution in the world was adopted, the draft of which had been discussed by all the country.

Since 1925, the Soviet Union proclaimed the *Industrialization* – the creation of a powerful industry that was implemented in the second half of the 20es. The Modernization, started under the tsarist rule, under the power of Stalin reached great achievements. The industry has been divided into two subgroups – “A” (means of production) and “B” (production of consumer goods). The first one was placed in a privileged position in all indicators. The construction of huge industrial enterprises began in Ukraine. In December of 1920, at the VIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets a plan of reconstruction and development of national economy on the basis of the electrification was adopted (GOELRO).



Solemn opening of the DneproHES, 1932

As a result, in 1932 on the former site of the Zaporizhian Sich the largest hydroelectric power plant in Europe – the DneproHES was built. Giant tractor plant was built in Kharkov. The biggest metallurgical and engineering plants appeared in Zaporizhzhia, Zhdanov (Mariupol), Kharkov, Krivoy Rog. Donbas turned in advanced industrial district. In 1940, the industrial potential of the Soviet Ukraine was

in 7 times higher than in 1913. The Soviet Union became the second industrial country in the world after the United States, and the Soviet Ukraine has become one of the most advanced industrial countries of Europe (approximately at the same level with France). Ukraine ranked second in Europe after Germany’s production of cast iron and fourth in the world in mining of coal. In the production of metal and machines was ahead of France and Italy, has caughting up England. Only industry of Right-Bank Ukraine and Polesie remained undeveloped. Never in history, there were no society had such a big industrial construction in such a short time. Industry growth rates were 20 % – this figure is not reached by economies in the world during the



Joseph Stalin

existence of civilization. Unemployment was completely eliminated. After 1933, the policy of the Communist storm ceased. The second five-year plan proposed average annual growth rate of industrial production in the 13-14 %.

In the political system of the USSR at the beginning of the 30es a personal dictatorship of *Joseph Stalin* was established, who was the victor in the struggle for power after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924. Stalin liquidated the NEP and created an effective rigid centralized bureaucratic control system of the country for all political, economic, and spiritual life of Soviet society. Introduction of passports and registration institute for the population in December 1932 perpetuated peasants into collective farms. The country has moved from democracy to *totalitarianism*.

Totalitarianism (from Latin “totalitas” – wholeness, completeness) is a political regime that seeks to complete (total) state control over all aspects of society’s and people’s life. Totalitarianism is impossible without the support of the absolute majority of the population.

In rural areas in the late 20s – early 30s *Collectivization* was carried out – organization of agriculture through the creation of large farms – collective and state ones. Started in 1927, it was implemented in very hard way and was accompanied by repressions of the peasants who did not want to join collective farms. In 1929, Collectivization was declared as entire. Ukraine was attributed to regions where Collectivization was planned to finish at the autumn of 1931 or spring of 1932. During the Collectivization, the subjects of socialization were cows, sheep, and even poultry. It met strong resistance of the peasants. In 1930, there was even a partial rollback on the initiative of Stalin. In February of 1930, Ukraine became the area of the first wave of kulaks’ dispossession. It was attack on rich peasants who did not want to join collective farms. In 1932, the government took from collective farms the large part of insufficient harvest for the Industrialization. It led to a large famine known as *Holodomor*. In 2006, the Holodomor was recognized as genocide by the Ukrainian parliament. But by the end of the First five-year plan (1928-1932) 70 % of farms were collectivized, by the end of the Second (1933-1937) – 90 %.

After the assassination of S. Kirov in the Smolny Palace in 1934 *repressions* in the USSR began and were developed in 1937-1938. Repressions are punitive measures applied by public authorities in order to protect the existing system. Outstanding representatives of the Communist party, managers of the national economy, scientists, military, cultural, and religious figures were repressed. Almost the entire leadership of the Communist party of Ukraine and the Ukrainian government were killed. Rights of republics, including Ukraine, have been limited to a minimum.

Nevertheless, progress surpassed the losses greatly. The Soviet state developed progressively and rapidly, a significant role in that development was assigned to the Ukrainian SSR.

2. Ukrainian lands as parts of Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia during the 20-30-ies of the 20th century

At the end of 1919, when under the main part of the Ukraine Soviet power was established, the problem of the Ukrainian lands reuniting passed into the plane of the military confrontation of Poland, on the one hand, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand. Representatives of Polish authorities dreamed about reestablishing of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the 18th century from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In 1919, the Paris Peace Conference recommended that the eastern Polish border must be drawn according to the “Curzon Line” by the name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Great Britain. It was done, with certain variations, on the border of the actual settlement of the Poles, Ukrainians, and Belorussians. All deviations were in the interests of Poland. However, according the Treaty of Riga Western Ukrainian and Western Belorussian lands became parts of Poland. It was a half of the area of interwar Poland. Ethnic minorities were about a one third of the

population, mostly the Ukrainians. The Polish state had population of 5.6 million Ukrainians. It was 15 % of the total population of Poland, 80 % of them were peasants.

By the early 20-ies, Eastern Galicia, Western Volhynia, Zabuzhie and so called Transcursonia – Kholmshina, Lemkiland, Podlhasie, and Nadsianie were under the Polish rule.

When capturing these lands, Poland promised to the Entente countries to provide cultural and national autonomy for the Ukrainian population. But that promises were not fulfilled by the Polish government. It was carried out policy of national oppression and terror in respect of the Ukrainians. Ukrainians were subjected to mass arrests and imprisonment to concentration camps. Ukrainian departments of the Lvov University were closed. Only those citizens can become students who gave the oath of allegiance to the Polish state.

To create a social base in the Ukrainian lands, the Polish government began to implement a policy of colonization there. Polish colonists who were called “*osadniks*” were free to get the best land in Western Ukraine and financial support from the Polish government. Those colonists, who often did not want to do agriculture, became employees of Polish state administration or other public officials. Poles were almost all the state officials in Western Ukraine. As a result of the policy of colonization about 300 thousand *osadniks* moved to the Eastern lands from Poland.

Polish government formally subdivided the country into two parts. Poland “A”, which belonged to the root Polish lands, and Poland “B”, which included mostly annexed Ukrainian and Belorussian lands. Cheap loans and governmental contracts stimulated industrial development of the root territory, and in the Ukrainian lands lending of industries was limited. Polish financial system was an instrument of economic enslavement of the Ukrainian lands. Interwar Poland cannot be called a developed country. Ukrainian and Belorussian lands had impressed by its backwardness particularly. Raw materials industries were the basis for the industrial production. It was mainly oil and wood. The economic crisis of 1929-1933 was painful blow to Poland. Real salary of workers before the crisis did not reach prewar levels, and during it salary fallen significantly. Unemployment provided particularly devastating impact on workers and their families. Salary of Western Ukrainian peasant in 1931 was the lowest in Europe. Severe socio-economic conditions led to emigration. According to the official Polish statistics, in 1925-1939 over 373 thousand people emigrated only from four provinces of Western Ukraine.



Pacification of Western Ukraine

In 1930, Polish army and police have used mass repressions against the Ukrainian people in Eastern Galicia, the so-called “*Pacification*”, or the suppression. In June-July 1932, there was a rebellion with the participation of about 30 thousand peasants of four counties. Polish government has sent units of the regular army to suppress the uprising. Ukrainian cultural organizations and institutions, cooperatives were closed, mass arrests were carried out. In 1938, the Polish government launched a new

offensive against the Ukrainian people. In particular, over 300 Orthodox churches have been closed or transferred to the Catholics. Ukrainians were called the Ruthenians, and the region – “Eastern Malopolska”. Ukrainian language was banned in public institutions since 1924. Lists of banned Ukrainian books, almanacs, calendars, and other publications that appeared in Galicia and beyond it systematically published. Official authorities set a course for liquidation of the Ukrainian school. “There are no Ukrainian people, – said the Minister of Education of the Polish government S. Grabsky, – Ukrainian people are an invention of the Communists for propaganda purpose”. Over 25 years Ukrainian question was planned to solve completely.

In the response to the Polish terror Ukrainian nationalists in August 1920 established the *Ukrainian Military Organization* (UMO) in Prague. Its leader was E. Konovalts. The main method of struggle was terror. Its aim was the national liberation of Ukrainian lands and the establishment of the nationalist regime. Militants were trained by the Croatian ustashi, army units of Lithuania, Italy, Holland, and Germany. The future commander of the UPA R. Shukhevych completed courses at the military academy in Munich. Ukrainian militants were also in ranks of the Nazi storm troopers. But the plan of sabotage and propaganda dissemination on the territory of the USSR collapsed, and it weakened German support. Pro-Soviet group of former WUPR dictator E. Petrushevych separated from the UMO. In 1928, the German government, seeing the decline of the UMO, stopped funding.

On the basis of the UMO in January 1929, the *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists* (OUN) was established in Vienna, to carry out terrorist activities in Western Ukraine. OUN terror was directed against Polish authorities, as well as against the Ukrainians, who did not collaborate with the OUN, and even Soviet diplomats. In addition to terrorist attacks the UMO and then the OUN carried out arsons of estates, attacked police, postal and banking institutions. For several years militants burned more than 2 thousand Polish estates. Shortly after its foundation Stephan Bandera stood out among young militants of the OUN. Doctrine of the OUN was *Integral Nationalism*. Ukrainian nation for them was the highest value. An integral part of the ideology was the concept of “creative violence and of proactive minority as a guiding force”. They were characterized by xenophobia and racism.

The first commandment of the OUN was “achieve the Ukrainian state or die in the struggle for it”.

OUN terrorists succeeded in killing of Polish Interior Minister B. Pieracki who was responsible for the “Pacification”. Polish court sentenced them to death, including Bandera. But the death penalty was commuted to life imprisonment. Actions of the OUN provoked the Poles on new acts of “Pacification”. In mid-September 1933, large police units and cavalry were sent against Ukrainian villages. Applying the principle of collective responsibility armed detachments occupied about 800 villages. They dispersed cells of Ukrainian communities, destroyed reading rooms, and confiscated property, products, physically massacred people who protested. More than two thousand Ukrainians were arrested, mostly students and young peasants. Legal opposition suffered of oppression and persecution.

In 1938, in Rotterdam a prominent Soviet diversionist Paul Sudoplatov liquidated E. Konovalts using mined box of chocolates, which nationalist liked. Thus, on the eve of the Second World War the leadership of the OUN was weakened. Murder of Konovalts made a great resonance among Ukrainian nationalists. As anticipated in the USSR, it resulted in strengthening of internal conflict among the members of the OUN that, in turn, led to the OUN split in 1940 on Melnik and Bandera followers. OUN had no mass support among the population until the time of the Western regions occupation by Nazi Germany.

Among other Ukrainian political forces operating in Poland in the 20-30-ies, it should be noted *Communist Party of Western Ukraine* (CPWU). CPWU relied on the broad support of the Ukrainian population of Poland. It acted against the Polish occupation regime and for the reunification of the Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR. Party operated in hiding and therefore to gain greater popularity in needed legal organization that should openly promote the policy of the Communists. Such an organization in 1926 became a Socialist Workers’ and Peasants Association or Selrob. In 1928, it gained 240 thousand votes. The greatest impact on society Communists reached during the economic crisis. They successfully combined legal and illegal forms of struggle against the existing regime. In 1937-1938, Stalinist repressions covered not only the USSR but also the international communist movement, which was led and directed from Moscow. In 1938, after being falsely accused in having links with the Polish secret services international alliance of Communist parties – Komintern – dissolved the Polish Communist Party. Its leaders were summoned to Moscow and repressed. With the dissolution of the party CPWU also stopped its existence, because it was an autonomous part of it.

The most numerous group of Ukrainian in the Polish Sejm was a fraction of the *Ukrainian National Democratic Union* (UNDU), formed 1925 by the merger of the Labor Party with a number of smaller groups. In their view, Western Ukraine should become the basis for the liberation of Dnieper Ukraine from the power of the Bolsheviks. In 1932, its management decided to abandon the UNDU slogans of independence and conciliarity, replacing it by the requirements of national-territorial autonomy for all Ukrainian lands in the Polish state.

