

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF UKRAINE

the textbook for international students
by V. Alkov

Second Edition

**МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОХОРОНИ ЗДОРОВ'Я УКРАЇНИ
Харківський національний медичний університет**

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ІСТОРІЯ І КУЛЬТУРА УКРАЇНИ

**підручник для іноземних студентів,
які навчаються англійською мовою**

Друге видання

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

Альков В. А.

A56 Історія і культура України : підручник для іноземних студентів, які навчаються англійською мовою. Друге видання. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2021. – 160 с.

Друге видання підручника пропонується англomовним студентам першого року навчання вищих навчальних закладів та широкому колу читачів для базового ознайомлення зі складною багатомітовою історією та культурою України. Основна увага приділяється формуванню розуміння студентами історико-культурних процесів і закономірностей, властивих Україні в різні історичні періоди. Для кращого розуміння цього підручник містить карти та ілюстрації, а також оригінальні творчі запитання та завдання, спрямовані на розвиток мислення.

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Contents

I	Exordium. Ukrainian Lands in Ancient Times	4
	1. General issues	4
	2. Primitive society in the lands of modern Ukraine. Greek colonies	6
	3. Eastern Slavic Tribes	15
II	Princely Era (9th century – 1340-s of 14th century)	20
	1. Kievan Rus as an early feudal state	20
	2. Disintegration of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia Principality	24
	3. Development of culture during the Princely Era	28
III	Ukrainian Lands under the Power of Poland and Lithuania	35
	1. Political, social, and economic features of Ukrainian lands in Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	35
	2. Culture of the Lithuanian and Polish Period	40
IV	Time of the Cossacks	50
	1. Emergence of the Cossacks in Ukrainian lands	50
	2. Liberational War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky	54
	3. The Ruin	61
	4. Specific character of Cossack culture	64
V	Ukrainian Lands in 18 th Century	66
	1. Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa	66
	2. Limitation of Hetmanate's autonomy. Ukrainian lands in Poland	68
	3. Ukrainian culture of 18 th century	72
VI	Ukrainian Lands during the “Long” 19 th Century	83
	1. Age of crisis, Modernization in the Russian Empire and Ukrainian lands	83
	2. Western Ukrainian lands in the Habsburg Empire	88
	3. Ukrainian cultural revival. Mentality	89
	4. Development of literature and fine arts	91
	5. Education and science	97
VII	Ukrainian Lands during the Great War and Revolution	100
	1. Ukraine during the World War I	100
	2. Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921	103
	3. Western Ukrainian lands in 1918–1920	110
	4. Cultural development of the revolutionary era	111
VIII	Ukrainian Lands in the Interwar Era (20–30es of 20 th Century)	114
	1. Soviet Ukraine in the 20–30es	114
	2. Ukrainian lands as parts of Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia during the 20-30es of the 20 th century	118
	3. Culture of the Early Soviet period	124
IX	World War II and Recovery of Soviet Ukraine	129
	1. Ukraine during the Second World War (1939–1945)	129
	2. Post-War recovery	139
	3. Culture in the days of despair and triumph	141
X	Late UkrSSR and Independence	144
	1. Khrushchev reforms and Ukraine	144
	2. UkrSSR during the “Stagnation” era	146
	3. “Perestroika” and the collapse of the Soviet system	149
	4. Culture of the late Soviet period	152
	5. Independent Ukraine: economy, politics, and culture	154
	Recommended Literature	159

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 and Culture of Ukraine” consists of 2 components – historical and cultural. The first one, History, is the science that studies 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 history of historical science.

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

The subject of History of Ukraine is a historical development of human society on the territory of modern Ukraine since the appearance of the first human there approximately 1 million years ago. Subject of history of culture is a complex study of a 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)).

For the most part, that was predominantly under the rule of the Russian state. There 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 the Crimea and some other regions are under the question. War conflict is continuing. However, 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 electronic census of 2020, the population is 37.3 million residents, excluding the Crimea and the Donbas.



Ukraine is located in Central-Eastern Europe and borders to 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 the Dnieper River. However, 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 a 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 type. 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 archaeanthrop human came to this area. 40,000 years ago the 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 cultural development. So, it has its own periods. Periods received its names according 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 began with the first use of stone tools. However, 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 the 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 using things but also creating it, sharpening stick so on. 200–150 thousand years ago, these poorly adjusted people could live only in areas of Ukraine with mild climate: in the cave Kiik-Koba in the Crimea, near modern villages Luka-Vrublevetska on the Dniester, Amvrosievka in the Donbas, and Koroliov 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, music, early art, and usage of increasingly sophisticated multi-part tools were highlights of the period.

Throughout the Paleolithic, humans generally lived as nomadic hunters and gatherers 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 producing works of art such as cave paintings, rock art, and jewelry and engaging 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 pointed sticks were often used for digging up edible roots. Presumably, early humans used wooden spears to hunt small animals. Lower Paleolithic humans constructed wood shelters. Also, Lower Paleolithic hominid *Homo erectus* possibly invented rafts to travel over large bodies of water.

Primitive flock was changed by ilk matriarchal community. *Matriarchy* was a hypothetical social organizational form in which the mother or the oldest female heads a 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 a 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 birth of children. Therefore, appearance of a 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, usage of fire became common in societies of the following Middle Stone Age. Usage of fire reduced mortality rates and provided protection against predators. Early hominids may have begun cooking their food. It was also a chance to colonize cold regions.

In Upper Paleolithic, first *primitive forms of religion* established themselves. Also, the question of an 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. There 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. Paleolithic man left among the images on cave walls drawings of horses, wild bulls, rhinos, buffaloes, lions, bears, mammoths. These animals were drawn in the reason they were hunted as the main source of human food and clothes, and also people were afraid of them. In most cases, the drawings are covered with holes and scratches from arrows, which confirm the view of the rock art as an integral part of magical rituals of primitive people. Eventually, mythology was formed. *Mythology* is a system of tales that transmits views of ancient people on the origin of the world, phenomena of nature, human's place in the world. Variety of *taboo* that means bans played a large role in organization of primitive society. Violation of 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 a geographic region. The Ice Age was over and people started colonization of northern lands.

Big animals became extinct and it was 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 small animals, so, efficiency of hunting increased. The Mesolithic was 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 were made. Wolves got domesticated between 10 and 15 thousand years ago presumably to help in hunting. Later they became dogs.

Next period has the 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 the Neolithic was the *Neolithic Revolution*. It was the transition from the appropriating forms of economy to the producing ones. Agriculture

emerged instead of or in addition to 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 using bronze that is alloy of copper and tin. 2 thousand years BC, development of production led to the first great division of labour into agriculture and cattle breeding. Development of cattle breeding led to the replacement of matriarchy by *patriarchy* – power of men – because their labour became more important. Ilk community was changed by territorial, based on the same territory and economic 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 population 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, 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 near 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 to be 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.

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



Localization of the
Cucuteni-Trypillian culture

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 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. These were main occupations of most of members of that society. There is also evidence that they may have bred bees, grapes were cultivated. Grains were grown and baked as unleavened bread in clay ovens or on heated stones in the hearth fireplace in a house. They used traps to catch their prey, as well as various weapons, including bows, arrows, and spears.



Cucuteni-Trypillian pottery

One of the most recognizable aspects of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture was pottery. Borrowing from the Linear Pottery culture, the Cucuteni-Trypillian potters made improvements, mastering modeling and temperature control of the manufacturing process, and decorating the clayware with a genuine and well-developed aesthetic sense of artistry. There were 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 of 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 appearing throughout the region, and members of the Cucuteni-Trypillian culture began acquiring skills necessary to use it, creating 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 a possible enemy attack for almost 3000 years.

The main cult of the Trypillians 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 emerged.

Modern science has not found ethno-genetic connection of Trypillian tribes with newcoming ones. Trypillian culture had no direct genetic

continuation here. So, we could not say that the Trypillians were Ukrainian ancestors. Ukrainian people was formed and integrated much later.

Earlier societies of hunter and gatherer tribes had no social stratification, but later societies of the Bronze Age had noticeable one, which saw the creation of occupational specialization, a 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 Greek historian Herodotus, the Cimmerians inhabited the region northener the Caucasus and the Black Sea. They used iron at first, but generally still 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 were expelled from the Steppe by the Scythians. According the legend, to ensure burial in their ancestral homeland, the men of the Cimmerian royal family divided into groups and fought each other to the death. However, the Assyrians recorded 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 Phrygian king Midas to take poison rather than face capture. The Cimmerians attacked the kingdom of Lydia, killing Lydian king Gyges and causing great destruction to the Lydian capital of Sardis. Greek poets Callinus and Archilochus recorded fear that it inspired in 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.



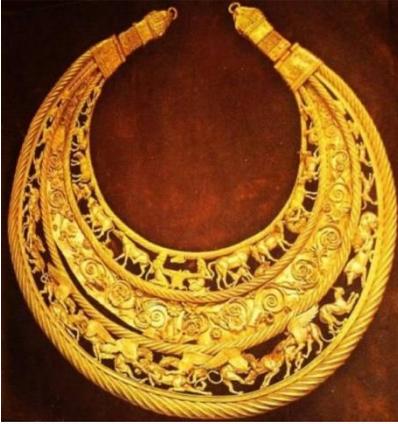
Scythian warrior, reconstruction

New tribes, the *Scythians* were also of Iranian origin. They had lived there since the 7th till 3rd century BC. Term “Scythian” was used by the Greeks in reference to heterogeneous groups of horse-riding nomadic pastoralists who dwelt in the Black Sea Steppe. However, the name Scythian was also used in regard to various people 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 Greek historian Herodotus and his “History” about the war between the Greeks and Persians, and archaeologically from 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 about the eastern part of Scythia. For Herodotus, the Scythians were outlandish barbarians living northener the Black Sea, todays 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 the nomadic Scythians succeeded in frustrating designs of the Persian army by letting it march through the entire country without any 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 fierceless warriors. Scythians also had a reputation for usage 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, the Greeks distinguished Scythia Minor in present-day Romania and Bulgaria from Greater Scythia that extended eastwards for a 20-day ride from the Danube River, across the Steppe of todays Eastern Ukraine to the lower Don basin. The Don, then known as Tanais, served as a major trading route ever since. The Scythians apparently obtained their wealth from control over slavetrade from the north to Greece through Greek Black Sea colonial ports of Olbia, Chersonesos, Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Gorgippia. They also grew grain, shipped wheat, flocks and cheese to Greece.



Scythian pectoral in the animalistic style

wall paintings presented in Naples Scythian. Mummification techniques and permafrost have aided in relative preservation of certain remains. Some Scythian cultures may have given rise to Greek stories of the Amazons. Graves of armed females have been found in Southern Ukraine and Russia.



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 combined Central-Asian animal motifs with Greek realism: winged gryphons attacking horses, battling stags, and eagles, combined with everyday motifs like milking ewes. Religious beliefs of the Scythians were the type of

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, animal sacrifices, also human sacrifices are suspected. Scythian art is one of the most vibrant areas of artistic culture. Objects were decorated with images in the *animalistic style*. There were animal scenes. We have stone sculptures of schematized Scythian warriors which were erected on the mounds, unique

The capital of the Scythian protostate was Naples in the Crimea. Scythians lived in confederated tribes, a political form of voluntary association which regulated pastures and organized common defense against encroaching neighbours for pastoral tribes of mostly equestrian herdsmen. While the productivity of domesticated animal breeding greatly exceeded that of the settled agricultural societies, the pastoral economy also needed a supplemental agricultural production, and stable nomadic confederations developed either symbiotic or forced alliances with sedentary people – in exchange for animal products and military protection.

Pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion. 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 the Crimea, beyond the Danube and Dniester by also Iranian nomads the *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” flourished. Clothing, shoes, metal objects were decorated with gems, beads, colored enamel, etc. Geometric pattern became dominative.

At the end of the 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 into slaves. It testifies primitive society decomposition.

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



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 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 dockyards and houses of artisans. Upper town was the main residential quarter, composed of square blocks and centered on the “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 city adopted the democratic constitution, its relations with Miletus were regulated by the treaty. By the end of the 3rd century, the town had declined economically and accepted overlordship of king Skilurus of Scythia. It flourished under Mithridates Eupator of Bosphorus but was sacked by 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 in a smaller 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 trade into two directions: with Greece and the Scythians. Production reached high level. In general, Greek colonies played a very important role in development of cultural, economic, and political spheres of the Black Sea coast region. In 3 and 4th century, colonies were destroyed by tribes of the Goths and Huns.

3. Eastern Slavic Tribes



Slavic people in Europe

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

are classified into Eastern Slavic (including the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians, some researches separate the Rusins), Western Slavic (including the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Sorbs), and Southern Slavic (including the Bulgarians, Slovenes, Serbs, and Croatsians). Most Slavic populations gradually adopted Christianity (Eastern Slavic people adopted Orthodox Christianity and Western Slavic – Roman Catholicism). Southern Slavic people split between two branches of Christianity and Islam.

By the 6th century, Slavic tribes had inhabited a vast area of Central-Eastern Europe. Over the following two centuries, 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 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 into the *Antes* and *Sklavines*. Procopius Caesarean was sure that they were parts of the same people. Antes in 4–7th centuries settled the territory of Ukraine between the Seversky Donets and Dniester rivers and assimilated local population of the Scythians and Sarmatians. At the beginning of 7th century, the 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 the Eastern Slavic people.

Early Slavic settlements were not 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 the Slavic way of life. Settlements were often located on river terraces. Each house contained a stone or clay oven in one of 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. Clustering was a result of an 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 the Eastern 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, activities, clans. The main god of Eastern Slavic people after the reform of prince Vladimir was Perun (God of thunder and lightning), Dazhbog cared of a harvest, Strybog – the god of a wind and weather, Svarog was blacksmith’s god, Veles was god of animals, Yarylo was solar god. Cults of Mother-Earth and the Golden Plow (that was given by Svarog) also were spread.



Heathen kapyshche of Slavic people

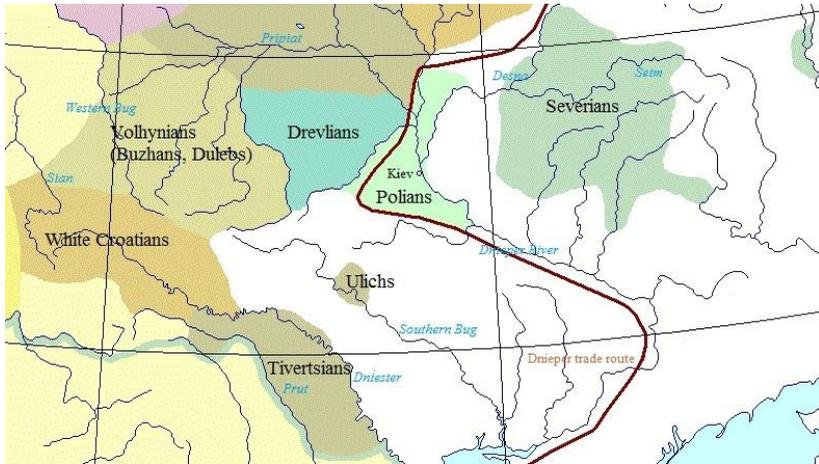
The main pantheon of Slavic gods added kind deities of lower level: mermaids, water inhabitants, spirits, etc. With a help of gods Slavic people constructed their mythical world, understood changes of seasons and relations with nature. The basis of heathen beliefs was worshipping nature, the Sun was accepted as a source of life, land was seen as a 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: worshipping nature and cult of veneration of ancestors.

Early Slavic people did not have special buildings for praying, only special places for that. They had a name “kapyshche”. Kapyshches 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 the Slavic outlook. It means an extreme form of the 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 had 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 Croatians, Severians, Ulichs, and Tivertsians.

Their south-western group became the basis for formation of future Ukrainian population: the Polians (lived mostly on on the right bank of the Dnieper), Drevlians (lived to the south from the Pripiat 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 Croatians (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 8–9th 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 military campaign against Constantinople. The reliability of the legend is unclear.

The Eastern Slavic statehood had a long tradition. However, creation of state was not reached till 9th 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 Humankind” on the site of Bradshaw Foundation (<http://www.bradshawfoundation.com/journey/>). How do Genetics help us to investigate prehistory?
6. How do “Paleolithic Venuses” characterize the life and beliefs of primitive people?

7. Which primitive forms of religion do you know? Try to find practical examples.
8. What is the 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 their achievements?
10. Compare lifestyles of the early Iron Age tribes on the territory of Ukraine.
11. Think what was the main reason for the 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. However, the creation of state had not been reached yet. In 9th century, that situation changed.

In the middle of the 9th century, *the Vikings* (Varangians or Normans) from Scandinavia began appearing on the lands of Eastern Slavic people. There are two polar views on the role of the Vikings in the emergence of the 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 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 Eastern Slavic and Finnish-Ugric tribes on the north: the Ilmen Slovenes, Kriviches, Chud, Meria, and Vesi. He founded a powerful state with its capital in Novgorod and Riurikid dynasty. It reigned until 1598.

In 882, Novgorod warlord *Oleg (Oleh) the Prophetic* collected large army and went down the river Dnieper. He captured the city of Smolensk, Liubech, and Kiev. In Kiev, he 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 the 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 to the name of 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 cities of Derbent, Shirvan, and Berdaa. Also, he waged wars against tribes of the Pechenegians and the Khazar Khaganate. Igor was killed in 945 during the attempt to gather a tribute from the Drevlians for the second time. Drevlians bent two birches, strapped Igor to it and then released.

In 945–964, 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 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. However, during her reign Rus came under the rule of the Khazar Khaganate and paid a tribute.



Kievan druzhina warrior

Olga ruled as a regent until her son *Sviatoslav the Brave* (964–972) 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 had 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 the 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 a fratricidal feud among his sons, resulted in two of his three sons were killed.

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

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

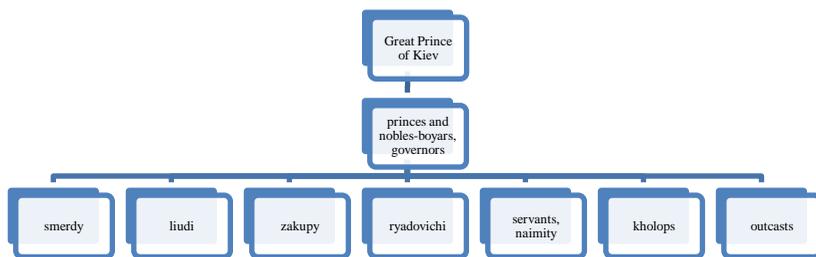
Yaroslav (1019–1054), known as "the Wise", struggled for power against his brothers. A son of Vladimir the Great, he was a vice-regent of Novgorod at the time of his father's death. Subsequently, his eldest brother, Sviatopolk the Accursed, killed three of his other brothers and seized power in Kiev. 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 the tribes of Chud and Yatviagians. In 1036, the prince's squad defeated the 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 itself". Yaroslav's granddaughter, Eupraxia married to Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor. Yaroslav also arranged marriages for his sister and three daughters to kings of Poland, France, Hungary, and Norway. He became known as the "father-in-law of Europe", a reflection of power of Kievan Rus. Yaroslav adopted the first Eastern Slavic law code "Rus

Truth”; he built Saint Sophia Cathedrals in Kiev and Novgorod; patronized local clergy; and is said to found a school system.

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*. Feudally dependent population was at the other extreme of Ancient Rus society: *smerdy, liudi, zakupy, ryadovichi, servants, naimity, kholops, and outcasts*.



Social and political structure of Kievan Rus

The main category of 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. Out of the main cities only Novgorod, Pskov, and Polotsk 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 feudal lords.

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

Modern scholars estimated that 13–15 % of the population of Rus lived in urban centers. The chronicles indicated that there had been 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 semiagrarian population. Of approximately ninety large towns and cities, Kiev was the largest. Kiev during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise was transformed into a big cultural center, center of handicraft and trade. There were 8 markets and 400 churches. By the end of 11th century, Kiev had been at the same level as Rome, Antiochiya, and Alexandriya. Before Mongol and Tatar invasion the number of population in Kiev had had 50 thousand people. London reached

20 thousand people one hundred years later. Petty merchants and artisans made up most of population of these towns because handicrafts were highly developed. In Kiev, for example, forty to 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 a commercial character of a 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, were adherents of the latter view. They argue that because Slavic people were traditionally agrarian people, it is unlikely that they would have suddenly changed their way of life during the Rus period. Additional support for this view comes from frequent references in chronicles to agricultural activity in Kievan Rus, agrarian orientation of the ancient Slavic calendar and mythology and archaeological evidences.

Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that iron plowshares had been in use in Ukraine by the 10th century and that the relatively advanced two- or three-field crop rotation system had been also used, in the same way as in Western Europe. Wheat, oats, rye, and barley were favored crops. Livestock breeding had been 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 had raised horses, swine, sheep, geese, chickens, and pigeons. Oxen had made cultivation possible on a larger scale. Although peasants had often owned implements necessary for farming the land on their own, they had usually banded together in communes, or *obshchyna* (which had consisted of blood relatives from several generations led by a patriarch), to help each other. Communes could also have been territorially based and included unrelated neighbors.

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

2. Disintegration of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia Principality

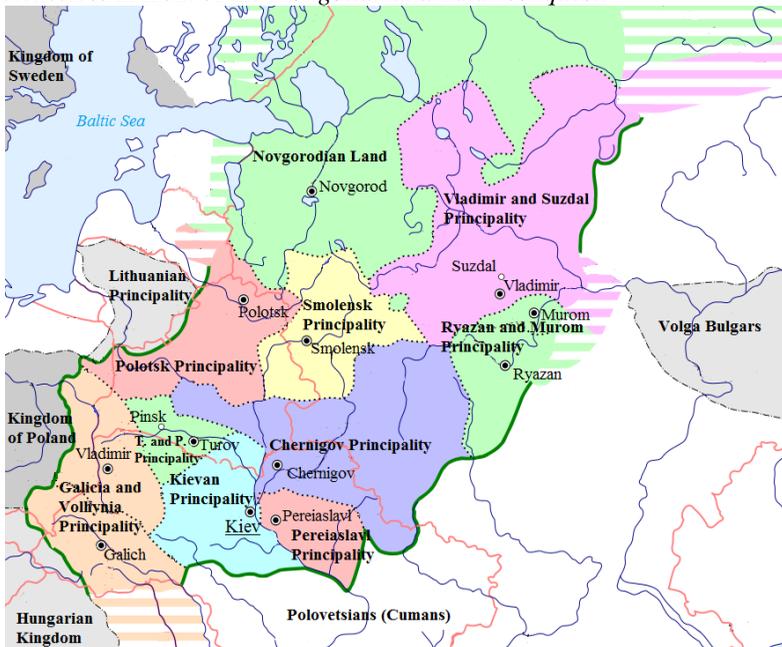
Gradual *disintegration of Kievan Rus* began in the 11th century, after the death of Yaroslav the Wise. Position of the Great Prince of Kiev was weakened by a growing influence of regional elites. Local economy developed and elites needed no supreme power to reign. Economic independence inevitably leads to political *separatism*. Large state could not control 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 fell. During his life, Yaroslav distributed land among

his sons. He exhorted them not to fight each other, as he and his own brothers had done. However, 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 to unite their efforts against the common enemy, Polovetsian hordes. However, feudal disintegration was fixed by this congress legally.

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 rights of lower classes. Prince slowed down feudal disintegration and controlled $\frac{3}{4}$ of lands belonged to Yaroslav the Wise. Nevertheless, 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, reason for 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 their spheres of influence at the eve of the Mongolian conquest



Mongolian horseman

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. China and Khorezm fell under strikes of Mongolian hordes, the Siberia was conquered. 30 thousand warriors led by warlords Jebe and Subedei passed the Caucasus to strike the Polovetsian (Cuman) horde. Surrounded Polovetsians appealed to the Russian princes. At the same time, Mongolian ambassadors came to Kiev. They offered peace in exchange 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, executing them in a such way. According to Mongolian tradition it was a honorable penalty without shedding of blood. Only members of ruling dynasties had right for it. In pursuit for remnants of the Rus army, the Mongols reached the Dnieper and Kiev, but the 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 quarrelling 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, Volhynian principality exceled as the strongest among local Rus principalities. 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 the Hungarian king and stopped his expansion for a while. Prince Vladimirko united Peremysh, Terebovlia, and Zvenigorod land into the 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's importance in the international trade contributed to development of towns and cities 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 became a prerequisite for Volhynia and Galicia association in the one principality. Shortly after the death of Yaroslav Osmomysl, Volhynian prince *Roman Mstyslavovych* after 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 1199, Roman Mstyslavovych united principalities. Then he conquered Kiev and assumed the title of the Great prince of Kievan Rus. According to the opinion of historian M. Hrushevsky, *Galician-Volhynian Principality* inherited Kievan Rus 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 the fight against the army of the Krakow prince.

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

A year later, the Hungarians with the help of boyars captured Galich and proclaimed their king as the prince. However, the campaign of Novgorod prince Mstyslav the Daring and prince Daniel of Galicia led to the defeat of the Polish-Hungarian army and 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 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. 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 recovering was started, many cities were built, including Lvov. In 1245, Daniel's troops defeated the army of the Hungarian king, and in 1250 relations with Hungary were improved. In 1253, Daniel received the royal title from Pope Innocent IV. Despite efforts to form a coalition, attempts to free from the 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 a 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 Peremyshl, 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 the king, calling himself the king of Rus and prince of Volhynia. He succeeded in establishing the 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 forces of Galicia-Volhynia Principality, and it was used by neighboring states. After the death of the last Galician-Volhynian prince Yuri II during 14th century Lithuania conquered the 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 forces of nature and on worshipping ancestors were the means by which early Eastern 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 cult place known as a "*kapyshche*" was built. It was held in frames of religious reform of

Vladimir. However, the reform had no required results. As early as 981, Vladimir called to destroy Christian churches. During his early reign, he was known for cruelty as well as the collection of hundreds of concubines.

However, 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 have helped in relations with European states and development of culture. 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 enemies of the prince. Christianization slowly entered all fields of social life. Before this event, there had been Christians among Rus people, 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 Eastern 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 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 stateless people, lacked sufficient prestige. Finally, Christianity, as practiced by the Byzantine (Greek) Empire, proved to be the most impressive, both for splendor of its churches (particularly Saint Sophia in Constantinople) and wonders of their services.

Eastern Slavic people did not raise imposing temples to their gods, nor did they have a hierarchically organized priesthood – a fact that helps to explain relatively weak resistance of their religion to Christianity. Nevertheless, native beliefs did not vanish completely with 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 Eastern Slavic people for centuries under the guise of Christianity.

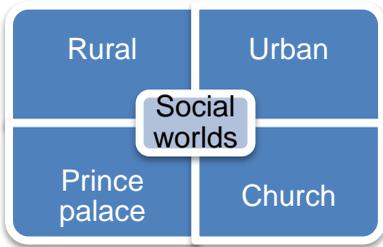
In pre-Christian period, Rus had own way of writing. We can find the evidence of that in assigning of treaties with foreign rulers, inscriptions on applied crafts, notes from Byzantium and Roman chronicles. Bulgarian writer monk Hrabr in early 10th century in his work "About Writing" mentioned that Slavic people did not have books, but could read and write. Pannonian legend of Slavic educators Cyril and Methodius told about Cyril's trip to Khazars (860) shows us that he found in Hersonissos Gospel and Psalter that had been written in Rus language, and spoken to a man in that language.

Researcher Sergey Vysotsky (1923–1998) found "Sofian ABC" on the wall of Michael's Altar of Sofian Cathedral in Kiev. 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.



Glagolitic writing

intellectually was equally decisive. A written language, based on an alphabet originally devised by Greek missionaries Sts. Cyril and Methodius, came into use soon after 988. Unlike Rome with its insistence on usage Latin in liturgical matters, Constantinople acquiesced to usage 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.



church. They were different according to the system of values, main activities, household realities (house, clothes, tools or weapons) so on.

With 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, the metropolitan diocese was established. Initially, the diocese of Rus contained eight eparchies or bishoprics, but their number was eventually increased to sixteen. Out of these, ten were located in what is Ukraine today. Many of bishops also came from Byzantium, bringing along with them their entourages of clerks, assistants, artisans and thereby making their bishoprics centers for dissemination of Byzantine culture. Clergy was subdivided into two categories: “white” clergy, or parish priests who took no vows of celibacy and were usually heads of families chosen from communities, and “black” clergy, who were monks from whose mid and high church officials were chosen.

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

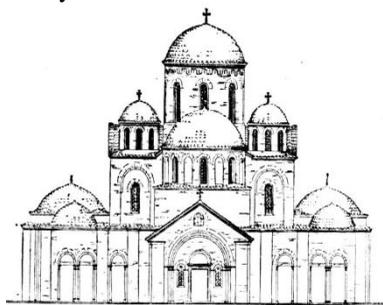
Christianity’s impact on how the populace of Rus expressed itself

Culture of this period was not homogeneous. It included different subcultures. Ukrainian philosopher and cultural scientist Myroslav Popovych in his book “Essays on History of Ukrainian Culture” underlined, that culture of that period was presented by four “social worlds” – rural and urban areas, prince palace and

Intent on escaping 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 study. Churches and monasteries became the centers of spiritual, political, educational, and artistic life.

Chronicles inform us that in 988 Vladimir ordered boyar children to be given 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 the 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, studying 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. There were primary schools for ordinary people at the basis of churches. The question of how widespread education was among the masses is more difficult to resolve. Discovery in Novgorod of alphabets written on birch bark for usage 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, largely, education in general and familiarity with Byzantine-Christian culture in particular was the domain of secular and ecclesiastical elites and thus remained out of reach for masses.

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



Tithe Church. Supposed view

Christian church used monumental-decorative art for psychological influence on believers. Architecture also started developing in Kiev lands after baptizing. It is mentioned in old Kiev chronicle "Tale of Bygone Years" that Christian churches firstly were erected on 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 building of it in 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 building of this church.

Construction of just one cathedral, the famous St. Sophia in Kiev, illustrates graphically how widespread 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 modelled on the St. Sophia in Constantinople, had five apses, five naves, and thirteen cupolas. Marble and alabaster columns supported a sumptuously decorated interior. For



*St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev.
Reconstruction of primary view*

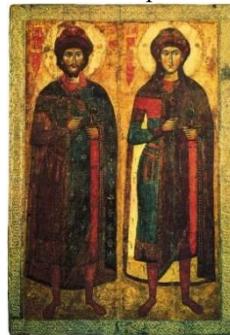
Kievites who were accustomed to modest wooden structures, this house of the Christian god must have been dazzling. For instance, because the Byzantines frowned on usage of statues in their churches, sculpture never developed. There were no sculptural compositions inside churches in Rus.



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 the Announcement Church over them (similar to the Trinity church in Kiev Cave monastery). In 13th century, Batu Khan's troops ruined this architectural building. However, in 1982 it was reconstructed.

Icon-painting was widely spread in Kievan Rus. Another means of inspiring reverence was through usage of icons – religious images painted on specially prepared wooden planks. Icon is a face image or an image of a sacred event of church history, the subject of veneration of the Orthodox. Soon, icons spread from 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



Icon of Sts. Boris and Gleb, 13th century

biggest workshops for icons were in the Kiev Cave monastery. By the end of 11th century, Kiev icon-painting school had been formed. *Frescos* (painting on damp plaster, usually on walls) and *mosaics* (picture or tracery made from coloured fastened stones, pieces of glass, enamel, etc.) were usually of religious content too.

Decorative-applied arts were also spread in Kievan Rus. Kiev goldsmith masters were very skillful. They made golden and silver wedding earrings, 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. 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 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 a great familiarity with the Bible. In the “On Law and Grace” he emphasized 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-written 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 as well as theological literature of famous clergymen were also popular in that period.

Members of the secular elite also produced literary works. 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 was 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 the 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 culture of Kievan Rus?
11. Why did M. Popovych single out several "social worlds" in culture of Kievan Rus?
12. Characterize the level of Kievan Rus' cultural development.

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

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

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

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 had been the territory affiliated with Kievan Rus before. Later principality expanded to include large portions of 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, 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 lands must serve in the army. If someone refused military service, lands should be confiscated. So, their army service was effective.

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

In the second half of the 14th century, Lithuania occupied 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). After that the Lithuanians successfully defended occupied Ruthenian lands. At the end of the 14th century, 90 % of the 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 continued acting 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 Ancient Rus. In the 13th century, the center of Grand Principality

of Lithuania was inhabited by a majority who spoke Lithuanian, but it was not a written language till 16th century. In 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 population. It was no reason for resistance.

However, over time, the situation began changing. The international situation for Lithuania deteriorated. It was threatened by 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 Ukrainian lands began under 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 Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. He become also the Polish king. After signing 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 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, unsuccessful wars against Grand Principality of Moscow forced the union to remain intact. Since 1413, the so-called *Gorodlo Union* limited participation of the Orthodox in government. Only the Catholics got the right to become governors, mayors, judges, counselors, etc. Catholic Church 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 the Orthodox caused mass conversion of elite to Catholicism.

Moscow tsar Ivan III the Great declared himself as the "sovereign of all Rus" after glorious victories over other local Rus principalities and Lithuania. The loss of land to Moscow and continuing 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, Grand Principality of Lithuania maintained its political distinctiveness and had a separate government, laws, army, and treasury. According to the Union, many out 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 the Polonization slowly drew Lithuania itself under Polish domination. *Polonization* is a specific term for policy of Polish governments, providing of Polish culture. The king was forced by the szlachta to incorporate 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 Polish to rule lands and subjects.

During this period, the development of feudal economy enhanced, the role of crafts and trade, commodity and money relations expanded. New towns emerged, population of large cities achieved self-government. Despite economic oppression, as well as devastation by Tatar-Turkish raids, the number of people who lived in 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.

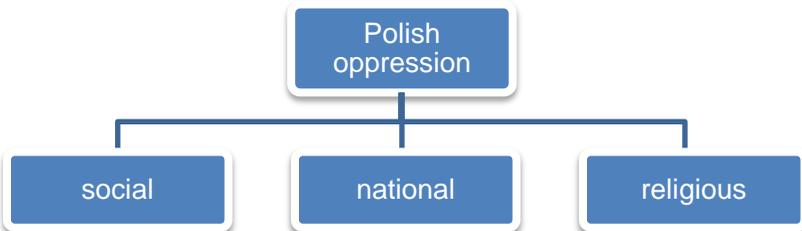
Since the end of the 14th century and for most of the 15th, number of large feudal landholdings in Ukrainian lands increased. Landowners who had great wealth gradually formed the higher feudal class – “*magnates*” or tycoons and reached broad political rights and privileges that were significantly different 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. 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 work of the Polish parliament, 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 population. The clergy was a separate large social stratum. Even small villages had their own church. The main productive force was peasantry – the main population of the Ukrainian lands. According to the level of dependence peasantry was divided into three groups: 1) free peasants, who had the right of unconditional withdrawal from a feudal lord after finishing their obligations; 2) dependent peasants, the largest group; they had the right to move away from a feudal lord, but with some conditions: at the certain time, after a payment of a ransom or replacement

by a peasant of the same degree of dependence; 3) enslaved peasants, who were not allowed to escape from a feudal lord. The peasants' right for transition to another lord was subsequently abolished. Together with growth of feudal estates two processes took place: 1) dispossession of peasantry; 2) strengthening and legalization of the serfdom.

So, at the beginning of the 15th century, Eastern Galician 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. In the middle of the 16th century, in many estates corvee reached 4 days per a week or 208 days per a year. Peasantry should pay natural and cash taxes to the state, local feudal lords, and tithe to the Church. In addition, peasants of Ukrainian lands were serving duties in favor to the state: built and repaired Polish king's and Grand Prince's of Lithuania castles, constructed bridges, erected dams, roads, so on.

In addition to agriculture, population of Ukrainian lands were pastoralists, grew vegetables, crops, hemp, flax, etc. Gardening and beekeeping were distributed. Important place belonged to fishing and hunting, especially in wooded areas of Polesie. Mainly, processing of agricultural raw materials was carried out in feudal estates. Flour production was an important sector of agriculture and the monopoly of feudal lords.



Growth of production and trade in the late 15th – the first half of the 16th century contributed to development of cities, strengthening old and creation of new ones. Ukrainian Medieval towns were divided into Grand Prince's 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 development of local administration. Lithuanian and Polish princes gladly issued charters for introduction of the *Magdeburg law*, considering it as means of colonizing new lands. Providing of this right meant abolition of ordinary rules of law, elimination of feudal lords and other administrators over citizens. Function of power was transmitted to an appointed by a Grand Prince or king “voit”, who was the highest official of a city. However, the *Magdeburg law* was discriminatory applied only to the Catholics.

2. Culture of the Lithuanian and Polish Period

Describing culture, we should mention the main features of that time's cultural life. Firstly, the *Renaissance* was the 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 a human being. Because of that, there was an interest to education, books, and science. In addition, humanists took into account a sinful nature of a human being.

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



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

Just as it was in the Kievan times, Orthodoxy remained synonymous with culture in the 15th–16th centuries. Indeed, its role in the 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 Catholic rulers of Poland-Lithuania was difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. In the 15th century, the 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, the Moscow Metropolitanate emerged. Unwilling to leave their numerous Orthodox subjects under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Moscow, Grand Princes of Lithuania reestablished the Kiev Metropolitanate in 1458.

Orthodox Church at the territory of Lithuanian Principality was in better conditions than in the Russian province of Poland (official name for Galicia). In this reason, resistance to Catholic suppression was the strongest and well-organized in Galicia. Catholic Church sought to establish its authority over 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 activist prince Constantine Ostrozhsky brought along part of his private army. It was immediately apparent that the two sides could not find a 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 into 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 the 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 one 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 forced Ukrainian nobles to choose between their own stagnant, impoverished cultural heritage and vibrant, attractive Catholic Polish culture. Not surprisingly, the vast majority opted for Catholicism and the Polonization. Consequently, the Ukrainians lost their noble elite. Polish language was used like the official one and was compulsory for education and in all spheres of social life. At the top of political elite people appeared who spoke Polish and adopted Catholicism instead of the Orthodox religion. Pressure of the Polonization was harder to resist with each subsequent generation and eventually almost all of Rus nobility was polonized. This development was of epochal importance for their subsequent history. However, commoners continued speaking their own languages and practicing the Orthodox religion. It eventually created a significant rift between lower social classes and nobility in 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 a ground for many sharp distinctions that eventually developed between the Eastern and Western 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 travelling Ukraine underlined that educated 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. However, it is well known that nearly each Ukrainian village had a school, because in this case church and school were the 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 Ostrozhsy was one of them. He cared of culture and charity. Prince supported the idea of cultural and religious autonomy of Ukrainian and Belorussian people, patronized Orthodox, medical, and educational institutions. He organized the circle of writers in his private town Ostrog (Ostroh), the collegium (school) with printing press, founded schools. Ostrog School was of the 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 a 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 a very talented person; he was a teacher, translator, writer and polemist, religious and political leader. However, the most thing made him famous – his “Slavic grammar” (1619).

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

Yuri Koterma (more famous as Yuri Drohobych) (1450–1494) was a scientist of the European level, provided ideas of humanism and new achievements of science. He was born in the family of Drohobych city merchant. In 1469, he entered Yagellon University in Krakow, studied astronomy and medicine. In 1478, he got a 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 one in 1481–1482. In 1482, he got the Doctor Degree in Medicine, was the first Ruthenian, who got it in Bologna University. He made an autopsy of a human body for understanding of causes of diseases to find the best way of treatment, had medical practice also. For great contribution into national culture Yuri Koterma got the title of a citizen of Bologna.

In many European countries, the name of Stanislaw Orzechowski (1513–1566) from Galicia, 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 the national identity. In Orthodox Ukraine, Catholic churches were built and Jesuit schools formed at the basis of these churches. Attractive Polish model of a privileged nobleman exerted the influence on Ukrainian nobility. Obvious superiority of its culture intensified an 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 their traditions: to toll, to organize funeral processions, to build new churches, forced to participate in Catholic festivals. Ukrainians resisted this situation. Uprisings happened very often in the late 16th – early 17th centuries.

