

Alkov V., Ilin V., Robak I.

**The anthology on the course
«HISTORY OF UKRAINE
AND UKRAINIAN CULTURE»**

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

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Альков В. А., Ільїн В. Г., Робак І. Ю.

**Хрестоматія з курсу
«ІСТОРІЯ УКРАЇНИ
ТА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ»**

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Alkov V., Ilin V., Robak I.

A56 The anthology on the course «History of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture» / V. Alkov, V. Ilin, I. Robak. – Kharkiv : KhNMU, 2019. – 92 p.

The anthology for English-speaking students is intended for work during practical classes and designed according to the program of the discipline. Together with the new textbook, practice book and dictionary of terminology the anthology forms a basic complex of necessary study materials on the course «History of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture». The main idea of the authors is to present the history of Ukraine through the eyes of foreigners for explaining the specific historical relations between Ukraine's inhabitants and other nations. It's believed that such approach should make the study of subject relevant for the English-speaking students. While mastering the texts students should answer questions and as a result form a historical understanding of purposes with which the foreigners of different periods came to Ukraine. The texts are structured into five topics according to the discipline's study program and a number of practical lessons.

Альков В. А., Ільїн В. Г., Робак І. Ю.

A56 Хрестоматія з курсу «Історія України та української культури»: навч. посібник для практ. занять / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Ільїн, І. ю. Робак. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2019. – 92 с.

Хрестоматія для англомовних студентів призначена для роботи під час практичних занять і розроблена відповідно до програми дисципліни. Разом із новим підручником, практикумом і термінологічним словником хрестоматія утворює базовий комплекс необхідних навчальних матеріалів з курсу «Історія України та української культури». Головна ідея авторів – представити історію України очима іноземців для пояснення конкретно-історичних відносин між мешканцями України та іншими націями. Такий підхід повинен зробити вивчення дисципліни актуальним для англомовних студентів. Працюючи з текстами, студенти повинні відповісти на питання і в результаті сформувати історичне розуміння причин, з яких іноземці різних епох приходили в Україну. Тексти структуровані у п'ять тем відповідно до навчальної програми дисципліни та кількості практичних занять.

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Topic 1. Ancient history and culture of Ukraine

Herodotus (circa 484–c. 420 BC) – an Ancient Greek historian and traveler whose book “The Histories” dedicated to the Greco-Persian Wars is considered as the first historical research. Namely Herodotus for the first time used the name “historia” (“inquiry”) to designate the systematic investigation and arrangement of facts about the past into narrative. Although Herodotus almost didn't criticized available sources of information, used equally data of personal experience, evidences of eyewitnesses and mythological legends, he is traditionally considered as “The Father of History”. Born in Asia Minor (modern Turkey) for his life Herodotus visited many countries: Greece, Macedonia, Italy, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Babylonia (modern Iraq), Elam (modern Iran) and Scythia along the Northern Black Sea coast (modern Ukraine). “Melpomene” – the fourth book of “The Histories” was dedicated namely to inhabitants of Ukraine – Scythians and related tribes.

Excerpts from “The Histories” by Herodotus

Source: The Persian Wars by Herodotus / Translated by George Rawlinson. URL: http://www.parstimes.com/history/herodotus/persian_wars/. [With remarks of chrestomathy authors].

These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory...

1. What was the Herodotus' intention to write his book?

The legend about Scythians' origin

According to the account which the Scythians themselves give, they are the youngest of all nations. Their tradition is as follows. A certain Targitaus was the first man who ever lived in their country, which before his time was a desert without inhabitants. He was a child – I do not believe the tale, but it is told nevertheless – of Jove and a daughter of the Borysthenes¹. Targitaus, thus descended, begat three sons, Leipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais, who was the youngest born of the three. While they still ruled the land, there fell from the sky four implements, all of gold – a plough, a yoke, a battle-axe, and a drinking-cup. The eldest of the brothers perceived them first, and approached to pick them up; when lo! as he came near, the gold took fire, and blazed. He therefore went his way, and the second coming forward made the attempt, but

¹ Borysthenes – the Ancient Greek name for the Dnieper River. In this excerpt that name also means the God of Dnieper.

the same thing happened again. The gold rejected both the eldest and the second brother. Last of all the youngest brother approached, and immediately the flames were extinguished; so he picked up the gold, and carried it to his home. Then the two elder agreed together, and made the whole kingdom over to the youngest born.

2. Define the author's attitude to the legend. How do you think which sources of information Herodotus used to write his book?

3. Symbols of what were things described in the legend?

Attitude to foreign customs

The Scythians have an extreme hatred of all foreign customs, particularly of those in use among the Greeks, as the instances of Anacharsis [*Greek philosopher of Scythian origin*]... have fully shown. The former, after he had travelled over a great portion of the world, and displayed wherever he went many proofs of wisdom, as he sailed through the Hellespont on his return to Scythia touched at Cyzicus². There he found the inhabitants celebrating with much pomp and magnificence a festival to the Mother of the Gods, and was himself induced to make a vow to the goddess, whereby he engaged, if he got back safe and sound to his home, that he would give her a festival and a night-procession in all respects like those which he had seen in Cyzicus. When, therefore, he arrived in Scythia, he betook himself to the district called the Woodland... and there went through all the sacred rites with the tabour [*drum*] in his hand... While thus employed, he was noticed by one of the Scythians, who went and told king Saulius [*brother of Anacharsis*] what he had seen. Then king Saulius came in person, and when he perceived what Anacharsis was about, he shot at him with an arrow and killed him. To this day, if you ask the Scythians about Anacharsis, they pretend ignorance of him, because of his Grecian travels and adoption of the customs of foreigners.

Gods

They worship only the following gods, namely, Vesta, whom they revere beyond all the rest, Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they consider to be the wife of Jupiter; and after these Apollo, Celestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. These gods are worshipped by the whole nation: the Royal Scythians offer sacrifice likewise to Neptune. In the Scythic tongue Vesta is called Tabiti, Jupiter Papaeus, Tellus Apia, Apollo Oetosyrus, Celestial Venus Artimpasa, and Neptune Thamimasadas. They use no images, altars, or temples, except in the worship of Mars.

4. Why Scythians named their gods twice? Whose cultural influence on Scythians does that practice indicate?

² Cyzicus – the Ancient Greek town in Asia Minor.

Country

Above, to the northward of the farthest dwellers in Scythia, the country is said to be concealed from sight and made impassable by reason of the feathers which are shed abroad abundantly. The earth and air are alike full of them, and this it is which prevents the eye from obtaining any view of the region.

5. Allegory of what are feathers in that story?

Burial rites of Scythians

The tombs of their kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, who dwell at the point where the Borysthenes is first navigable. Here, when the king dies, they dig a grave, which is square in shape, and of great size. When it is ready, they take the king's corpse, and, having opened the belly, and cleaned out the inside, fill the cavity with a preparation of chopped cypress, frankincense, parsley-seed, and anise-seed, after which they sew up the opening, enclose the body in wax, and, placing it on a waggon, carry it about through all the different tribes. On this procession each tribe, when it receives the corpse, imitates the example which is first set by the Royal Scythians; every man chops off a piece of his ear, crops his hair close, and makes a cut all round his arm, lacerates his forehead and his nose, and thrusts an arrow through his left hand. Then they who have the care of the corpse carry it with them to another of the tribes which are under the Scythian rule, followed by those whom they first visited. On completing the circuit of all the tribes under their sway, they find themselves in the country of the Gerrhi, who are the most remote of all, and so they come to the tombs of the kings. There the body of the dead king is laid in the grave prepared for it, stretched upon a mattress; spears are fixed in the ground on either side of the corpse, and beams stretched across above it to form a roof, which is covered with a thatching of osier twigs. In the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling, and also his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lacquey, his messenger, some of his horses, firstlings of all his other possessions, and some golden cups; for they use neither silver nor brass. After this they set to work, and raise a vast mound above the grave, all of them vying with each other and seeking to make it as tall as possible.

6. Can you give historical examples of the similar rites of the king's body conservation that existed among other ancient nations?

7. Which important facts about Scythian society can you extract from this text?

Military customs of Scythians

When a Scythian has slain his first man, he drinks some of his blood: and of all those whom he slays in the battle he bears the heads to the king; for if he has brought a head he shares in the spoil which they have taken, but otherwise not. And he takes off the skin of the head by cutting it round about

the ears and then taking hold of the scalp and shaking it off; afterwards he scrapes off the flesh with the rib of an ox, and works the skin about with his hands; and when he has thus tempered it, he keeps it as a napkin to wipe the hands upon, and hangs it from the bridle of the horse on which he himself rides, and takes pride in it; for whosoever has the greatest number of skins to wipe the hands upon, he is judged to be the bravest man. Many also make cloaks to wear of the skins stripped off, sewing them together like shepherds' cloaks of skins; and many take the skin together with the finger-nails off the right hands of their enemies when they are dead, and make them into covers for their quivers: now human skin it seems is both thick and glossy in appearance, more brilliantly white than any other skin. Many also take the skins off the whole bodies of men and stretch them on pieces of wood and carry them about on their horses.

- 8. With a help of which incentives Scythians brought cruelty to their warriors?**
- 9. Which other word tribes practiced scalping dead enemies?**

Oath

Oaths among the Scyths are accompanied with the following ceremonies: a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine; then they plunge into the mixture a scymitar [*sabre*], some arrows, a battle-axe, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers.

Way of war

The Scythians indeed have in one respect, and that the very most important of all those that fall under man's control, shown themselves wiser than any nation upon the face of the earth... The one thing of which I speak is the contrivance whereby they make it impossible for the enemy who invades them to escape destruction, while they themselves are entirely out of his reach, unless it please them to engage with him. Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go; accustomed, moreover, one and all of them, to shoot from horseback; and living not by husbandry but on their cattle, their waggons the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being unconquerable, and unassailable even?

- 10. What helped Scythians be “unconquerable” in military conflicts?**

War against the Persian king Darius I

When Scythians had found that Persian king began the war against them to conquer their land they decided that they would not openly venture on any pitched battle with the enemy, but would retire before them, driving off their herds, choking up all the wells and springs as they retreated, and leaving the

whole country bare of forage. And first, they were to take the direction of the nations which had refused to join the alliance, and were to draw the war upon them: that so, if they would not of their own free will engage in the contest, they might by these means be forced into it.

11. What tactics Scythians used to confront superior enemy's forces?

About negotiations between Persian and Scythian kings

This had gone on so long, and seemed so interminable, that Darius at last sent a horseman to Idanthyrus, the Scythian king, with the following message: "Thou strange man, why [you] keep on flying before me, when there are two things you mightest do so easily? If thou deemest thyself able to resist my arms, cease... wanderings and come, let us engage in battle. Or if [you] conscious that my strength is greater than [your] – even so [you should] cease to run away – ...but to bring [your] lord earth and water...".

To this message Idanthyrus, the Scythian king, replied: "This is my way, Persian. I never fear men or fly from them. I have not done so in times past, nor do I now fly from [you]. There is nothing new or strange in what I do; I only follow my common mode of life in peaceful years. Now I will tell [you] why I do not at once join battle with [you]. We Scythians have neither towns nor cultivated lands, which might induce us, through fear of their being taken or ravaged, to be in any hurry to fight with you. If, however, you must needs come to blows with us speedily, look you now, there are our fathers' tombs – seek them out, and attempt to meddle with them – then ye shall see whether or no we will fight with you. Till ye do this, be sure we shall not join battle, unless it pleases us. This is my answer to the challenge to fight. As for lords, I acknowledge only Jove my ancestor, and Vesta, the Scythian queen. Earth and water, the tribute [you asked], I do not send, but thou shalt soon receive more suitable gifts. Last of all, in return for [your] calling [yourself] my lord, I say to thee, 'Go weep'..."

... the Scythian princes, understanding how matters stood, despatched a herald to the Persian camp with presents for the king: these were, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer to tell them what these gifts might mean, but he made answer that he had no orders except to deliver them, and return again with all speed. If the Persians were wise, he added, they would find out the meaning for themselves. So when they heard this, they held a council to consider the matter.