Radical Party – the oldest of all Ukrainian parties – was a spokesman of socialist ideas among the Western Ukrainians. In the 1920-1930-ies, radicals were

consistent opponents of the political regimes of the USSR and Poland. In 1926, they teamed up with the less numerous Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Thus, the Ukrainian Socialist Party was born.

In January 1918, Romania occupied Southern Bessarabia, and in mid-November captured Northern Bukovina. About 1.3 million Ukrainians lived in occupied territories. Over 80 % of the population was engaged in agriculture. In Northern Bukovina there were 115 thousand landless and land-poor households, and the situation in agriculture has been very difficult. However, in Bukovina government allocated 5 thousand hectares of land for the Romanian colonists. Occupational government implemented discriminatory policy when the seizure of the land from the Ukrainian peasantry and its transfer to the representatives of the dominant nation was a common phenomenon. The crisis of 1929-1933 led to falling in prices for crops, especially for corn in 6 times. Many peasant households have gone bankrupt. Industrial enterprises in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia were small and artisanal. Occupiers dismantled and removed to Romania industrial equipment, vehicles.

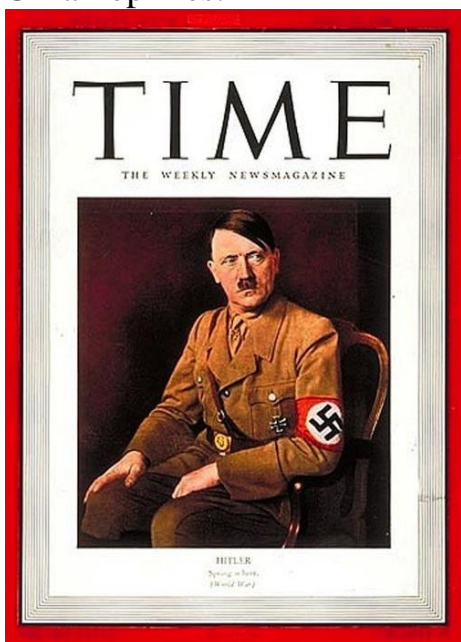
Romanian government did not recognize the Ukrainians a separate nationality. They were called “citizens of Romanian origin, who have forgotten their native language”. Education of the Ukrainians was in Romanian. In Chernovtsy University Ukrainian departments were closed. Romanian government has eliminated most of the Ukrainian organizations, banned all Ukrainian press. Bukovina and Bessarabia since 1918 till 1927 were on martial law. Until 1928, a police regime operated. This expression is used to define the social system when the power strictly controls social, economic, and political life of citizens. During 1918-1924, there were more than one hundred and fifty armed actions. The apogee of this struggle was *Tatarbunary Uprising* in Bessarabia, which began in September 1924 and was brutally suppressed.

In 1927-1937, position of the Ukrainians in Romania has improved slightly. Ukrainian National Party started to act legally, the government allowed the activities of some Ukrainian social, cultural, sports organizations, Ukrainian press begun to issue. However, in 1936 a special circular has forbidden using of historical names of renamed Ukrainian villages and towns in the official documents and press. Surnames also were corrected in the Romanian way. In 1938, the fascist dictatorship of general Antonescu was established in Romania, and all democratic freedoms were canceled.

Transcarpathian Ukraine in 1919 became a part of Czechoslovakia voluntarily. 0.5 million of Transcarpathian Ukrainians in fact had their self-government. In contrast to Ukrainians in Poland and Romania, they were not subjected to national oppression, developed their culture freely, and united in public organizations. However, for Czech colonists of Transcarpathia 19 thousand hectares were allocated. In the aggregate social product of Transcarpathia industry's share was only 2 %. No new large-scale enterprise in the province built during 20 years. Businessmen were interested only in raw materials that they could take out. Colonial features of economic policy of the Czech bourgeoisie were manifested in restrictions and even curtailing of local industry. For example, transport tariffs for carriage of goods from Transcarpathia to Czech Republic were twice as high as in the whole country. Czech government circles helped the bourgeoisie to hold exceptionally low prices in the region for raw materials and agricultural products and rob the peasants. Despite

political freedom, in economy Transcarpathia was an internal colony for Czechoslovakia, as Western Ukraine for Poland and Bukovina for Romania.

Communists were an influential force in Transcarpathia. *Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* actively fought for the social and economic rights of people. On the Czechoslovak parliamentary elections in 1924 40 % of voters chose the Communists. Governor of Transcarpathia A. Beskid in 1923-1933 carried out Russophilic policy. Russophile party was supported by the state administrative machine. It gave the opportunity for Russophiles to compete successfully with Ukrainophiles.



A. Hitler, the "Man of the Year, 1938" by "Time" magazine

While in Germany, the Nazis led by A. Hitler were in power since 1933. *National Socialism (Nazism)* is a form of social organization that connects an extreme right ideology of nationalism and racism. Nazism declared the goal of creating on a vast territory of a racially pure Arian state that has everything for a safe existence for a long time, the genocide of peoples living there. The mechanism of the nationalist dictatorship included extremely brutal repressive apparatus.

The Nazis deliberately went to inflaming of a new world war, during which wanted to take revenge for the defeat of Germany in World War I. Fascist Italy led by Benito Mussolini supported the aspirations of Germany. One of the methods adopted by Hitler in order to destabilize the situation in Europe and test the reaction of the Western states was to put forward territorial claims against neighbors. In

1938, Hitler demanded the accession of Sudetenland to Germany. These Northern regions of Czechoslovakia were inhabited mostly by the Germans. On 30th of September 1938, the heads of government of the Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy signed the so-called *Munich Agreement*. It was an agreement on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Government of the United Kingdom and France, seeking to direct German aggression towards the East, against the Soviet Union, decided to make concessions to Hitler. USSR offered military assistance but Czechoslovakia refused fearing the reaction of England and France. In Munich the last ones supported Hitler's demands and forced the government of Czechoslovakia, whose delegation was not even admitted to the conference, to give Germany Sudetenland. Munich Agreement also included the satisfaction of territorial claims of Hungary and Poland. As a result, the Southern part of Transcarpathia in November of 1938 was occupied by Hungary, which was an ally of Nazi Germany. Czechoslovakia lost over one third of its territory and population, over 40 % of the industry, a significant part of raw materials and became completely dependent on Nazi Germany. Nationalists in Slovakia used it. With the support of Germany, they formed the autonomy.

With the creation of the Slovak autonomy the Prague government weakened that



allowed politicians of Carpathian Ruthenians, as they called themselves, to gain autonomy. On 14 of March 1939, Slovak separatists with the help of the Germans proclaimed the creation of an independent Slovak state. On 15 of March, German troops occupied the Czech lands, which were turned into “Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia” by Hitler’s decree. Czechoslovakia stopped to exist.

The Government of *Carpathian Ukraine* tried to do everything possible for strengthening and expanding of Transcarpathian statehood. For this purpose they formed armed forces of autonomy – the so-called Carpathian Sich. It had in its ranks only about 5 thousand soldiers and was armed very poorly, sometimes even by hunting weapons. The government of Carpathian Ukraine, consisting of Ukrainophiles, dissolved all the parties except their own, and decided to join the fascist bloc. But the plans of puppet state creation under the German protectorate did not come true.

On 15 of March 1939, in Hust town Sojm gathered – the Parliament of Carpathian Ukraine. Hungarian troops entered the autonomy that was given to them by Hitler. Sojm proclaimed the independence of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic, adopted a Constitution and elected Augustine Voloshin as a president. However, these solutions had a symbolic character. Despite the desperate resistance of the Carpathian Sich it could not resist regular Hungarian army. The President and the government of Carpathian Ukraine fled to Romania. A few days later the Ukrainian state in Transcarpathia stopped to exist completely.

3. Culture of the Early Soviet period

In 1920s – 1930s, leaders of the Soviet state tried to realize their plan of *Cultural Revolution*. They would like to change the outlook of people: through the schools, institutes, and public organizations they would like to form the skills of Marxist-Leninist outlook; form in the Soviet people principles of socialist society (collectivism, internationalism, etc.); to form the Soviet intellectuals; liquidate illiteracy.

In 1920s, 2/3 of adults were illiterate. Because of that a special all-Ukrainian extraordinary commission for struggle against illiteracy was formed in 1921. Later, in 1923, a society “Down with illiteracy!” was created. The development of the new economic policy helped to find the financial support for schools (building of new schools, publication of textbooks, etc.). As the result, by the early 30es the majority of population became literate.

Education became free. 97 % of Ukrainian children were taught in Ukrainian. It has never happened in Ukraine before the revolution. There were three types of schools: primary school (4 years), short secondary school (7 years), and full secondary school (10 years). A. Makarenko founded the school for children-orphan, who were criminals. He achieved great results in their corrections.

12th Congress of Russian Communist party in 1923 adopted a decision of necessity of “*Corenization*” or Indigenization policy. Indigenization was political and cultural campaign of Soviet power in the national question of the 1920es and early 1930es, designed to bridge the gap between the central authorities and the non-Russian population of the USSR, active national development in republics. This policy in Ukraine got the name “Ukrainization”. Ukrainization was promotion policy and implementation of the elements of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in various spheres of life. In frames of it 4/5 of schools, ½ of colleges and ¼ of institutes gave the education in Ukrainian language. 90 % of newspapers, ½ of books, all films and broadcasting, and 2/3 of workflow were Ukrainian. Ukrainization process took place in education, media, literature, theater, cinema, and other forms of art and science, as well as in the party, Communist union of youth, the state apparatus, and even in the army.

In 1920s, there were many creative organizations of writers, poets and artists (“Plow”, “Tempering”, and “Vanguard”). Free academy of proletarian arts was opened in 1920. The ideological leader of it became Nicholas Hvylevoy and the first president Michael Yalovoy. They would like to protect new literature from administrative interference. In 1934, Soviet power formed the Union of writers.

There were many literary styles in 1920s: revolutionary-romantic (Paul Tychyna, Vladimir Sosiura, and Ivan Bazhan); pamphlets of N. Hvylevoy; satire and humor of Ostap Vishnia.

In 1930s, a method of *Socialistic Realism* became dominative. It was philosophical method of artistic creativity that was used in the art of the Soviet Union, and later in other socialist countries, being introduced in the artistic creativity by public policy, and answering the challenges of building socialism. It was artistic depiction of reality “exactly, in accordance with the specific historical revolutionary development”. The main topic of literary and artistic works was devoted to historical-revolutionary events and labor deeds of Soviet people.

The wide network of clubs, reading-houses, and public libraries was created. They should organize readership conferences, political information and realize other social and political activity. Government supported the reconstruction of old and building of new museums.

It was the time of Soviet intelligentsia formation. Intelligentsia was the specific social group of people, who professionally fulfill the intellectual activity. Soviet power needed specialists, because of that it opened a big number of institutes, colleges, and technical lyceums. Children from the families of workers and peasants had advantages for admission. Each year Communists and members of Communist youth organization were delegated to the institutes and universities.

1920s were the time of heyday for Ukrainian culture, but 1930ies became the period of persecution of intellectuals and deukrainization.

Analysis of social and cultural situation of 1930ies gives us the chance to subdivide it on few periods:

The first one: 1930-1932 – national-cultural life preserved inertia of 1920-s. Ukrainian language had still dominated in the press, cultural and propagandist activity, documentation, and at school. Cultural policy preserved some liberal features thanks to the principal position of the theorist of the national question and famous statesman Nicholas Skrypnyk.

The second one: 1933-1935 – Communist Party tried to control cultural processes in Ukrainian republic. Repressions were used. Nicholas Skrypnyk was fired and shot himself. Ostap Vishnia (1889-1956) and well-known theatric director Les Kurbas (1887-1937) were imprisoned and directed to the camps. 500 writers were repressed at that period. Scientists named these people “*Executed Revival*”.