By the late 16th – early 17th centuries, collective organs had started formation in Ukraine – the *brotherhoods*. These were national-religious and public cultural organizations. They started forming because Ruthenian culture appeared in the situation of limitation. Brotherhoods protected rights of Orthodox 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 were in Turkish captivity. Brotherhoods presented national consciousness, played an important role in protection of Orthodox religion, in struggle against the Polonization. They were church-household, religious, and philanthropic organizations. Among the main tasks of these organizations were: increasing of a moral and intellectual level of members, education, and protection of the Orthodox religion. In 1588, Lvov brotherhood was formed. Members of it wanted self-government for the Ukrainians in this city and to protect Orthodox traditions. By the end of 16th century, brotherhoods in other towns had been organized.

Brotherhoods built schools. Pedagogic principles of brotherhoods' schools were based on the principle of humanism. In the Statute of Lvov brotherhood school in 1586 there was a principle of value of each person despite of their 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 foundation of the 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 Ukrainian cultural development a lot. 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 of 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 the Academy, the only Ukrainian higher 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 a monk of Kiev Cave monastery and in 2 years was elected as an archimandrite. Then Mohyla became the metropolitan of Kievan and Galician regions. Peter Mohyla led active struggle against the Uniat church. He asked the Polish king for legalization of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and received back some Orthodox houses and cult buildings of the St. Sophia Cathedral and the Kiev Vydubitsky monastery.

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

Brotherhoods also had their defects. Lack of funds was always a problem. Despite their proliferation, 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, and because of that he connected their origin with 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 the 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 the Catholic and Orthodox in means of religious works. It played an important role in struggle of the Ruthenians for social and national liberation. It started its active development especially in 16–17th centuries. The majority of polemist 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 legitimacy of Orthodoxy. At 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 adoption of the 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, Vyshnevetzky, 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 some generations of educated Ruthenians. Polish king Sigismund III ordered 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 socialization of property, etc. He considered that the ideal social organization should be built on the principles of early Christianity. He was against of 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 Greek Catholics in such works as “A Letter to the Bishops Who Abandoned Orthodoxy” and “A Short Response to Peter Skarga”. However, he also criticized the Orthodox, emphasizing an 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 people, Ivan Vyshensky was unique in bemoaning enserfment of peasants and fearless in denouncing their exploiters.

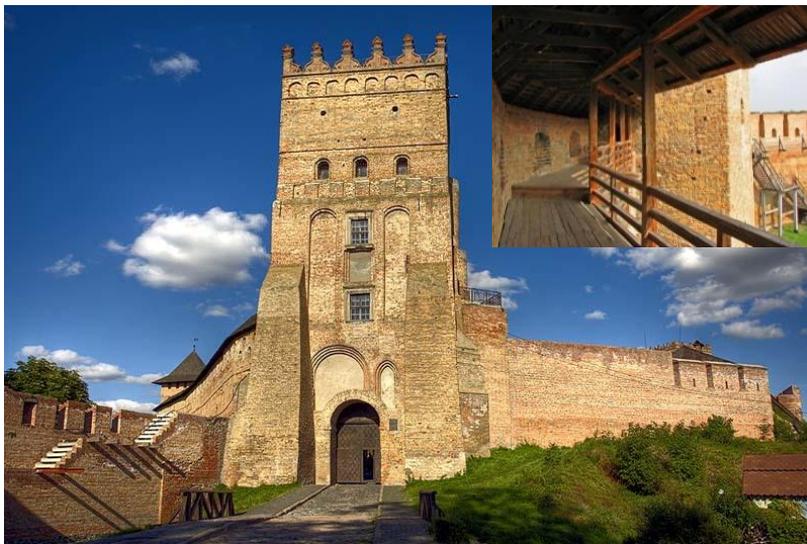
Early 17th century was the time, when prince Constantine Ostrozhsyky died and his support of Orthodox Church and Ruthenian culture stopped. In 1612, Ostrog printing press stopped existing. The school without material support also had stopped its activity by 1640. Granddaughter of Constantine Ostrozhsyky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

Book printing in Europe was formed thanks to 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 building of the 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 of Zabludov they opened the printing press and edited “The Didactic Gospel” in 1569 and the “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. In 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 Eastern Slavic printed alphabet, the text book of the 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 Ostrozhsyky. In 1578, he printed “The Alphabet” for pupils of Ostrog school. There, in Ostrog, I. Fedorov started co-operation with Gerasim Smotrytsky. “The Ostrog Bible” was edited in 1581. It was real polygraph masterpiece, the first full edition of the Bible in the 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 the archimandrite of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery from 1599 up to 1624. In 1615, he founded the first printing press in lavra. Moreover, he organized in Radomyshl a big paper manufacture. By the end of 16th century, there had been 7 paper manufactures in Ukraine and they exported paper to Russia.

Usually the majority of printed books were devoted to ecclesiastic topics. However, there were also educational books. In 1627, the printing press of the Kiev Cave monastery published a fundamental Slavic-Ruthenian dictionary “The Lexicon Sloveno-Russian or the interpretation of names”. It was used in school education. Lexicon contents 6982 definitions with a 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 preserve 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 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 of Horiany in Uzhgorod, which was under the 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 an Orthodox church

Wooden icon-painting also developed at that period. Icons were cheaper than frescoes. Churches were equipped by monumental-decorative compositions of *iconostasis* (mixture of painting, sculpture, and ornamental carving).

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

Under conditions of Polish Catholic oppression struggle for preservation its cultural identity was a central theme in history of Orthodox Rus people for a long time. Intense confrontation developed that flared up into religious and cultural warfare. Formulated primarily in terms of Orthodoxy and Catholicism – a 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		

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

Chapter IV. Time of the Cossacks

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

1. 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 the Russian Federation. They inhabited sparsely populated areas and islands in the lower Dnieper, Don, Kuban, Terek, Amur, and Ural rivers, also in Siberia and Transbaikalia. In Ukrainian lands, the Cossacks had their specific features.



Cossacks are liberating their captured compatriots

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 a military danger was the following. At the end of the 15th century, a new state emerged in Southern lands of modern Ukraine, it was the *Crimean Khanate*. It dissociated from the Golden Horde in 1449 and in 1478 recognized vassalage to the Ottoman Empire. In 1482, Crimean khan Mengli Giray attacked Kiev and devastated it. After that, the Tatars almost annually repeated their raids into Ukraine, and population was taken into slavery as so-called “yasyr”. From

1450 to 1556, hordes of the Crimean Tatars made 86 large raids to the Ukrainian lands. Lithuania was unable to protect its own lands. Huge territory of Southeastern Ukraine became almost a desert. Constant threat from the Crimean Tatars was the impetus for emergence of the 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 also liberated their compatriots from slavery.

The word “Cossack” is of Turkic origin. The first mention of Ukrainian Cossacks in diplomatic correspondence of neighboring states was dated by end of the 15th century. Initially, it meant nomadic “free man”. Over time, term transformed in men separated from their social environment, a 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: the Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Lithuanians, Armenians, Karaites, Krymchaks, Polovetsians, and Tatars. Early Cossacks seemed to have included a significant number of Tatar descendants judging from records of their names. From the mid-15th century, the Cossacks were mostly mentioned with Slavic names.



Zaporizhian Cossack

the *Zaporizhian Sich (Host)* centered on 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” that

For protection against the Tatars settlers of the devastated “*Wild Field*” gathered in militias and lived in fortified settlements. The *Zaporizhian Cossacks* or simply the Zaporizhians were the Ukrainian Cossacks who lived beyond the rapids of the Dnieper, the land is also known as the Great Meadow in today’s Central Southern Ukraine. Cossacks not only protected themselves against the Tatars, but also started attacking them and robbing neighboring Tatar villages. In 1492, the Crimean khan was complaining that the Cossacks attacked his ship and 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

means to clear a forest for an encampment or to build a fortification with trees that were 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 Khortytisia. Host was initially a vassal of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, the growth of social and religious pressure from the Poles caused the Cossacks to defend their interests. Zaporizhian Sich grew rapidly in the 15th century from serfs fleeing from more controlled parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia establishing itself as a well-respected political entity with the parliamentary system of government. It was the Cossack republic with direct democracy.



Zaporizhian Sich. Reconstruction

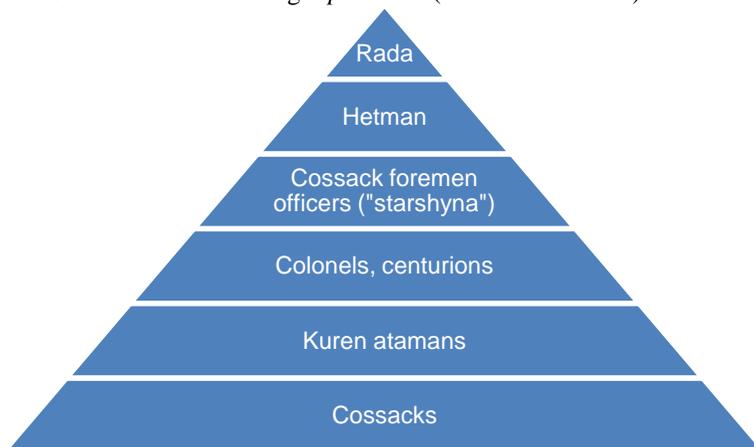
In 1558, however, the first Sich fortress was destroyed by the Tatars. Soon, the other Sich was created on the now-flooded island of Tomakivka as a fortified encampment 40 miles to the south of the modern city of Marganets. That Sich was also razed by the Tatars in 1593. With the destruction of the Tomakivka Sich the third Sich was created on the Bazavluk Island in 1593 which is also flooded today. It managed to stay until 1638 when it was destroyed by the Polish expeditionary force against the Cossack uprising. There also was the other Sich, which was firstly mentioned in 1628 as the Mykytynska Sich near today's city of Nikopol.

In the 15th century, the Cossack society was described as a federation of semi-independent communities, often forming local armies, de facto independent from the neighboring states of Poland, Grand Principality of Moscow or the 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 into the territories of present-day Southwestern Russia and Southern Ukraine. Zaporizhian Cossacks played an important role in European geopolitics, participating in

series of conflicts and alliances with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.

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

The *ataman* was in charge of the 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 the Cossacks were explicitly codified. There was the Cossack military court that severely punished violence and stealing among the Cossacks; bringing of women to the Sich; consumption of alcohol in periods of conflicts, etc. In times of peace, the Cossacks were engaged into their occupations, living with their families.

From the second part of the 16th century, Cossacks started active raiding of Ottoman territories. Polish government could not control the fiercely independent Cossacks, but since they were nominally subjects of the Commonwealth, it was held responsible for raids. Reciprocally, the Tatars living under the Ottoman rule launched raids into the Commonwealth, mostly in

sparsely inhabited Southeastern 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 50 to 70 man crew, could reach the coast of Asia Minor from the mouth of the Dnieper River in forty hours. Raids also acquired a distinct political purpose after Peter Konashevych-Sahaidachny became a hetman in 1613. By 1615 and 1625, the 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 the low-intensity war zone and led to an escalation of the Commonwealth-Ottoman warfare. The Cossacks tried to defend Orthodoxy from Polish Catholicism and people from oppression of Polish nobles. It created problems in relationships. Waning loyalty of the Cossacks and 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 led by Severyn Nalyvaiko took place. In 1625, the Sich Cossacks under the lead of Mark Zhmailo came to help Cossack rebels in the Kiev region. It provided increasing of number of registered Cossacks at state service to 6 thousand. In 1630, there was the revolt led by Taras Fedorovych, nicknamed Triasylo; after the victory of rebels the registry was increased to 8 thousand people. In 1635, the Cossacks led by Ivan Sulyma destroyed the Polish outpost, fortress Kodak on the Dnieper. In the summer of 1637, the new Cossack and peasant uprising began. It was headed by the hetman of unregistered Cossacks Paul But nicknamed Pavliuk. In 1638, rebels were defeated, and 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 deeply into Ukraine. Kiev and Poltava regions were in a fire of a rebellion again. The revolt was suppressed and the Cossacks escaped to Russia. By 1638, uprisings had finished. Cossack registry was limited to 6 thousand. The rest of the Cossacks were obliged to return to their landlords as serfs, and the Zaporizhian Cossacks were outlawed.

2. Liberational War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky

In 1648, the *National Liberational War* against the Polish domination began. Cossacks were the main driving force of it. Its main reason was unprecedented strengthening of oppression of the Ruthenian people by the Polish nobility. Among reasons of the National Liberational War were such main points:

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

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

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

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



Hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky

Ukrainian lands were waiting only for a leader who would be able to lead the protest. *Bogdan (Bohdan) Khmelnytsky* became such a leader. He was born in 1595 in the family of registered Cossack, received solid in those days education. He was fluent in Latin, Russian, Polish, Tatar, Turkish, had knowledge in history, geography, and law. At the age of 22, he joined his father at the service of the Commonwealth. As a registered Cossack of the Polish army, he gained a lot of military experience in struggle against the Tartars, Turks, and Russians. After being 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 the general troop scribe. After the ban to obtain this position for the Cossacks 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. So, Khmelnytsky was unable to punish the offender legally and went to the Sich. There he urged the Cossacks to start a revolt. Cossacks enthusiastically picked up the call of

Khmelnytsky and chose him as their leader – the hetman. At first, the aim of war was the personal revenge and renewing of Cossack privileges.

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

The Cossack rebellion might have fizzled in the same manner as previous rebellions. However, Khmelnytsky who had been taking part in the 1637 rebellion realised that the Cossacks while having an excellent infantry could not hope to match Polish cavalry that was probably the best in Europe of 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 a mutual hostility between the Cossacks and Tatars. He paid the khan of the Crimea for it with jasyr.

In January of 1648, Khmelnytsky brought a contingent of 500 Cossacks to the Zaporizhian Sich and quickly dispatched 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 Liberational War under the lead of B. Khmelnytsky

By April 1648, news about the 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, 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 marshalled 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 the defeat of Commonwealth's army in 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. Szlachta was on the run from 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 the other terrible blow to weakened and depleted Polish forces. Khmelnytsky was persuaded not to lay the *siege of Lvov* in exchange for 200 thousand red guildens. After obtaining of the 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 various privileges. The way to 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 struggling from personal reasons, and it will continue it in the name of "the whole of the Rus 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 a leader of the Zaporizhian Cossacks simply but that of the state and stated his claims to the heritage of Rus.

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

However, 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. However, near Zborov the Tatars left the battlefield. For them an excessive growth of Khmelnytsky's power was unprofitable. Besides, the Poles bribed the Tatars by promising a tribute. Under pressure from the Crimean khan Khmelnytsky signed the *Zborov treaty* with the Poles.

Under the terms of the treaty Cossack register was increased from 6 to 40 thousand. However, other persons were obligated 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 people of Ukraine these concessions were not sufficient, and Polish nobility dreamt about restoration of its rule in a full size.

Hostilities resumed in June of 1651 with the *Battle of Berestechko* in Volhynia. Poles defeated the Cossack army. German mercenaries broke through to the headquarters of the 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, the peace *Treaty of Bila Tserkva* was signed. Its conditions were unfavorable for the Cossacks: Cossack registry was limited to 20 thousand; Khmelnytsky had to submit to the crown hetman, break the alliance with the Tatars, stop any external relations; Kiev region only remained under the rule of the hetman, szlachta could return to their estates. Nevertheless, 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 the *Zaporizhian Host* (official name for his possessions and troops, not only the Sich), Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; Transylvania and Brandenburg. However, interference in Moldavian 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 were spoilt. In 1653, the Moldavian campaign culminated by military defeat from Polish-Wallachian-Transylvanian troops. However, the Turkish sultan responded to the protectorate request of B. Khmelnytsky and recognized his land as a vassal. But then again, the intensification of struggle for power in the Ottoman Empire made providing of real assistance to Khmelnytsky impossible. Anyway, the idea of the Islamic ruler protectorate was unpopular among 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 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 in the *Battle of Batog* in Podolia. In 1653, the 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. However, Moscow reacted very carefully. Russia had not been ready for war. In 1653, the tsar convened the Zemsky Sobor, the parliament with extraordinary authority. Sobor decided to ask the tsar for protection of the Orthodox faith, to take Ukraine “under high tsar’s hand” and free the tsar from the curse of alliance with Poland. It meant war against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

After series of negotiations, it was agreed that the Cossacks would accept tsar’s overlordship. To finalize the treaty, the Moscow embassy led by boyar Basil Buturlin came to Pereyaslavl (Pereyaslav), where on 18 January of 1654 the Cossack Rada was called and the treaty signed. 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 for 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 a 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 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 elections of the hetman, rights of Ukrainian Cossack officers, the Cossacks, clergy, citizens, the size of salaries for representatives of the highest military officers was determined, the registry consisted of 60 thousand. Hetman had the right to meet foreign ambassadors, excepting ambassadors of Poland and the Ottoman Empire, the content of negotiations should have been reported to the Russian government. The treaty contained the obligation for Russia to start the war against Poland; Zaporizhian Host should have given 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 Russia and joined the Poles. Russian-Ukrainian troops liberated Belorussia, occupied Lithuania. After that the first friction between Russia and Ukraine started. Khmelnytsky wanted to annex Belorussia to his autonomous unit, but tsar Alexey Mikhailovich found there Russian administration.

Other power joined the melee was Sweden. They were 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 Swedish Baltic provinces. In 1656, the ruler of Transylvania, George II Rakoczi, also joined the struggle. Under blows from all sides the Commonwealth only survived thanks to its steely unity in the face of complete destruction. Russia was not interested in a strengthening of Sweden. Tsar made the 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. That war ended in status quo two years later, but it complicated matters even further for Khmelnytsky, as his ally was 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 the Cossack rebellion on the home front. Troubling news also came from the Crimea, as the 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 Kiev colonel Zhdanovych whose expedition to Galicia failed due to the mutiny within his army. On 27 July 1657, B. Khmelnytsky died. With his death, we can draw a line under the National Liberational 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 various contemporaries viewed his role in events and his actions differently; 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. City and the region of the country bear his name. His image is 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. Soviet historiography considered him as a hero for organizing class struggle of the oppressed Ukrainians against Polish exploiters. 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 following period of so called "Deluge". 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. Therefore, he was much respected and venerated in Imperial Russia. His role was presented as a model for all the Ukrainians to follow – to aspire for closer ties with Great Russia.

3. The Ruin

The Ruin was a period of Ukrainian history from the death of hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky in 1657 until coming to power of hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1687. This period was characterized by a 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 remaining non-Catholic nobles, the starshyna, the mass of the Cossacks and those peasants who did not bear arms.

Seventeen percent of lands was held by the Orthodox Church and 33 % by the starshyna. The remaining 50 % was confiscated from the Poles and was up for grabs. Confiscated lands could easily change hands in any conflict. The land was a frontier society with no natural borders, a specific tradition of statehood and population committed to Cossack's liberty or anarchy. There was an unresolved conflict between the mass of poorer Cossacks and the wealthier group who aspired to have semi-noble status. The state was weak and needed a protector, but the Poles wanted their land back, Russian autocracy was not enthusiastic about 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 as the 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 the Zaporizhian Sich that sent their runners to Moscow with complaints. Because of that new elections were called the same year at which Vyhovsky was reelected once again at the Cossack Rada. His election was confirmed also by Moscow authorities who were informed according to the Pereyaslav treaty. However, he was a Polish noble and his idea was to reunite the Polish state.

In 1658, this position caused rebellion led by Zaporizhian ataman Jacob Barabash and Poltava colonel Martin Pushkar. In the spring of 1658, with the help of the Tatars Vyhovsky crossed the 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 relationships with Moscow broken.

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. In September 16, 1658, in *Hadiach* the official document was signed between representatives of the Cossack Hetmanate and Poland.

Under the conditions of the treaty, Ukraine would have 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. Nevertheless, 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 the Russian army started its offensive. Eventually, Vyhovsky fled to Poland.

New hetman *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 into tsar's treasury; it was forbidden to enter into foreign relations without a permission of the tsar; elective Cossack management should be approved by Moscow; hetman lost the right to appoint and dismiss colonels, execute the starshyna, wage wars without tsar's approval. Frustrated Yuri Khmelnytsky in 1660 chose the side of Poland and signed the new *Slobodishche treatise* on terms of the Hadiach one without a point about the "Ruthenian Grand Principality". However, the Left-Bank regiments under the command of Yakim Somko remained loyal to the tsar and opposed Y. Khmelnytsky. Depressed by this 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 also lost the support of Moscow. At the Black Rada 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 had 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, temporarily occupied by the Ottoman Empire in the period of 1672–1699. Finally, 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.