Darius gave it as his opinion that the Scyths intended a surrender of themselves and their country, both land and water, into his hands. This he conceived to be the meaning of the gifts, because the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth, and eats the same food as man, while the frog passes his life in the water; the bird bears a great resemblance to the horse, and the arrows might signify the surrender of all their power. To the explanation of Darius, Gobryas [king's advisor] opposed another which was as follows: "Unless, Persians, ye

can turn into birds and fly up into the sky, or become mice and burrow under the ground, or make yourselves frogs, and take refuge in the fens, ye will never make escape from this land, but die pierced by our arrows”.

Topic 2. Princely Era

Serhy Yekelchyk (born in 1966) – the Ukrainian Canadian historian, a specialist in the Soviet history and national relations. As one of the leading contemporary Ukrainian historians, Serhy Yekelchyk issued in 2015 a book “The Conflict in Ukraine. What Everyone Needs to Know” that explained the current Ukrainian crisis and war in a popular way and in connection with the past. The book is important to spread the relevant knowledge about Ukraine in the world.

What was the medieval state of Kyivan Rus, and was it a Russian or Ukrainian polity?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. – P. 27–30.

In existence from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, Kyivan Rus was the first East Slavic polity; today it is claimed by Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians as the foundation of their respective state traditions. The irony in this contest for historical primacy is that the mighty medieval state in question was actually created by the Varangian or Norman invaders, who came to rule over autochthonous [*local, native*] East Slavs by advancing from the shores of the Baltic Sea down the Dnipro River sometime in the mid-ninth century. For a century or so, the rulers preserved Scandinavian names and close contacts with their homeland, but they eventually assimilated³ into the local Slavic culture. Kyivan Rus prospered thanks to its location on the trade routes from Northern Europe to the Byzantine Empire; it was from the latter, the major power of the time, that the young state adopted its religion, as well as its political and cultural models.

Around 988, Prince Volodymyr the Saint (or Vladimir in modern Russian, a popular East Slavic first name ever since, including Lenin’s and Putin’s) accepted the Byzantine version of Christianity as a state religion. In addition to fostering the state’s consolidation, the new religion meant the promotion of literacy in Old Church Slavonic, a bookish language based on the Cyrillic alphabet, which the Byzantine missionaries Cyril and Methodius had devised for the Slavs. Accepting Christianity in the form of the Eastern-rite Orthodox Church soon proved to be a momentous cultural choice, when the rift

³ Assimilation – (from Latin “*assimilatio*” – imitation, similarity) – the partial or total loss of culture by individuals or groups in favor of another, dominant culture including the change of the national identity. *Source: Альков В. А. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури» / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Гльїн, І. Ю. Робак. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. – С. 5.*

between Catholicism and Orthodoxy became formalized in the eleventh century. However, Kyivan Rus was never isolated from Central and Western Europe, either before or after the religious schism [*split of Christianity into two branches in 1054*]. Kyivan princes concluded alliances with and declared wars on their European neighbors, and Volodymyr's son Yaroslav married off his daughters to the kings of France, Hungary, and Norway.

The East Slavic population of Kyivan Rus did not possess a modern ethnic identity. Ordinary people thought of themselves as locals and Christians, while surviving literary sources also feature the concept of the "Rus land" as an object of premodern patriotism. Territorially, Kyivan Rus was centered in what is now Ukraine, but it also included significant parts of Belarus and European Russia; the present-day Moscow region was a frontier in the process of colonization. Moscow, which is first mentioned in the chronicles under the year 1147, was then no more than a village with a wooden stockade. The bookish language of the time, Old Church Slavonic, cannot be used as a marker of ethnic identity either, because it is genetically as close to modern Serbian and Bulgarian as it is to Ukrainian or Russian. Ordinary people likely spoke East Slavic dialects that in the south would be related to modern Ukrainian and, in other parts of the very large Rus state, to modern Belarusian and Russian.

Europe's largest state in terms of territory, Kyivan Rus was a loose federation of principalities governed by the princely Riurikid family (from the name of its legendary Norman founder, Riurik). Once members of the family stopped moving from one princely seat to another in the order prescribed by the complicated seniority system, local dynasties became entrenched and political fragmentation ensued. By the late twelfth century, Kyiv had lost its importance as a national center. Less than a century later, the invading Mongol army easily overcame the princes one by one and incorporated the Rus principalities into the gigantic Mongol empire. In the northeast the rulers of Vladimir-Suzdal and eventually the princes of Moscow would rise to prominence as the most reliable tax collectors on behalf of the Mongols, before challenging their masters in the late fourteenth century. To the west, another ascending Eastern European power, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, took control of the former lands of Kyivan Rus.

It was only with the advent of modern nationalism in the nineteenth century that historians began claiming the Rus legacy for their ethnic groups. From the Russian point of view, there was an institutional and dynastic continuity from Kyivan Rus to the modern Russian state. Ukrainian historians have countered that their people were the most direct descendants of the Rus population. For as long as Kyiv remained part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, Russian historians could keep presenting the Rus heritage as either Russian or as a common historical legacy of the three fraternal East Slavic peoples. Ukraine's declaration of independence in 1991 presented a direct threat to Russian historical mythology. The ancient capital of the

“Russian” state, its first monasteries, and the graves of legendary knights were now in Ukraine. Under Putin, Russia has tried to compensate for the “loss” of its Kyivan heritage by intensifying archaeological explorations in the northwestern regions of Novgorod and Ladoga, but Kyiv has not lost its special place in Russian historical memory.

1. Why it’s not correct to consider Kyivan Rus solely as Ukrainian, Russian or Belorussian legacy?

2. Which factors undermined the unity and prosperity of Kyivan Rus?

3. Which states acquired Kyivan Rus territories and became its successors?

4. When the political speculations and national claims started in relation to Kyivan Rus legacy? What are reasons for such non-scientific claims?

Aḥmad Ibn Fadlan (877–960) – an Arab traveler who visited territory of modern Russia in 921–922 as a member of the Abbasid Caliph’s embassy to the king of the Volga Bulgars. Ibn Fadlan wrote informative travel notes known as “Risala” (“account”) in which he gave a detailed description of the lifestyle and political relations of local nations: Khazars, Bulgars, Rus’ people. In particular he was an eyewitness of the Rus’ burial ceremony.

Risala

Source: The Travel Account Attributed to Ahmad ibn Fadlan. URL: <https://doubtfulsea.files.wordpress.com> › 2019/03.

This is the Travel Account of Ahmad ibn Fadlan ibn al-`Abbas ibn Rashid ibn Hammad, client [mawla] of Muhammad ibn Sulayman, emissary of al-Muqtadir to the King of the Saqalibah, in which he mentions that which he witnessed in the land of the Turks, the Khazars, the Rus’, the Saqalibah, the Bashkirs, and others, concerning the diversity of their religious beliefs, accounts of their kings, and their conditions in many of their affairs.

When the letter of Almish ibn Shilki Yiltawar, the King of the Saqalibah, reached the Commander of the Faithful, al Muqtadir, in which the King of the Saqalibah, reached the Commander of the Faithful, al Muqtadir, in which asked him to send someone who would instruct him in religion, acquaint him with the laws of Islam, build a mosque for him. I was charged with the task of reading the letter to the King, delivering that which had been sent to him as gifts, and supervising the work of jurisconsults [*fuqaha*] and the religious instructors. I was charged with the task of reading the letter to the King, delivering that which had been sent to him as gifts, and supervising the work of jurisconsults [*fuqaha*] and the religious instructors.

5. What was essence of the Ibn Fadlan’s mission?

I saw the Rus' who had come on their trading missions and taken up quarters on the river Atil⁴. I have never seen men more physically perfect than they, being tall as date palms, blond and ruddy and wearing neither tunics nor caftans. A man among them, however, wears a garment with which he wraps up one side of his body, and it is through this opening that he lets one of his hands out. Every one of them has an ax, a sword, and a knife, and he is never without the items just mentioned.

Their swords have furrowed blades in the manner of the Franks⁵. From the tip of their toenails to their necks each one of them is covered with [tatoos of] verdant trees, figures and the like...

They come from their country, and dock their ships on the Atil which is a large river, on whose banks they build large wooden houses.

6. What was the reason for presence of Rus' people in the Volga region?

7. Which details in the text can help us understand where the Rus' people came from and what was their origin?

Every day, without fail, they wash their faces and heads in the filthiest and most foul water possible. A slave girl comes every morning carrying a large bowl filled with water. She presents it to her master, and he washes his hands and face, and the hair of his head which he also washes, and combs it into the bowl with a comb. Then he blows his nose and spits into it, and indeed there is no filthy deed that he refrains from doing in that water. When he has finished whatever is necessary, the girl carries the bowl to the one next to him, who engages in the same activity as his colleague. She continues to pass it around from one to the other until she will have taken it to all those in the house, each one of whom would in turn blow his nose, spit, and wash his face and hair in it.

8. How do you think what was the reason for such disgusting way of hygiene among Rus' merchants?

I used to be told that at the time of death they do certain things to their chiefs, the least of which is burning. I was eager to find out about such matters, when news reached me of the death of an illustrious man from among them. They put him in his grave and roofed it over for ten days until they were finished with the cutting and sewing of his clothes.

In the case of a poor man, they construct a small boat, place him in it and burn it. As for a rich man, they gather his wealth and divide it into three parts. One third is given to his family, one third is set aside for the cutting and

⁴ Atil – a Turkic name for the Volga River.

⁵ Franks – Medieval German tribes that conquered France and became ancestors of French people.

sewing of his garments, and one third for the procurement of the *nabidh* which they drink on the day his slave girl kills herself and is burned with her master...

When the man, whom I mentioned before, was dead, they said to his slave girls: "Who will die with him?" And one of them said: "I!" They then put two girls in charge of her, to guard her and be with her wherever she went, even to the point that they sometimes washed her feet with their own hands. They then turn to matters pertaining to him, such as the cutting of his clothes doing whatever is necessary. Meanwhile, the slave girl drinks and sings every day, and is joyous and cheerful.

When the day came on which he and the girl were to be burned, I went to the river where his boat was, and indeed it had already been taken out of the water, and was supported by four pillars made of *khadhank* and other types of wood. A structure similar to large wooden scaffoldings was placed around it. Then the boat was dragged up until it was placed on top of the wooden scaffolding. They then began to walk back and forth, uttering words which I did not understand while he was still in his grave from which they had not taken him out. They then came with a bed, put it on the boat and covered it with quilted mattresses of Byzantine brocade, as well as with cushions of Byzantine brocade. Then came an old woman whom they call the angel of death and spread out on the bed the above-mentioned furnishings. She took charge of sewing it and putting it in good shape. She is the one who kills the slave girls...

They dressed him [*deceased*] in trousers, leggings, a tunic, and a brocaded caftan with gold buttons. On his head they placed a cap made of brocaded sable fur, and brought him along until they carried him into the tent which was located on the ship. They seated him on the quilted mattress and propped him up with the cushions. They then brought *nabidh*, fruit and aromatic herbs and placed them with him.

They came with bread, meat and onions and threw them in front of him... They then brought all his weapons and laid them at his side. Then they took two horses, ran them until they broke out in a sweat, then they cut them up with the sword and threw their meat into the ship...

The people then [*after slave girl was killed*] came forward with sticks and firewood. Each one of them had with him a piece of wood, the end of which he had set on fire, and which he now threw upon the wood packed beneath the ship. This spread to the firewood, then to the ship, then to the tent, [and finally to] the man and the slave girl and everything therein. There then began to blow a mighty and frightful wind, and the flames of the fire were intensified, and its blaze flared up. At my side was a man of the Rus', and I heard him speak to the interpreter who was with me. I asked the interpreter what he had said, and he replied: "He says: 'You, O Arabs, take the person who is the most beloved to you and the most respected among you and leave him in the ground, so that the earth, the insects and the worms consume him, while we burn him with fire in an instance, and he enters paradise forthwith, from that very moment...'"

They then built on the site of the ship that they had drawn out of the river, something resembling a round hill, and raised in the center of it a large *khadhank* wood post. On it they wrote the name of the man and the name of the King of the Rus', then they departed.