The third one: 1936-1938 – the wave of repressions decreased. Many leaders of Ukrainian culture were accused in nationalism and repressed. By the end of 1938 the terror was stopped. Heroic character of socialist building was at the frontline. Propaganda of aesthetic ideological stereotypes was realized everywhere. At the same time government had continued the policy of illiteracy liquidation. According to the official data in times of the first five-year plan 5 million people became literate. Party bodies controlled writers, composers, and artists through the special organizations: Unions of Writers, Composers, and Artists. Concert activity was monopolized by Ukrainian State Philharmonic.

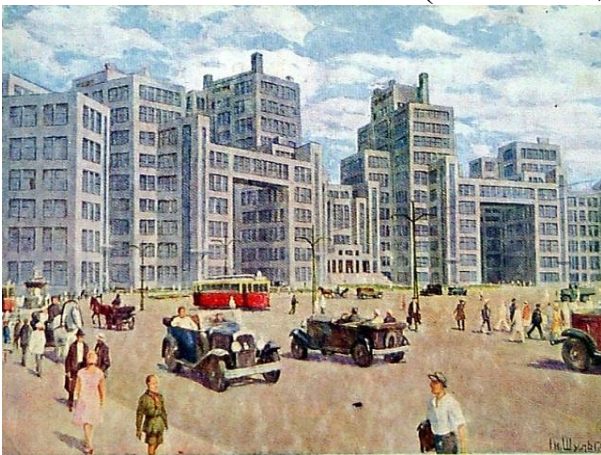
In science there were some famous schools: mathematic one was headed by Dmitry Grave (1863-1939), collective of physicists of Kharkov Institute of Physics and Technique. Igor Kurchatov (1903-1960) and Lev Landau (1908-1968) were the most prominent representatives of that school. Mainstream historians were Dmytro Bahaliy (1857-1932), Dmytro Yavornytsky (1885-1940), and Matthew Javorsky (1885-1937).

Ukrainian music in 1930s preserved the potential: musical images created Levko Revutsky (1889-1977), Boris Liatoshynsky (1895-1968), Michael Verykivsky (1896-1962), Victor Kosenko (1896-1938), Constantine Dankevych (1905-1984) and others. There were some performing groups (chapels): “Dumka”, State Exemplary Pandorists’ Chapel, and others. Conservatories in Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa opened their doors for students.

At the basis of traditional Ukrainian realistic theatre many prominent actors performed: Ambrose Buchma (1891-1957), Gnat Yura (1888-1966), Natalya Uzhviy (1898-1986), etc.

Soviet architects had to design buildings for working people, who came to work in cities. Typical projects for mass building were created. There were three stylistic trends in architecture of that time. The first one was oriented on principles of national wooden architecture and Ukrainian Baroque. The second one was characterized by classical features, and the third one was *Constructivism*. It was avant-garde direction, characterized by rigor geometrism, laconic forms and monolithic appearance. There are some famous buildings in Kharkov in this style: Gosprom (Derzhprom) (1925-1929, architects S. Serafimov, M. Felger, S. Kravets), Student’s hostel “The Giant” of

Polytechnic Institute (1928-1929, architect Alexander Molokin), and the Railway Workers' Palace of Culture (1931-1932, architect Alexander Dmitriev).



Cosprom in 1930es. Picture in the style of Socialist Realism



Railway Workers' Palace of Culture in Kharkov

Providing of sound cinema needed building of new picture theatres. In 1930, in Kiev film studio made the first documentary film “Symphony of the Donbas” about heroic work of miners and workers. Directors A. Dovzhenko, L. Lukov, A. Romm, I. Kavaleridze, and I. Savchenko concentrated on historical, revolutionary and classical thematic. In 1939-1940, Kiev film studios produced the first color movies: “Fair of Sorochintsy” and “May Night”. Documentary, scientific-popular and animation films were made in Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkov studios.

Social processes influenced on the development of painting. Social reality was the main topic of fine arts: pictures from peasants and workers' life. Monumental painting and monumental-decorative sculpture were widely used in reconstruction of cities and villages.



Monument to Taras Shevchenko in Kharkov (1935), Socialist Realism

The most famous monument to Taras Shevchenko was built in Kharkov (1935, sculptor M. Manizer). So, the progress in spheres of cultural and economic life during the interwar era was impressive.

Questions and tasks

1. What was War Communism? Was it necessary in that time?
2. What was NEP? Which purposes did it pursue?
3. When was the USSR formed? What was the role of UkrSSR in that federation?
4. Why was an accelerated development of industry the most important task for the USSR? How did it influence the development of Ukraine?
5. What was the Collectivization? What is the coherency between Industrialization and Collectivization?
6. How did Poland act in occupied Ukrainian lands? What was Pacification?
7. What was the response of Ukrainian nationalists on Polish oppression? Which organization was formed, and which methods did it use?
8. Point the aims of legal opposition in Poland.
9. What do you know about Romanian policy in Ukrainian lands?
10. What was the difference between position of the Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia on the one hand and Poland with Romania on another? Were the Ukrainian lands in Czechoslovakia a colony?
11. What is Nazism? When did political cataclysm started in Transcarpathia? What was the fate of Carpathian Ukraine?
12. What were the objectives of Cultural Revolution? Were they achieved?
13. What was the Indigenization? Which name did it get in Ukraine?
14. Compare Realism and Socialistic Realism. What is the difference?
15. How did repressions influence culture? Define the "Executed Revival".
16. What is Constructivism? Which buildings of this style do you know?

Chapter IX. World War II and Recovery of Soviet Ukraine

1. Ukraine during the Second World War (1939-1945).
2. Post-War recovery.
3. Culture in the days of despair and triumph.

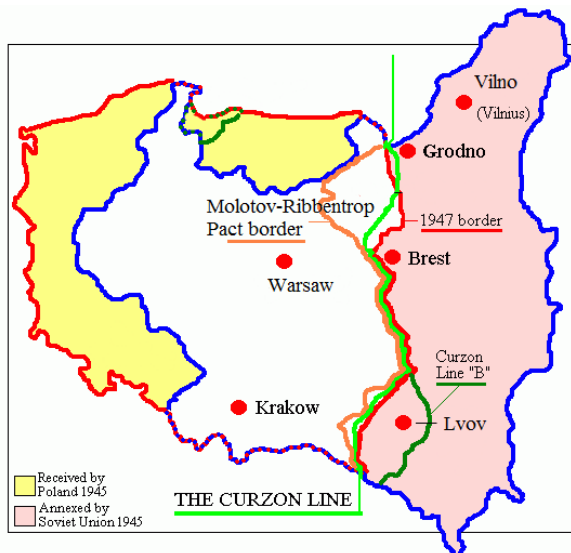
1. Ukraine during the Second World War (1939-1945)

After the occupation of Transcarpathia by Hungary fate of the rest of Western Ukraine was solved during the Soviet-German negotiations on the eve of World War II. On 23 of August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union entered into non-aggression pact for 10 years – the so-called *Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact*. In the secret protocols areas of interest of the USSR and Germany were demarcated. Germany agreed that the Western Ukrainian lands, Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia were in the sphere of the USSR interests.

On 1st of September 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland, *World War II* began. UK and France, connected with Poland by the treaty of guarantee of Polish security, on 3rd of September declared war on Germany, but no action was taken.

Together with the German army Ukrainian battalion entered the territory of Poland, formed by the OUN mainly of Carpathian Sich former soldiers. After the death of E. Konovalts OUN was headed by his closest companion since the time of the Civil War A. Melnik. During the life of E. Konovalts, the OUN established close ties with the Nazi military intelligence – the Abwehr. Melnik strengthened those links and began to help the Germans in the war openly.

The Polish government failed to organize the defense of their country. By mid-September, the Polish army was virtually crushed, although some pockets of



The further fate of Poland

waged by troops of Ukrainian Front, which was composed of 28 infantry and 7 cavalry divisions, 10 tank brigades, 7 artillery regiments.

For several days lands of Western Ukraine and Belorussia have been liberated. On 22 of September 1939, the 2nd Cavalry Corps of the Red Army entered Lvov. The number of Polish prisoners reached 250 thousand. The population gladly met the Red

Army. But under the German occupation were 550 thousand Ukrainians of Holmshina and Lemkiland. It became a part of the Polish general-governorate created by Germany. From the first days of the establishment of Soviet power in the Western Ukraine activity of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine increased. In cities and counties revolutionary committees were created that before the arrival of the Red Army took power into their hands. In Ukrainian lands liberated by the Red Army, on 22nd of October 1939 elections to the National Assembly of the Western Ukraine were held. On 27th of October National Assembly decided to include Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR. This decision was confirmed by the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviets. Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were united with the Soviet Ukraine into the one state. The Soviet system of government was formed in Western Ukraine.



At the end of June 1940, the Soviet government demanded Romania to bring back Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, which were seized unlawfully. The Romanian government requested for the assistance of its ally – Hitler’s Germany. But the German government, having a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union refused, but for help in the

future war promised large areas. Romanians accepted an ultimatum. On 28 of June 1940 the Red Army crossed the Dniester and entered the territory of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. To prevent the Romanians to take out values airborne operation was used for the first time in the world. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR decided to include Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia into Ukrainian SSR, and from the rest of Bessarabia and Transnistria create Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1940 Chernovtsy region was created as part of Ukrainian SSR. Almost all Ukrainian lands became a part of the USSR. Transcarpathia remained under the Hungarian rule, and the regions of Holm and Lemki – under German.

As a result of accession to the USSR of Western Ukraine, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, Ukraine’s population increased by 8 million 809 thousand. By the middle of 1941 it amounted to 41 million 657 thousand.

After joining Western Ukraine to the USSR the *Sovietization* was started. Banks and industry were nationalized; the existing backward industry was rapidly reconstructed; the construction of new started; small factories and plants become larger. Within a short period of time 22 thousand industrial and municipal institutions, railways, and power plants were transferred to state ownership. The confiscation of land, livestock, seed, and varied inventory from the landlords, Polish osadniks, and church was carried out. These lands and property were transferred for free to the landless and smallholder peasants. Machine and tractor stations, various institutions and organizations were created that have helped peasants to develop agriculture and livestock. Accommodation, confiscated from rich exploiters was

distributed among workers. Free health care was introduced. Many medical professionals came from the Eastern regions of Ukraine. System of social security was introducing. Most of the teaching staff has been replaced by staff from Eastern Ukraine. Education was reformed in the direction of Ukrainization of schools and higher education. Anyone wishing could study in Ukrainian language. Illiteracy among the adult population was eliminating. The network of cultural and educational institutions was widening, conditions for the development of science, literature, and art were created.

These progressive measures were implemented by harsh administrative and command methods and were accompanied by repressions. All Ukrainian political parties, social, cultural, scientific organizations were banned, commercial and industrial companies operated before the establishment of Soviet power, all preexisting periodicals were closed. Part of former government officials, officers of the Polish army and police, members of political parties and public organizations, landowners, businessmen, rich peasants, lawyers, university professors, figures of religion and culture were repressed.

At the end of 1939, administrative reforms were carried out: provinces, counties, so on were liquidated; the system of division into regions was introduced: Volhynia, Rovno, Lvov, Drohobych, Ternopol, Stanislav, and districts.

In 1940, the Collectivization began in the Western Ukrainian lands but by the beginning of German aggression it was not finished.

In Western Ukraine *deportation* to remote areas of the Eastern part of the Soviet Union was widely used as a form of repression, especially for the Poles. Deportation (lat. *deportatio* – exile) is forced expulsion of a person or class of persons to another state or another area.