Hetman *Paul (Pavlo) Teteria* (1663–1665), who held only the Right-Bank, followed 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, so he resigned and fled to Poland.



Partition of Ukraine according to the Treaty of Andrusovo

The goal of hetman *Peter (Petro) Doroshenko* (1665–1676) was to reunite two halves of Ukraine. He held frequent councils to cultivate the poorer Cossacks and created the 20 thousand-men band of mercenaries to free himself from the starshyna. In response to the Treaty of Andrusovo, Doroshenko turned to the Turks. In the fall of 1667, Ottoman-Cossack army invaded Galicia and compelled the king to grant Doroshenko an extensive autonomy. He accepted an Ottoman overlordship, invaded Left-Bank Ukraine, removed rival hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky and in 1668 declared himself the hetman of united Ukraine. Crimean Tatars backed the rival hetman and the Poles backed Michael Khanenko, with whom they invaded the Right-Bank. Turning to meet invaders, he placed *Damien Mnohohrishny* to control of the Left-Bank, who quickly came under the 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 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 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 to an exile to Russia. Samoilovych declared himself as the hetman of united Ukraine. Within two years the Turks drove him back across the Dnieper. Poland and Russia signed the Eternal Peace Treaty of 1686 which recognized Polish rule of the Right-Bank again and removed the Poles from Zaporizhzhia. 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 the 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 a cultural life of the society. Orthodoxy was obligate for people who wanted to be the Cossacks. Hetman *Peter Sagaidachny* with his entire 20 thousand Host became members of the Kiev brotherhood that was supported with money. Thanks to Cossack support, the Kiev brotherhood became a strong organization of national liberation and a cultural movement. P. Sagaidachny helped to renew the Orthodox Church hierarchy which was cancelled after the 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. Administration of the Sich used Orthodox churches and schools for religious and secular education of children. Uniatic bishops wrote to the Pope that a co-operation between the Kiev brotherhood and the Cossacks threaten Catholicism.

Educated Cossack starshyna created original chronicles of the Eyewitness, Gregory Hrabianka, and Samuel Velichko. Now we can use it as important sources of Cossack 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 impetus for development of popular song creativity. Dumas had a very specific ideological subtext and formed moral and patriotic qualities. "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 D. Vyshnevetsky, who devoted his life to struggle against the Turkish-Tatar aggression.

Also, a Cossack specific dance, the *hopak*, 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 have danced.

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

Questions and tasks

1. Famous writer Nicholas Gogol wrote about the phenomenon of the Cossacks: “It was thrown out of 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 the Cossack republic? Could you find features of democracy in Cossacks’ political life?
3. Why did the Polish domination in Ukrainian lands faced with a hostility of native population? Point the reasons for National Liberational 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 the he choose Russia?
6. What was the Ruin? Which consequences did it have for 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 Louis XIV, was fluent in several languages, and well versed in literature, art, military affairs, crafty and clever.



Mazepa's portrait, 1706

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 Cossack 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 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 foremen 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 wars against Turkey and the 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 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 borders of the Hetmanate, and the tsar sent them to fight in the Baltics, Poland, and even Germany. During the reign of Peter I, the 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 at the constructing of fortifications. In connection with the war taxes to the state treasury increased greatly. Tsar sent many Ukrainian Cossacks and peasants to other parts of the country for the constructing 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 any payment; working and living conditions were extremely bad. Peter I created the 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 the attack on Moscow failed, and the Swedes turned to the South. Charles promised Mazepa to help in creating of Ukrainian state under the protection of Sweden, and he agreed. Mazepa's attempts to raise 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 the 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. After finding out about 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 of June 1709 was the decisive victory of Peter I over Charles XII in the Northern War. It is widely believed to be 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 the hetman fled to Moldavia under protection of

the Turkish sultan. Remains of the Swedish army were surrounded and surrendered. Hetman soon died in Bendery. Followers 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. 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 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 colonels of each regimental district. Control over Ukraine increased.

2. Limitation of Hetmanate's autonomy. Ukrainian lands in Poland

The process of elimination of autonomy started, and in 1721 Russian state was declared the Empire. Complaints by members of different social strata of Ukraine about each other and the hetman government were used as reasons for intervention of the Russian administration. And the Ukrainians themselves provided a huge number 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 the Right-Bank Ukraine using the Cossacks, Tatars, Poles, and Turks, but to no avail. In 1711, he was only able 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 one, and the power of hetman was limited by accountability to the Rada. That was in fact defending of starshyna privileges.

Those Cossacks who did not side with Mazepa elected the 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 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 the 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 hetman's government. During the Northern War Skoropadsky was the Cossack colonel of the Ukrainian Starodub regiment and after Swedish army invaded 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, negotiate greater autonomy for the Hetmanate and greater rights for 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 aims, 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 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 hetman's governments made through Collegium of Foreign Affairs. After the creation of Little Russian Board, Ukraine fell under the jurisdiction of the Senate, as well as other Russian provinces. Skoropadsky protested, but unsuccessfully. That same year, he died.

Paul (Pavlo) Polubotok was elected as a temporary replacement of a 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 leader of the Cossacks. Nonetheless, Polubotok's loyalty was rewarded when wealthy estates throughout Ukraine were given to him.

Polubotok supported a greater autonomy for the 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 a hetman by starshyna. Hetman started conflict with the First Little Russian Board and it was a mistake. 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 controlling ten regiments, although it was limited to have three mercenary regiments only. Ordinances 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 a 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*”. Prince Alexey Shakhovskoy, the head of this institution, received secret instructions to promote the idea of ineffectiveness of hetman's rule and to convince the population that they would benefit from the elimination of the Hetmanate.

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

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 a 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 general starshyna of the Hetmanate, declared 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 was 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

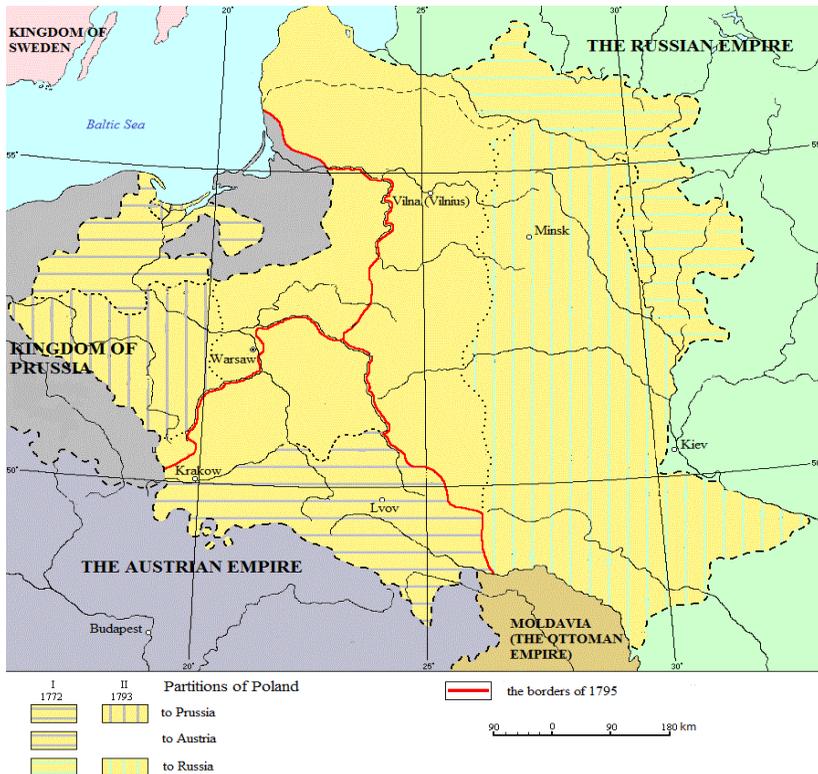
dissolved. Two years later, peasants' freedom of movement was restricted and the process of enserfment was completed. Ordinary Cossacks were integrated into the cavalry of the Russian army, while Cossack officers were granted by the status of Russian nobles. Ukrainian Cossack foremen gradually turned into landlords. By the end of the 18th century, it had been 1 % of the population that owned 50 % of the land. As had previously been practiced 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, the Ottoman Empire renounced its suzerainty over the Crimean Khanate. Annexation of the Crimea by Russia was only a matter of time that was realized in 1783. After the conquest of the Crimea, the 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 Cossack storage. Without Cossacks peasants could not withstand the attacks of szlachta effectively. However, people wanted to return the former Cossack power. The oppression was very strong. Peasants united in groups and attacked Polish nobles. 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. However, unexpectedly Russian troops helped the Poles to crush the rebellion. It was a great disappointment and confuse for local people. The second rise of the haidamak movement in Galicia and in the Right-Bank Ukraine occurred in 1750. The most massive pro-Russian haidamak revolt against Polish occupation occurred in 1768 and was named the *Koliivshchyna* from the Ukrainian word "to stick". Cossack Maxim Zalizniak headed the revolt and the result was the same like in 1734 and 1750.

In Western Ukraine guerrilla movement of *oprishki* arose and acted since 15th up 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. The rest territory became a part of the Russian Empire. Hungary as a part of the Austrian Habsburg Empire ruled over the Transcarpathian region.



3. Ukrainian culture of 18th century

During the reign of Ivan Mazepa, a new phenomenon of the *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 a more constructivist direction. 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 an 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. It was formed under the influence of Cossack knight's ideal. It added outlook-aesthetic originality to Cossack Baroque. Decline of the Hetmanate caused the decadence of the style.



Lizogub's house in Sednev

for example, Lizogub estate in Sednev. Of course, 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 the Klovisky Palace in Kloviskaja Square in Kiev, built the Trinity Church in the Kutaiv hermitage not far from Kiev, Anthony and Theodosius Pechersky Church in Vasylkov, and a bell tower in Far Caves at the territory of the Kiev Cave monastery.



Klovisky Palace in Kiev by Stephen Kovnir

Ivan Grygorovych-Barsky (1713–1785) designed many buildings such as the Shroud Church and Church of Nicholas Naberezhny in Kiev, Church of 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 the Kiev Cave Monastery, Bell Tower of the St. Sophia Cathedral, and the Zaborovsky Gate.



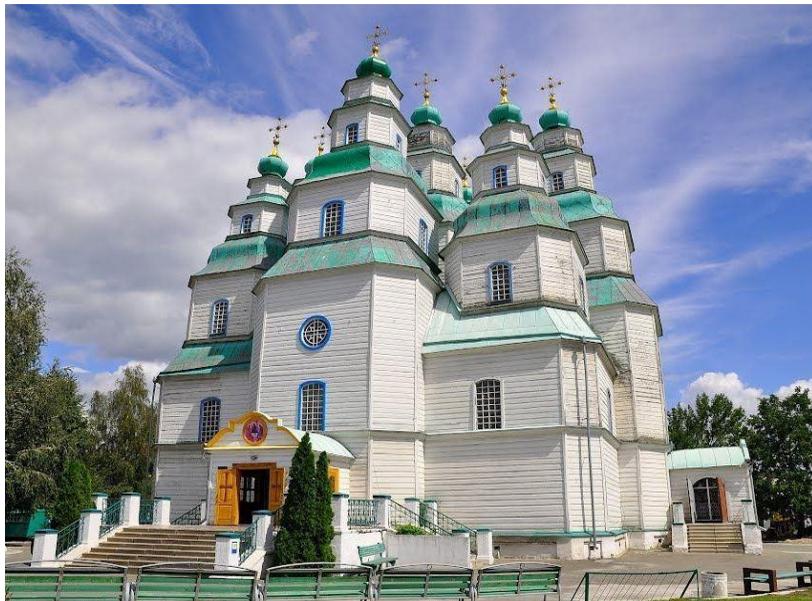
Assumption Cathedral in the Kiev Cave monastery by J. Schadel

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

Baroque wooden churches have preserved up to nowadays. They are usually high multi-storied buildings with complicated and dynamic forms. The best example of such cult building is the Trinity Cathedral in Novomoskovsk. It was built without any nail by the national master Jakim Pogribniak in 1772–1781.



Trinity Cathedral in Novomoskovsk by J. Pogribniak



Town Hall in Buchach

In West-Ukrainian lands monumental architecture of this period developed under the influence of Catholic culture and the Polish Baroque. Also, the *Rococo* was the development of the Baroque. Among the most famous buildings in West-European Baroque and Rococo styles at the territory of Western Ukraine we should mention the 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 1771–1791).

Painting of the Baroque is a special page of Ukrainian culture. It developed under the influence of European and Ukrainian folk arts. As well as in previous periods, monumental and easel painting developed. Monumental painting of that period was connected with decoration of cult buildings. Frescoes and iconostases of the Kiev Cave monastery, St. Sophia and St. Michael's Cathedrals were the best examples of the Baroque monumental painting.

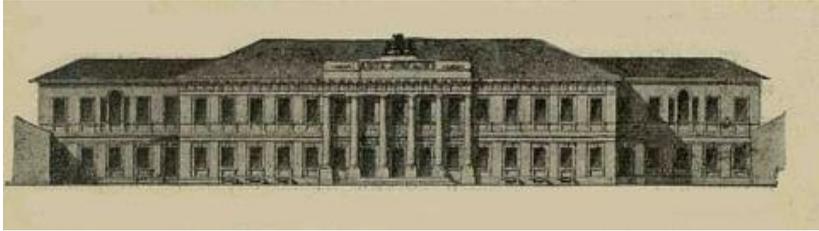


St. Sofia Cathedral Baroque frescos

Classicism was the trend in a 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 the Classicism: an 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 the noble stratum to increase artistic creativity over daily routine. Classical language must have been 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

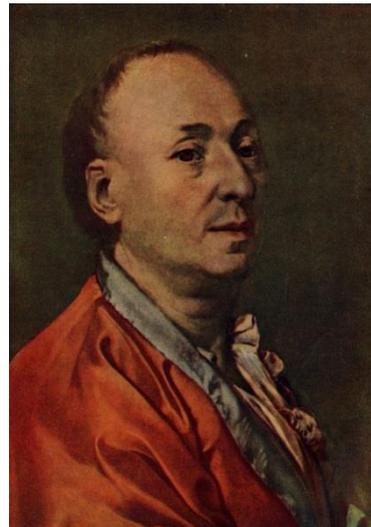
Palace of the hetman Cyril Rozumovsky in Pochep was the oldest classical building in Ukraine. Alexey Yanovsky built it according to the project of the French architect J. B. Vallin de la Mothe. Savior's Transfiguration Cathedral in Novgorod-Seversky by architect Giacomo Quarenghi was one of the best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



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

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

Dmitry Levitsky (1735–1822) was an 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. 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 himself recognized this portrait the best one.



Portrait of D. Didro by D. Levitsky



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

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 the 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 the *Sentimentalism* style. It was literary and art movement that paid attention to people's feelings.

In these portraits, lonely female figures full of elegiac mood were painted in a state of dreamy abstraction at a rural background. The last period of Borovikovsky's creativity was connected with a sacral thematic. He participated in a painting of iconostases of many cult buildings in Russia and Ukraine: the Kazan Cathedral and the Trinity Cathedral of Alexander Nevsky Lavra in Petersburg, the 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.

Cultural phenomenon of the *Enlightenment* and progress of natural sciences formed a new rational world view. The Age of Enlightenment (or the Age of Reason) was a cultural movement of intellectuals beginning in the late 17th-century Europe emphasizing reason and individualism rather than a 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 make conclusions.

Russification started that was a form of cultural assimilation process during which non-Russian communities gave 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 to 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 in Latin language, and after the incorporation of Galicia in 1772 to Austrian state – in German or Polish. Polish-run primary education was practically unavailable for 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 a high level. Three types of schools existed at that time: primary, secondary (brotherhood schools and collegiums) and higher (Kiev Mohyla Academy). In 1740, there were 866 primary schools at the basis of churches, where children studied reading and writing.

In 1780-s, 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 the 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 the 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 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 intellectual, church, and military elite. Famous scientists, writers, teachers, and cultural public figures, politicians and philosophers studied or worked there: 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 the 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 also studied there. Since the second half of 17th century professors of Kiev Mohyla Academy were

invited by Russian schools and church. Eventually, the famous old institution was transformed into the 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, studied in Roman Catholic Academy. Literary and scientific heritage of Theophane Prokopovych is amazing. He wrote numerous “Words” and homilies, prepared educational courses, such as poetics, rhetoric, logic, natural philosophy, and mathematic. He created 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 supporting the importance of Moscow as “the third Rome”, the religious idea of the elder monk Filofey stated in 1523–1524.

In 18th century, science did 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 Vasytkov (in Kiev region) the first medical quarantine house started working. Military hospitals in Kherson, Sevastopol, and Kiev had been opened by the end of 18th century. A network of pharmacies was formed. Medical education schools were also founded. In 1773, Lvov medical collegium opened doors for students. It was a part of medical faculty of Lvov University. In 1787, Yelisavethgrad Medical-Surgical School started working. Among famous scientists there was *Daniel Samoilovych* (1742–1805), the founder of epidemiology. He was the author of the scientific paper devoted to 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 were 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 Europe and then taught poetics in Pereyaslav. For most of the period since 1753 till 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 Kharkov Collegium. After an attack on his course of ethics in 1769 he decided to abandon teaching. Also, Skovoroda was known as a composer of liturgical music, as well as a number of songs to his own texts. In his opinion, personal independence has to be maintained at all cost and unnecessary riches and honors avoided. This conviction led Skovoroda to criticizing the Cossack officers and clergy openly for their exploitation of peasantry. Living as he preached, Skovoroda enjoyed great popularity among 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. His “Synopsis” was brief text-book in history, which had many re-editions. Till 19th century, it had been used as a schoolbook, which dealt with early Ukrainian and Russian history. During 150 years following its appearance in 1674, work was published in twenty editions.

By and large, scholars, 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 ideal 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 a 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 by Philip Orlyk?
6. Why the 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 the 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 Gregory Skovoroda's teachings?
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 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 Ukrainian lands

The “long” 19th century is a term coined for the period of 1789–1914 by British historian and author Eric Hobsbawm. Pointed 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 which is 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 ones. Russia controlled 80 % and Austria – 20 % of the territory.

After abolition of the Magdeburg law in the 1830s, imperial administrative system completely engulfed the whole Ukraine with Russia. In 1840, the “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.

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

Feudals concentrated in their hands 70 % of lands. Increased exploitation of peasants was necessary for them 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 replacement of manual labor by machine one. In Ukraine, it was particularly evident in sugar plants.

In 1821, the *Southern Decembrist Society* arose in Ukraine under the influence of ideas of the French Revolution. It was in an alliance with more moderate *Northern Decembrist Society* in St. Petersburg. Head of the Southern Society Paul Pestel wrote a program called the “Russian Truth”. He wanted to overthrow the autocracy, proposed abolition of serfdom, equality of citizens, granting lands to peasants. He denied any 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 the Northern Decembrist Society in St. Petersburg in 1825 was supported in Ukraine. However, at the beginning of 1826 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 respected for spreading Christianity and inventing the Cyrillic alphabet.

The goals of the society were liberalization of the political and social system of Imperial Russia in accordance to the members’ Christian principles and Slavophilic views that gained popularity among country’s liberal intellectuals. The society goals also included 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 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 of 1847 with most of the members punished by an exile or imprisonment. Shevchenko was sentenced to 10 years of military service in Kazakhstan with a prohibition to write and draw. Only in 1857, he returned to St. Petersburg.

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

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

It began taking place in the Russian Empire in the 60–70s of 19th century. The goal was to transform the feudal Russian monarchy into the bourgeois and to prevent thus a social explosion. The most important and first of all reforms was the so-called *Peasant reform* of 1861 that meant abolition of serfdom. For Ukrainians it was reform of great importance,

because 42 % of the Ukrainians of the Russian Empire were serfs before. The peasants were freed without lands; it remained property of landlords; peasants paid its price in extortionate rates. However, it gave a great impulse for development of industry, which received free workers.