9. Why is the story about burial of the Rus' chieftain an important historical source?

10. Rituals of which tribes the described ceremony resembles?

Saint Nestor the Chronicler (c. 1056–1114) – a monk of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves and author of the earliest East Slavic chronicle – “The Tale of Bygone Years” or “The Primary Chronicle”. Details about his biography are very scarce. The modern linguistic data show that “The Primary Chronicle” was the first preserved compilation of earliest Slavic chronicles, Byzantine sources and folklore. “The Tale of Bygone Years” contains valuable information about early Slavic tribes, origins of the first East Slavic state – Kyivan Rus, its Princes and adoption of Christianity. But the chronicle isn’t a history in a sense of the purpose of its creation, arrangement and criticism of facts. Starting with a brief retelling the Bible content from the Deluge it has linear structure of narration (it fixes events by dates) determined by the Christian worldview – from the Biblical beginnings to the Doomsday. Thus it could be considered rather a confession before the God for deeds of rulers than book which addresses the people. Nestor was proclaimed as a Saint by the Orthodox Church and his body is preserved among relics in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (Kyiv Monastery of the Caves).

The Tale of Bygone Years

Source: The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text / Translated and edited by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. – Cambridge, Massachusetts : The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953. – 325 p. [With remarks of the anthology authors].

Legend of calling the Varangians⁶ by Slavic tribes

6368–6370 (860–862). The tributaries of the Varangians [*northernmost tribes of the Early East Slavs*] drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince

⁶ Varangians (from Norse “waering” – one who has taken an oath of allegiance) – name that was given to Scandinavian sailors and warriors (also known as Vikings, Normans) in Eastern Europe and the Byzantine Empire. Varangians are associated particularly with the use of the Dnieper trade route (“From Varangians to Greeks”) that provided an access for traders from Scandinavia through Kyivan Rus to the Byzantine Empire. In the 9th century leaders of Varangians founded the royal dynasty of Kyivan Rus. Also Varangians served as a guard of Byzantine emperors.

who may rule over us and judge us according to the Law." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian Russes: these particular Varangians were known as Russes, just as some are called Swedes, and others Normans, English, and Gotlanders, for they were thus named. The Chuds, the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Ves'⁷ then said to the people of Rus', "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us." They thus selected three brothers, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Russes and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, at Beloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of Rus'. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforesaid they were Slavs.

After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority. He assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves', in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts [ibid., P. 59–60].

11. How do you think why before the text there are two dates? According to which calendar systems were they calculated?

12. Is the name "Rus" according to the legend of a Slavic or foreign origin?

13. Who were Russes or Rus'?

14. Did the author make a distinction between Rus' and Slavs? If yes, how he made it?

Foundation of Kyivan Rus

6378–6387 (870–879). On his deathbed, Rurik bequeathed his realm to Oleg, who belonged to his kin, and entrusted to Oleg's hands his son Igor', for he was very young.

6388–6390 (880–882). Oleg set forth, taking with him many warriors from among the Varangians, the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians and all the Krivichians. He thus arrived with his Krivichians before Smolensk, captured the city, and set up a garrison there. Thence he went on and captured Lyubech, where he also set up a garrison. He then came to the hills of Kiev, and saw how Askold and Dir⁸ reigned there. He hid his warriors in the boats, left some others behind, and went forward himself bearing the child Igor'. He thus came to the foot of the Hungarian hill, and after concealing his troops, he sent messengers to Askold and Dir, representing himself as a stranger on his way to Greece on an errand for Oleg and for Igor', the prince's son, and requesting that they

⁷ Names of East Slavic and Finnish tribes.

⁸ Askold and Dir – former warriors of Rurik who left him and established their own rule over Kyiv that was a center of the most developed East Slavic tribe of Polianians.

should come forth to greet them as members of their race. Askold and Dir straightway came forth. Then all the soldiery jumped out of the boats, and Oleg said to Askold and Dir, "You are not princes nor even of princely stock, but I am of princely birth." Igor' was then brought forward, and Oleg announced that he was the son of Rurik. They killed Askold and Dir, and after carrying them to the hill, they buried them there... Oleg set himself up as prince in Kiev, and declared that it should be the mother of Russian cities. The Varangians, Slavs, and others who accompanied him, were called Russes. Oleg began to build stockaded towns, and imposed tribute on the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Merians. He commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute to the amount of 300 grivny⁹ a year for the preservation of peace. This tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav [ibid., P. 60–61].

15. What is the significance of the capturing Kyiv by the new Rus' prince Oleh?

The agreement between Rus and the Byzantine Empire

6412–6415 (904–907). Leaving Igor' in Kiev, Oleg attacked the Greeks¹⁰. He took with him a multitude of Varangians, Slavs, Chuds, Krivichians, Merians, Polyanians, Severians, Derevlans, Radimichians, Croats, Dulebians, and Tivercians, who are pagans. All these tribes are known as Great Scythia by the Greeks. With this entire force, Oleg sallied forth by horse and by ship, and the number of his vessels was two thousand. He arrived before Tsar'grad¹¹, but the Greeks fortified the strait and closed up the city. Oleg disembarked upon the shore, and ordered his soldiery to beach the ships. They waged war around the city, and accomplished much slaughter of the Greeks. They also destroyed many palaces and burned the churches. Of the prisoners they captured, some they beheaded, some they tortured, some they shot, and still others they cast into the sea. The Russes inflicted many other woes upon the Greeks after the usual manner of soldiers. Oleg commanded his warriors to make wheels which they attached to the ships, and when the wind was favorable, they spread the sails and bore down upon the city from the open country. When the Greeks beheld this, they were afraid, and sending messengers to Oleg, they implored him not to destroy the city and offered to submit to such tribute as he should desire. Thus Oleg halted his troops. The Greeks then brought out to him food and

⁹ Grivna – currency and a measure of weight used in Kyivan Rus. The name initially was a designation for the metal necklaces that were used as a currency – from the word “griva” (“neck”). The weight of the silver or golden bars of grivna was around 140–204 grams. The name in its Ukrainian transcription “hryvnia” is used for the currency of the independent Ukraine since 1996.

¹⁰ Under the name “Greeks” Nestor means the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire.

¹¹ Tsar'grad (from Russian – “Emperor's city”) – Rus name for the Byzantine Empire's capital – city Constantinople (now – Istanbul).

wine, but he would not accept it, for it was mixed with poison. Then the Greeks were terrified, and exclaimed, "This is not Oleg, but St. Demetrius, whom God has sent upon us." So Oleg demanded that they pay tribute for his two thousand ships at the rate of twelve grivnji per man, with forty men reckoned to a ship.

The Greeks assented to these terms and prayed for peace lest Oleg should conquer the land of Greece. Retiring thus a short distance from the city, Oleg concluded a peace with the Greek Emperors Leo and Alexander, and sent into the city to them Karl, Farulf, Vermund, Hrollaf, and Steinvith, with instructions to receive the tribute. The Greeks promised to satisfy their requirements. Oleg demanded that they should give to the troops on the two thousand ships twelve grivnji per bench, and pay in addition the sums required for the various Russian cities: first Kiev, then Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', Polotsk, Rostov, Lyubech, and the other towns. In these cities lived great princes subject to Oleg.

[*The Russes proposed the following terms:*] "The Russes who come hither shall receive as much grain as they require. Whosoever come as merchants shall receive supplies for six months, including bread, wine, meat, fish, and fruit. Baths shall be prepared for them in any volume they require. When the Russes return homeward, they shall receive from your Emperor food, anchors, cordage, and sails and whatever else is needed for the journey."

The Greeks accepted these stipulations, and the Emperors and all the courtiers declared:

"If Russes come hither without merchandise, they shall receive no provisions. Your prince shall personally lay injunction upon such Russes as journey hither that they shall do no violence in the towns and throughout our territory. Such Russes as arrive here shall dwell in the St. Mamas quarter. Our government will send officers to record their names, and they shall then receive their monthly allowance, first the natives of Kiev, then those from Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', and the other cities. They shall not enter the city save through one gate, unarmed and fifty at a time, escorted by an agent of the Emperor. They may conduct business according to their requirements without payment of taxes."

Thus the Emperors Leo and Alexander made peace with Oleg, and after agreeing upon the tribute and mutually binding themselves by oath, they kissed the cross, and invited Oleg and his men to swear an oath likewise. According to the religion of the Russes, the latter swore by their weapons and by their god Perun, as well as by Volos, the god of cattle, and thus confirmed the treaty.

Oleg gave orders that sails of brocade should be made for the Russes and silken ones for the Slavs, and his demand was satisfied. The Russes hung their shields upon the gates as a sign of victory, and Oleg then departed from Tsar'grad. The Russes unfurled their sails of brocade and the Slavs their sails of silk, but the wind tore them. Then the Slavs said, "Let us keep our canvas ones; silken sails are not made for the Slavs." So Oleg came to Kiev, bearing palls, gold, fruit, and wine, along with every sort of adornment. The people called Oleg "the Sage" [*Wise*]... [ibid., P. 64–65].

16. Thanks to which military trick Oleh managed to get tribute from Greeks almost without resistance?

17. What was the main purpose and essence of the Rus-Byzantine agreement?

18. How the text helps us to understand who Russes were by their origin and ethnicity? Is there in the text reference about difference between Rus and Slavs?

19. What do we know about the religion of Russes?

20. Which line in the text describes the character of Slavs?

Legend about acquaintance of the prince Volodymyr with other religions

6494 (986). Vladimir was visited by Bulgars of Mohammedan faith, who said, "Though you are a wise and prudent prince, you have no religion. Adopt our faith, and revere Mahomet." Vladimir inquired what was the nature of their religion. They replied that they believed in God, and that Mahomet instructed them to practice circumcision, to eat no pork, to drink no wine, and, after death, promised them complete fulfillment of their carnal desires. "Mahomet," they asserted, "will give each man seventy fair women. He may choose one fair one, and upon that woman will Mahomet confer the charms of them all, and she shall be his wife. Mahomet promises that one may then satisfy every desire, but whoever is poor in this world will be no different in the next." They also spoke other false things which out of modesty may not be written down. Vladimir listened to them, for he was fond of women and indulgence, regarding which he heard with pleasure. But circumcision and abstinence from pork and wine were disagreeable to him. "Drinking," said he, "is the joy of the Russes. We cannot exist without that pleasure."...

The Jewish Khazars heard of these missions, and came themselves saying, "We have learned that Bulgars came hither to instruct you in their faiths. The Christians believe in him whom we crucified, but we believe in the one God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Then Vladimir inquired what their religion was. They replied that its tenets included circumcision, not eating pork or hare, and observing the Sabbath. The Prince then asked where their native land was, and they replied that it was in Jerusalem. When Vladimir inquired where that was, they made answer, "God was angry at our forefathers, and scattered us among the gentiles on account of our sins. Our land was then given to the Christians." The Prince then demanded, "How can you hope to teach others while you yourselves are cast out and scattered abroad by the hand of God? If God loved you and your faith, you would not be thus dispersed in foreign lands. Do you expect us to accept that fate also?"

Then the Greeks sent to Vladimir a scholar... He exhibited to Vladimir a canvas on which was depicted the Judgment Day of the Lord, and showed him, on the right, the righteous going to their bliss in Paradise, and on the left, the sinners on their way to torment. Then Vladimir sighed and said, "Happy are

they upon the right, but woe to those upon the left!" The scholar replied, "If you desire to take your place upon the right with the just, then accept baptism! Vladimir took this counsel to heart, saying, "I shall wait yet a little longer," for he wished to inquire about all the faiths. Vladimir then gave the scholar many gifts, and dismissed him with great honor.

21. Who according to the legend was the initiator of the acquaintance with new faiths? What that can tell us about Volodymyr's decision to adopt new religion – was it planned or occasional?

22. Why Volodymyr rejected Islam and Judaism?

23. Which features of Non-Christian religions are highlighted in the legend – shallow or essential? How do you think why so?

24. Do you agree with a description of Islam in the legend? You can correct the author by adding new facts.

25. Think what other possible reasons prompted Volodymyr to choose namely Orthodox Christianity?

26. Imagine that you are a missionary of the 10th century. Propose reasons which help Volodymyr to adopt your religion.

Ivan Lysiak Rudnytsky (1919–1984) – a Ukrainian historian, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S, co-founder of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS). The most notable work of Rudnytsky is his Historical Essays in which he considered the Ukrainian history of different periods using problem and cross-national approach. Rudnytsky's assessments of Ukrainian history and political thought have greatly influenced his Ukrainian historians abroad and in the independent Ukraine.