Waging a successful war in Europe, Adolf Hitler actively and secretly prepared for a military invasion into the Soviet Union. Already in June 1940, he suggested that the next step after the victory over France will be a campaign against the Soviet Union and also in 1940. However, the leadership of the Wehrmacht – the German army – has recognized these plans unreal. Only in 1941, according to the *plan “Barbarossa”* the concentration of troops on the border of the Soviet Union began. Nazi invasion army had 190 divisions and 20 brigades, which included 5 million 88 thousand soldiers and officers; more than 47 thousand cannons and mortars; 4400 tanks and assault guns; about 4400 aircrafts. In Western frontier districts of the Soviet Union, which took the first blow of the enemy, 186 divisions numbering 27 million persons, armed with 39400 guns and mortars, 11 thousand tanks, and 9100 aircrafts were concentrated. 80 % of the Soviet machinery units were outdated samples; rearmament has not been completed. The modern weapons were 1861 tank KV and T-34, as well as 3700 aircraft. In addition, much of it was in the reserve. Lack of skilled management also affected. At the beginning of 1941 only 7 % of the command and supervisory staff had higher education, and 37 % did not have the necessary education at all. Soviet troops did not have the experience of warfare.

On the territory of Ukraine the blow of army group “South” was directed. On 22nd of June 1941, Nazi Germany without declaring war, violating the non-aggression pact, attacked the USSR. German-Soviet war, known in post-Soviet areas as the

Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union for freedom and independence, has begun. Only during the first hours of the war, as a result of unexpected bombing Soviet forces lost almost all aviation of the first line – 1200 combat aircrafts. The first blow took over the border guards, who, being in extremely difficult conditions, waged the most severe defensive battles.

Despite the heroic resistance of Soviet soldiers the German army concentrated in mobile groups advanced rapidly. In the early days of the war losses were correlated with the losses of the enemy as 20/1. During the first three weeks of fighting, the Red Army lost 850 thousand soldiers, 3.5 thousand airplanes, 6 thousand tanks, 20 thousand guns and mortars.

In Ukraine the Germans and their allies by the middle of July 1941 occupied Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Northern Bukovina, Southern Bessarabia; by mid-August they took the Right-Bank Ukraine, on 19th of September – Kiev and Poltava, 16th of October – Odessa, 24th of October – Kharkov. The heroic defense of Kiev by the Red Army and the local population continued for more than two months since 11th of July till 26th of September 1941. Order to retreat came too late, and Kiev group of Soviet forces was surrounded and crushed. The Germans captured about 660 thousand prisoners of war, but also lost under the walls of the Ukrainian capital more than 100 thousand soldiers, and the plan of the “Blitzkrieg” collapsed. The defense of Odessa lasted for 73 days. Garrison was evacuated to Sevastopol, and the Germans understood it only the next morning. By the end of 1941, the German army occupied almost the whole of Ukraine, excepting Eastern regions of Kharkov, Voroshilovgrad (Lugansk), and Stalino (Donetsk).

In December 1941 – April 1942, the Red Army inflicted a crushing blow to the German army group “Center” near Moscow. But attempts of the Soviet offensive in the Kharkov region of 12-19th of May 1942 were unsuccessful. Poor organization and logistics, as well as tactical errors led to the defeat. 240 thousand soldiers and officers were captured. In February – April of 1942, Soviet troops attempt to break through the German defenses in the Crimea ended tragically. Crimea was captured by the Nazis. Defensive fighting of the Red Army on the territory of Ukraine ended on 22 of July 1942 when the Nazis occupied the city of Sverdlovsk in Voroshilovgrad region.



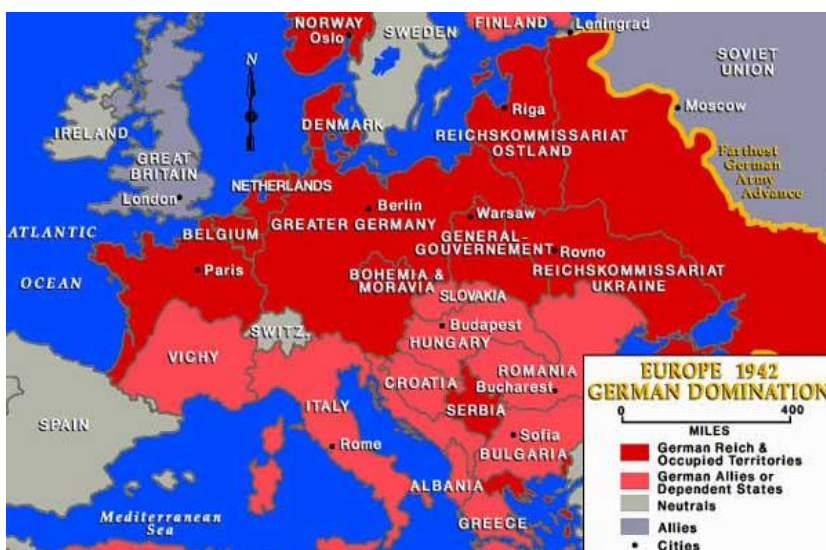
Stephan Bandera

Both directions of the OUN enthusiastically welcomed the German attack on the Soviet Union. On the eve of it OUN(B) (followers of S. Bandera) formed the “Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists” numbering 600 men, consisting of two special battalions of Abwehr regiment “Brandenburg-800”: “Nachtigall” and “Roland”. Legion as part of the German army entered the territory of Ukraine. Soon it was turned into units of the 201st security police battalion. In Lvov nationalists actively participated in the genocide of the Jews, the extermination of Polish intellectuals and loyal Soviet citizens. Subsequently, they participated in punitive actions and mass killings.

On 30th of June 1941, OUN(B) proclaimed in occupied Lvov “*Act of proclamation of renewing of Ukrainian state*”. This document proclaimed the creation of “a new Ukrainian state on maternal Ukrainian lands”, which “will work closely with the National Socialist Greater Germany under the leadership of the fuhrer Adolf Hitler, to create a new order in Europe and throughout the world”, “Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army, which is created in Ukrainian lands, will fight together with the allied German army”. Document ended by the traditional greeting of Ukrainian nationalists: “Glory to Ukraine! Glory to heroes!” Such a move of OUN(B) was based on promises of support their struggle for Ukrainian statehood by German officials received at the eve of the war against the Soviet Union. Government was headed by close to Bandera person – Yaroslav Stetsko. But Hitler wanted to turn Ukraine into a colony, so he did not want even a puppet Ukrainian state. Ukrainian nationalists were necessary for the organization of sabotage in the Soviet rear; support of local Ukrainian population; punitive measures. On this basis, the Germans banned the activities of the Ukrainian government; its leaders were arrested a few days later. For refusing to repeal the act of independence Bandera was imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen camp, where he was held in a relatively comfortable environment until September 1944.

Despite this Ukrainian nationalists continued to support the Nazis, hoping to gain their favor and to organize Ukrainian self-government at least at the local level. For this purpose both organizations of Ukrainian nationalists began to create so-called “marching groups” from its members that followed the occupation forces and organized local administration, became occupational elders, mayors as well as auxiliary police.

On 20th of August 1941, *Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”* with the center in the city of Rovno was created. On the 1st of September 1942, Reichskommissariat



covered the territory of Ukraine with area 339.3 thousand sq. km with a population of 16.9 million people consisted of six General Commissariats: “Volhynia”, “Zhytomyr”, “Kiev”, “Nikolaev”, “Dnepropetrovsk” and “Tavria”. Chernigov, Sumy, Voroshilovgrad, Stalino regions and the Crimean peninsula were under

German military control during the entire period of occupation.

Germans established brutal occupational regime of terror in Ukraine. Reichskommissar of Ukraine E. Koch, speaking in Kiev on 5th of March 1943, stated: “I shall squeeze out everything from this country to the last drop”. Ukraine has been turned into a German colony, which was part of the territory of the so-called “German living space”.

Occupational regime in Ukraine had to perform three main objectives: to provide food, material and human resources for needs of the Nazi war machine; liberation from the Ukrainian population living space for the Arian race; help the colonization of the occupied lands by German settlers. Germany received from Ukraine agricultural products, raw materials for industry and labor force. 85 % of all food products imported during the war in Germany were of Ukrainian descent. But productivity was very low. Until the end of May 1942, almost 60 % of the arable land in Ukraine was not sown. At the end of the war 2.8 million enslaved people worked in Germany, forcibly brought from the occupied countries of Europe. 2.3 million of them were from Ukraine.

Industrial equipment initially was taken out to Germany, and then an attempt was done to restore it for military purposes. However, to put industrial potential of Ukraine at the service of Germany in full size failed: if before the war in the Donbas mined 95 million tons of coal per year, but under the Germans only 3-4.8 million tons. Situation in other industries was same.

By the autumn of 1941, the Nazis killed in Ukraine about 850 thousand Jews and other Soviet citizens in Babi Yar in Kiev, Drobitsky Yar in Kharkov, and other places. In Kiev in Darnytsa camps more than 130 thousand people were killed, more than 100 thousand – in Syrets camp. In the shootings on the territory of the Babi Yar took part 1200 Cossacks of Bukovina kuren, as well as the 118th Ukrainian police battalion. On 22nd of March 1943, its fighters under the command of the former lieutenant of the Red Army G. Vasiura burned villagers of Khatyn in Belorussia alive. Victims of mass executions in Rovno were about 100 thousand people; hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed in Vynnytsia, Zhytomyr, Poltava, and other cities of Ukraine. Hitler's terror gradually gained a systematic character: with German pedantry punitive actions were conducted, ghettos and concentration camps were established. There were 50 ghettos and 230 concentration camps. Totally in the Ukrainian lands invaders killed 5 million 264 thousand civilians, including 2.4 million Jews. 250 settlements were completely burned and its population executed. Only in the 1944 special teams in the concentration camps of the Reich smelted from teeth and jewelry of murdered prisoners 2 tons of gold. Nazis put in Swiss banks gold bars for the sum of 415 million dollars. During the German occupation, Kiev lost 60 % of its residents. Kharkov population before the war was 700 thousand. 120 thousand were taken out for work in Germany, 30 thousand were executed, 80 thousand died of starvation.



Ukrainian partisans, 1942

German policy has provoked strong resistance from Ukrainian people. In June 1941, it became clear that it is impossible to stop the enemy at the border and to wage war on its territory. Therefore, the Soviet leaders made a decision to deploy *Partisan movement* in the rear of the enemy. Partisan movement was launched in Ukraine. On 30th of May 1942, on the occupied territory of Ukraine Ukrainian headquarters of partisan movement (UHPM) headed by T. Strokach was established. Struggle waged by 516 thousand Soviet

partisans and 103 thousand underground fighters.

In its development Partisan movement took several stages. The *first one* was the rise and formation and lasted since the beginning of the war until the end of 1942. It was characterized by the accumulation of forces, determining of the optimal organizational forms and practices to combat behind enemy lines. The *second stage* – stabilization – lasted until the middle of 1943. In that time, a central governing body of the resistance was formed – Ukrainian headquarters of the Partisan movement. In addition, material support of center made it possible not only to protect own bases, beating punitive actions of the Nazis, but also to keep under control entire areas, creating the so-called partisan zones and gradually move to committing of raid operations. *The third* – the period of active offensive operations – continued until the total defeat of the Nazis. This period was characterized by large-scale diversions, numerous raids behind enemy lines, active cooperation with the Red Army, and offensive tactics of warfare. Particularly active partisan movement was in a decisive 1943, when the partisans blew up 3700 trains. “Rail war” has become one of the main forms of guerrilla warfare. During the war, as a result of diversions on transport Ukrainian partisans blown up almost 5 thousand trains, 607 railway bridges were damaged. The first significant raids were conducted in the autumn of 1942. Since 12th of June till 5th of August 1943, Sumy partisan unit under the command of S. Kovpak and S. Rudnev committed *Carpathian raid* from the Sumy to Stanislav region. In 1943 partisans of A. Fedorov, M. Naumov and other commanders raided Right bank. In total, Ukrainian partisans carried out 19 raids.