Other reforms of Alexander II democratized the administrative system. In 1864, *zemstvo* was introduced that was a local noble government in fact. Zemstvo reform was distributed to the Right-Bank only in 1911 due to political unreliability of szlachta. Thus, Polish nobility was prevented from organizing themselves in order to prepare for the next uprising (before it had taken place in 1794, 1830, and 1863–1864). Judicial system was reformed: court proceedings became classless, transparent and open, trial by jury emerged, including a prosecutor and an advocate. Secondary and higher education became more accessible for people; in 1864, a unified system of primary education was introduced. In 1860–1864, the financial reform was done, the State Bank was established; excise taxes on alcohol instead of leases introduced; indirect taxes increased. In 1865, the reform of publications' censorship was introduced and as a result it became stronger. In 1870, a reform of municipal government took place that meant establishing of municipal parliaments and governments. Military reform of 1862–1874 replaced conscription by compulsory military service. 10 military districts were established, 3 of which located in Ukraine. The term of military service was reduced to 6 years in the army and 7 in the navy.

Abolition of serfdom and subsequent reforms resulted in the process of rapid economic development of Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire. Capitalist industry began developing, foreign investors were attracted.

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

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.

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



The first train is arriving to Kharkov, 1869

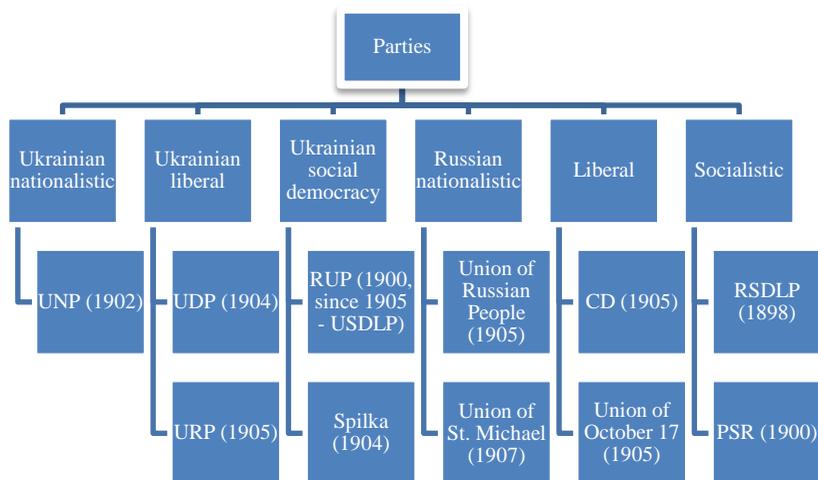
The first railway in the Russian part of Ukraine was built in 1865 between Balta and Odessa for export of grain abroad. The first railway in Austrian Ukraine was Lvov-Peremyshl, which was opened in 1861. By the end of the 19th century, a network of railroads had covered the whole Ukraine. In the last 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 industry emerged. They were “Prodamet” and “Produgol” for trading of iron and coal.

Liberal reforms of Alexander II intensified activity of Ukrainian romantic nationalists. In the 1860s, they began developing Ukrainian national-cultural organizations, so-called “*hromadas*”. Petersburg hromada was headed 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 “*hlopomans*” for trying of people from Polish nobility to be closer to Ukrainian peasants (“*hlops*”). 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 activities of Ukrainian Sunday schools. It was caused by anti-state activities of hromadas under the guise of educating people. Hromadas were disbanded soon. However, 10 years later hromadas revived; government continuously received denunciations about harmful activities of

Ukrainophiles. In 1876, worried about a new intensification of hromadas' actions, tsar Alexander II signed the *Ems Decree*. The decree forbade not only publication, but also import of a large list of Ukrainian literature. Only artistic productions and historical documents were permitted. Restrictions were gradually abolished, finally it was done in 1905, and hromadas did not have a significant impact.

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



Ukrainian political parties started appearing on the territory of the Russian Empire. The first out of them was the *Revolutionary Ukrainian Party* (RUP), which appeared in 1900. In 1902, nationalist wing broke away to create the *Ukrainian National party*; in 1904, the “*Spilka*” emerged that joined the RSDLP. General Ukrainian Non-party Organization became the basis for emergence in 1904 of the *Ukrainian Democratic Party*, and the last one in 1905 – of the *Ukrainian Radical Party*. Both parties were national-liberal. In 1905, remaining members of the RUP renamed it into the *Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party* (USDLP). Most of Ukrainian politicians were members of all-Russian political parties. Among them were the bourgeois *Constitutional-Democratic*, monarchial “*Union of October 17*” and the most popular chauvinistic “*Union of Russian People*” (1905); also similar *Union of St. Michael* (1907) emerged.

The *First Russian Revolution* began in St. Petersburg in 1905 after the shooting of anticapitalist protesters in the so-called “*Bloody Sunday*”. In protest, actions against tsarism began. General political strike was organized. In the December, workers of large industrial centers revolted, and then the revolution began declining. Objectives of the revolution were destruction of the autocracy, confiscation of landlords’ estates and transferring it to peasants without compensation, introduction of an 8-hour working day, 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.

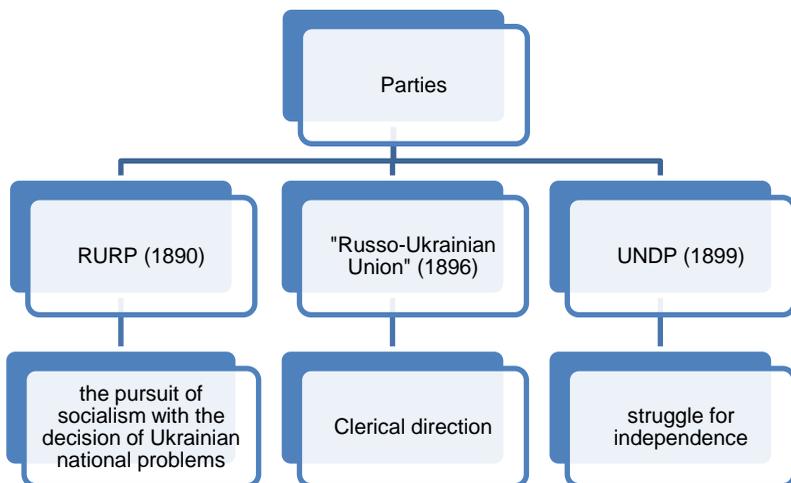
2. Western Ukrainian lands in the Habsburg Empire

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

In the early 1830es, natives of medium Uniate clergy Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vagylevych, and Jacob Golovatsky founded the group of “*Ruthenian Triad*”, which aims included a revival of the Ruthenian culture. They wanted reunification of East Slavic lands. In 1837, activists published the almanac “*Mermaid of the Dniester*” dedicated to their ancestral culture. The entire edition was confiscated by the Austrians. 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 of Lucian Kobylitsia. Great changes took place in Western Ukraine during the *Revolution of 1848-1849*. This revolution engulfed great part of Europe. *Main Russian Rada* defended interests of the Ukrainians against 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 a local parliamentary representation. Galicia got 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. However, revolution was suppressed. Part of intellectuals, which was called “*moscowphiles*” oriented on Russia, the other part – “*narodovtsy*” (*populists*) – 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 the *Russo-Ukrainian Radical Party* in 1890. The program of the party united the pursuit of socialism with decision of the Ukrainian national problems under the influence of Michael Dragomanov. In 1896, the party of the clerical direction “*Russo-Ukrainian Union*” emerged. In 1899, *Ukrainian National Democratic Party* was formed in Lvov which struggled for independence.



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 the Drohobych-Boryslav district, 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 in Europe, the raw materials appendage.

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

3. Ukrainian cultural revival. Mentality

In Cultural Studies literature period of the 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 the last quarter of 18th century.

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

The first *phase “A”* was the emergence of an interest to native people. It arises out from a romantic enthusiasm of intellectuals and only to clean, simple and unspoiled by town life peasantry. In this period, cultural basis of popular movements was laid that showed an 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 agitation in the name of "people's idea". First cultural institutions started appearing. In Central and Eastern Europe the process of linguistic and cultural emancipation of people started who did not demonstrated themselves politically.

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

Representative of the newest Ukrainian historiography Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky (1919–1984) adopted this system for the 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 the national revival. Athenaeums, theatres, libraries, museums, and schools were opened for them. Books with information about cultural heritage were published in this period. This period had ended by 1890. Thirdly, the "*modern*" period was characterized by a mass national movement, when political parties and other organizations were formed. It gave the chance for masses to participate in the political life of society. It was a political period (1890–1914). National political parties and organizations were 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 empire's power and grandeur, attracted by its career opportunities, and placated by an 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 a tribe of Russian people. They were indifferent and even antagonistic to any political action based on the notion of Ukrainian separateness. Typical for the "*Little Russian mentality*" were the words of Victor 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 common interests of our entire society. Microscopic views are not my concern". Among 20th-century historians of the nationalist school, the Little Russian mentality was severely criticized.

Austrian authorities supported in Western lands proponents of so-called *Ruthenianism* – mostly priests, which was 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 people to believe that they had shared a common fate. In 1820s, anonymous manuscript “History of Rusies” was very popular among intellectuals. The main point of that work was the idea of a close connection of Kievan Rus and Ukraine. The work was a political declaration of a part of Ukrainian nobility, which wanted to renew the 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 the “History of Little Russia”. Nicholas Markevych (1804-1860) continued the investigation of ideas of that book in his own 5-volumes edition (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 from Europe toward the end of the 18th century and in most areas was at its peak at 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 scientific rationalization of nature. In the 19th century, “romantic” was called all strange, fantastic, picturesque things, and existing in books, but not in reality.

Ivan Kotliarevsky’s “*Eneida*” was an example, the first work ever written in the language of Ukrainian peasants and townsmen of the Poltava province. 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 a comic instrument with talking about “low” problems in a “high” style. Based on the famous “*Aeneid*” by Latin poet Virgil, it portrayed ancient Greek heroes and Olympian gods as rollicking Cossacks and lusty village maidens who spoke pithy and colorful Ukrainian language. Kotliarevsky did not believe that his linguistic experiment was worth 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 St. Petersburg, helped poet Taras Shevchenko to publish the collection of poetry “Kobzar” in 1840.

Because Ukrainian nobles were abandoning Ukrainian for Russian and it was only villagers who spoke it, Peter Hulak-Artemovsky argued that 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 Hrytsko Osnovianenko”. These sad, sentimental tales heralded the beginning of Ukrainian prose writing.

A myriad of other, minor writers in Kharkov also contributed into 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, 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 the “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.

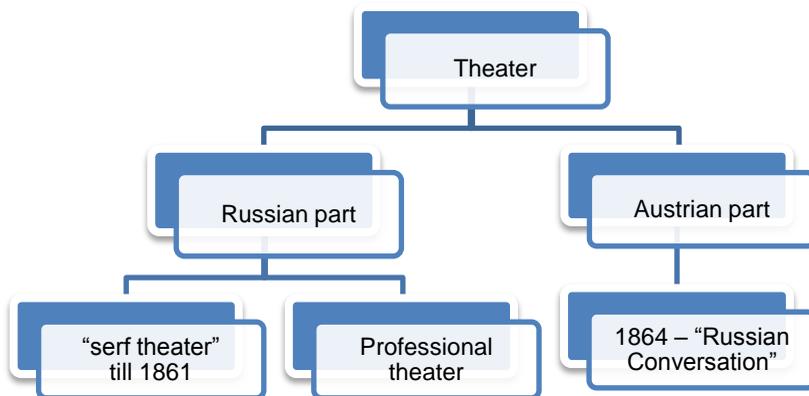
Among young intellectuals of the 1840s, one individual – *Taras Shevchenko* – is above the rest. Indeed, it may be argued that Shevchenko’s impact on his countrymen was greater than that of any other Ukrainian in modern history. That poet should have attained such preeminence in developing nation of 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 attention of several artists who, in 1838, helped him to buy freedom. Shevchenko 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 the “Kobzar”, appeared in print. Shevchenko did not believe in liberal, gradualistic projects of reforms. His poems openly advocated radical, revolutionary solutions to injustice in society. He spent a part of his life in exile, and died in 1861 shortly before reaching 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 domination of the *Critical Realism*. It was the direction and artistic method that reveals a dependence of a human condition and his psychology on a social environment.

Ivan Franko (1856–1916), a famous Western Ukrainian poet, writer, scientist, and public figure played an important role in a social life of Ukraine of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. In the novels by Marco Vovchok, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, Panas Myrnyi, poems by Paul Grabovsky we could find the deep belief in happy future of Ukrainian people. 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 the Realism, to apply modernistic techniques, and to express individualistic perceptions. This tendency was impressively reflected in the work of Eastern Ukraine’s two leading literary figures of this period – novelist Michael Kotsiubynsky and poetess Lesia Ukrainka. In his “Fata Morgana”, Kotsiubynsky focused on the traditional theme of social strife in village. His “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors” reflected both the real and mythical world of a Hutsul village and explored a constant movement between a conscious and subconscious world of an individual.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko was a representative of the village-oriented Realism; perhaps, he was 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 the so called “serf theater”. It was a transition from school theatre to secular one. Kharkov and Poltava were the centers of theatrical life. In 1808, after the break, the Kharkov theatre started working. 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” founded the first professional theatre in Austrian Lvov.



Decisive factor in development of theater, and one of few concessions made by the regime to the Ukrainian movement, was government's permission to use Ukrainian on a stage in 1881. In 1882, the first Ukrainian professional theater was founded by dramatist Marko Kropyvnytsky in Elizavetgrad. Staff of actors was innumerate for about 100 people. There were very famous actors among them: Nicholas Sadovsky, Mary Zankovetskaya, Panas Saksagansky, etc. The most famous playwrights were Marko Kropyvnytsky, Michael Starytsky, and Ivan Karpenko-Karyi.

Development of Ukrainian music was connected with the names of prominent composers: Semion Hulak-Artemovskyy (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), etc.

Nicholas Lysenko (1842–1912) became the founder of Ukrainian classical music. He was the author of music drama “Taras Bulba”, symphonic fantasies, theoretic works in basics of a 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 the 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 Stanislaw 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 direction was the *Modern*. Modern (from French “moderne”) or the Art Nouveau (“new art”) is an artistic movement, the most common in the last decade of 19th to the beginning of 20th century before the World War I. Its distinguishing features are rejection of straight lines and angles in favor for “natural” lines, an interest in new technologies, flourishing of crafts and arts.

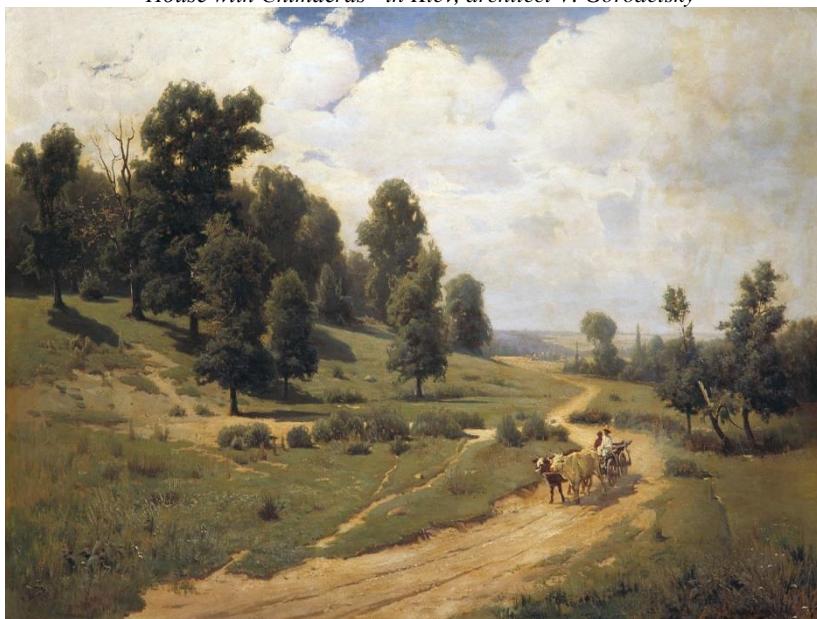
Bessarab Market in Kiev (1910) was built in this style by Polish architect Henryk Gai. In this style of Ukrainian modern the house of Poltava Zemstvo was built in 1904–1908 by architect V. Krychevsky, and “House with Chimaeras” (1902–1903) (by architect V. Gorodetsky).

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

In fine arts there were some artists, who worked in a genre of landscape painting. Sergey Vasilkovsky (1854–1917), Iliya 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 Novakovskyy (1872–1935), brothers Basil and Theodor Krychevskys.



"House with Chimaeras" in Kiev, architect V. Gorodetsky



Ukrainian landscape by Sergey Vasilkovsky

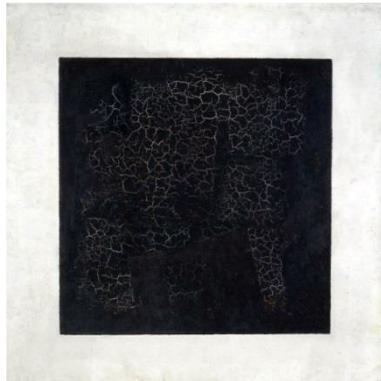
Landscape painting was the best evidence of that. Sergey Vasilkovsky was born in Izum in the Kharkov region. He was the author of 3 thousand pictures, mostly Ukrainian landscapes. Ilya Repin drawn in genre of portrait, historical, and genre painting (“Cossacks are writing the letter to the Turkish Sultan”,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



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

Modern style was dominative. In Ukraine, many outstanding artists created their masterpieces. Kazimir Malevych (1879–1935) was the 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 19th and 20th centuries.

Suprematism (from Latin “supremus”, “the highest”) was a direction of the Vanguard, 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.



*Black Suprematic Square
by K. Malevych*

Brothers Burliuk (David, Vladimir, and Nicholas) were futurists, Alexander Bogomazov (1880–1930) was the cubo-futurist, George Narbut (1886–1920) was the 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. Basic mood captured by the Symbolists was pessimistic one, even despair.

5. Education and science

In 1802–1804, the Russian Empire introduced the reform of education. According to this reform, all educational institutions were divided into levels: parochial schools, local training schools, grammar schools, lyceums, and universities. Education of this period had a social stratum character. Children of workers and peasants did not have a 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. Intellectuals understood a necessity of foundation of new universities. Because of that V. N. Karazin (1773–1842), a scientist in Economics, inventor, and public figure received a permission from the Russian tsar for foundation of Imperial Kharkov University in 1804.

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

During the development of capitalism, there was the necessity in 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 schooling 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, prepared specialists for industry, transport, and clerks. Among additional subjects there were geometry, sketching, physics, botany, etc.

Secondary education was 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.

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

Capitalism caused 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. Nevertheless, 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), Mykhailo Dragomanov (1841–1895), etc. Natural scientists Nicholas Beketov (1827–1911), Iliia Mechnikov (1845–1916), and Alexander Liapunov (1857–1918) were well-known.

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 and cities 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 the Crimean War influence 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 consequences of the Great Reforms for Ukraine?
6. What is capitalism? What are its differences from feudalism?
7. What were hromadas? Why were authorities hostile to them?
8. What were aims of the First Russian Revolution? Was it successful?
9. How did the Revolution of 1848-1849 in the Austrian Empire influence life of the Western Ukrainians?
10. Compare economic development of Russian and Austrian parts of Ukraine.
11. What is the Ukrainian national revival? Which periods did it consist of?
12. What were the “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 the 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 the war between two groups of states for redistribution of colonies and markets; in the case of the Russian Empire, it was a seizure of disputed territories. German block, created in 1882, was called the Triple, and later Quarter Union (*Central Powers*); it included Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy before the war, and then was joined by Turkey and Bulgaria. The other 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. In addition, Italy changed the side.



Several times in the late 19th – early 20th century the world was at the brink of war, but formal pretext for it was destined to be the murder of Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo by Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip. The result was the declaration of war by Austria on Serbia. Russia defended Serbia, and Germany, the ally of Austria,

declared war on it. Austria also declared war on Russia soon. 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 had 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 1st of August 1914, the day when Germany declared war on Russia. Ukrainian lands were parts of Russia and Austria-Hungary that were at war among themselves. Plans of warring sides about Ukraine were the following:

1. Some political forces in Germany considered the option of incorporating the Ukrainian lands into the future "Greater Germany", together with the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Poland, Baltic lands, and Slavic lands of the Balkan Peninsula. Ukraine was seen as a springboard for advancement to the East and the potential colony, from where it would have been possible to draw agricultural products and natural resources. Other political forces hoped to build the independent Ukrainian state, which would have weakened 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. Austrian government's goal in the war was separation from Moscow and a conquest of other Ukrainian lands as well as creation of independent Ukraine that 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 time of the war front passed through the territory of Ukraine. About 3 million Ukrainians fought in the Russian army and 250 thousand in the Austrian one. Since the war began, Ukrainian nationalists decided to support the government of Austria-Hungary against Russia, as it 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 agreed upon formation of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich riflemen or ususes. It had more than 2500 people and was one of the best Austrian units. Ususes received baptism of fire in the Carpathian Mountains in 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, two divisions were formed from Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army on the territory of

Austro-Hungary. West Ukrainian subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire fought in ordinary Austrian and Hungarian units.