Ukraine between East and West

Source: Rudnytsky Ivan L. Essays in modern Ukrainian history / Ivan L. Rudnytsky. – Edmonton : University of Alberta, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. – P. 1–10.

The Rus' Primary Chronicle contains a charming tale about the "Trial of Faiths." The story tells how Volodymyr the Great of Kiev sent embassies to various countries to find out about their respective religions, and how finally the ruler and his councillors, moved by a report about the beauty of the Greek church services, decided to adopt Christianity from Constantinople. This is only a legend, or rather a wandering literary motif, probably borrowed by the chronicler from a foreign source. But still the story seems to indicate that it was the aesthetic aspect of Greek Christianity with which the people of Kievan Rus' felt a special affinity.

There are, however, some modern Ukrainian historians... who think that Volodymyr's choice was, in secular terms, a tragic mistake. By accepting Christianity in its Eastern form, Rus'-Ukraine condemned itself to intellectual stagnation and sterility and cut itself off from full membership in the European community...

One has to remember, first of all, that Volodymyr's choice was not an arbitrary one. It was determined by the fact that Ukrainian lands had belonged to the sphere of influence of Greek and Hellenistic culture for more than 1,500 years prior to his time. The coast of southern Ukraine and the Crimea was dotted with Greek colonies from the seventh century B.C. Commercial and cultural ties existed between the coastal city states and the proto-Slavic tribes of the interior. Most of these Greek communities perished during the Great Migration of Peoples, but some survived. The nascent Kievan State entertained, from the very beginning and long before its conversion to Christianity, manifold relations with the Byzantine world.

Moreover, the Eastern Empire was, both politically and culturally, at its peak in the tenth century... In that period Byzantium had, probably, more to offer to nascent Rus' than contemporary Latin Christianity was able to give to the newly converted peoples of northern and eastern Europe. The sudden cultural flowering of Kievan Rus', which put that country at once on a level with the relatively advanced sections of Europe, was due to the transplantation of the rich Greek-Byzantine culture... to the fresh and receptive soil of a young Slavic country. It is true that, in the long run, Byzantinism, for all its brilliance and sophistication, had certain striking drawbacks. It was rather static; it lacked the tremendous dynamism and creativeness which Latin Christendom began to display after the year 1000 in its Romanesque and Gothic Age. Still, we are entitled to make the following hypothetical statement. It seems likely that, but for the nomadic invasions, Kievan Rus' would have been capable of overcoming Byzantine immobility and of moving along with the general European progress...

The remarkable thing about the Kievan State was the following: it combined a predominantly Eastern, Greek, Byzantine religious and cultural tradition with a predominantly Western social and political structure. Most significant is the fact that political Byzantinism remained totally alien to Kievan Rus'. (Byzantine theocracy later found a reception in the rising state of Moscow, where it united with an organizational framework moulded in the pattern of the Golden Horde's oriental despotism.) In pre-Mongol Rus', as in the medieval West – and in contrast to Byzantium and Moscow – political and ecclesiastical authority were not fused, but remained distinct, with each of the two autonomous in its own sphere. A social system characterized by contractual relations, a strong regard for the rights and the dignity of the individual, limitation of the power of the prince by a council of boyars and a popular assembly, autonomous communal city life, territorial decentralization of a quasi-federative nature – all this gave the Kievan polity a distinct libertarian imprint. And this libertarian, essentially European spirit also characterizes Ukrainian state organizations of later epochs. The Galician-Volhynian state of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries evolved toward a feudal structure, and a full-fledged feudalism, including feudal parliamentarianism, may be found in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries.

The Cossack State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries possessed a system of estates (Standestaat)... Had an independent Ukrainian state, reborn in 1917, succeeded in surviving, it would have certainly fitted into the Western pattern of constitutional forms. The majority of the Ukrainian community favoured a democratic republic, with a socialistic tinge...

The ethos and the aesthetic sensibility of the Ukrainian people are rooted in the spiritual tradition of Eastern Christianity. But as the country was also, in its political and social structure, a part of the European world, the Ukrainians searched after a synthesis of East and West... The seventeenth century, the time of great flowering of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, was also the epoch when it became permeated with Latin influences. This was exemplified by the Kievan Academy, a creation of the Metropolitan¹² Peter Mohyla, which was the leading intellectual centre of the entire Greek Orthodox world, and whose organization and curriculum were patterned on the model of Western universities. In the field of arts, the same tendency found an expression in the style of the so called Ukrainian or Cossack Baroque, which fused Byzantine and Western elements in a highly original manner.

27. Why some historians consider the Volodymyr's choice of the Orthodox Christianity as a mistake for the Ukraine's future?

28. What does the author think about that conclusion? Explain his vision of the problem.

29. What were the shortcomings of the Byzantine Orthodox variant of Christianity?

30. What was a difference in a political development of two Orthodox countries – Kyivan Rus and Moscow principality, according to the author? Which legal continuity the author sees in the Ukrainian political history?

31. Write down a conclusion for this text highlighting its main idea.

Daniel the Traveller or Daniel the Pilgrim – the first travel writer from Kyivan Rus, abbot (head of monastery) of 12th century. Although pilgrims from Rus visited the Holy Land (Palestine) from the first half of 11th century shortly after adoption of Christianity by the Prince Volodymyr, namely Daniel became the first one who recorded his experience of the pilgrimage to Palestine in 1104–1106. Daniel was a contemporary of Nestor and his book is one of the most important Old Russian documents. The date of the pilgrimage can be determined with certainty from Daniel's statements – mentions the Russian Prince Michel

¹² Metropolitan – a name for the highest bishops of autonomous religious provinces of the Orthodox Church (metropolis) who have authority over the bishops of the province and subdue to the Orthodox patriarch. In this passage author mentioned the Kyiv metropolis and its head, prominent organizer of education of 17th century Peter Mohyla.

Sviatopolk and King of Jerusalem Baldwin and also by related evidences of the described events by other authors. Daniel gave a detailed description of the country a few years after its conquest by the Crusaders¹³. Daniel travelled extensively in Palestine west of Jordan, visited most of the holy places.

The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land

Source: The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106–1107 A. D. By C. W. Wilson. London, 1888. URL: http://www.holyfire.org/eng/doc_Daniil.htm.

The Holy Light; How it descends upon The Holy Sepulchre ¹⁴

The following is a description of the Holy Light, which descends upon the Holy Sepulchre, as the Lord vouchsafed to show it to me, his wicked and unworthy servant. For in very truth I have seen with my own sinful eyes how that Holy Light descends upon the redeeming Tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ. Many pilgrims relate incorrectly the details about the descent of that Holy Light. Some say that the Holy Ghost descends upon the Holy Sepulchre in the form of a dove; others that it is lightning from heaven which kindles the lamps above the Sepulchre of the Lord. This is all untrue, for neither dove nor lightning is to be seen at that moment; but the Divine grace comes down unseen from heaven, and lights the lamps of the Sepulchre of our Lord. I will only describe it in perfect truth as I have seen it. On Holy Friday, after Vespers¹⁵, they clean the Holy Sepulchre and wash all the lamps that are there; they fill the lamps with pure oil without water and after having put in the wicks, leave them unlighted they affix the seals to the Tomb at the second hour of the night. At the same time they extinguish all the lamps and wax candles in every church in Jerusalem. Upon that same Friday, at the first hour of the day, I, the unworthy, entered the presence of Prince Baldwin¹⁶, and bowed myself to the ground before him. Seeing me, as I bowed, he bade me, in a friendly manner, come to him, and said, 'What dost thou want, Russian abbot?' for he knew me and liked me, being a man of great

¹³ Crusaders – European landlords-knights, participants of religious military campaigns of 11th–13th centuries against Muslim states with the aim of conquest of the Holy Land (Palestine) and Jerusalem. After Crusaders were expelled from the Middle East in 13th century and lost there all territories they redirected their military activity to the Eastern Europe – against Pagan Lithuanians and Orthodox Slavs.

¹⁴ The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (also called the Church of the Resurrection) – church in Jerusalem that contains the two holiest sites in Christianity: the site where Jesus was crucified, at a place known as Golgotha, and Jesus' empty tomb, where he is said to have been buried and resurrected. Source: Church of the Holy Sepulchre. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_the_Holy_Sepulchre.

¹⁵ Vespers – evening prayer.

¹⁶ Baldwin I of Jerusalem – the first king of Jerusalem in 1100 to 1118 in time of Crusades.

kindness and humility and not given to pride. I said to him, 'My prince and my lord! for the love of God, and out of regard for the Russian princes, allow me to place my lamp on the Holy Sepulchre in the name of the whole Russian country.' Then with peculiar kindness and attention he gave me permission to place my lamp on the Sepulchre of the Lord, and sent one of his chief retainers with me to the custodian of the Resurrection, and to the keeper of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. The custodian and the keeper of the keys directed me to bring my lamp filled with oil. I thanked them, and hastened, with much joy, to purchase a very large glass lamp; having filled it with pure oil, I carried it to the Holy Sepulchre towards evening, and was conducted to the afore-mentioned keeper, who was alone in the chapel of the Tomb. Opening the sacred portal for me, he ordered me to take off my shoes; and then, having admitted me barefooted to the Holy Sepulchre, with the lamp that I bore, he directed me to place it on the Tomb of the Lord. I placed it, with my sinful hands, on the spot occupied by the sacred feet of our Lord Jesus Christ... After having placed my lamp on the Holy Sepulchre, and after having adored and kissed, with penitence and pious tears, the sacred place upon which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ lay; I left the Holy Tomb filled with joy, and retired to my cell.

On the morrow, Holy Saturday, at the sixth hour of the day, everyone assembles in front of the Church of the Holy Resurrection; foreigners and natives people from all countries, from Babylon, from Egypt, and from every part of the world, come together on that day in countless numbers; the crowd fills the open space round the church and round the place of the Crucifixion. The crush is terrible, and the turmoil so great that many persons are suffocated in the dense crowd of people who stand, unlighted tapers in hand, waiting for the opening of the church doors. The priests alone are inside the church, and priests and crowd alike wait for the arrival of the Prince and his suite; then, the doors being opened, the people rush in, pushing and jostling each other, and fill the church and the galleries, for the church alone could not contain such a multitude. A large portion of the crowd has to remain outside round Golgotha and the place of the skull, and as far as the spot where the crosses were set up; every place is filled with an innumerable multitude. All the people, within and without the church, cry ceaselessly, 'Kyrie Eleison' (Lord, have mercy upon us); and this cry is so loud that the whole building resounds and vibrates with it. The faithful shed torrents of tears; even he who has a heart of stone cannot refrain from weeping; each one, searching the innermost depths of his soul, thinks of his sins, and says secretly to himself, 'Will my sins prevent the descent of the Holy Light?' The faithful remain thus weeping with heavy heart; Prince Baldwin himself looks contrite and greatly humbled; torrents of tears stream from his eyes; and his suite stand pensively around him near the high altar, opposite the Tomb.

Saturday, about the seventh hour, Prince Baldwin, with his suite, left his house, and, proceeding on foot towards the Sepulchre of our Lord, sent to the hospice of St. Sabbas for the abbot and monks of St. Sabbas; the abbot, followed by

the monks, thereupon set out for the Holy Sepulchre, and I, unworthy, went with them. When we reached the Prince we all saluted him; he returned our salute and directed the abbot and me, the lowly one, to walk by his side, whilst the other abbots and the monks went in front, and the suite followed behind. We thus reached the western door of the Church of the Resurrection, but such a dense crowd obstructed the entrance that we could not get in. Prince Baldwin thereupon ordered his soldiers to disperse the crowd and open a way for us; this they did by clearing a lane to the Tomb, and we were able in this manner to pass through the crowd. We reached the eastern door of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord, and the Prince, who came after us, took his post to the right, near the railing of the high altar, in front of the eastern door of the Tomb; at that spot there is a raised place for the Prince. The Prince ordered the Abbot of St. Sabbas to take up a position over (beyond?) the Tomb, with his monks and the orthodox priests; as for me, the lowly one, he directed me to place myself higher up, above (beyond?) the doors of the Holy Sepulchre, in front of the high altar, so that I could see through the doors of the Tomb...