Ukrainian nationalists also organized their units, which were called “*Ukrainian Insurgent Army*” (UPA). The first units of the UPA, the so-called Polesie Sich were organized in August 1941 by former resident of the Abwehr in Soviet Ukraine, commander of the local Ukrainian police Taras Bulba-Borovets. Polesie Sich was established with the permission of the German military command to destroy the remnants of the Soviet troops on the occupied territory. After this task has been completed it was disbanded. Fighters of former Polesie Sich in 1942 resumed vigorous activity against Soviet partisans and the Poles in Volhynia and Polesie, but

without official permission of the Germans and under the new name – the UPA. The official date of the UPA creation is 14th of October 1942, but really it was created at the end of 1943, when after the battle of Stalingrad became clear that the Germans were losing the war and they needed allies. Armed groups of OUN(B) also adopted the name UPA. In the summer of 1943, units of the OUN(B) surrounded and disarmed main forces of the UPA of Borovets and OUN(M). Part of these militants went home, and many joined the troops of the OUN(B), which finally installed their name as UPA. At the top of its power in the late 1943 – early 1944 UPA had in its ranks 40 thousand militants. The main objectives of the UPA led by R. Shukhevych were the struggle against Soviet partisans, regular troops of the Red Army, as well as the expulsion of the Poles from lands with mixed Polish-Ukrainian population or their killing. In solution of the last problem UPA faced with Polish nationalistic Army Krajova that no less emphatically tried to establish control over the lands of former Polish state. In this struggle civilians suffered most. According to Polish sources in Volhynia in 1943-1944 UPA units killed not less than 60-80 thousand Poles. Poles also killed several thousands of Ukrainian peasants in Kholm region. In early 1944, the Soviet partisan units of P. Vershigora and M. Naumov could not stay in Lvov and Drohobych regions because of the resistance of Ukrainian nationalists and were forced to retreat to Poland.

In the autumn of 1944, when the Germans were expelled from almost the whole country, they remembered about leaders of Ukrainian nationalists again, expecting for their help. S. Bandera, A. Melnik, Ya. Stetsko, T. Bulba-Borovets and other well-known nationalists were released from the camps. They tried to organize resistance to the advancing Soviet troops, fought against the establishment of Soviet power in the liberated from the Nazis territory.

Argued that the lower structures of the UPA fought against the German occupation and repressions against the Ukrainian people. However, according to the archive of the Bundeswehr in Potsdam, no German soldier was killed by Banderovites. In fact, this was the pro-German formation and consisted of ideological supporters of extreme right ideology.



Agitation for joining to SS division "Galicia"

In April 1943, when a radical change in the course of World War II in Soviet favor started, the Nazis formed from Western Ukrainian nationalist volunteers SS Division "Galicia". This division was utterly defeated by the Red Army in July 1944, reformed and participated in punitive actions against the Slovak Uprising and others.

Nationalist movement on the territory of the Western regions, joined to the USSR as a result of the Second World War, existed more than ten years after the war. It received secret American and British support during the Cold War.

Liberation of Ukrainian territory was started after the victory of the Red Army in the *Battle of Stalingrad* on 19th of November 1942 – 2nd of February 1943, which marked the beginning of a fundamental turning point in World War II, the conquest of the strategic initiative by the Soviet command. Even before the successful completion of this operation, on 18th of December 1942, Soviet troops liberated the first locality in Ukraine – village Pivnivka in Voroshilovgrad region. On 14th of February 1943, the troops of the Southern Front under the command of F. Tolbukhin liberated Voroshilovgrad and on 15th of February – Kharkov. But the Germans inflicted counterattack and recaptured Kharkov.

The next stage of the liberation of Ukraine was connected with the *Battle of Kursk* on 5th of July – 23rd of August 1943, which marked the beginning of a strategic offensive of the Red Army and ultimate liberation of Ukraine. In early July 1943, Soviet troops at the front had a numerical advantage over the enemy in manpower and materiel. In the *Battle of Kharkov*, which began on 3rd of August 1943, participated 980.5 thousand soldiers, 2400 tanks, 1300 aircrafts, 12 thousand artillery guns. German troops were inferior to them in manpower in more than three times, and in tanks and artillery in four times what was perfect for a successful Soviet attack. On 23rd of August 1943, Kharkov was liberated finally.

Before leaving, the Germans completely destroyed Dnepropetrovsk, Poltava, Kremenchug and other cities of Ukraine. In September 1943, the *Battle for the*



Destroyed Kharkov

Dnieper started, where the Germans built strong fortifications on the right bank. With the move bridgeheads were seized. On 6th of November 1943, Kiev was liberated after severe fighting and big losses in crossing the Dnieper. At the end of 1943, the liberation of the Right-Bank Ukraine started. One of the largest and most important in the military-political sense was *Korsun-Shevchenkovsky Battle* of 25th of January – 17th of

February 1944. During the operation, the enemy lost 9 divisions: 55

thousand people killed and wounded, more than 18 thousand were captured. On 28th of October 1944 during the *Carpathian-Uzhgorod Operation* the whole Ukraine was liberated from the invaders.

Totally during 1941-1945 more than 7 million Ukrainians served in the Red Army, 4.1 million of them died. Mostly partisan groups in Ukraine consisted of Ukrainians (59 %). Losses of Ukraine in the war constituted 40-44 % of the total losses of the USSR. At the end of the war in 1945, the total population of Ukrainian

SSR was reduced to 27 million compared with 42 million in 1941. 40 % of the economic potential of the republic had been lost.

On 26th of November 1944, Congress of People's Committees of the Transcarpathian Ukraine has decided to merge Transcarpathia with the Ukrainian SSR, and in June 1945 in Moscow an agreement was signed between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, according to which the latter renounced all claims.

Taking into account the mistrust between Ukrainian and Polish population in the ethnically mixed lands, that fraught new conflicts, in 1947 the USSR and Poland decided to exchange the population in the border areas. It received the name "Operation Vistula". In the period of 1944-1947 about a million Poles moved from Eastern Galicia and Western Volhynia to Poland, and from ethnic Ukrainian lands within Poland were resettled to the USSR over half a million Ukrainians.



Soviet soldiers in Berlin

On 9th of May 1945, the war against Nazi Germany ended by complete victory of the USSR. As a result of the Second World War for the first time in history all of the major Ukrainian lands were united into the one state – Ukrainian SSR, which was the part of the USSR.

Soviet-German front was the main in World War II. Only on the territory of Ukraine almost half of strategic operations were held, during which the fate of the entire world was determined.

In 1945, the Ukrainian SSR became a founding member of the *United Nations Organization*. The number of founders or initial members included 51 countries. Each of them had one vote, excluding the USSR, which received 3 votes, because in addition to the USSR founding members included the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR as a separate units. It was a sign of recognition by the international community the enormous sacrifices that have suffered these countries in the struggle against Nazism.



2. Post-War Recovery

To renew economic power Supreme Soviet of Ukrainian SSR adopted IV five-year plan of the economy development (1946-1950). It was planned to bring the gross industrial output to 113 % by the end of the period, compared with 1940. The investments exceeded funding of two previous five-year plans. Specialists, equipment, and vehicles from other USSR regions were directed to Ukraine. The scale of reconstruction under the lead of local Communist ruler Nikita Khrushchev was greater than in any other country in Europe.

IV five-year plan was accomplished ahead of the schedule. It became possible thanks to the heroic selfless work of millions of workers and peasants, scientists, engineers, employees of the cultural and educational sphere. The main branches of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR – metallurgy and power production were completely restored. Industry transferred to the production of machine tools, equipment and other peaceful products instead of military ones. In 1950 the volume of industrial production exceeded the pre-war level by 15 %, which was even a little more than planned.

New branches of industry were created such as radio-technical, instrument making, automotive industry, etc. During the five-year plan period, new large plants were built: Kiev Aviation Plant, the Odessa Automobile Assembly Plant, the Kharkov Bearing Plant, the Zaporizhzhia Transformer Plant, the Lvov Instrumental, and others. In Western Ukraine, the development of new oil, gas, coal, sulfur production, the construction of new plants was started. The Dashava-Kiev gas pipeline was put into operation. Until 1951, industrial production in Western Ukraine grew by 230 % in the comparison with the level of 1945 and reached 10 % of Ukraine industrial output. Ukraine has resumed its role in the industrial potential of the USSR, and was ahead of many European countries again.

But at the same time, in the economy of the Ukrainian SSR, as in the entire economy of the USSR, there were no resources for carrying out the modernization. The best forces and resources were directed to the accelerated construction of enterprises of the military-industrial complex. The recovery of light and food industries lagged behind; in 1950 it reached only 80 % of the pre-war level.

In the spring and summer of 1946, 16 regions of Ukraine were struck by a drought. Winter and spring crops were lost. A large-scale famine began. In December 1947, due to the growth in agricultural and industrial production, card system in the distribution was cancelled, the threat of hunger disappeared. Ukraine renewed its position as the granary and cattle-breeding base of the USSR. Before 1950 the pre-war level of agricultural production was achieved.

The policy of Sovietization in Western Ukraine continued, interrupted by the war. 1950 was the year of complete collectivization of the region. Ukrainian nationalists carried on their attacks on Soviet citizens, practiced terrorism, and were completely defeated during 1950es. In response to the terrorism, the Soviets deported 200 thousand Western Ukrainians, mostly family members of nationalists. In Crimea (in that time under Russian jurisdiction), the Soviets deported the Crimean Tatars, more than 200 thousand people, who were collectively punished because of collaboration with the Germans during the occupation.

Supreme Soviet ruler Joseph Stalin died on 5th of March 1953. Following events opened a completely new page in history of Ukraine.

3. Culture in the days of despair and triumph

World War II was a real trial for Ukrainian culture. The majority of scientific, cultural-educational, and medical institutions, universities, institutes and schools were evacuated and functioned far from the republic. Nazi banned all Ukrainian organizations, controlled mass-media and Ukrainian artists. Just elementary schools were allowed at the occupied territory. Nazi were sure that for the Ukrainians it would be enough to get 4-classes education. In Kiev the Germans opened “Ukrainian Scientific-Methodic Institute”, few teachers’ seminaries, allowed the edition of pedagogic magazine “Ukrainian School”.

Occupants robbed a great number of museums, galleries, and libraries at the territory of Ukraine. Just from Lvov the Germans took more than 5 thousand manuscripts, 3 thousand old books, 300 incunabula (old written books) and nearly 40 thousand another books. More than 330 thousand valuable museum exhibits had been taken from Ukraine.

At the liberated from the Nazis territories the work of schools renewed. By September, 1944 the majority of schools were ready for educational year. From the 8th of September 1943, children started schooling at the age of 7. Boys and girls studied separately up to 1954. In war time new kinds of educational institutions were formed: schools of working youth, Suvorov and Nakhimov military colleges. Ukrainian schools trained children in the rear. In Saratov region there were 30 Ukrainian schools, in Sverdlovsk – 18, Novosibirsk – 11. More than 30 Ukrainian high educational institutions worked in evacuation. United Kiev and Kharkov universities started training students in 1942 in Kzyl-Orda in Kazakhstan. Odessa University moved into Bayram-Ali in Turkmenistan.

More than 70 Ukrainian high educational institutions worked out military thematic and problems related to war-time. In war-time medic Nicholas Strazhesko (1876-1952) consulted hospitals, searched the problem of sepsis the wounds; surgeon-ophthalmologist Vladimir Filatov (1875-1956) treated soldiers and developed methodic of corneal transplantation. Academician Alexander Bohomolets (1881-1946) invented new drugs for the treatment of wounds and bones. Institute of Biochemistry headed by academician Alexander Palladin (1885-1975) developed drugs that accelerated blood clotting.

Institutes of History, Economics, Archaeology, Linguistics, and Literary Studies were united in the Institute of Social Sciences. Historians edited books devoted to national heroes. These books played an important role in ideological struggle with enemies. Literary works were devoted to heroic of war. National history was the source of the formation of patriotism. Heroic resistance of Ukrainian peasantry to fascist invasion described Polish and Soviet writer and poetess Vanda Vasilevska (1905-1964) in a short novel “The Rainbow”.

Ukrainian publishing houses united into one Ukrainian State Publishing Office. From the very beginning it worked in Saratov, and later moved to Moscow. Many literary works were published in social and political journals: “Ukrainian Literature”,

“Ukraine”, and “Pepper”. At occupied territory newspaper “Soviet Ukraine” issued secretly. Partisans published their own newspapers. Broadcast played a specific role during the occupation. Ukrainian broadcasting corporations started its work in Saratov and “Soviet Ukraine” in Moscow.