In September 1914, Russian forces launched the offensive. The *Battle of Galicia* took place, and the region was liberated. Aircrafts and armored trains were used at first in history. 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 for Ukrainian activists who collaborated with their enemy. Unifying administration with Dnieper Ukraine, Russian officials closed unreliable Western Ukrainian cultural institutions, imposed restrictions on usage of the Ukrainian language, launched a campaign against the Uniates.

In 1915, the Austrians were defeated in Bukovina, and it was liberated. As the result, 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.

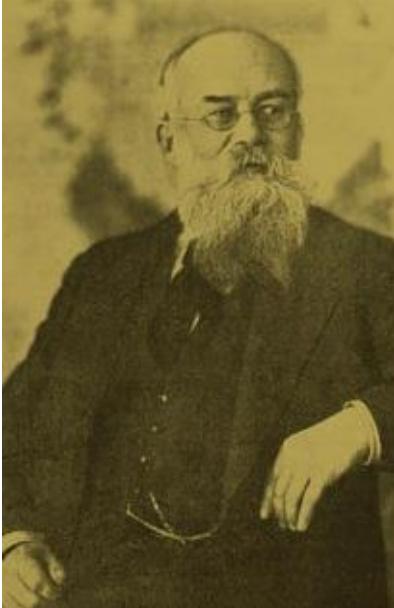
In the summer of 1916, as the result of the offensive on all the fronts, *Brusilov Breakthrough*, Russian troops liberated part of Volhynia, Eastern Galicia, and Bukovina again. There were no main strike, the Germans were unable to fight off such a widespread offensive, and Austria was on the verge of total defeat. 400 thousand Austrian and German soldiers were taken prisoner. It was a radical change in the war in favor of the Entente. However, 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 dropped out of the war. Military operations in Ukrainian lands seriously undermined its productive forces. During 1914-1916, over 1400 enterprises were closed in Ukraine, 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. Specific bourgeois-nationalistic revolution was brewing in Ukraine.

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; and finally, 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 the so-called *February bourgeois-democratic revolution* occurred. As the 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 prince George Lvov, formed mainly from representatives of liberal bourgeoisie. However, 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 revolutionary-democratic parties were informal, but influential power. Initially, the Soviets supported the Provisional government. Only RSDLP of Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin acted against supporting the government. 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, representatives of various Ukrainian political parties, cultural, professional, other public organizations brought together in Kiev and established *Ukrainian Central Rada* (Council). UCR chose *Mykhailo (Michael) Hrushevsky* as a chairperson. 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 well as

its effectiveness. In the April 1917, Ukrainian National Congress re-elected Central Rada, expanding it by the representatives of local people. V. Vynnychenko from the USDLP and S. Yefremov from 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 claiming the role of the Ukrainian parliament. Ukrainian bourgeoisie and intellectuals, rich peasants and townspeople of Ukrainian origin, petty officials, junior officers, zemstvo officials, rural teachers, and lower clergy represented its social support.

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

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

On 10th of June 1917, the Central Rada issued its *1st Universal* – the response to 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 creation of the *General Secretariat* that was the government of Ukraine. General Secretariat was headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Mainly, it consisted of USDLP members.

The growth of revolutionary events in Russia forced the Provisional government to seek an agreement with the Central Rada. To overcome the differences in 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 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 an opportunity to act as a representative of all people, not just the Ukrainians. These decisions were proclaimed in the *2nd Universal* on 3rd of July 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. The Russians, Jews, and Poles took that places. Concessions caused the uprising of the most radical nationalists known as “samostiynyks”.



Vladimir Lenin

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

After the victory of armed uprising in Petrograd, Kiev Bolsheviks also tried to take power into their hands.

Kiev Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee began the uprising on 11th of November 1917. It was opposed by the headquarters of Kiev military district, which remained loyal to the overthrown Provisional government. On 13th of November, Kiev uprising finished by the victory. However, the Central Rada suddenly took the victory of the Bolsheviks. 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 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; armed forces they had were inferior to Rada's ones almost in three times numerically.

Under these conditions, on 7 (20) November 1917, the Central Rada announced its 3rd *Universal*, which proclaimed establishment of the *Ukrainian People's Republic*, although it was noted that the UPR did not break federal relations with Russia. They had in mind not Bolshevik Russia, but the government, which would have been installed as the result of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly's work. However, for the vast majority of 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 of land was canceled, which was declared the property of all the people. Land was transmitted to the peasants without any compensations. The introduction of an 8-hour working day was proclaimed; the government and workers received the right to control industry. National minorities obtained cultural autonomy. Central Rada in pursuit of the Universal issued explanations that prohibited taking the land from landlords immediately before the creation of land legislation and referred only to “prepare the ground” for establishing a state control over production. In fact, these points were declarations only.

The Bolsheviks recognized the UPR in accordance with their program principle of a right of nations for self-determination. Nevertheless, at the same time, the Soviet government put forward series of pretensions to the Central Rada. These claims related to actions of the 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, disarmament of Soviet troops stationed in Ukraine by Rada. Thirdly, Rada passed through the controlled territory units to the Don to help anti-Soviet rebellions of atamans Kaledin and Dutov on the one hand, and the ban for Soviet troops to pass on the other. M. Hrushevsky was extremely hostile to the Soviet regime.

Claims were presented in the form of an ultimatum. On 5 (18) of December 1917, the General Secretariat rejected this ultimatum. Since then, the Soviet government began considering 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 and was headed by Nicholas Skrypnyk. Since the December 1917, there were two powers in Ukraine: the power of the Central Rada and the Soviet government. Soviet Russia supported Soviet power in Ukraine. Bolshevik troops launched the offensive from Gomel and Briansk. Ukrainian Bolsheviks from Kharkov began advancing 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 the “Arsenal” plant. Revolt was cruelly suppressed. On 26 of January (8 February) 1918, Soviet troops took Kiev, and the Soviet government moved there. After the Central Rada fled to Zhytomyr, Soviet troops began pursuing it in the Right-Bank Ukraine.

Central Rada alone was unable to resist the Bolsheviks because a sympathy of a great part of the population of Ukraine was on the side of the Communists. Bolsheviks solved the agrarian question in favor of the peasants, began peace negotiations. Urban proletariat was the main social support of the Bolshevik party. That is why the Central Rada was in dire need of foreign support. Entente states were in favor of restoration of “unitary and indivisible” Russia,

able to withstand Germany and the states of pro-German orientation. Entente promised to help Russian anti-Bolshevik forces known as white guards.

Quarter Union troops stood at the border of Ukraine. In addition, Ukrainian nationalists had experience of contacts with German and Austro-Hungarian governments. Soviet government of Russia started negotiations with the Germans in December 1917, and the Soviet government of Ukraine volunteered to represent interests of Ukraine in these negotiations. 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 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 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 made a peace treaty with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their allies.



Hetman Paul Skoropadsky

by German and Austro-Hungarian troops and the Central Rada in early March returned to Kiev in their convoy.

Germans behaved in Ukraine as hosts. They openly robbed Ukrainian peasants, taking from them all the products. At first, peasants responded by smoldering discontent and sabotage. Occupiers reacted by entering of military courts in the territory of Ukraine that was blatant violation of formal UPR's sovereignty. Rebellion against the German-Austrian occupation was launched.

Central Rada failed to organize systematic export of products to Germany and Austria-Hungary. Leaders were incompetent, and the administrative apparatus did not act, people did not support the Central Rada. Therefore, the Germans decided to replace it by their own person. And they found the man. He was a lieutenant-general of the Russian imperial army, a landlord, descendant of the old genus of Cossack starshyna *Paul (Pavlo) Skoropadsky*.

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

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

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

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

Occupational regime, on strengthening of which policy of hetman government was focused, was attracting increasing resistance of Ukrainian people. Peasant’s uprisings occurred. Former Central Rada’s movements, parties, and organizations were in opposition to the Hetmanate. Reliance on wealthy 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, and demoralized German army in Ukraine lost its fighting capacity. In these circumstances, the former leaders of the Central Rada V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura, and others established the *Directory* from 5 people to organize an uprising against hetman Skoropadsky. Uprising began on 16th of November 1918. Germans could not help the 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 hands of the Directory. On 19th of December, it solemnly entered Kiev. The restoration of the UPR was proclaimed. All its laws acquired a 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 planned 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 – its territory”.

In summer 1919, general Anton Denikin started the offensive against the Bolsheviks in the Left-Bank Ukraine. In early August of 1919, the UPR army launched the offensive too. On 30–31 of August 1919, the UPR army occupied Kiev, but the same day passed it to Denikin. Denikin’s army returned lands to the landowners, restored orders that existed under the tsarist rules. The peasants began the revolt against such a rule. Therefore, Petliura, who in 1919 obtained all the Directory power, declared war on Denikin. During that war, the Directory was resoundingly defeated. However, the Red Army inflicted a crushing defeat on white guards, the remnants of Denikin’s army retreated to the 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 the agreement with the leader of Poland J. Pilsudsky, according to which, in exchange for military aid, Poland obtained Ukrainian territory almost in 1772 boundaries. Immediately after signing this agreement, Poland started the war against the Bolsheviks. This war was held with a varying success.

In March of 1921, the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the one hand and Poland on the other hand signed the *Treaty of Riga*. Under this treaty, Poland recognized the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Soviet Russia. Ukraine recognized the accession of the Western Ukraine by Poland, which was promised by Petliura.



The gang of the atamanry time

It would seem that the power in Ukraine in the period just passed from one hands to other. However, it is not absolutely so. In local areas under

Petliura rule the *atamanry* blossomed – the anarchist movement in fact that did not recognize any authority over itself. Arbitrariness and banditry, 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 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 parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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

On 18th of October 1918, in Lvov at common meetings of parliamentary political and public figures of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina Ukrainian National Rada was formed. It announced plans to merge Eastern Galicia, Lemkiland, Northwestern 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 creation of an independent state.

On 30th of October, Ukrainian parliamentary representation put forward the requirement to give the Ukrainian National Council all the power in Galicia and Northern Bukovina. The Austrian governor of Galicia refused. Then the Ukrainian National Council decided to take power by force. At 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, WUPR's Constitution was adopted. WUPR planned to include Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina, and Transcarpathian Ukraine. However, Transcarpathia remained under the rule of Hungary, and Northern Bukovina was occupied by Romania in the November. In order to protect the republic, the *Ukrainian Galician Army* was established with 40 thousand people in its ranks.

On 22 of November 1918, Lvov was occupied as a result of Polish troops' offensive. Government of the WUPR moved firstly to Ternopol, and in the late December – to Stanislaw (modern Ivano-Frankovsk). *Eugene Petrushevych* was appointed as a dictator of the 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.

Leadership opposed nationalization of enterprises and distribution of land among peasants. The results were the emergence of the Communist party and uprising under the slogan of joining Soviet Ukraine in April 1919 in Drohobych.

On 22 of January 1919, in Kiev the “*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 to unite the UPR and WUPR. In July 1919, control of the Western regions was lost.

In May 1919, representatives of Transcarpathia declared joining the new state – Czechoslovakia. State Secretariat until mid-July was at war against Poland that occupied Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and some other Ukrainian lands. At the Paris Peace Conference on 25th of June 1919, the Council of Ambassadors of the Entente recognized the right of Poland for that occupation. WUPR government and its armed forces were evacuated to the territory controlled by the Directory. Armed Forces of the WUPR – the Ukrainian Galician Army – subsequently took side of Russian white guards and later – of the Bolsheviks.

By the early 20-ies of 20th century, most of Ukrainian lands had been united into the state called *the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic* (the 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 that the Soviet government did not recognize. Saint-Germaine peace treaty between the Entente and Austria in 1918 illegally gave Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Romanian Kingdom. Romanian occupation caused discontent of local population. At night of 28th of January 1919, 30 thousand people rebellion prepared by the Bolsheviks began in the Hotyn district in Northern Bessarabia. When regular units of the royal Romanian army were put in this area, rebels and refugees crossed the Dniester and fled to the territory of Soviet Ukraine. Poland and Romania entered into the alliance against Soviet Ukraine and divided Western and South-Western Ukraine.

4. Cultural development of the revolutionary era

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

During the 1917/18 academic year, 30 Ukrainian gymnasiums started working 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 to form Ukrainian classes in Russian gymnasiums.

Ukrainian revolution renewed an activity of political and educational “Prosvita” organization. In summer of 1917, the central and eastern part of Ukraine had a 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 existing universities and institutes by 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 made. Ukrainian Central Rada organized functioning of Kiev Geographical Institute, Kiev Judicial Institute, Kherson Pedagogic Institute and other higher educational institutions.

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

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

There were many outstanding scientists, who were working at 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, such as the inventor of a helicopter I. Sikorsky, emigrated.

Hetman Paul Skoropadsky (1873–1945) continued cultural policy started by Central Rada. He initiated 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 also 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.

It was the period of experiments, so at that time (in 1917) "The Young Theatre" of *Les Kurbas* appeared; 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 was organized; in the Soviet time, it 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 teaching students. At that period, prominent composers worked in Ukraine: 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 plans of warring countries about 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 the 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 the UPR and WUPR in need of a 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 the 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 20-30es

The *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 had been 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 organization of a front and rear supply. Such a 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 repurchasing 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 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*” exhausted itself. It deprived producers of material motivations for development of the economy and therefore become a brake for a transition to peaceful building. General disturbance by this policy led to workers’ strikes, peasant uprisings, and it 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 an economy from capitalism to socialism, based on the multistructural approach. 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 also too high grain procurement plans. The main feature of the NEP was replacing of bread requisitions by the tax in kind. Peasants paid for the state specified fixed tax in kind, and the remains could sell in a free market. High tax was set for prosperous peasant households, middle peasants paid less, and poor ones were released of it. Gross agricultural output of the country almost doubled.

Salary became piecework and labor service was abolished. Utilities and other services had to be paid; 86 kinds of taxes were introduced. For 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. Establishment of private small businesses was allowed. The role of all forms of cooperation strengthened. 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 was 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, a paper chervonets was released, which equated with 10 gold rubles. The trade turnover was launched based on a 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 had been set much higher than for agricultural products. Purchasing power of peasants fell dramatically. Urban residents used up to six times more industrial products than peasants. Capital was pumped out of a village for needs of cities. Prices for agricultural products were increased, and the crisis was overcome.

In 1927, the NEP reached the goal of economic recovery and began cancelling. XV Congress of the Bolshevik party adopted guidelines for a 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: accelerated development of the industry (average annual growth rate of volume of production must have been up to 16 %), deployment of partial collectivization in agriculture on a voluntary basis (till the end of the period it should cover up to 20 % of peasants’ households), and increasing the level of national welfare. Predominance of a plan under a market was clearly proclaimed firstly. In April 1929, the XVI Conference of the Communist party studied and approved the optimal variant of the plan.

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

Until 1934, Kharkov had been the capital of Soviet Ukraine. 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 (the 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 the Ukrainian SSR. Central government of the USSR in Moscow was engaged in matters of foreign policy, foreign trade, military affairs (the 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* – creation of a powerful industry that was implemented in the second half of the 20es. The Modernization, started under the tsarist rule, under power of J. Stalin reached the greatest achievements. Industry was 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. Construction of huge industrial enterprises began in Ukraine. In December of 1920, the plan of reconstruction and development of national economy on the basis of electrification was adopted (the 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 Soviet Ukraine became 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 production of metal and machines Ukraine was ahead of France and Italy, catching up England. Only industry of Right-Bank Ukraine and Polesie remained undeveloped. There were no society in history that had had such enormous industrial construction in such a short time. Industry growth rates were 20 % – this figure is not reached by economies in the world during the 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 %.



Joseph Stalin

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

In rural areas in the late 20s – early 30s *Collectivization* was carried out – organization of agriculture through creation of large farms – collective and state ones. Started in 1927, it was implemented in a very hard way and accompanied by repressions of peasants who did not want to join. In 1929, Collectivization was declared as entire. Ukraine was attributed to regions where Collectivization was planned to finish in autumn of 1931 or spring of 1932. During Collectivization, subjects of socialization were cows, sheep, and even poultry. It met strong resistance of 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 a large part of the insufficient harvest for funding Industrialization. It led to a large famine known as the *Holodomor*. In 2006, the Holodomor was recognized as a genocide by the Ukrainian parliament.

However, by the end of the First five-year plan (1928–1932) 70 % of farms had been 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 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, were limited to a minimum.

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

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

At the end of 1919, when under the main part of Ukraine the Soviet power was established, the problem of Ukrainian lands reuniting passed into a plane of the military confrontation of Poland, on the one hand, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand. Representatives of Polish authorities dreamt about reestablishing of the 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 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 population, mostly the Ukrainians. The Polish state had population of 5.6 million Ukrainians. It was 15 % of total population of Poland, 80 % of them were peasants.

By the early 20-ies, Eastern Galicia, Western Volhynia, Zabuzhie, and so-called Transcurzonnia (Kholmshina, Lemkiland, Podlasiie, and Nadsianie) had been under the Polish rule.

When capturing those lands, Poland promised to the Entente countries providing cultural and national autonomy for Ukrainian population. Nevertheless, that promises were not fulfilled by the Polish government. Policy of national oppression and terror in respect of the Ukrainians was carried out. Ukrainians were subjected to mass arrests and imprisonment to concentration camps. Ukrainian departments of Lvov University were closed. Only those citizens could have become students who had given the oath of allegiance to the Polish state.

To create a social base in the Ukrainian lands, the Polish government began implementing 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 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. Because of the policy of colonization, about 300 thousand *osadniks* moved to Eastern lands from Poland.

Polish government formally subdivided the country into two parts. Poland “A”, which belonged to 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 Ukrainian lands. Interwar Poland could not have been called a developed country. Ukrainian and Belorussian lands had impressed by its backwardness particularly. Raw materials, mainly oil and wood, were the basis for industrial production. Economic crisis of 1929–1933 was a painful blow for Poland. Real salary of workers before the crisis did not reach prewar levels, and during it salaries fell significantly. Unemployment provided particularly devastating impact on workers and their families. Salary of a Western Ukrainian peasant in 1931 was the lowest in Europe. Severe socio-economic conditions led to an emigration. According to 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 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 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 were 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 were published systematically. Official authorities set a course for liquidation of Ukrainian schools. “There are no Ukrainian

people, – said Minister of Education of the Polish government S. Grabsky, – Ukrainian people are an invention of the Communists for the propaganda purpose”. Over 25 years Ukrainian question was planned to solve completely.

In the response to a Polish terror Ukrainian nationalists in August 1920 established the *Ukrainian Military Organization* (UMO) in Prague. Its leader was E. Konovalets. The main method of struggle was terror. Its aim was the national liberation of Ukrainian lands and an establishment of a 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 Nazi storm troopers. Nonetheless, the plan of sabotage and propaganda dissemination to the territory of the USSR collapsed, and it weakened the German support. Moreover, 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.

In January 1929, the *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists* (OUN) was established in Vienna on the basis of the UMO 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. 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. Concept of “creative violence of proactive minority as a guiding force” was the integral part of the ideology. They were characterized by xenophobia and racism. The first commandment of the OUN was “achieve the Ukrainian state or die in struggle for it”.

OUN terrorists succeeded in killing Polish Interior Minister B. Pieracky. Polish court sentenced them to death, including Bandera. However, a death penalty was commuted to life-long imprisonment. Actions of the OUN provoked the Poles to undertake 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, 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 prominent Soviet diversionist Paul Sudoplatov liquidated E. Konovalets using mined box of chocolates, which nationalist had liked. Thus, on the eve of the Second World War the leadership of the OUN was weakened. Murder of Konovalets 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 population until the time of Western regions' occupation by Nazi Germany.