At the eighth hour the orthodox priests, who were over the Holy Sepulchre, with the clergy, monks, and hermits, commenced chanting the Vespers; and the Latins, by the high altar, began to mumble after their manner. Whilst all were thus singing I kept my place and attentively watched the doors of the Tomb. When they commenced reading... the bishop, followed by the deacon, left the high altar, and going to the doors of the Tomb, looked through the grille, but, seeing no light, returned. When they commenced reading... the same bishop returned to the door of the Holy Sepulchre, but saw no change. All the people, weeping, then cried out 'Kyrie Eleison ' which means, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!' At the end of the ninth hour, when they commenced chanting the Canticle of the passage (of the Red Sea), 'Cantabo Domino,' a small cloud, coming suddenly from the east, rested above the open dome of the church; fine rain fell on the Holy Sepulchre, and wet us and all those who were above (beyond?) the Tomb. It was at this moment that the Holy Light suddenly illuminated the Holy Sepulchre, shining with an awe-aspiring and splendid brightness. The bishop, who was followed by four deacons, then opened the doors of the Tomb, and entered with the taper of Prince Baldwin so as to light it first at the Holy Light; he afterwards returned it to the Prince, who resumed his place, holding, with great joy, the taper in his hands. We lighted our tapers from that of the Prince, and so passed on the flame to everyone in the church.

This Holy Light is like no ordinary flame, for it burns in a marvellous way with indescribable brightness, and a ruddy colour like that of cinnabar...

God and the Holy Sepulchre are witnesses that in these holy places I did not forget the names of the Russian princes, princesses, and their children; of the bishops, abbots, and nobles; or of my spiritual children, and all Christians; I remembered every one, and prayed first for all the princes, and then for my own sins. Thanks be to the goodness of God, who permitted me, unworthy one,

to inscribe the names of the Russian princes in the Laura of St. Sabbas, where they now pray, during the services, for them, their wives, and their children. Here are their names: Michel Sviatopolk, Vassili Vladimir, David Sviatoslavitsch, Michel Oleg Pancrace, Sviatoslavitsch, Gléb of Mensk; I have only preserved those names which I inscribed in the Holy Sepulchre, and in all the holy places, without counting all the other Russian princes and nobles. I celebrated fifty masses for the Russian princes, and all the Christians, and forty masses for the dead.

May the blessing of God, of the Holy Sepulchre, and of all the holy places be with those who read this narrative with faith and love; and may they obtain from God the same reward as those who have made the pilgrimage to those holy places. Happy are those who, having seen, believe! Thrice happy are those who have not seen, and yet have believed! By faith Abraham obtained the Promised Land; for, in truth, faith is equal to good works. In the name of God, my brethren and lords, do not blame my ignorance and simplicity; for the sake of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord do not abuse this narrative. May he who reads it with love receive his reward from Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour; and may the peace of God be with you all to the end of the world. Amen.

32. How did Daniel expressed his patriotic feelings toward lands of Rus?

Topic 3. Lithuanian-Polish and Cossacks Period

Genoese colonies in the Medieval Crimea

Source: Гавриленко О. Генуезька спадщина на теренах України: етнодержавознавчий вимір. О. Гавриленко, О. Сівальньов, В. Цибулькін Харків : Точка, 2017. – С. 49; Міста Генуезької Газарії. URL: <http://istoryk.in.ua/mista-genuezkoyi-gazariyi/> (translated by the authors of anthology).

After the Tatar's¹⁷ conquest of Crimea in the 13th century the new rival and trade competitor came to the Black Sea region – Italian sailors. The mightiest of them were traders from the city Genoa supported by the Byzantine Empire. Genoese merchants bought the goodwill of Tatar's Khans (rulers) by rich gifts and money to set control over the trade routes (mainly the Silk Road). They established trading posts all over the Northern Black Sea Coast. The most famous were Balaklava fortress that secured the entrance to the same-name harbor and Feodosia (later known as Caffa). Concluding treaties with Tatars Genoese managed to confront old Byzantine outposts in the region and other Italian traders.

¹⁷ Tatars – one of the Mongol tribes that participated in the western campaign of the Batu Khan against Europe in 1236–1242. Batu Khan was a grandson of Genghis Khan and founder of the Western Mongol Empire – Golden Horde. Rus' principalities subordinated to the Golden Horde until the 15th century when it declined and split into several Tatar's states. One of them was the Crimean Khanate that existed as the Ottoman's protectorate until 1783 and made annual predatory raids to Ukraine. In the late 18th century the territories of Crimean Khanate were annexed by the Russian Empire.

One of such first Tatar-Genoese agreements was signed in 1266 to acquire territories in Caffa in exchange for support of Mengu-Timur Khan by the Genoese in a struggle for the throne of the Golden Horde. According to the legend the Tatar Khan agreed to sell the land for the Genoese settlement in Feodosia under the condition that Italians fill the cowhide (skin of ox) with gold and then would take as much land as that skin occupies. After negotiations the Genoese cut the skin into narrow straps, tied them together and stretched them around the perimeter. Such trick allowed them to occupy an area large enough to build a city.

Since that time until the conquest of Feodosia by Ottomans in 15th century the city became a center of Black Sea possessions of the Genoese Republic. Being an important point of the Silk Road Feodosia became one of the first European cities affected by “The Black Death” (Plague) – one of the most devastating pandemics in history that killed 200 million people. The plague spread from Central Asia to Italy and throughout Europe along the Silk Road by caravans and merchant ships with disseminators of infection – rats.

In 1474 the traveler and merchant Afanasy Nikitin visited Feodosia on his way back from India to Rus. Nikitin became one of the first Europeans to reach India – 30 years before the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama. He described his life in India in the book “The Journey Beyond Three Seas”.

The next year, in 1475, joint Ottoman-Tatar forces conquered Feodosia, renamed it to “Keefe” and made it center of the Ottoman province in Crimea. Keefe became the main slave market in the region. In the 17th century Zaporizhian Cossacks organized their naval campaigns against Turkish fortresses in the Black Sea. In 1616 Cossacks headed by the hetman Petro Sahaidachny attacked Keefe and freed several thousands of Christian slaves.

1. Which nations inhabited the Northern Black Sea region in the Middle Ages? What was the main purpose of their presence there?

2. Which details of the story connect history of Ukraine with history of your country?

Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan (c. 1595–1673) – a French cartographer and engineer who served as an officer of the Polish-Lithuanian army between 1630 and 1648. As a military engineer he helped Poles to build system of fortresses to defend southern borders of the Commonwealth (namely Ukraine) from the Ottoman and Tatar aggression. Also he built the Kodak Fortress which purpose was to stop the flight of Ukrainian peasants to the Zaporizhian Sich. Beauplan created the first maps of Ukraine that had detailed border information and were engraved. Searching suitable places for strongholds Beauplan discovered Ukraine’s territory, ethnography, lifestyle and composed interesting notes. That book was named “Description of Ukraine” and published in 1651. For the first time it “discovered” Ukraine and Cossacks for the West European readers.

Excerpts from “Description of Ukraine”

Source: Ukraine in foreign comments and descriptions from the VIth to XXth century by Volodymyr Sichynsky. – New York City : Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953. 236 p. [With remarks of chrestomathy authors].

Cossacks’ Temper

There is no doubt but all of them [*Cossacks*] in general are capable of all arts; yet some are more expert than others in certain professions, and others there are more universally knowing than the common sort. In short, they are all ingenious enough, but they go no further than what is necessary, and profitable, particularly in country affairs [*Ibid.*, p. 74].

I believe there is no nation in the world like this for liberty in drinking... But this is to be understood when they are at leisure; for whilst they are in war, or projecting some enterprise, they are extraordinarily sober. Nothing belonging to them is so coarse as their habit, for they are subtle and crafty, ingenious and free-hearted, without any design or thought of growing rich; but are great lovers of their liberty without which they do not desire to live; and for this reason it is, they are so subject to revolt (against Poland) of the country, when they see themselves crushed, so that they are scarcely seven or eight years without mutinying against them.

They are of a strong constitution, able to endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst; indefatigable in war, bold, resolute, or rather rash, not valuing their lives [*Ibid.*, p. 76].

1. How do you think which conditions made Cossacks so universally skilled?

2. Which features of the Ukrainian’s national character Beauplan mentioned?

3. How can you explain the origins of those features?

Ukrainian village

The peasants there are very miserable, being obliged to work three days a week, themselves and their horses, for their lord; and to pay proportionately to the land they hold, such a quantity of wheat, abundance of capons, pullets, hens and goslings; that is at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas: besides all this, to carry wood for the said lord, and a thousand other jobs...; besides the ready money they exact from them, as also the tithe¹⁸ of their sheep, pig, honey, and all sorts of fruit, and every third year the third beef. In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand... their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in

¹⁸ Tithe – one tenth of the farmer’s produce or income paid to the landlord or clergy.

purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves. This slavery makes many of them run away and the boldest of them fly to the Zaporzhe, which is the Cossacks place of retreat in the Borysthenes (Dnieper River), and after having pass'd some time there, and been once at sea, they are reputed Zaporozhsky Cossacks; and this sort of desertion much increases the number of their troops [ibid., p. 78].

4. Why Beauplan considered Ukrainian peasants' fate miserable?

5. What forced farmers to flee from their villages? Where did they escape to?

How Cossacks choose their Commander – hetman

...when all the old colonels and ancient Cossacks, who are in esteem among them, are assembled together, everyone gives his vote for the man he thinks fittest for the employment, and the one that has most voices carries it. If he that is chosen will not accept of the place, excusing himself as being incapable of it, or for want of experience, or his great age, that does him no good, for they make no other answer, but that he is not worthy of that honour, and immediately kill him upon the spot as a traitor... If the Cossack elected accepts of the generalship, he thanks the assembly for the honour done him, though unworthy and incapable of that post, yet protests he will use his utmost endeavors to become worthy to serve them either in general or in particular, and that his life shall be always exposed for the service of his brothers... Then they go in order to pay their respects to him, and the general gives them his hand, which is the manner of saluting one another among them... They are very obedient to him, and in their language he is called *Hetman*. His power is absolute, and he can behead and impale those that are faulty. They are very severe, but do nothing without the council of war, which they call *rada*. The general may fall into disgrace if he have not such conduct when he leads them out to war that no disaster befall them, and if he does not appear brave and politick upon any unexpected or unlucky accidents; for if he commits any act of cowardice, they kill him as a traitor. Immediately they choose another among themselves in the usual manner, as was said before. It is a troublesome employment to lead and command them, and unfortunate to him it falls upon; for during seventeen years I served in the country, all that had this post died miserably [ibid., p. 79–80].

6. How do we call the procedure and political regime that existed among Cossacks?

7. Which body limited hetman's power?

8. What were reasons for the hetman's removal and punishment?

Cossacks' way of war

When they intend to go to sea, it is without the [Polish] king's leave, but they take it of their general, and then they hold a rada, that is, a council, and choose a general to command them during that expedition, observing the same ceremonies we have mentioned in the election of their great general, but this now chosen is but for a time. Then they march to their Arsenal... and there build boats about sixty foot long, ten or twelve foot wide, and twelve foot deep... They have commonly ten or fifteen oars of a side, and row faster than the Turkish galleys: they have also one mast, which carries an ill-shaped sail made use of only in very fair weather... These vessels have no deck, and when they are full of water, the reeds above-mentioned tied quite round the boat, keep it from sinking... They have also a puncheon or half-tun [barrel] of boiled millet, and another of dough dissolved in water, which they eat mixed with the millet...; this serves for meat and drink, and tastes sourish; they call it *salamakha*, that is, a dainty food. For my part, I found no delicacy in it, and when I made use of it upon my voyages, it was for want of better. These people are very sober, and if there be a drunkard found among them, the general causes him to be turned out; therefore they are not permitted to carry any brandy, being very observant of sobriety in their expeditions and enterprises.

When they resolve to make war upon the Tartars in revenge for the mischiefs received from them, they take their opportunity in autumn. To this purpose they send all necessaries for their voyage and enterprise, and for the building of ships and other uses, to the Zaporozhe: then five or six thousand Cossacks all good able men well armed take the field, and repair to Zaporozhe to build their boats: sixty of them go about a boat, and finish it in a fortnight; for, as has been said, they are of all trades. Thus in three weeks time they make ready eighty or a hundred boats... between fifty and seventy men go aboard each vessel; with each of them two firelocks and a scymitar, carry four or five falconets upon the sides of the vessel, and provisions proper for them. They wear a shirt and drawers, have a shift, a pitiful gown, a cap, six pounds of cannon powder, and ball enough for their small arms and falconets, and every one carries a quadrant. This is the flying army of the Cossacks on the Black Sea, able to terrify the best towns in Anafolia.