Dozens of Ukrainian theatrical collectives, ensembles, and artistic teams performed for frontline soldiers, inspired them for the struggle against enemies. Kiev Opera and Ballet House had sent 22 teams, which performed more than 920 concerts, Zaporizhian Theatre – 3 teams, with 214 performances and concerts, Kiev Dramatic Theatre performed 206 plays and concerts.

Ukrainian Kiev and Odessa film studios were evacuated to Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Ukrainian newsreels studios worked in Moscow and Kuibyshev (Samara). Ukrainian filmmakers produced many patriotic movies. Kiev studio made “Alexander Parkhomenko” by L. Lukov, “How Steel Was Tempering” by M. Donskoy, “Partizans in Ukrainian Steppes” by I. Savchenko. Mark Donskoy directed the film “The Rainbow” (by script of Vanda Vasilevska). This movie got many awards (even “Oscar”). Workers of newsreel documentary studios prepared special reviews “From the Fronts of Patriotic War”. Special groups of cameramen collected the material with a risk for their life.

Composers had written many patriotic songs and hiking marches. During the war-time, 350 musical compositions of different genres were created (4 symphonies, 6 operas, 11 quartets, quintets and trios, 9 chamber works, 7 piano compositions, 6 marches, 7 cantatas and big vocal compositions, more than 130 songs and romances).

In the post-war time the cultural building was an important part of reconstruction. In system of public education there was the transition from obligatory primary education to the obligatory 7-years education for all children. The network of schools and colleges quickly widened.

Kiev, Kharkov and Odessa Universities renewed their activity after the war. Uzhgorod University opened its doors for students.

Soviet power persecuted representatives of Greek-Catholic religion for their support of Nazi policy during the war. That Uniatic Church was dissolved in 1946 on the *Mukachevo Church meeting*.

J. Stalin gave the task for Soviet politician Andrew Zhdanov to control cultural sphere. So, in 1946-1949, “*Zhdanovschina*” took place. It was doctrine when for all scientists and cultural figures was necessary to support party line. Mass-media and party bodies criticized scientists, writers, and composers. Pogrom reviews on the literary works of Yuri Janovsky, Andrew Malyshko, and Alexander Dovzhenko, “History of Ukraine” edited in 1943 were issued. The strongest moral and political pressure on the artistic intellectuals was realized during activity of Lazar Kaganovych in 1947. He created in the republic the atmosphere of nationalist danger, which had been existed for about two years.

Low-educated people tried to administrate in science. Ukrainian “people’s academician” T. Lysenko (1898-1976) proclaimed genetics “the bourgeois pseudoscience”. The best achievements of Soviet genetics were crossed by his activity.

Despite these negative features Soviet Ukraine successfully repaired its economy, evolved science and culture being one of the most developed countries worldwide.

Questions and tasks

1. What was the role of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in history of Ukraine?
2. Why did the Soviet Union was able to seize Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia from Romania without bloodshed?
3. What was Sovietization in Western Ukraine? Point main measures.
4. What was plan “Barbarossa”? Why it was successful at the beginning of the campaign?
5. Think, why was the German-Soviet war called Great Patriotic in post-Soviet historiography?
6. What do you know about German occupational regime in Ukraine? What were its objectives and results?
7. What was Partisan movement? Why did it arise and which stages pass?
8. What was UPA? Compare activities of that formation with partisan struggle.
9. Why did Ukraine as a part of the USSR receive separate place in UN?
10. How did Ukraine manage to recover in general before 1950? Was it achievement of administrative-command system? Express your opinion.
11. What was the role of culture during the war?
12. What was Zhdanovschina? Think, how did incompetent management influence further development of the USSR and Ukraine?

Chapter X. Late UkrSSR and Independence

1. Khrushchev reforms and Ukraine.
2. UkrSSR during the era of “Stagnation”.
3. “Perestroika” and the collapse of Soviet system.
4. Culture of the late Soviet period.
5. Independent Ukraine: economy, politics, and culture.

1. Khrushchev reforms and Ukraine

After the struggle for power, *Nikita Khrushchev*, who had served as a head of the Ukrainian communists and real ruler of Ukraine at various times between 1938 and 1949, became the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev quickly acquired a reputation as a reformer, denouncing several of Stalin’s policies in a secret speech to party leaders in 1956.

This “secret speech” signaled the beginning of *Destalinization* that was the process of discrediting and eliminating the policies, methods, and personal image of Joseph Stalin.

Khrushchev’s rule brought some positives for Ukraine. Because he considered Ukraine his power base, Khrushchev promoted several officials from Ukraine into the all-Soviet leadership in Moscow. Personnel changes were accompanied by an upsurge in the numerical strength of the party in Ukraine: in 1952 it had about 770 thousand full and candidate members, but by 1959 its membership was close to 1.3 million – of whom 60 % were the Ukrainians. In the military, Rodion Malinovsky, Andrew Grechko, and Cyril Moskalenko attained the exalted rank of marshal of the USSR and the first two also were ministers of defense of the USSR. Vladimir Semichastny rose to head the all-union secret police – KGB; and four Ukrainians – Aleksey Kyrychenko, Nicholas Podgorny, Dmytro Poliansky, and Petro Shelest – became members of the eleven-member Politburo, the highest political body in the party. Of course, the main reason for their rise was their close ties with Khrushchev, not the fact that they were the Ukrainians. Nonetheless, their presence at the pinnacles of power attested to the growing importance of the Ukrainians and their republic.

This was golden age for industry. In 1957, Khrushchev created *sovnarkhozes* (economic councils). It was an attempt to shift the center of economic planning and management from the ministries in Moscow to regional bodies. Sovnarkhozes were created according to economic principle. In Ukraine Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Donetsk, Podolian, Dnieper, and Black Sea sovnarkhozes were created. Over 10 thousand industrial enterprises were put under the control of the Ukrainian sovnarkhozes and by the end of 1957 it supervised 97 % of factories in the republic. Khrushchev opted for heavy industry but, he could not totally ignore the consumer, especially since he had promised that the Soviet Union would catch up and bypass the West economically by the 1980es. Consequently, in the early 1960es TV-sets, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and even cars began to appear in stores.

The most ambitious of Khrushchev's experiments was the "virgin-lands"



Nikita Khrushchev with corn

project, which involved bringing about 40 million acres of unused land in Kazakhstan and Siberia under cultivation. By 1956, thousands of tractors and about 80,000 experienced agricultural workers from Ukraine were transferred to those lands. Many of these workers settled there permanently. Another experiment involved a sudden switch, involving about 70 million acres throughout the USSR, to raising vast amounts of corn. Following American examples, it was to be used as

fodder, which would help to raise the livestock production. But it was failed and created great economic problems. USSR firstly in history started import of grain. A reform that did have grass-roots support in Ukraine – indeed, in which the Ukrainians took the initiative – involved the *MTS* (machinery and tractor stations), the depots providing farm machinery to the collectives. Experienced technicians from the cities were encouraged to take positions in the collective farms.

In an effort to raise living standards, Khrushchev funneled more state investment into the agricultural sector. In the 1950s, both food supplies and rural incomes increased. Construction of apartment blocks in the cities relieved housing shortages. The government raised the income of the farmers and slowly the earnings gap between the industrial and agricultural workers began to narrow. But peasants were still penalized for working on their tiny plot instead of collective farm.

To celebrate the Russo-Ukrainian partnership, in 1954 the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty was marked throughout the Soviet Union in an unusually grandiose manner. To mark the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty, Crimea was transferred from the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic to the UkrSSR "as a token of friendship of the Russian people", even though most of the population of Crimea were ethnic Russians. But economic dependence on Ukraine was greater than on Russia. Although Kiev attempted to bring more Ukrainians into the region after 1954, the Russians, many of whom were especially adamant in rejecting any form of Ukrainization, remained the majority. Under the Soviet rule this territorial adjustment had little importance, but in 1991, when Ukraine became independent, Crimea, despite its features, and the presence of important Soviet military bases (later Russian ones), was a part of Ukraine.

Since Khrushchev acknowledged that many of Stalin's repressions victims were unjustly persecuted, the pressure for their rehabilitation mounted. Many prisoners were amnestied and allowed to return to their homes. This partial dismantling of the huge camp system was hastened by a series of prisoner revolts, such as those in Vorkuta, Norilsk, and Karaganda, in which many former members of the OUN and UPA played a leading role. However, the Kremlin made it clear that it would not tolerate the OUN type of nationalism. In 1954, in the midst of the Pereyaslav celebrations, it announced the execution of Basil Okhrymowych, the OUN political

officer that the Americans had parachuted into Ukraine. And in 1956 there were several well-publicized trials of former OUN members that resulted in death sentences.

2. UkrSSR during the era of “Stagnation”



Leonid Brezhnev

In October 1964, his colleagues lost patience with Khrushchev and forced him to resign. An era of reform, experimentation, and liberalization came to an end. New leader *Leonid Brezhnev*, like his predecessor Khrushchev, was closely associated with Ukraine. Careful Brezhnev exerted influence by building a consensus for his policies within the Soviet partocracy and by assuring elite of stability and continuity.

Partocracy is a political phenomenon, when the party apparatus formed on the basis of nomenclature cadres, creates its monopoly on power in the country and

concentrates all the levels of political power under its supervision. The final result was a crisis of political power, its inability for self-improvement, the loss of credibility among the people and, as a consequence, loss of power. It was the major problem of Brezhnev time.



Peter Shelest

During the Brezhnev era, Ukraine had two Communist party leaders, *Peter (Petro) Shelest* and *Vladimir (Volodymyr) Shcherbytsky*. Shelest's tenure as the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party lasted from 1963 to 1972 and it featured a resurgence of Ukrainian selfassertiveness. The Ukrainian leader took seriously the promise of Ukrainian autonomy enshrined in the Soviet constitution and the principle that all nations within the USSR are equal. Indeed, in many ways he was more of a hard-line ruler than his superiors in Moscow. He neglected Western Ukraine, opposed concessions to workers, and preferred to concentrate on heavy industry rather than consumer goods. Shelest was the initiator of

the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Ukraine's economic interests were a major concern for Shelest. He demanded more Ukrainian input into the Soviet Union's economic planning process and showed little enthusiasm for the economic development of Siberia, which meant the reduction of investment in Ukraine.

In May 1972, Shelest was removed from his post in Kiev and transferred to Moscow. His successor was Shcherbytsky, a long-time member of Brezhnev's "Dnieper" clan, and a fierce political rival of Shelest. Since the fall of his rival, Shcherbytsky has managed to retain the position of the Communist party boss in Ukraine, and his lengthy tenure in this post is a record. He was more obedient in

fulfilling instructions of center. Brezhnev saw Shcherbytsky as a next leader of the USSR.



Vladimir Shcherbytsky

Shcherbytsky conducted a relatively mild purge in 1973 that eliminated about 37 thousand members from the Communist party ranks, many of whom were probably supporters of Shelest. He has also been a proponent of harsh, uncompromising treatment when dealing with dissent. By the early 1980es there were indications that Shcherbytsky was paying more attention to his position in Ukraine by improving relations with its cultural elite.

Clearly, both Shelest and Shcherbytsky envisioned Ukraine's future only in terms of communist ideology and within the context of the Soviet system. Neither was ready even to consider the idea of Ukraine's independence. Ukraine was probably seen as a region of important branch plants, which, if run successfully, can catapult its manager to the height of the corporate power structure.

Ukrainian Communists were very influential. Membership in the *Communist party of Ukraine* expanded rapidly. This growth was greater in Ukraine than in other republics. While in 1958 the party in Ukraine had 1.1 million members, by 1971 the number had risen to 2.5 million. Leadership included more Ukrainians than ever before. Thus, in 1964, out of thirty-three top party officials in the republic, thirty were the Ukrainians. The percentage of party members from Ukraine in the Central Committee of the CPSU (*Communist Party of the Soviet Union*) rose to an unprecedented high of 15-20 %.