Among other Ukrainian political forces operating in Poland in the 20–30-ies, the *Communist Party of Western Ukraine* (CPWU) should be noted. It acted against the Polish occupational regime and for reunification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR. Party operated in hiding and therefore to gain greater popularity it needed legal organization that should promote the policy of the Communists openly. Socialist Workers' and Peasants Association or Selrob became such an organization in 1926. In 1928, it gained 240 thousand votes. Communists reached the greatest impact on society 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 ties with Polish secret services, the Polish Communist Party was dissolved by the international alliance of Communist parties – the *Comintern*. Its leaders were summoned to Moscow and repressed. With dissolution of the party, the CPWU also stopped its existence because it was an autonomous part of it.

The most numerous group of the Ukrainians in the Polish Sejm was a fraction of the *Ukrainian National Democratic Union* (UNDU), formed in 1925 by a merger of the Labor Party with a number of smaller groups. In their view, Western Ukraine should become the basis for 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 requirements of a national-territorial autonomy for all Ukrainian lands in the Polish state.

Radical Party – the oldest out of all Ukrainian parties – was a representation of socialist ideas among the Western Ukrainians. In the 1920–1930-ies, radicals were consistent opponents of political regimes of the USSR and Poland. In 1926, they teamed up with the less numerous Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Thus, the Ukrainian Socialist Radical 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 population was engaged in agriculture. In Northern Bukovina there were 115 thousand landless and land-poor households, and the situation in agriculture was very difficult. However, in Bukovina government allocated 5 thousand hectares of land for Romanian colonists. Occupational government implemented a discriminatory policy when the seizure of land from Ukrainian peasantry and its transfer to 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 became 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 eliminated most of Ukrainian organizations, banned all Ukrainian press. Bukovina and Bessarabia since 1918 till 1927 were on a martial law. Until 1928, a police regime operated. This expression is used to define a social system when 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 the *Tatarbunary Uprising* in Bessarabia, which began in September 1924 and was brutally suppressed.

In 1927–1937, position of the Ukrainians in Romania improved slightly. Ukrainian National Party started acting legally, the government allowed activities of some Ukrainian social, cultural, sportive organizations; Ukrainian press began issuing. However, in 1936 a special circular forbade using historical names of renamed Ukrainian villages and towns in 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 cancelled.

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 the 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 was built during 20 years. Businessmen were interested only in raw materials that they could take out. Colonial features of the 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 governmental circles helped bourgeoisie to hold exceptionally low prices in the region for raw materials and agricultural products and rob peasants. Despite political freedom, economically Transcarpathia was an internal colony for Czechoslovakia like 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 social and economic rights of people. During Czechoslovak parliamentary

elections in 1924, 40 % of voters chose the Communists. Governor of Transcarpathia A. Beskid in 1923-1933 carried out the Russophilic policy. Russophile party was supported by the state administrative machine. It gave the opportunity for Russophiles to compete successfully with Ukrainophiles.

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 with capitalism. Nazism declared the goal of creating on a vast territory of the racially pure Arian state that would have had everything for a safe existence for a long time, the genocide of peoples living there. The mechanism of the nationalist dictatorship included an 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 aspirations of Germany.



One of methods adopted by Hitler in order to test the reaction of 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, heads of governments of the Great Britain, France, Germany, and

Italy signed the so-called *Munich Agreement*. It was the 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 a 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 the Sudetenland. Munich Agreement also included the satisfaction of territorial claims of Hungary and Poland. As the 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 a support of Germany, they formed the autonomy.

After creation of the Slovak autonomy, the Prague government weakened that allowed politicians of the Carpathian Ruthenians, as they called themselves, to gain autonomy. On 14 of March 1939, Slovak separatists with the help of the Germans proclaimed creation of the independent Slovak

state. On 15 of March, German troops occupied Czech lands, which were turned into “Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia” by Hitler’s decree. Czechoslovakia stopped existing.

The Government of *Carpathian Ukraine* tried to do everything possible for strengthening and expanding of the Transcarpathian statehood. For this purpose, they formed armed forces of the autonomy – the 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 the Ukrainophiles, dissolved all the parties except their own, and decided to join the fascist block. However, plans of puppet state creation under the German protectorate did not come true.

On 15 of March 1939, in Hust town Sojm gathered that was 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 the Constitution and elected Augustine Voloshin as the president. However, these solutions had a symbolic character. Despite the desperate resistance of the Carpathian Sich, it could not resist the regular Hungarian army. The President and the government of Carpathian Ukraine fled to Romania. A few days later the Ukrainian state in Transcarpathia stopped existing completely.

3. Culture of the Early Soviet period

In 1920s–1930s, leaders of the Soviet state tried to realize their plan of the *Cultural Revolution*. They would like to change the outlook of people: through schools, institutes, and public organizations they would like to form skills of the Marxist-Leninist outlook; form in Soviet people principles of socialist society (collectivism, internationalism, etc.); to form 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 NEP helped to find a 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 had 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 *Indigenization* policy’s necessity. Indigenization was the political and cultural campaign of the Soviet power in a national question of the 1920es

and early 1930es, designed to bridge the gap between central authorities and non-Russian population of the USSR, active national development in republics. This policy in Ukraine got the name “Ukrainization”. Ukrainization was a promotion policy and implementation of elements of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in various spheres of life. In frames of it 4/5 of schools, 1/2 of colleges and 1/4 of institutes gave education in Ukrainian language. 90 % of newspapers, 1/2 of books, all films and broadcasting, 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. Nicholas Hvylevoy became the ideological leader of it and the first president was 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 *Socialist 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 artistic creativity by public policy, and answering challenges of building socialism. It was artistic depiction of reality “exactly, in accordance with the specific historical revolutionary development”. The main topic for 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 reconstruction of old and building of new museums.

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

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

Analysis of social and cultural situation of 1930es gives us the chance to sub-divide it into few periods:

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

The second one: 1933–1935 – the Communist Party tried to control cultural processes in the 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 camps. 500 writers were repressed at that period. Contemporary scientists named these people the “*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 had been stopped. Heroic character of socialist building was at the frontline. Propaganda of aesthetic ideological stereotypes was realized everywhere. At the same time, government continued the policy of illiteracy liquidation. According to official data, 5 million people became literate in times of the first five-year plan. Party officials controlled writers, composers and artists through special organizations: Unions of Writers, Composers, and Artists. Concert activity was monopolized by Ukrainian State Philharmonic.

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

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

Many prominent actors performed at the basis of traditional Ukrainian realistic theatre: 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 the Ukrainian Baroque. The second one was characterized by classical features, and the third one was *Constructivism*. It was an avant-garde direction, characterized by a rigor geometrism, laconic forms and monolithic appearance. There are

some famous buildings in Kharkiv in this style: the 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 Kharkiv

Providing of sound cinema needed building of new picture theatres. In 1930, in Kiev film studio the first documentary film “Symphony of the Donbas” was made 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 the development of painting. Social reality was the main topic for 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), the Socialist Realism

The most famous monument to Taras Shevchenko was built in Kharkiv (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 the policy of War Communism? Was it necessary in that time?
2. What was the NEP? Which purposes did it pursue?
3. When was the USSR formed? What was the role of the UkrSSR in that federation?
4. Why was accelerated development of industry the most important task for the USSR? How did it influence development of Ukraine?
5. What was the Collectivization? What is a 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 to Polish oppression? Which organization was formed, and which methods did they use?
8. Point the aims of legal opposition in Poland.
9. What do you know about the Romanian policy in Ukrainian lands?
10. What was the difference between positions of the Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia on the one hand, and Poland with Romania on another? Were Ukrainian lands in Czechoslovakia a colony?
11. What is Nazism? When did a political cataclysm started in Transcarpathia? What was the fate of Carpathian Ukraine?
12. What were the objectives of the Cultural Revolution? Were they achieved?
13. What was Indigenization? Which name did it get in Ukraine?
14. Compare Realism and Socialist 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 Soviet-German negotiations on the eve of the World War II. On 23 of August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union entered into the non-aggression pact for 10 years that is the so-called *Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact*. Areas of interest of the USSR and Germany were demarcated in secret protocols. Germany agreed that Western Ukrainian lands, Northern Bukovina, and Bessarabia were in the sphere of USSR's interests.

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

Together with the German army the Ukrainian battalion entered the territory of Poland, formed by the OUN mainly of Carpathian Sich former soldiers. After the death of E. Konovalts, the 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 known as the Abwehr. Melnik strengthened those links and began helping the Germans in the war openly.



The further fate of Poland

that it takes under protection lives and property of Ukrainian and Belorussian population, who lived in the territory of destroyed the Polish state. The same day the Red Army crossed borders of destroyed Poland and the “Liberational March” began. Fighting against remnants of the Polish army was waged by troops of the Ukrainian Front, which was composed of 28 infantry and 7 cavalry divisions, 10 tank brigades, and 7 artillery regiments.

Polish government failed to organize defense of their country. By mid-September, the Polish army had been virtually crushed, although some pockets of resistance remained until the end of the month. On 16th of September, the government fled to Romania and Poland stopped its existence as a state. On 17th of September 1939, the day after the escape of the Polish government, the government of the USSR proclaimed

Several days after, lands of Western Ukraine and Belorussia were liberated. On 22 of September 1939, the 2nd Cavalry Corps of the Red Army entered Lvov. The number of Polish prisoners reached 250 thousand. Population gladly met the Red Army. Nevertheless, 550 thousand Ukrainians of Holmshina and Lemkiland remained under the German occupation. It became a part of the Polish general-governorate created by Germany. From the first days of establishment of the Soviet power in 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 had taken power into their hands. In Ukrainian lands liberated by the Red Army on 22nd of October 1939 elections to the National Assembly of Western Ukraine were held. On 27th of October, National Assembly decided to include Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR. This decision was confirmed by USSR's and Ukrainian SSR's Supreme Soviets. Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were united with Soviet Ukraine into the one state. 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. Romanian government requested for assistance of its ally – Hitler's Germany. However, the German government, having a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union refused, but for help in

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

As a result of accession of Western Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Northern Bukovina to the USSR, Ukraine's population increased by 8 million 809 thousand. By the middle of 1941, it had 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 plants started; small factories and plants became larger. Within a short period of time 22 thousand industrial

and municipal institutions, railways, and power plants were transferred into state ownership. Confiscation of land, livestock, seed, and varied inventory from landlords, Polish *osadniki*, and church was carried out. These lands and property were transferred for free to landless and smallholder peasants. Machine and tractor stations, various institutions and organizations were created that 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 Eastern regions of Ukraine. System of social security was introducing. Most of teaching staff was replaced by staff from Eastern Ukraine. Education was reformed in the direction of the Ukrainization of schools and higher education. Anyone wishing could study in Ukrainian language. Illiteracy among 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 establishment of the Soviet power, all preexisting periodicals were closed. Part of former governmental 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. However, by the beginning of the German aggression it had not been finished.

In Western Ukraine, a *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 a forced expulsion of a person or a class of persons to another state or another area.

Waging a successful war in Europe, Adolf Hitler actively and secretly prepared the military invasion into the Soviet Union. Already in June 1940, he suggested that the next step after the victory over France will be the campaign against the Soviet Union and also in 1940. However, the leadership of the Wehrmacht, the German army, recognized that plans unreal. Only in 1941, according to the *plan "Barbarossa"* 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 39 thousand guns and mortars, 11 thousand tanks and

9100 aircraft were concentrated. 80 % of the Soviet machinery units were of outdated samples; rearmament was not completed. The modern weapons were 1861 tank KV and T-34, as well as 3700 aircraft. In addition, much of it were in the reserve. Lack of skilled management also affected. At the beginning of 1941, only 7 % of command and supervisory staff had higher education, and 37 % did not have necessary education at all. Also, Soviet troops did not have experience of warfare.

Blow of army group “South” was directed into the territory of Ukraine. On 22nd of June 1941, Nazi Germany attacked the USSR without declaring war, violating the non-aggression pact. German-Soviet war, known in post-Soviet areas as the *Great Patriotic War* of the Soviet Union for freedom and independence, began. 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. Border guards took over the first blow, being in extremely difficult conditions.

Despite 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 had occupied Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Northern Bukovina, Southern Bessarabia; by mid-August they had taken the Right-Bank Ukraine, on 19th of September – Kiev and Poltava, 16th of October – Odessa, 24th of October – Kharkov. Heroic defense of Kiev by the Red Army and local population continued for more than two months since 11th of July till 26th of September 1941. Order to retreat came too late, and the 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” started collapsing. 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 had occupied almost the whole of Ukraine, excepting Eastern regions of Kharkov, Voroshilovgrad (Lugansk), and Stalino (Donetsk).

In the December 1941 – April 1942, the Red Army inflicted a crushing blow to the German army group “Center” near Moscow. However, 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 serious defeat. 240 thousand soldiers and officers were captured. In February – April of 1942, Soviet troops’ attempt to break through German defenses in the Crimea ended tragically. Crimea was captured by the Nazis. Defensive fighting of the Red Army on the territory of Ukraine finished on 22 of July 1942 when the Nazis occupied the city of Sverdlovsk in the Voroshilovgrad region.



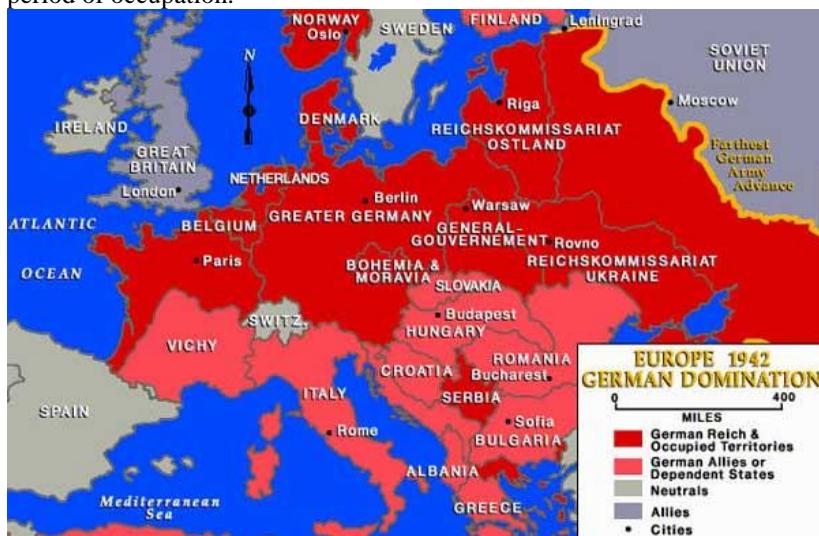
Stephan Bandera

Both directions of the OUN enthusiastically welcomed the German attack on the Soviet Union. On the eve of it, the OUN(B) (followers of S. Bandera) formed the “Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists” numbering 600 men, consisting of two special battalions of Abwehr’s 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, extermination of Polish intellectuals and loyal Soviet citizens. Subsequently, nationalists participated in punitive actions and mass killings.

On 30th of June 1941, OUN(B) proclaimed in occupied Lvov the “*Act of Proclamation of Renewing of Ukrainian State*”. This document proclaimed creation of “the new Ukrainian state on maternal Ukrainian lands”, which “will work closely with National Socialist Greater Germany under the leadership of 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 the OUN(B) was based on promises to support their struggle for the 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. Nevertheless, Hitler wanted to turn Ukraine into a colony, so he did not want even a puppet Ukrainian state. Ukrainian nationalists were necessary for organization of sabotage in the Soviet rear; support of local Ukrainian population; punitive measures. On this basis, the Germans banned activities of the Ukrainian government; its leaders were arrested a few days later. For the refusal to repeal the act of independence, Bandera was imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen camp, where he was held in a relatively comfortable environment as an important political prisoner until the September 1944.

Despite it, Ukrainian nationalists continued supporting 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 creating so-called “marching groups” from its members that followed occupational forces and organized local administration, became occupational elders, mayors as well as auxiliary police.

On 20th of August 1941, the *Reichskommissariat* “Ukraine” with the center in the city of Rovno was created. On the 1st of September 1942, the 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 the German military control during the entire period of occupation.



Germans established the 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 was turned into a German colony, which was a 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 of living space for the Arian race from Ukrainian population; help the colonization of occupied lands by German settlers. Germany received from Ukraine agricultural products, raw materials for industry and labor force. 85 % of all food products imported in Germany during the war were of Ukrainian descent. However, productivity was very low. Until the end of the May 1942, almost 60 % of arable land in Ukraine had not been 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 out of them were from Ukraine.

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

By the autumn of 1941, the Nazis had killed in Ukraine about 850 thousand Jews and other Soviet citizens in Babiy 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 the Syrets camp. In the shootings on the territory of the Babiy Yar 1200 Cossacks of the Bukovinian kuren took part, as well as the 118th Ukrainian police battalion. On 22nd of March 1943, its fighters burned alive villagers of Khatyn in Belorussia. 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: punitive actions were conducted with German pedantry, 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 burnt and its population executed. Only in the 1944, special teams in concentration camps of the Reich smelted 2 tons of gold from teeth and jewelry of murdered prisoners. 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 and 80 thousand died of starvation.

German policy 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, Soviet leaders made a decision to deploy the *Partisan movement* in the rear of the enemy. Partisan movement was launched also in Ukraine. On 30th of May 1942, the *Ukrainian headquarters of partisan movement* (UHPM) headed by T. Strokach was established on the occupied territory of Ukraine. Struggle waged by 516 thousand Soviet partisans and 103 thousand underground fighters.



Ukrainian partisans, 1942

Partisan movement took several stages in its development. The *first one* was a rise and formation and lasted since the beginning of the war until the end of 1942. It was characterized by accumulation of forces, determining of

optimal organizational forms and practices of combatting 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 – the Ukrainian headquarters of the Partisan movement. In addition, a 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. Partisan movement was particularly active in a decisive 1943, when partisans blew up 3700 trains. “Rail war” became one of the main forms of guerrilla warfare. During the war, as a result of diversions on transport Ukrainian partisans blew 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 23th of October 1943, Sumy partisan unit under the command of S. Kovpak and S. Rudnev committed the *Carpathian Raid* from the Sumy to Stanislav region. In 1943, partisans of A. Fedorov, M. Naumov, and other commanders raided the Right bank. In total, Ukrainian partisans carried out 19 large raids.

Ukrainian nationalists also organized their units, which were called the “*Ukrainian Insurgent Army*” (UPA). The first units of the UPA, the so-called Polesie Sich were organized in August 1941 by the former resident of the Abwehr in Soviet Ukraine, commander of local Ukrainian police Taras Bulba-Borovets. Polesie Sich was established with the permission of the German military command to destroy remnants of Soviet troops on the occupied territory. After the completion of this task it was disbanded. Fighters of the former Polesie Sich in 1942 resumed vigorous activity against Soviet partisans and the Poles in Volhynia and Polesie, but without an official permission of the Germans and under the new name – the UPA. Official date of UPA’s creation is 14th of October 1942, but in fact it was created at the end of 1943, when after the battle of Stalingrad it 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 troops of the OUN(B), which finally installed their name as the UPA. At the top of its power in the late 1943 – early 1944 the UPA had in its ranks 40 thousand militants. The main objectives of the UPA led by R. Shukhevych were 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 the UPA faced

with the Polish nationalistic Army Krajova that no less emphatically tried to establish control over the lands of the 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 the Kholm region. In early 1944, Soviet partisan units of P. Vershigora and M. Naumov could not stay in Lvov and Drohobych regions because of 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 camps. They tried to organize resistance to advancing Soviet troops, fought against establishment of the Soviet power on the liberated from the Nazis territory.

It is argued that the lower structures of the UPA fought against the German occupation and repressions against Ukrainian people. However, according to the archive of the Bundeswehr in Potsdam, none out of German soldiers was killed by the Banderovites. In fact, it was the pro-German formation consisting of ideological supporters of extreme right ideology.



*Agitation for joining SS division
"Galicia"*

In April 1943, when a radical change in the course of World War II in Soviet favor took place, the Nazis formed from Western Ukrainian nationalist volunteers the *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 Western regions, joined to the USSR as the 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 the 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 the 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. However, the Germans inflicted a counterattack and recaptured Kharkov.

The next stage of 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.