Thus provided, they run down the Borysthenes (Dnieper River)... The Turk has commonly notice of their coming, and keeps several galleys ready at the mouth of the Borysthenes, where the galleys dare not go... and think it enough to wait their coming out, in which they are always surprised: yet the Cossacks cannot slip by so swiftly but they are discovered, then all the country takes the alarm, and it runs as far as Constantinople [*Istanbul*]. The grand [sultan] sends expresses all along the coast of Anatolia, Bulgaria, and Romania, that all people may be upon their guard, giving them notice that the Cossacks are at sea. But all this is to no purpose, for they make such use of their time, that in thirty-six or forty hours time they are in Anatolia, where they

land with every man his firelock, leaving but two men, and two boys to keep each boat: There they surprize towns, take, pillage and burn them, and sometimes go a league¹⁹ up the country, but return immediately, and go aboard with their booty, hasting away to try their fortune in another place. If they find any Turkish gallies or other ships, they pursue, attack and make themselves masters of them, which they do in this manner: their boats are not above two foot and a half above water, and they discover a ship or galley before they themselves can be perceived by them [*visible*]. Then they strike [*lower*] their masts, observe [*direction of wind*], and [*trying to swim having*] the sun upon their backs [*till evening*]; then an hour before sun-setting they row with all their might towards the ship or galley till they come within a league of it, for fear of losing sight of it, and so continue: Then about midnight (the signal being given) they pull up again amain towards the vessel, half the crew ready to fight... Those in the ship or galley are astonished to be attacked by eighty or a hundred vessels, which fill them full of men, and in a moment bear all down; this done, they pillage what they find in silver, or goods of no great bulk, that cannot be spoil'd by the water, as also the brass guns, and what they think can serve them, then sink the vessel and men in it. When they are to return home, the [*Turkish*] guards are doubled upon the mouth of the Borysthenes; but though weak they laugh at that, for when they have been forced to fight, they have often lost many men, and the sea has swallowed some of their vessels, for they cannot be all so good, but some must fail. Therefore they land in a creek [*bay*], three or four leagues east of Ochacov [*Turkish fortress*], where there is a valley very low... is about three leagues over to the Borysthenes: there two or three hundred Cossacks draw their boats across one after another, and in two or three days they are in the Borysthenes with their booty. Thus they avoid fighting the gallies that keep the mouth of the river of Ochacov. To conclude, they return to their Karbenicza [*Treasury*], where they share the spoil...

When the gallies meet them at sea in the daytime, they set them hard with their guns, scattering them like so many rooks, sink several, and put them in such a consternation, that those who escape make haste to put in wheresoever they can. But when they fight with the gallies, they do not [*leave*] their oars, which are [*attached*] to the side... and when they have fired a musquet, their comrades give them another ready loaden to fire again and thus they [*fire*] it without ceasing, and effectually. The gallies are able to [*fight only*] one of them, but their cannon does them much harm. Upon these occasions they commonly lose two-thirds of their men, and seldom come off with half, but they bring rich booty, as Spanish [*coins*], Arabian sequines, carpets, [*brocade*²⁰], cotton, silks, and other commodities of great value. Thus the Cossacks live, and these are

¹⁹ League – Medieval unit of length, meant the distance a person could walk in an hour – 4828 m.

²⁰ Brocade – silk fabric decorated with gold or silver thread.

their revenues; for as for trades they use none, but drinking and debauching among their friends when they return home [Ibid., p. 80–83].

9. Against whom Cossacks organized their sea campaigns?

10. What rule did they strictly follow during the war?

11. What can you say about the Cossacks' character (nature, temper)?

12. Campaigns of which warriors of the past in Ukraine and the world you can compare with the Cossacks sea expeditions?

13. Which military trick Cossacks practiced to confront enemy's large vessels?

About rights of the Polish nobility (Szlachta)

Source: Гійом Левассер де Боплан. Опис України. URL: <http://litopys.org.ua/boplan/opys.htm#volnosti>. Translated by the chrestomathy authors.

The Polish gentry equal in rights, among them there are no higher as in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and other lands, where dukes, marquises, earls and barons exist... Noble land ownership here isn't a fief²¹ that's why a poor noble isn't less important than a rich one...

The nobility... is free in election of their king and king has no power to imprison any nobleman for any committed crime if after its commitment 24 hours passed except for the crime of insulting the majesty. Any of them also can't be imprisoned until his case isn't considered and settled [in court] with an announcement of sentence; while the one has to appeal the court three times... [Even] after the announcement of sentence nobleman can in hurry enter a monastery which often are shelter for criminals who are unable to save themselves. The great nobility mocks justice and send a large army against those who initiates legal proceedings...

If the opposite side, feeling itself not strong enough, agrees with the sentenced person and obtaining a certain amount of money, gives its claims up, the criminal can get from the king a letter of pardon that costs two or three thousand livres²²...

The nobility can lease the land and sell everything that it produces without losing a dignity, but it is prohibited from trade...

The nobility, that seems to be a small sovereign [ruler], is entitled to wear a crown on their coats of arms and cast as many guns as it wants and build fortresses as powerful, as wealth allows, and no king, nor the state can't prevent it from doing so, they [noblemen] just lack the right to mint a coin to become a [full] sovereigns.

... all lands in this state belong to the nobility which thus is very rich. The exception is the lands that belong to the king.

²¹ Fief (or feud) – land estate held on condition of feudal service.

²² Livre – French silver coin and unit of account (0,5 kg).

14. Which peculiarity differentiated the Polish nobility from lords of other European countries?

15. Which progressive and negative features you can find in the political system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth?

Alberto Vimina (1603–1667) – a priest, poet and minister of the Venetian Republic. As an ambassador of the Venice Vimina in 1650 visited the hetman of Ukraine Bohdan Khmelnytskyi with a diplomatic mission to form an anti-Ottoman coalition. He kept interesting records of his stay with the hetman. Also Vimina wrote a broader survey of the Cossack-Polish War (The National Liberation War) titled “The History of the Civil War in Poland”.

Excerpts from the Report on the origin and customs of the Cossacks

Source: Ukraine in foreign comments and descriptions from the VIth to XXth century by Volodymyr Sichynsky. – New York City : Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953. – 236 p.

[The Ukrainian land in the Zaporozhe is so fertile that] "not only could it be compared with the most fertile lands of Europe, but it could satisfy the requirements of the most exacting farmer" [ibid., P. 89].

About the Cossacks' manners

According to their appearance and manners the Kozaks seem to be simple, but the fact of the matter is that they are not simple and do not lack a keen sense of perception. This can be grasped by their conversation and their method of government [ibid.].

About the Supreme Council of Cossacks (Rada)

In the Rada the Kozaks deliberate various matters, and support their viewpoints without any ostentation, aiming always at the improvement of the common lot. If they recognize that the viewpoints of others are better, they are not ashamed of their own and without stubbornness renounce such and support that one which they believe to be more correct. Hence I would say that this Republic could have been compared to the Spartan, if the Kozaks respected sobriety as highly as did the Spartans.

16. What is the name for the way of government described in the text?

17. How do you think why did Vimina compare Cossacks with Spartans?

About the hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi

[He was] of more than middle height, with wide bones and of a powerful build. His utterances and his system of governing indicate that he possesses judicial thinking and a penetrating mind. In his manner he is gentle and unaffected, and thereby wins the love of the Kozaks; but on the other hand, he keeps them disciplined through severe requirements. To all who enter his room he extends his hand, and asks them to be seated if they are Kozaks...

[The room of the Hetman was simply furnished in order that the duties of office be kept in mind and to discourage the growth of vanity]. But the table of the Hetman is not poor with its choice and delectable food and drink celebrated throughout the land: horilka (aqua vitae), beer, honey. Wine, which is seldom drunk, is served only for outstanding foreigners. As I had occasion to experience myself, at table and at drinking, festivity and humor are not lacking. I could give a few examples of this, but in order to be brief I will mention but one. Once one of my officials boasted of the greatness and marvel of Venice, and the Kozaks drank in his words. After he had talked at length of the position, structures and wealth of the city and its size, the narrator added that the streets of the city are so wide that the citizens not infrequently are lost in them.

“Why, no!” interrupted one of the Kozaks. “Don’t pride yourself on your Venice. I will tell you that the same may happen to me in this crowded room; if I continue to sit a little longer behind this table, I will not be able to find the door to get back home!” [ibid., P. 90, 92].

18. Remember who was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and what is his role in the Ukrainian history?

19. How do you think which qualities made Khmelnytskyi popular among Cossacks?

20. Which another quality of the Cossack character you can find in the text?

21. How do you think evidence of what were the foreign embassies to Khmelnytskyi?

Serhy Yekelchyk (born in 1966) – the Ukrainian Canadian historian, a specialist in the Soviet history and national relations. As one of the leading contemporary Ukrainian historians, Serhy Yekelchyk issued in 2015 a book “The Conflict in Ukraine. What Everyone Needs to Know” that explained the current Ukrainian crisis and war in a popular way and in connection with the past. The book is important to spread the relevant knowledge about Ukraine in the world.

Is it true that Ukraine was “reunited” with Russia in 1654?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. – P. 32–35.

The “reunification” of Ukraine with Russia was the official term for the 1654 Pereiaslav Treaty; the term was prescribed for obligatory use in Soviet historical works and public discourse by the Communist Party’s Central Committee in 1954. The concept of the treaty as a “restoration” of a single nation’s ancient unity resonates to this day with Russians in particular, and for good reason. When Soviet ideologists gave it their stamp of approval in 1954 for the treaty’s tercentenary, they were actually resurrecting the axiom of pre-

revolutionary Russian official discourse that Ukrainians lacked a separate national identity. Before the Central Committee's authoritative pronouncement, Soviet historians of the prewar period had spoken less approvingly of Ukraine's "incorporation" into the Russian state and even of the ensuing colonial exploitation of Ukraine and persecution of Ukrainian culture. Reverting to the language used in the Russian Empire removed any sense of guilt for tsarist policies and also muted the notion of Ukraine's separate identity. "Reunification" was thus an ideologically loaded label, one implying inordinate closeness between Ukrainians and Russians. This was the historical narrative that the last generations to grow up in the Soviet Union learned in school.

What really happened in 1654, however? In 1648 the disaffected Cossack officer Bohdan Khmelnytsky launched a rebellion against Polish rule, which, unlike earlier such uprisings, developed into a full-scale war with armies fighting each other in the field. The conflict had features of a peasant war, with villagers rising en masse against the economic order, but it was also a religious war of the Orthodox against the Catholics and Jews. A contemporary Jewish chronicler described the Cossack slaughter as an "abyss of despair," and indeed, scholars estimate that the rebels killed as many as 18,000 to 20,000 of the 40,000 Jews in the land. The same fate awaited Catholic Poles and Uniate Ukrainians²³, who did not manage to escape before the advancing Cossack army. Assisted by the Crimean Tatars (always interested in booty), early in the war the Cossacks inflicted a series of defeats on the Polish army. The 1649 Treaty of Zboriv resulted in the transfer of three Polish provinces to the Cossack administration headed by Hetman Khmelnytsky and an increase in the number of registered Cossacks to 40,000. Thus an autonomous Ukrainian Cossack polity known as the Hetmanate came into existence.

By the early 1650s, however, military setbacks forced Khmelnytsky to search for allies other than the unreliable Tatars. Orthodox Muscovy appeared to be a natural choice, not only because of shared religion, but also because it was Poland's long-standing rival in the region. Yet Tsar Alexei was hesitant to lend support to the Cossacks precisely because this would mean another exhaustive war with Poland. Only the very real danger of Khmelnytsky accepting the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire prompted the Russians to act. After protracted negotiations, Russian envoys arrived in January 1654 to the Ukrainian town of

²³ Uniate Ukrainians – believers of the Uniate or the Greek-Catholic Church created in 1596 following the agreement about subordination and autonomy of Orthodox bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Pope of Rome (Union of Brest). Believers of the new Uniate Church recognized Catholic dogmas but saved Orthodox rituals and Church Slavic language for religious service. The Union of Brest didn't relieve but even deepened tensions between Catholics and Orthodox in Ukraine due to the subsequent prohibition of the Orthodox Church.