But a remarkable phenomenon surfaced in the Soviet Union in the 1960-1970-es, when a small number of individuals, commonly called dissidents began to criticize government policies openly and to demand greater civil, religious, and national rights. Initially, the core of the Ukrainian *dissidents* consisted largely of the “*sixtiers*”, the new and creative literary generation. Striking characteristic of this group was that its members were generally model products of the Soviet educational system and well on the way to promising careers. Many were committed communists. By and large, they were a very loose, unorganized conglomeration of people. The earliest manifestations of Ukrainian dissent appeared in the late 1950es and early 1960es when several small, secret groups in Western Ukraine were organized. The most noteworthy of these was the so-called “Jurists’ Group”, led by the jurist Levko Lukianenko. Viacheslav Chornovil, a young journalist and committed communist, produced his revelatory “Chornovil Papers”, a collection of documents that exposed the arbitrary, illegal, and cynical manipulation of the judicial system by the authorities. Ivan Dziuba submitted to Shelest and Shcherbytsky his work “Internationalism or Russification?”, where he blamed Ukrainian power in pro-Russian positions. To stop this, after the fall of Shelest in 1972, Shcherbytsky launched repressions of the dissenting intellectuals that led to hundreds of arrests.

Reduced in number dissidents received fresh impetus in 1975 when the USSR signed the Helsinki Accords. Taking the Kremlin at its word, dissidents organized

open and, in their view, legally sanctioned groups. In November 1976, a *Ukrainian Helsinki Group* emerged in Kiev. The leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was a writer Nicholas Rudenko, a former political commissar and party official in the literary field.

In the 1960es, the percentage of the Ukrainians living in cities reached 55 %, that is, the majority of them had become city dwellers. They ceased to be a rural nation. The traditional dichotomy between the Ukrainian village and the Russian (or Polish/Jewish) city may possibly begin to fade. The republic's population before the achieving of independence in 1991 was 52 million.

One of the main problems of the USSR economy was the commodity deficit in the country. In 1965, the economic reform was undertaken, associated with the name of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR *A. Kosygin*. That reform was characterized by the introduction of economic methods of management, the enlargement of economic independence of enterprises, associations and organizations, the wide use of methods of material inspiration. The rise of the scientific level of economic management based on the laws of the political economy of socialism was declared. The key importance was given to integral indicator of the economic efficiency of production – profitability. Sovnarkhozes were liquidated. In agriculture purchasing prices for products were increased in 1.5-2 times, preferential payment for extra-planned crops was introduced, prices for spare part, equipment, income tax rates for peasants were reduced.

In that time Ukrainian industry accounted for a major part of the Soviet Union's industrial production (17 %). Ukraine was an important industrial area on the global scale as well. Producing about 40 % of the Soviet Union's steel, 34 % of its coal, and 51 % of its cast iron, Ukraine has a GNP comparable to that of Italy. In 1972 Ukraine's industrial production was in 176 times higher than in 1922. In the booming 1950es and early 1960es, when the growth rate was an incredible 10 % a year, it performed better than the Soviet average; in the 1970es and 1980es, however, when the growth rate plunged to about 2-3 % annually, its industrial growth was even below the average. To a large extent, this slowdown is linked to the aging and inefficient industries located in Ukraine. This prolonged crisis of 1964-1986 received the name "*Stagnation*" for its long-term economic deceleration.

Despite the fact that industry became the main occupation of the Ukrainians, their land has remained the breadbasket of the Soviet Union. It produced as much grain as Canada, more potatoes than West Germany, and more sugar beets than anywhere else in the world. Ukraine had 19 % of the Soviet Union's population, but produced more than 23 % of its agricultural products. Agricultural workers, particularly those in Ukraine, preferred to concentrate their efforts on their tiny, private one-acre plots. In Ukraine, in 1970 private plots provided 36 % of total family income.

Another problem was the rapid decline in the rural labor force brought about by urbanization: in 1965 there were 7.2 million agricultural workers in Ukraine, in 1975 the figure sank to 6.4 million, and in 1980 it stood at 5.8 million.

3. “Perestroika” and the collapse of Soviet system



Michael Gorbachev

The death of Leonid Brezhnev in 1982 ushered in a period of transition in the Soviet leadership. In a short time several rulers changed. In 1985, with the rise of the reform-minded leader of the CPSU *Michael Gorbachev*, speculation was rife that Shcherbytsky’s days as the Ukrainian party leader were numbered. But he continued to retain his position, probably because of support from antireformists in the Kremlin. New ruler, M. Gorbachev was sure that the Soviet Union needed to make serious reforms to overcome its economic difficulties.

It was good idea. But the road to hell is paved with good intentions. In real the rule of Gorbachev was extremely incompetent. In 1985, only a few could have seriously imagined an independent Ukraine. Nevertheless

in 1991 Ukraine became an independent state.

From 1986 to 1988, Gorbachev advocated three major reforms: “*Glasnost*” (openness), “*Perestroika*” (economic restructuring), and *Democratization*. “*Glasnost*”, perhaps his best known reform program, meant less censorship of the media and encouraging the discussion of new ideas. He foresaw “perestroika” as a means to encourage economic initiative from below by limiting the power of central planners and giving more authority to managers in enterprises. Democratization evolved over time, starting off as a means to offer citizens a choice between communist candidates for office and becoming, by 1989-1990, a program that allowed noncommunist organizations to field candidates for office. Gorbachev envisioned a modernized, less repressive communist system that enjoyed the active support of its citizens.

“*Glasnost*” went further than he intended, as some in the Soviet Union began to attack Gorbachev and communism itself. “*Perestroika*” created confusion and led to more economic difficulties. In a year the budget deficit has tripled. By the end of 1986 the consumer budget was destroyed. Democratization provided a mechanism by which groups hostile to Gorbachev and, in many cases, to the Soviet Union itself came to power, encouraged the growth of nationalist movements among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Ukrainians were not the leaders in this destructive process; they remained loyal to Soviet power for a long time.

But openly nationalistic organizations arose. During 1989, the slowly but steadily growing tide of change in Ukraine crossed a critical threshold: it moved from verbal expression to political activity. “Informals” grew in number and variety throughout the USSR. In Ukraine informals such as the Lev’s Society were most active in the Western regions. In early 1989 a number of these “informal” organizations, supported by well-known writers and scholars in Kiev, formed the *Popular Movement for Restructuring in Ukraine* (“*Rukh*”). In its program, “*Rukh*” committed itself for upholding the sovereignty of the Ukrainian republic, promoting the Ukrainian language and culture, voicing ecological concerns, and supporting the Democratization. Popular support for “*Rukh*” grew rapidly, but it was unevenly

distributed. To an overwhelming extent it was based in Western Ukraine and among Kiev intellectuals.



Chernobyl catastrophe, 1986

In that time the greatest technological disaster in history took place. In Chernobyl near Kiev at the morning of April 26, 1986 one of the complexes four nuclear reactors exploded and released into the atmosphere 120 million curies of radioactive material, about a hundred times more than the radiation produced by the atomic bombs dropped on Japan in 1945.

Although a full counting of victims is impossible, between 6000 and 8000 deaths have been attributed to the radiation, and thousands more have suffered cancers and birth defects. Cities of Chernobyl and Pripiat were never reoccupied. The explosion was not the result of human error or equipment failure. Rather, it occurred because the reactor's automatic shutdown system was turned off during an experiment that went tragically wrong. Vladimir Shcherbytsky called Gorbachev and asked if the May Day celebrations in Kiev should be cancelled. Allegedly, Gorbachev said no and threatened Shcherbytsky with expulsion from the party. It became a symbol for the government's criminal incompetence.

The crisis aggravated. On 16 July 1990, nationalistic Democratic Bloc pushed through the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine (Verkhovna Rada) the historic declaration of Ukrainian sovereignty, which formally announced the country's intention to control its own affairs. It was surprising, because the majority of deputies were communists.

By the summer of 1991, the sense of general apathy, political paralysis, and debilitating self-doubt had deepened. The economy continued to deteriorate, raising doubts about the state's ability to feed its population in the coming winter. On 19 August 1991, communist hard-liners in Moscow made a desperate attempt to forestall the decline of the Soviet system. They arrested Gorbachev and formed the *Emergency Committee* to rule the country. Crafty Ukrainian communist leader Leonid Kravchuk took a wait-and-see position. When the coup failed, it became clear that the local partocracy could take power in Ukraine and proclaim independence. Ukraine, particularly the democrats in parliament, seized the opportunity in dramatic fashion: on 24 August 1991, the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, by an almost unanimous vote, proclaimed the independence of the republic. The panicky and disconcerted communist deputies managed to add the qualification that a referendum on the issue be held in December.

4. Culture of the late Soviet period

N. Khrushchev started the liberalization of social, political and spiritual life. In culture it received the name "*Thaw*". The new generation of scientists, activists in

sphere of culture and arts was formed. They got the name “sixtiers”. V. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, Y. Sverstiuk, I. Dziuba, I. Drach, D. Pavlychko, etc. demanded the correction of folds, caused by Stalinism. Intellectuals-dissidents criticized national policy of Stalin’s government, Russification and Moscow ideological control of Ukraine. They tried to renew national tradition. Peak of the “Thaw” in Ukraine was in late 1950-s and early 1960-s. A big number of Ukrainian books were published at that period.

In 1959, the Supreme Council of the USSR adopted new school law, according to which parents had the right to choose the language of education for their children. The result of this policy: in regional centers of Ukraine and in Kiev 28 % of schools were Ukrainian and 72 % – Russian ones.

At the early 1960es, liberalization in sphere of cultural life was nearly stopped. Nikita Khrushchev started to criticize artists, the process of Russification renewed in education. It led to shortening of the number of schools with Ukrainian language of teaching. Communist Party concentrated its attention on educational sphere, because the school was a part of the communist ideological system. Since 1966, universal compulsory ten-year education has been introduced all over the USSR. This process finished in 1976. 4-year primary school was changed by 3-year one, because kindergartens prepared children for the school.

Khrushchev’s displacement meant the refuse from reforms and liberalization. A sad fate was destined for Oles Gonchar’s novel “Sobor” (“Cathedral”, 1968). The struggle for the revival of spirituality, for the historical memory of people as the foundation of decency in relationships between people is situated in the epicenter of the story. The prototype of the cathedral in the novel served the Novomoskovsk Trinity Cathedral. The Dnepropetrovsk Region Communist Party leader O. Vatchenko recognized himself in the image of a negative character the soulless party member opportunist who deposited his father in a retirement home. Vatchenko was a friend of ruler Leonid Brezhnev, and the novel was published only in magazines, while the already printed copies of the book were confiscated, and the

translation in Russian was suspended.

In post-war period Ukrainian scientists and engineers enriched the science by big number of fundamental inventions and discoveries. They made a lot for the development of rocketry, space, and use of nuclear energy in military and peaceful purposes. *Sergey Koroliov* (1907-1966) was the engineer and spacecraft designer who headed the building of



Giant plane An-225 produced by Kiev mechanical plant is transporting space shuttle “Buran”

spaceships in the USSR. A big contribution to space researches made *Valentine Glushko* (1908-1989), and others. *Arkhip Liulka* (1908-1984) and others made a lot for the development of aircraft industry. *Oleg Antonov* (1906-1984) was a prominent Soviet aircraft designer, and the first chief of the Antonov – a world-famous aircraft company in Ukraine, later named in his honor. Professor *Eugene Paton* (1870-1953) was a Ukrainian and Soviet engineer who established the Electric Welding Institute in Kiev and designed bridges. New methods of quantum field theory and static physics developed academician *Nicholas Bogoliubov* (1909-1992). He together with *Nicholas Krylov* (1879-1955) founded the nonlinear mechanics.

Fundamental editions, such as “Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia”, “History of Ukrainian Literature”, and multi-volume dictionary of Ukrainian language were published. “History of Cities and Villages of Ukrainian SSR” edition had been started. The first number of “Ukrainian Historical Magazine” was published in 1957.