Destroyed Kharkov

Before leaving, the Germans completely destroyed Dnepropetrovsk, Poltava, Kremenchug, and other cities of Ukraine. In September 1943, the *Battle for the Dnieper* started, where the Germans built strong fortifications on the right bank. Bridgeheads were seized without a peep. On 6th of November 1943, Kiev was liberated after a severe fighting and big losses in crossing the Dnieper. At the end of 1943, liberation of the Right-Bank Ukraine started. One of the largest and most important in the military-political sense was the *Korsun-Shevchenkovsky Battle* of 25th of January – 17th of February 1944. During the operation, the enemy lost 9 divisions: 55 thousand people were 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 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, total population of the Ukrainian SSR was reduced to 27 million compared with 42 million in 1941. 40 % of the economic potential of the republic was lost.

On 26th of November 1944, the Congress of People's Committees of Transcarpathian Ukraine 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 the claims.

Taking into account the mistrust between Ukrainian and Polish population in the ethnically mixed lands that was fraught by new conflicts; in 1947 Poland realised "*Operation Vistula*" and resettled the Ukrainians into western regions annexed from Germany. In the period of 1944–1947, about a million Poles moved from Eastern Galicia and Western Volhynia to

Poland and over half a million Ukrainians were resettled to the USSR from ethnic Ukrainian lands within Poland.



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 – the Ukrainian SSR, which was the part of the USSR.

Soviet-German front was the main in the World War II. 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 enormous sacrifices that suffered these countries in struggle against Nazism.



2. Post-War Recovery

To renew economic power the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the IV five-year plan of the economy development (1946–1950). It had been 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's 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 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 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, Odessa Automobile Assembly Plant, Kharkov Bearing Plant, Zaporizhzhia Transformer Plant, Lvov Instrumental, and others. In Western Ukraine, the development of new oil, gas, coal, sulfur production, 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 Ukrainian industrial output. Ukraine resumed its role in the industrial potential of the USSR, and was ahead of many European countries again.

However, 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 accelerated construction of enterprises of the military-industrial complex. Recovery of light and food industries legged 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 the drought. Winter and spring crops were lost. A large-scale famine began. In the December of 1947, due to the growth in agricultural and industrial production, card system in the distribution was cancelled and the threat of a 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 had been achieved.

The policy of the 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 their terrorism, the Soviets deported 200 thousand Western Ukrainians, mostly family members of nationalists. In the Crimea (at that time under the 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 in the occupied territory. Nazi were sure that for the Ukrainians it would have been enough to get 4-classes education. In Kiev, the Germans opened “Ukrainian Scientific-Methodic Institute”, few teachers’ seminars, allowed edition of the pedagogic magazine “Ukrainian School”.

Occupants robbed a great number of museums, galleries, and libraries in 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 other books. More than 330 thousand valuable museum exhibits were taken from Ukraine.

In liberated from the Nazis territories functioning of schools renewed. By September, 1944 the majority of schools had been ready for educational year. From September 1943, children started schooling at the age of 7. Boys and girls studied separately up to 1954. At wartime, 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 higher 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. At wartime, medic Nicholas Strazhesko (1876-1952) consulted hospitals, searched the problem of a sepsis of wounds; surgeon-ophthalmologist Vladimir Filatov (1875-1956) treated soldiers and developed methodic of corneal transplantation. Academician Alexander Bohomolets (1881–1946) invented new drugs for 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. That books played an important role in an

ideological struggle against enemies. Literary works were devoted to heroic of war. National history was the source of formation of patriotism. Heroic resistance of Ukrainian peasantry to fascist invasion was described by Polish and Soviet writer and poetess Vanda Vasilevska (1905-1964) in the short novel "The Rainbow".

Ukrainian publishing houses united into the 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". Partisans published their own newspapers. Broadcast played a specific role during the occupation. Ukrainian broadcasting corporations started their work in Saratov and "Soviet Ukraine" in Moscow.

Dozens of Ukrainian theatrical collectives, ensembles, and artistic teams performed for frontline soldiers, inspired them for struggle against enemies. Kiev Opera and Ballet House 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 the "Oscar"). Workers of newsreel documentary studios prepared special reviews "From the Fronts of Patriotic War". Special groups of cameramen collected material with a risk for their life.

Composers wrote 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 the system of public education there was the transition from obligatory primary education to obligatory 7-year 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 the Greek-Catholic religion for their support of Nazi policy during the war. Because of it the Uniat Church was dissolved in 1946 at the *Mukachevo Church meeting*.

J. Stalin gave the task for Soviet politician Andrew Zhdanov to control cultural sphere. So, in 1946–1949, the *Zhdanovschina* took place. It was the

doctrine when it was necessary for all scientists and cultural figures to support the party line. Mass-media and party bodies criticized scientists, writers, and composers. Pogrom reviews on 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 an activity of Lazar Kaganovich in 1947. He created an atmosphere of nationalist danger in the republic, which existed for about two years.

Low-educated people tried to administrate in science. Ukrainian "people's academician" T. Lysenko (1898–1976) proclaimed genetics a "bourgeois pseudoscience". The best achievements of Soviet genetics were crossed out by his activity.

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

Questions and tasks

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

1. Khrushchev reforms and Ukraine

After 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 reputation as a reformer, denouncing several out of Stalin’s policies in a secret speech to party leaders in 1956.

This “secret speech” signaled the beginning of the *Destalinization* that was the process of discrediting and eliminating 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 had been 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 were ministers of defense of the USSR. Vladimir Semichastny rose to the head the all-union secret police – KGB; and four Ukrainians – Aleksey Kyrychenko, Nicholas Podgorny, Dmitry Poliansky, and Peter 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.

That 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 ministries in Moscow to regional bodies. Sovnarkhozes were created according to the economic principle. In Ukraine Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Donetsk, Podolian, Dnieper, and Black Sea sovnarkhozes were organized. Over 10 thousand industrial enterprises were put under the control of Ukrainian sovnarkhozes and by the end of 1957 it had supervised 97 % of factories in the republic. Khrushchev opted for heavy industry, but he could not totally ignore a 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 appearing in stores. In 1960, the first industrial nuclear reactor started producing energy. The next year, the Soviet Union launched the first man into Space. Ukraine had contributed a lot in this historical event.



Nikita Khrushchev with corn

The most ambitious of Khrushchev's experiments was the "virgin-lands" 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 had been transferred to those lands. Many of these workers settled there permanently. Other experiment involved a sudden switch to raising vast amounts of corn involving about 70 million acres throughout the USSR. Following American examples, it was to be used as a fodder, which would help to raise the livestock production. However, it was failed and created great economic problems. USSR started importing grain firstly in history. 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 collective farms. Experienced technicians from cities were encouraged to take positions in collective farms.

In an effort to raise living standards, Khrushchev funneled more state investment into the agricultural sector. In the 1950es, both food supplies and rural incomes increased. Construction of apartment blocks in cities relieved housing shortages. The government raised an income of farmers; and slowly an earnings gap between industrial and agricultural workers began narrowing. However, 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 it, the 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 population of the Crimea were ethnic Russians. Also, 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 the Ukrainization, remained the majority. Under the Soviet rule this territorial adjustment had little importance, but in 1991, when Ukraine became

independent, the 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, pressure for their rehabilitation mounted. Many prisoners were amnestied. This partial dismantling of the huge camp system was hastened by series of prisoner revolts, such as those in Vorkuta, Norilsk, and Karaganda, in which many former members of the OUN and UPA played the 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 Okhrymovych, the OUN political officer had parachuted into Ukraine by the Americans. And in 1956, there were several well-publicized trials of former OUN members that resulted in death sentences.

2. UkrSSR during the "Stagnation" era



Leonid Brezhnev

In October 1964, his colleagues lost patience with Khrushchev and forced him to resign. Era of reform, experimentation and liberalization ended. New leader *Leonid Brezhnev*, like his predecessor Khrushchev, was closely associated with Ukraine. Careful Brezhnev exerted influence by building consensus for his policies within the Soviet partocracy and by assuring the 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 a country and concentrates all the

levels of political power under its supervision. Result was a crisis of political power, its inability for self-improvement, loss of credibility among people and, as a consequence, loss of power. It was the major problem of Brezhnev's time.

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. Indeed, in many ways he was more of a hard-line ruler than



Peter Shelest

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 into 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 economic development of Siberia, which meant a 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 "Dnepropetrovsk" clan, and a fierce political rival of Shelest. Since the fall of his rival, Shcherbytsky managed to retain the position of the Communist party boss in Ukraine, and his lengthy tenure in this post is the record. He was more obedient in fulfilling instructions of the center. Brezhnev even saw Shcherbytsky as the next leader of the USSR.



Vladimir Shcherbytsky

Shcherbytsky conducted a relatively mild purge in 1973 that eliminated about 37 thousand members from Communist party ranks, many of whom were probably supporters of Shelest. He also was a proponent of harsh, uncompromising treatment when dealing with dissent. By the early 1980es, there had been indications that Shcherbytsky had been 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 the 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. 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 %.

Nevertheless, a remarkable phenomenon surfaced in the Soviet Union in the 1960–1970-es, when a small number of nonconformist individuals,

commonly called *dissidents* began criticizing government policies openly and demanding greater civil, religious, and national rights. Initially, the core of Ukrainian dissidents consisted largely of the “*sixtiers*”, the new and creative literary generation. Striking characteristic of this group was that its members were generally 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 opposition 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 arbitrary, illegal and cynical manipulation of the judicial system by authorities. Ivan Dziuba submitted to Shelest and Shcherbytsky his work “Internationalism or Russification?” where he blamed the Ukrainian power in pro-Russian positions. To stop this, after the fall of Shelest in 1972, Shcherbytsky launched repressions against dissenting intellectuals that led to hundreds of arrests.

Reduced in number dissidents received fresh impetus in 1975 when the USSR signed the *Helsinki Accords* that included obligations on human rights and fundamental freedoms. Taking the Kremlin at its word, dissidents organized open and, in their view, legally sanctioned groups. In November 1976, the *Ukrainian Helsinki Group* emerged in Kiev. Leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was 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 % and the majority of them became city dwellers. They ceased to be a rural nation. Traditional dichotomy between Ukrainian village and Russian (or Polish/Jewish) city began fading. Republic’s population before achieving of independence in 1991 was 52 million.

One of the main problems of the USSR economy was a commodity deficit in the country. In 1965, the economic reform was undertaken, associated with the name of the chairperson of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A. Kosygin. That reform was characterized by an introduction of economic methods of management, enlargement of economic independence of enterprises, associations and organizations, wide use of methods of material inspiration. The rise of a scientific level of economic management based on laws of political economy of socialism was declared. Key importance was given to the integral indicator of economic efficiency of production – profitability. Sovnarkhozes were liquidated. In agriculture purchasing prices for products were increased in 1.5–2 times, a 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 had 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 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.

Other problem was the rapid decline in rural labor force brought about by the 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 the Soviet system



Michael Gorbachev

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. However, he continued retaining 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 fact, the rule of Gorbachev was extremely incompetent. In 1985, only a few could have seriously imagined independent Ukraine. Nevertheless, in 1991 it became true.

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

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

Nevertheless, openly nationalistic organizations arose. During 1989, a 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 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 (the “*Rukh*”). In its program, the “*Rukh*” committed itself for upholding sovereignty of the Ukrainian republic, promoting the Ukrainian language and culture, voicing ecological concerns, and supporting the Democratization. Popular support for the “*Rukh*” grew rapidly, but it was unevenly distributed. To an overwhelming extent it was based in Western Ukraine and among Kiev intellectuals.

At that time, the greatest technological disaster in history took place. In Chernobyl near Kiev in morning of April 26, 1986, one of the complexes of four nuclear reactors exploded and released into the atmosphere 120 million curies of radioactive material, about a hundred times more than radiation produced by nuclear bombs dropped on Japan in 1945. Although 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 Pripjat have been never reoccupied. The explosion was not the result of an equipment failure. Rather, it occurred

because reactor's automatic shutdown system was turned off during the experiment that went tragically wrong. Vladimir Shcherbytsky called Gorbachev and asked if the 1st of May celebrations in Kiev should be cancelled. Allegedly, Gorbachev said "no" and threatened Shcherbytsky with expulsion from the party. It became a symbol for governmental criminal incompetence.



Chernobyl catastrophe, 1986

Crisis aggravated. On 16 July 1990, the nationalistic Democratic Block pushed through the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine (Verkhovna Rada) the historic declaration of Ukrainian sovereignty, which formally announced 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. Economy continued deteriorating, raising doubts about state's ability to feed its population in the coming winter. On 19th of 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 democrats in the parliament, seized the opportunity in dramatic fashion: on 24th of August 1991, the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, by an almost unanimous vote, proclaimed the independence of the republic. Panicky and disconcerted communist deputies managed to add the qualification that a referendum on the issue would be held in the December.

4. Culture of the late Soviet period

N. Khrushchev started liberalization of social, political, and spiritual life. In culture it received the name “*Thaw*”. New generation of scientists, activists in sphere of culture and arts was formed. They got the name “*sixtiers*”. They demanded a 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 1950es and early 1960es. A great number of Ukrainian books was published at that period.

In 1959, the Supreme Council of the USSR adopted the 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 % were Russian ones.

In the early 1960es, liberalization in sphere of cultural life was nearly stopped. Nikita Khrushchev started criticizing artists, the process of Russification renewed in education. It led to shortening of a number of schools with Ukrainian language of teaching. Communist Party concentrated its attention on the educational sphere, because school was a part of the communist ideological system. Since 1966, universal compulsory ten-year education was 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 school.

Khrushchev’s displacement meant a refuse from reforms and liberalization. Sad fate was destined for Oles Gonchar’s novel “*Cathedral*” (1968). Struggle for revival of spirituality, for a historical memory of people as a 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 (*for further information, see p. 76*). Communist Party leader of the Dnepropetrovsk Region O. Vatchenko recognized himself in the image of a negative character, the soulless party member opportunist who deposited his father into a retirement home. Vatchenko was a friend of 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 the post-war period, Ukrainian scientists and engineers enriched science by a large number of fundamental inventions and discoveries. They made a lot for development of rocketry, space, and use of nuclear energy with military and peaceful purposes. *Sergey Koroliov* (1907–1966) was an engineer and spacecraft designer who headed building of spaceships in the USSR. *Valentine Glushko* (1908–1989) made a big contribution to space research. *Arkhip Liulka* (1908–1984) made a lot for development of aircraft industry. *Oleg Antonov* (1906–1984) was a prominent Soviet aircraft

designer and the first chief of 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 Institute of Electric Welding in Kiev and designed bridges. Academician *Nicholas Bogoliubov* (1909–1992) developed new methods of the quantum field theory and static physics. Together with *Nicholas Krylov* (1879–1955) he founded nonlinear mechanics.



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

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

Thanks to efforts of talented Ukrainian artists, theatre, music, fine arts, and cinema developed successfully. Famous actors and actresses played at the theatre stages: *M. Litvinenko-Volgemut* (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 names of prominent actors and actresses: *N. Uzhviy* (1898–1986), *N. Yakovchenko* (1900–1974), *V. Dalsky* (1912–1998), etc.

In 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 *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. Masses of population liked going 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 the Soviet time: *Dmitry Gnatiuk*, *Anatoly Solovianenko*, *Anatoly Mokrenko*, and *Eugenia Miroshnichenko* 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 the festival of young singers got its name.



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

Ukrainian sculptors fruitfully worked in that period. Among the most famous works, we should mention monument 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 (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) headed it for twenty years. He was the founding father of information technology in the USSR and one of 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 social-political life of the republic from the middle of 1980-s in the situation of arising national consciousness. Society of Ukrainian language named after Taras Shevchenko was founded. People started interesting in Ukrainian history. Newspapers and magazines published materials devoted to historical thematic.

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

5. Independent Ukraine: economy, politics, and culture

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

Referendum about independence and the first presidential elections took place in Ukraine on 1st of December 1991. More than 90 % of electorate expressed their support to 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 the 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 at the same level with France. However, the country experienced an extreme economic fall. During the recession, Ukraine lost 60 % of its GDP from 1991 to 1999, and suffered five-digit inflation rates. Dissatisfied with economic conditions, as well as 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 of the *Budapest Memorandum*.

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

In 2004, Kuchma’s protégé *Viktor Yanukovich*, former prime minister, was declared the winner of presidential elections. Opposing group of politicians and its supporters in the USA were disagree. Mass protests were organized in support of oppositional candidate Victor Yushchenko. Political technology of “*colorful revolutions*” was used. The “*Orange Revolution*” was series of protests and political events that took place in Ukraine from the late November 2004 to January 2005, which brought *Viktor Yushchenko* and *Julia Tymoshenko* to power.

Yushchenko was open Ukrainian nationalist and consistently 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 Yushchenko’s reign, his support was 2 %. Yanukovich returned to power in 2006-2007 as a 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 the 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 at night of 21 November 2013 with public protests in Ukraine, demanding closer European integration. Independence Square in Kiev was occupied by *Euromaidan* followers. Beating of the last ones on 30th of November, 2013 exacerbated confrontation with police. Capturing administrative buildings, military warehouses began, especially in Western Ukraine. Yanukovych ignored his duties and fled to Russia as a result.



Warfare in the Donbas

In such conditions, Russia annexed the strategically important Crimea in 2014, during events known as the “*Russian Spring*”. The warfare against 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. In 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 P. Poroshenko was extremely pro-American and pro-European. The agreement on a visa-free regime with the EU was signed. Medical reform has been started based on the principle “money follows a patient”, but not medical institutions. Police reform was carried out. In addition, a ban on the Communist Party and symbols was issued in 2015. In 2018, Poroshenko declared the exit of Ukraine from CIS. However, there is no legal instrument for it.

Many social benefits were abolished, and the living standard fell down significantly. Population decreased dramatically to 42 million (2019) in comparison to 52 million in 1991. Only for January and February of 2018, it was reduced by more than 40 thousand people. Many corruptional scandals took place. Such a policy led to a serious discontent of the Ukrainians. In 2019, Poroshenko devastatingly lost presidential and parliamentary elections to *Vladimir (Volodymyr) Zelensky*, a former comedian and producer, initially connected with influential oligarch I. Kolomoisky. Zelensky was supported by 75 % of voters. He used up-to-date electoral methods and promised to persecute functionaries of Poroshenko's regime. President started a troop withdrawal in the conflict zone and de-escalation, the large scale "Great Construction" program. Also, Poroshenko-style land reform and anti-workers labour legislation were introduced, oppositional TV channels banned. V. Zelensky faced a serious problem in the fight against the COVID-19 epidemic. Continuation of Poroshenko's policy in many spheres led to loss of 2/3 of Zelensky's unprecedented support. We can see massive labor emigration from Ukraine. According to the CIA, urban population in 2020 was 69.6%. Unexpected trend emerged – the rate of urbanization turned out to be negative to -0.33% annually in 2015–2020. This is uncommon for industrial and postindustrial societies, and may show an alarming regressive drift.

After 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 creative activity.

Ukraine moves to the European educational space. The most important universities got National status. 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 had taught in Ukrainian. According Poroshenko's educational law all the schools should do it. However, state schools had lots of financial difficulties. Big number of kindergartens closed in 1990es. The latest reforms are directed at the primitivization of training programs. In addition, Poroshenko started discrimination of national minorities' languages, primarily, the Russian one.

Many profile scientific and project institutes were closed. Low level of financial support from the government caused many problems for development of science. Without material, informational, and moral support, many scientists started business 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. 97 % among believers were Christian. There had been two Patriarchies before 2019: canonical Moscow and self-proclaimed Kiev. Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Churches renewed their activity. In all over Ukraine building of new churches was started. Religious conflicts, inspired by Poroshenko, emerged. He supported local church exclusively and achieved an autocephaly for it in 2019.

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 the Destalinization? Think, why did N. Khrushchev carry out a campaign of repressions' victims rehabilitation?
2. How did Khrushchev rule influenced development of Ukraine? Which reforms were introduced? Which mistakes were made?
3. What was the partocracy? Which role did it play in destruction of the USSR?
4. What do you know about the rule of L. Brezhnev? Why was that period called the "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 the Kosygin reform.
9. Compare development of industry and agriculture in the 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 development of Ukrainian culture?
12. Which scientific and technical achievements and discoveries were done in the late UkrSSR? What were the main directions of cultural development?
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 population so catastrophic?
15. What do you know about policies of the first presidents of Ukraine? Who is the President now?
16. Compare the "Orange Revolution" and "Revolution of Dignity".
17. Which changes have taken place in culture of independent Ukraine?

Recommended Literature

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