Pereiaslav (just south of Kyiv) to finalize the agreement. The final text of the treaty has been lost, and historians have been arguing for centuries whether the signatories had in mind a temporary political and military alliance or an irreversible voluntary incorporation. One thing is certain: the signing ceremony itself revealed deep-seated differences between the two countries' political models. After the Cossack officers took an oath of allegiance to the tsar, they expected the Muscovite envoys to reciprocate with an oath in the tsar's name to observe the rights of the Cossacks. Yet the Russians refused, because for them the tsar was an absolute monarch not accountable to his subjects.

Following the signing of this treaty, the Cossack lands that correspond approximately to present-day central Ukraine became a protectorate of the Russian tsars, who from then on referred to themselves as rulers of Great and Little Russia (i.e., Russia proper and Ukraine). The Cossack polity preserved full autonomy in internal affairs and the right to conduct foreign policy independently, except in interactions with Poland and the Ottomans, which theoretically required Moscow's approval, but in practice the Cossack leaders ignored this provision. Following a protracted war with Poland and Khmelnytsky's death in 1657, however, the Muscovite government began increasingly limiting the Hetmanate's sovereignty, which caused discontent among the Ukrainian Cossacks.

22. Remember what was the Pereiaslav Treaty, who and for what signed it?

23. Why the author call the Soviet concept of "reunification" regarding the Treaty as "ideologically loaded label"?

24. When and due to which events the Cossack Ukrainian state came to existence?

25. What prompted Khmelnytsky to conclude agreement with the Tsardom of Moscow?

26. Which difference in political models of Ukraine and Russia the signing ceremony revealed?

Paul of Aleppo of Syria – a secretary to the Patriarch Macarius III of Antioch and who travelled through Ukraine in the years 1654 and 1656 and wrote one of the most vivid descriptions of Ukraine of that time – "The Diary of Travel". Paul of Aleppo called Ukraine the "Land of the Kozaks".

Excerpts from "The Diary of Travel"

Source: Ukraine in foreign comments and descriptions from the VIth to XXth century by Volodymyr Sichynsky. – New York City : Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953. – 236 p.

About education

...Throughout the whole of the Kozak Land, we noted a beautiful trait which aroused our interest: they all almost without exception, even their wives and daughters, know how to read and know the order of the mass and the church song. In addition, the priests instruct orphans and do not permit them to roam on the streets... In the Kozak Land, in every city and every village there are shelters for the poor and the orphans. Whoever enters there gives them alms, not as in Moldavia or Wallachia, where the poor and orphans wander into churches and disturb people in their prayers [ibid., P. 94].

...among the monastic leaders (in Kiev's Pecherska Lavra) there are highly educated people, orators, who know logic and philosophy and who dwell on deep questions [ibid., P. 95].

27. What unusual observed Paul of Aleppo in Ukraine?

About the Kyiv and Monastery of the Caves

This Monastery of the Caves is the glory of the Kozak country. In it are twenty-three churches. Till a year ago there were nearly five hundred monks there, but three hundred of them died in the plague ... In the Monastery all the table service which they set before us was of silver. It should be noted that in every large Monastery and in the episcopal palaces, some of the great officials attend as retinue and are called 'Servants of the Monastery'. And when the Bishop or Archimandrite drives out in his coach, they go before and behind on handsome horses, richly clad and armed. In every apartment of these dignitaries, and even in the cells of the priests and monks, there are valuable arms in great numbers... we went to visit their Church of the Adoration of the Cross, where are to be found thousands of bodies of holy hermits. We were shown the caves excavated to a great depth into the mountain, and were conducted to the cave wherein had lived Saints Antony and Theodosius²⁴. We made our reverences to their heads, which were placed here in separate glass vessels. In Kiev, near the Cathedral of St. Sophia is an excellent printing press, serving for all this country. It publishes all the church books with a surprising print of various forms and colors and also drawings on large sheets of the remarkable objects of the land, ikons of the saints, learned studies, etc. Here we printed, as other patriarchs had done before us, a complete set of Indulgences, with the signature of the Patriarch in red ink and adorned with the picture of St. Peter the Apostle... [ibid., P. 94–95].

28. What Paul of Aleppo wrote about the attitude of Ukrainians to their clergy and holy places?

²⁴ St. Antony and Theodosius – monks of the 11th century, founders of the first monastery in Rus – the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery (Kyiv Monastery of Caves).

The country of the Kozaks (Ukraine)... was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us good friends and fellows like unto ourselves [ibid., P. 97].

Derviş Mehmed Zillî known as Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682) – a statesman, writer and traveler of the Ottoman Empire. As a member of diplomatic missions Evliya Çelebi visited and described lands of the Ottoman Empire and its neighbors including Ukraine. Impressions of visits Evliya Çelebi recorded in a "Book of Travel". Evliya Çelebi visited Eastern Europe and Ukraine several times in 1640s–1660s, observed wars between Zaporizhian Cossacks and Turks, visited and described Ukrainian towns including Kyiv.

Book of Travels. Seyāhatnāme. Lands of Moldavia and Ukraine. Book V

*Source: Эвлия Челеби. Книга путешествия. Вып. 1 Земли Молдавии и Украины. URL:
<http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus8/Celebi3/text5.phtml?id=1731> [translated by the anthology authors].*

About language and faith

[Kyiv residents] themselves – the ancient folk, and their language is more comprehensive and rich than Farsi, Chinese, Mongolian and other else. But it is similar to the Muscovite language... Their religion – is of the Greek origin; their fasts, holidays, blessing by sign of the cross – exactly the same as the Greeks have – there is no difference. Having examined this fortress, we together with [Crimean] khan again turned back. Heading either eastward or to the Qibla, we made a distance of five passages, plundering and devastating disobedient, rebellious villages both on forest roads and in endless steppes.

29. Which important facts can you extract from the text?

30. What was the reason for author's trip to Ukrainian lands? Together with whom the author made that travel?

About of the rebellious Cossacks' or the shaven-headed people's character

May Allah have mercy on us! Those who have not seen this nation, even the great interpreters of religion, can't know what is the soul of these enemies of the Muhammad's community and other nations. Having entered their country in the middle of the month of Muharrem 1068 (end of October 1657), we passed through it with prayers; "Oh my God, save us from their anger! Amen!". Because once, during the war for the fortress of Azov, I, insignificant, had enough grief from these villains and saw them at war and fight.

31. Remember which period or events took place in Ukraine when it was visited by Evliya Çelebi?

32. How can you describe author's feelings regarding Cossacks?

Topic 4. Ukraine in Modern Time

The descriptions of Ukrainian lands in works of the 18th century

The 18th century also known as Enlightenment Age marked the Medieval feudal monarchies' transformation to modern national and industrial states with parliamentary systems. The beginning of that period for Ukraine is commonly associated with the Cossack hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709) and his struggle against the Russian tsar Peter the Great that had long-term consequences. Outstanding and controversial personality of Mazepa captured attention of the many of foreign politicians and writers.

The account of the French diplomat Jean Baluse about visit the hetman Mazepa in 1704

Source: Ukraine in foreign comments and descriptions from the VIth to XXth century by Volodymyr Sichynsky. – New York City : Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953. – 236 p.

From Muscovy I went to Ukraine, the country of the Kozaks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the source authority in this country ... On the frontier of Ukraine I was met by a Kozak guard of honor which conducted me with elaborate ceremony to the City of Baturyn, where Prince Mazepa resides in a castle...

His language is, in general, selected and ornate, although during conversations he usually keeps silent and listens to the others. At his court he has two German doctors, with whom he converses in their tongue; to the Italian masters of whom there are several in the castle, he speaks in the Italian language. I spoke with the master of Ukraine in the Latin language, inasmuch as he assured me that he was not very fluent in French, although in his youth he had visited Paris and southern France and had been at the reception in the Louvre... I myself saw French and Dutch newspapers in his study [ibid., P. 113].

He is held in great esteem in the Kozak country, where the people are generally freedom-loving and proud, and entertain no love for anyone who would dominate them. Mazepa succeeded in uniting the Kozaks around himself through rigid authority and his great military courage ... Conversation with this Prince is extremely pleasant; he has had unusual experience in politics... He showed me a collection of arms, one of the most beautiful I have ever seen in my life, and also a selected library, wherein Latin books abound. On several occasions I tried very assiduously to direct our conversation toward the present political situation, but I just confess I could find out nothing definite from this Prince. He belongs to that category of people who either prefer to keep completely silent or to talk and say nothing. But I hardly think that he likes the Muscovite Tsar, because he did not say a word against my complaints about

Muscovite life. But in the case of the Polish Crown, Monsieur Mazepa did not hesitate to declare that it is heading, as did ancient Rome, toward decline. He spoke about the Swedish King with respect, but deems him too young [ibid., P. 114].

1. Remember in which period of the Ukrainian history Ivan Mazepa became the hetman of Cossack Ukraine? What were the major achievements of his rule?

2. What the author wrote about the hetman Ivan Mazepa – his education and character?

The Report of Daniel Krman, an emissary of the Lutherans to the Swedish King

He [*Mazepa*] was a man of over seventy years of age, with a severe face and typical Kozak features, learned in the Latin, Polish and Ruthenian languages, and owner of great estates...

He called in his colonels whom he considered the most trustworthy (about thirty in number) and presented them with the problem of what to do and with whom to ally themselves. The [*Russian*] Tsar had violated many of their freedoms, was placing Muscovite garrisons in Ukraine, every year confiscated a quantity of horses, withheld the Kozaks' pay, and had already taken three regiments from Ukraine in the last three years. On the other hand, the Swedish King lived far away and presented no danger to their freedoms, and their freedoms could be expected to be increased; he was extremely true to his royal word, and he would not desert them should they recognize his authority; to date he had always been victorious because behind him there stood justice and Divine assistance. The Hetman was close to his grave but he wished to make an effort yet and give of his blood for the good of his Ukraine. All present unanimously agreed to accept the Hetman's plan and swore to maintain secrecy [ibid., P. 126].

3. Remember which war and against which country the Moscow kingdom conducted in the beginning of the 18th century?

4. What were reasons for the Mazepa's decision to oppose the Russian tsar?

5. What were Mazepa's arguments in favor of the new alliance against Russia?

Memoirs of the German diplomat Friedrich Christian Weber about the punishment of Mazepa's followers

The Muscovite General Menshikov brought to Ukraine all the horrors of vengeance and war. All sympathizers with Mazepa were disgracefully tortured. Ukraine was flooded with blood and devastated by looting, and presents a frightful picture of the barbarity of the victors [ibid., P. 127–128].

François-Marie Arouet also known as Voltaire (1694–1778) – one of the main French Enlightenment philosophers famous for his criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and religious prejudices, advocacy of freedom of speech and religion, promotion of secular state and the concept of rational bureaucratic monarchies – “Enlightened absolutism”. The works of Voltaire as well as other French philosophers Charles-Louis Montesquieu, Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau prepared the intellectual background for the Great French Revolution and spread of liberal ideas. Also being a historian Voltaire In 1731 published the book “The History of Charles XII” that contains information about Ukraine and the hetman Ivan Mazepa.

Excerpt from “The History of Charles XII”

Source: Ukraine in foreign comments and descriptions from the VIth to XXth century by Volodymyr Sichynsky. – New York City : Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953. – 236 p.

The Ukania is the country of the Cossacks, between Iesser Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country extends about a hundred French leagues from south to north, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two nearly equal parts by the Borysthenes... the chief town is Baturyn... The northernmost part of Ukania is under cultivation, and rich; the southernmost part, in the forty-eighth degree, is one of the most fertile and at the same time the most deserted districts in the world; bad management quite counteracts its natural advantages...

Ukania has always aspired to liberty (freedom); but being surrounded by Muscovy, the dominions of the Grand Seignior [*Ottoman Sultan*], and Poland, it has been obliged to seek for a protector (who is, of course, a master) in one of those States. The country at first put itself under the protection of the Poles, who treated it too much as a subject-state; then they appealed to the Muscovites, who governed them with despotic sway. At first the Ukrainians had the privilege of chosing a prince, called general (Hetman), but soon they were deprived of this privilege, and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow...