Thanks to the efforts of talented Ukrainian artists theatre developed successfully, music, fine arts, and cinema. The famous actors and actresses played on the theatre stages: *M. Litvinenko-Volgemit* (1892-1966), opera singers *Z. Hayday* (1902-1965) and *M. Gryshko* (1901-1973), *I. Patorzhinsky* (1896-1960), *G. Yura* (1888-1966), *B. Gmyria* (1903-1969), *C. Khokhlov* (1885-1956), *M. Romanov* (1896-1963), *A. Buchma* (1881-1957), and others.

Development of theatre in Ukraine was connected with the names of prominent actors and actresses: *N. Uzhviy* (1898-1986), *N. Yakovchenko* (1900-1974), *V. Dalsky* (1912-1998), etc.

In the cinema there were also many talented actors. *Ivan Mykolaychuk* (1941-1987) and *Boryslav Brondukov* (1938-2004) were famous both in Ukraine and in the USSR. *Ivan Mykolaychuk* was an actor, director and screen writer, but he was the best known for playing the Hutsul *Ivan* in “*Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*” (1964) by director *S. Parajanov*, based on *M. Kotsiubynsky’s* book of the same name.

The theatre was more elite art. The cinema was completely popular. The masses of population liked going to cinemas. 656 millions of cinema-visitors were in 1958 it was half times more than theatre lovers. Three film studios in *Odessa*, *Kiev*, and *Yalta* made about 20 movies every year.

Opera was also very popular in Soviet time: *Dmitry Gnatiuk* (baritone), *Anatoly Solovianenko* (tenor), *Anatoly Mokrenko* (baritone), and *Eugenia Miroschnichenko* (coloratura soprano) were prominent Ukrainian opera singers.

Composer, poet and artist *Vladimir Ivasiuk* (1949-1979) from *Bukovina* was the person of original talent. He wrote music and words for the songs. “*I Will Go to Far Mountains*” (1968), “*Vodogray*” (1969), “*Chervona Ruta*” (1969) were the most famous among them. The last one was extremely popular and a festival of young singers got its name.

Ukrainian sculptors fruitfully worked at that period. Among the most famous works we should mention monuments for: *Taras Shevchenko* in *Moscow* (1964) (sculptors: *Y. Sinkevych*, *A. Fuzhenko*, and *M. Hrytsiuk*). *Ivan Kavaleridze* (1887-1978) created the monument for *Bogdan Khmelnytsky* in *Chernigov* (1956), *Gregory Scovoroda* in *Contractova Square* in *Kiev* (1976), *Yaroslav the Wise* in *Kiev*



*Monument for Bogdan Khmelnytsky in Chernigov
by I. Kavaleridze, 1956*

(Kavaleridze's idea and project was realized after his death by a group of sculptors), etc.

The network of high educational institutions widened. Donetsk University was founded in 1964, Simferopol – in 1972, Zaporizhian – in 1985.

Institute of Cybernetics created automatic systems and computers. *Victor Glushkov* (1923-1982) had headed it for twenty years. He was the founding father of information technology in the USSR and one of the

founders of Cybernetics. Later, academician Vladimir Mikhalevych (1930-1994) was the head of this Institute. He had his own scientific school in system analysis.

In the middle of 1980es, “Perestroika” started. Ukrainian writers joined to social-political life of republic from the middle of 1980-s in the situation of arising the national consciousness. Society of Ukrainian language named after Taras Shevchenko was founded. People started to interest in Ukrainian history. Newspapers and magazines published the materials devoted to historical thematic.

Radical changes occurred also in other areas of society, most notably in the sphere of religion. As the communist ideology rapidly lost its appeal and communist political control weakened, religious life revived with surprising speed. In Western Ukraine the banned Uniatic Church emerged from the “catacombs” and demanded restoration of its former status.

5. Independent Ukraine: economy, politics, and culture

In times of obtaining of independence by Ukraine, former Ukrainian partocracy started capitalistic business. Together with successful semi-criminals they composed the new ruling stratum – oligarchs. *Oligarchy* is a political regime where the power concentrated in the hands of a relatively small group of citizens (representatives of wealthy capitalists), and rather serves to their personal and group interests, rather than the interests of all citizens. Oligarchs can either be members of the government themselves or have a decisive influence on its formation and decision-making in their interests. In such conditions Communist Party was banned.

A referendum about the independence and the first presidential elections took place in Ukraine on 1 December 1991. More than 90 % of the electorate expressed their support for the Act of Independence, and elected former communist leader *Leonid Kravchuk* as the first President of Ukraine. At the meeting in governmental dacha “Viskuli” in Brest region on 8 December the leaders of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine formally dissolved the Soviet Union and formed the *Commonwealth of Independent States* (CIS).

Ukraine was initially viewed as having favorable economic conditions in the comparison to other regions of the Soviet Union. It was on the same level with

France. However, the country experienced extreme economic fall. During the recession, Ukraine lost 60 % of its GDP from 1991 to 1999, and suffered five-digit inflation rates. Dissatisfied with the economic conditions, as well as the amounts of crime and corruption in Ukraine, the Ukrainians protested and organized strikes. Ukraine also pursued full nuclear disarmament in 1994, giving up the third largest nuclear weapons arsenal in the world received from the former Soviet Union and dismantling or removing all strategic bombers on its territory in exchange for various assurances.

In 1994, Leonid Kravchuk lost the extraordinary presidential elections. Protégé of the oligarchs, former prime-minister *Leonid Kuchma* was proclaimed as a President. Kuchma was criticized by opponents for corruption, electoral fraud, discouraging free speech and concentrating too much power in his office, and even in killing of journalist George Gongadze. But during his reign, Ukrainian economy was stabilized. A new currency, the hryvnia, was introduced in 1996. The same year new Constitution of Ukraine was adopted, which turned Ukraine into a presidential-parliamentary republic. After 2000 the country enjoyed steady real economic growth averaging about seven percent annually.

In 2004, Kuchma's protégé *Viktor Yanukovych*, former prime-minister, was declared the winner of the presidential elections. But opposing group of politicians and its supporters in the USA were disagree. Mass protests were organized in support of oppositional candidate Victor Yushchenko. The political technology of "*colorful revolutions*" was used. The "*Orange Revolution*" was a series of protests and political events that took place in Ukraine from late November 2004 to January 2005, which brought *Viktor Yushchenko* and *Julia Tymoshenko* to power, while casting Yanukovych in opposition.

Yushchenko was open Ukrainian nationalist and led pro-American policy. In 2004, constitutional reform was realized. It turned Ukraine into a parliamentary-presidential republic. Viktor Yushchenko completely disappointed even his supporters. At the end of the reign his rating was 2 %. Yanukovych returned to power in 2006-2007 as prime-minister in the Alliance of National Unity. Amid the 2008-2009, financial crisis the Ukrainian economy plunged by 15 %. In the response to non-payment Russia briefly stopped all gas supplies to Ukraine in 2006 and again in 2009, leading to gas shortages in Western countries.

Viktor Yanukovych was elected as a President in 2010, defeating Julia Tymoshenko. In 2010, constitutional reform was cancelled. Yanukovych rejected accusations that improvement of Ukrainian-Russian relations harmed relations with the European Union. In May 2011, Yanukovych stated that he would strive for Ukraine to join the EU. "Our policy is directed to protection of our national interests. We do not live in a fairy tale and understand that our partners also defend their interests", he said. Yanukovych rejected a pending EU association agreement, which from his point of view was economically unprofitable for Ukraine.

In 2013, a new "colorful revolution" was started, which received the name "*Revolution of Dignity*". It was demonstrations and civil unrest in Ukraine, which began on the night of 21 November 2013 with public protests in Ukraine, demanding closer European integration. Independence Square in Kiev was occupied by

Euromaidan followers. The beating of the last ones on 30th of November, 2013 exacerbated the confrontation with the police. Capturing of administrative buildings, military warehouses began, especially in the Western Ukraine. Yanukovych as a result fled to Russia.



Warfare in the Donbas

during the events known as the “*Russian Spring*”. The warfare against the separatistic rebels supported by Russia in the Donbas was started. It received the name “ATO” (Anti-terrorist operation), later renamed in the *Operation of United Forces*. During the warfare, according to the data of German intelligence more than 50 thousand people were killed, about 2 million became refugees. On the

separatist-controlled territory of the Donbas a humanitarian catastrophe occurred. War conflict is continuing despite the *Minsk Agreements*, aimed at resolving the situation. In other areas anti-Ukrainian rebels were suppressed. During the conflict, organization “Amnesty International” recorded numerous violations of human rights.

Peter (Petro) Poroshenko, oligarch and billionaire, was elected in 2014 as a new President. Policy of Peter Poroshenko was extremely pro-American and pro-European. The agreement on a visa-free regime with the EU was signed. Medical reform is started based on the principle “money follows the patient”, but not medical institutions. Police reform was carried out. Also a ban on the Communist Party and symbols has been issued in 2015. In 2018, Poroshenko declared the exit of Ukraine from CIS.

Many social benefits had been abolished, and the standard of living has fallen down significantly. The population decreased dramatically to 42 million (2018) in comparison with 52 million in 1991. Only for January and February of 2018 it was reduced by more than 40 thousand people.

After the obtaining of independence by Ukraine pluralism and new forms of arts were realized in cultural life of the state. Vanguard styles in music, monumental painting gave new names. Big number of festivals and musical competitions (opera, organ, and piano music) supported the creative activity.

Ukraine moves to the European educational space. The most important universities got National status. A big variety of secondary schools was formed: author schools, gymnasiums and lyceums. System of 12-year education was introduced in 2000. By 1999, about 60 % of secondary schools taught in Ukrainian. But state schools had lots of financial difficulties. A big number of kindergartens were closed in 1990es. The latest reforms are directed at the primitivization of training programs.

Many profile scientific and project institutes were closed. Low level of financial support from the government caused many problems for the development of science.

Without material, informational and moral support many scientists started commercial activity or left Ukraine.

Religion and church played an important role in spiritual rebirth of Ukrainian people. There were 105 churches, confessions, trends and directions at that time. 97 % among believers were Christian. There are two Patriarchies: canonical Moscow and self-proclaimed Kiev. Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Churches renewed their activity. All over the Ukraine building of new churches was started. Religious conflicts emerged.

The contradictions between elite and mass culture sharpened. Ukraine faced with the Americanization and primitivization of culture. The best evidence of it was the situation in cinema, popular music, and literature. Of course, it is not the main problem. The question of what will happen next tortures every Ukrainian citizen.

Questions and tasks

1. What was Destalinization? Think, why did N. Khrushchev carry out a campaign of repressions' victims rehabilitation?
2. How did Khrushchev rule influenced the development of Ukraine? Which reforms were introduced? Which mistakes were made?
3. What was partocracy? Which role did it play in the destruction of the USSR?
4. What do you know about the rule of L. Brezhnev? Why was that period called "Stagnation"?
5. Compare activities of P. Shelest and V. Shcherbytsky.
6. What is the difference between dissidents and "sixtiers"?
7. When did Ukraine become more urban than rural? Remember, what is Modernization (Chapter VI). When it was started and when finished?
8. Explain the essence of Kosygin reform.
9. Compare the development of industry and agriculture in late UkrSSR.
10. What do you know about M. Gorbachev's reforms? Why did it led to the collapse of the USSR?
11. What was the "Thaw" and how did it influence the development of Ukrainian culture?
12. Which scientific and technical achievements and discoveries has been done in late UkrSSR? What were the main directions of the development of culture?
13. Who are oligarchs? What is their role in Ukraine?
14. Think, why did Ukraine not realise its great economic potential? Why is decreasing of the population so catastrophic?
15. What do you know about policies of the first presidents of Ukraine? Who is the President now?
16. Compare "Orange Revolution" and "Revolution of Dignity".
17. Which changes have taken place in culture of independent Ukraine?

Recommended Literature

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