The office was then filled by a Pole called Mazeppa, born in the palatinate [*province*] of Podolia. He had been brought up as page [*servant*] to [*Polish*] King John Casimir, and had gotten a little learning at his Court. On the discovery of an intrigue with the wife of a Polish nobleman the latter had him tied, stark naked, to a wild horse, and set him free in that state. The horse, which had been brought from Ukania, returned to its own country, carrying Mazeppa with him half dead from hunger and fatigue. Some of the peasants gave him relief, and he stayed a long time among them, and distinguished himself in several attempts against the Tartars. The superiority of his intelligence made him a person of consideration in the eyes of the Cossacks, and as his reputation daily increased the Tsar was forced to make him Prince of Ukania...

One day, as he was sitting at table with the Tsar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him to drill Cossacks, and render them more dependent. Mazeppa replied that the situation of Ukraina, and the genius of the nation, were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The Tsar, who began to be overheated with wine, and who had not always the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him empaled...

Mazeppa, on his return to Ukraina, formed the design of a revolt; and the execution of it was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon after appeared on his frontiers. He resolved to render himself independent, and to erect Ukraina and some other ruins of the Russian empire into a powerful kingdom. He was a man of great courage, of considerable enterprise, and most painstaking, though he was advanced in years...

He made a secret league with the King of Sweden, to hasten the Tsar's downfall and gain something himself out of it. He gave him a rendezvous near the river Desna; Mazeppa promised to meet him. There with 30,000 men, ammunition and provisions, and all his treasure, which was immense. The Swedish army was therefore ordered to march towards that part of the country, to the great regret of the officers, who knew nothing of the King's treaty with the Cossacks...

Charles advanced further into this desolate country, uncertain of his route and of Mazeppa's fidelity; at last the latter appeared, but rather as a fugitive than as a strong ally. The Muscovites had discovered and prevented his plan: they had fallen upon the Cossacks and cut them in 'pieces, his chief friends were taken red-handed, and thirty of them had been broken on the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures plundered, and the provisions he was preparing for the King of Sweden seized. He himself escaped with difficulty, accompanied by 6,000 men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. But he held out to the King the hope that he would be of some service from his knowledge of this unknown country, and by the affection of the natives, who enraged at the Muscovites... [ibid., P. 136–138].

- 6. Which problem in a geopolitical position of Ukraine Voltaire noted?**
- 7. How relations between the Cossack Ukraine and Moscow kingdom changed over time?**
- 8. What was the reason behind Mazepa's idea to start anti-Russian revolt? Define in it personal motifs of Mazepa and deep contradiction between Ukraine and Russia.**

**From the memoirs of General Christoph Hermann Manstein about
the period of 1727–1744**

Peter I had brought them low enough after the revolt of Mazeppa, to hinder them from ever shaking off his dominion, so that not having dared to lift their heads during the life of that Prince... Some of the richest, and the most

turbulent, were seized, and sent to Siberia: the rest begged mercy, and obtained it; not, however, without having been compelled to send a numerous deputation to Moscow, to implore the imperial mercy. Their Prince, or Hetman, was at the head of it. They were, besides, obliged to leave hostages for the security of their future good behaviour. Since that time, there has been no need of watching them so narrowly. They were so thoroughly subdued after the last war with the Turks, that they cannot for a long time be in any condition of revolt...

...they [*Cossacks*] inhabit the Ukrain, which is also called Malá Russia, or little Russia, and is unquestionably one of the finest countries in Europe; one half of it belongs to the Emperor of Russia, the other to Poland. The Borysthenes or Dnieper divides this country into two parts, forming at the same time their respective frontiers.

These Cossacks were once a free nation... when these people were united, they could bring a hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. They were long under the protection of the republic of Poland, and did it great service in its wars against the Turks; but the Polanders attempting to treat them like slaves, they revolted about a hundred years ago, under the conduct of the Hettman Chmelninski (Khmelnitsky)... Some years after the death of Chmelninski, the successor, Doroschenko (Doroshenko), gave himself and country up to Russia... This happened in the year 1674.

For the first years ensuing they preserved all their privileges, and were governed by a Prince of their own choosing among themselves. But the Hettman Mazepa having taken the part of Charles XII, King of Sweden, Peter I reduced this restless people to a condition of inability of striving to shake off their yoke.

At present they have no longer any privileges, and are looked upon in the light of a conquered province. Their last Hettman, Apostol (Apostol) dying in 1734, they were not left at liberty to choose another, and are actually now governed by a Russian Regency... They can absolutely bring two and twenty thousand men into the field... [ibid., P. 140–141]

9. How the position of Ukraine changed after the Mazepa's revolt?

10. Which measures the Russian tsars use to secure their positions in Ukraine from possible revolts?

11. Briefly write down the main stages of the Ukrainian history described in the text. Does the author give reasons for the evolution of the Ukrainian position?

Manstein about education in Russia

When Peter I ascended the throne, he found his people plunged in the grossest ignorance; even the priests could scarce write: the most essential qualities required at that time in a good divine, were, to read currently the service, and to know the ceremonies of the church; if with that he had a fine bushy beard, and a grim visage, he passed for a great man.

It was only the clergy of the Ukraine that had some tincture of erudition; yet among them it was that there was a necessity of selecting personages fit in any degree to instruct others. For Peter I having wished that his subjects, and particularly the clergy, should be more enlightened, gave it in charge to the Archbishop Stephen Yavorsky (Yavorsky), to establish schools in the monasteries of Moscow, and in other proper places. This prelate sent for professors from Kiow. (Kiev) and Czernichov (Chernihiv), and the instruction of youth was begun, who did not, however make much progress [ibid., P. 142].

12. What was the role of Ukrainian clergy in educational reform of the tsar Peter I?

The Memoires of Charles Francois Masson who served to the Russian Government in 1762–1802

The warlike nation of the Kozaks is diminishing from day to day. It will soon disappear from the face of the earth as have disappeared others fallen under the Russian sceptre, unless some happy revolution would soon arrive to liberate it from the yoke which it endures... The Kozaks have nothing in common with the Russians, with the exception of the Greek religion and... language. Their customs, their mode of life, food, wars – are totally different, if one does not take into consideration certain similarities which always exist in neighboring peoples...

The Kozak nation is losing its independence which it enjoyed before uniting with Russia... The uprising of the great Hetman Mazepa provoked by bad treatment, initiated the beginning of their oppression even during the reign of Peter I. This emperor took away their right to elect their own leader. He conducted compulsory recruitment in the country and had limited Kozak contingents which thereafter could be only periodical and temporary. Angered by their loyalty to Charles XII, he suppressed the Kozaks' families and dispersed their warriors throughout the various districts of his boundless empire. Nevertheless his successors were more careful and respected the remaining Kozak military and civil institutions for fear that by oppressing them more and more severely they might push them under the protection of the Turks or Poland... But as soon as these enemies ceased to be dangerous to Russia, the Kozaks found themselves in the enslavement of Tsarism. Now their ancient republican constitution exists no longer, the equality among them has disappeared... The union of the Kozaks with Russia was voluntary and conditional ... their land was always a property of the entire nation ... and no foreigner, including Russian, could settle there without the approval of the community, and the republic with great determination defended its frontier against the onslaughts of its neighbors. Such was the ancient status of the Kozaks, a status quite happy, when one compares their complete ancient independence with the complete present-day enslavement by the Russians ... their present-day masters, but comrades of slavery ... From the time of Mazepa they did not have any great hetman elected from among themselves. This dignity was abrogated and the title alone remained as a decoration for a few favorites of the Russian empresses...

It was not enough that it [*Russia*] took away their military strength, that it parcels their territory and incorporates it into old Russian provinces. Not so long ago it began dismemberment of the nation itself. [*What the author has in mind is the forceful deportation and resettlement of some 50,000 Ukrainians into the Kuban territory, the Caucasus and the Crimea*].

The Kozak nation is today in a state of crisis, it is restless and endeavors to emerge from under the heel of a colossus which wants to crush it [ibid., P. 167–169].

13. What temporarily restrained the Russian tsars from a complete elimination of Cossacks' rights?

The descriptions of Ukrainian lands in works of the 19th century

Memoirs of A. Pishchevich about establishment of "military settlements"²⁵ in Ukraine by the Russian government

Four Uhlan [*Russian regular cavalry*] regiments were brought to [town] Voznesensk... Kozaks at the beginning were determined not even to let them into their houses, but finally they were compelled to yield to superior force, for Count Witte brought in reserves of two infantry battalions and two batteries of artillery. In other Kozak garrisons battles raged and many Kozaks were killed... or beaten and sent to Siberia ... In some localities the women, seeing the Muscovite Uhlans attacking their husbands, threw themselves with their infants at the feet of the cavalry, believing that they could thus save their husbands from certain death, but to no avail. . . Witte himself retired to the Mykhaylivsky Post, where he called out all people and told them to swear fealty to the tsar. But they all refused. Then he singled out the oldest Kozak and demanded that he set an example for the others. But when this gray-haired old man stood firm and declared that he would not betray them and would not consent to that which would bring misery to his fellow-citizens, Witte declared:

"So you will be an example to the others!"

He then ordered the whole battalion of infantry to form a corridor of two lines and ordered the 70-year-old man to march through the corridor, so that every soldier would have the opportunity to use a knout on him. And in order that the old man should walk slowly, Witte ordered two soldiers to march backwards in front of him with fixed bayonets... The old man, seeing them before him, told the Count who was present at this execution, in a strong, even voice:

"I do not need them before me. I will take such a stride as you order and God Almighty will accept my soul..."

²⁵ Military settlements – organization of the Russian army after the Napoleon wars in 1810–1857 which based on combination of military service and agricultural employment of serfs-recruits.

The drums sounded and the trumpets blared, and the old man went to his death. He did not have to march far: very soon he was dead...

One has to realize the base brutality: the old man was beaten to death before the eyes of all the inhabitants, among whom were his sons, grandsons and great-grandchildren... [ibid., P. 179–180].

14. How do you think what was the reason for a discontent among Cossacks?

“Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey” by Edward Daniel Clarke (1816)

In 1770 Russia obtained Bessarabia with a population of 500,000 people.

In 1771 the Crimea was annexed to Russia with 460,000 people.

In 1793 Little Poland and the Ukraine were incorporated into the Russian empire with 6,500,000 people, and in 1794 "Western" Russia, including Lithuania and Podolia, were added to the empire, with 8,500,000 people.

When we add the territory of Eastern Ukraine (east of the Dnieper River) with at least 6,000,000 people, we might arrive at an approximate number of the Ukrainians who lived in Ukraine at the end of the XVIIIth century, namely 18,000,000 people [ibid., P. 195].

15. Remember as a result of which events and territories of which countries the Russian Empire annexed in the late 18th century?

The memoirs of J. G. Kohl, a noted German scientist who traveled in Ukraine in 1837–1838

Dismemberment was once the greatest misgiving of the Ukrainian people (tribe) also in the political aspect. Only for a short while were they united and strong, namely, under Volodymyr who ruled in Kiev. Today one part of the Ukrainians is behind the Carpathians in the Hungarian state, another in the Austrian province of Galicia, and still another on the Don, incorporated into the Russian provinces. But the bulk of them remained on the Dnieper in basic Ukraine. If it would be possible to unite all these parts politically, then the Ukrainian people would be quite strong compared to the Russian people [ibid., P. 195–196].

The Ukrainians live in well-kept houses which smile at you. They are not satisfied with washing them every week, as is done in Holland, but they whitewash them every two weeks as well. Therefore, the houses look like newly-washed linen [ibid.].

[In] Galicia and Bukovyna live the same Ukrainians as the Kozaks and Ukrainians in Russia." [Their language, naturally, differs very much from the Great Russian]. On the other hand, the Ukrainians of Podolia and Kiev understand those Ukrainians from Galicia as their own brothers [ibid., P. 199].

16. Which Volodymyr the author means in the text? When did he rule?

17. What was the biggest historical problem of Ukraine?

18. Which countries controlled Ukrainian lands in the 19th century?

19. How do you think why is that observation of Kohl is important?

The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule

Source: Rudnytsky Ivan L. Essays in modern Ukrainian history / Ivan L. Rudnytsky. – Edmonton : University of Alberta, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. 1987. – P. 315–319.

On the eve of World War I, the Ukrainian inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire numbered some four million [ibid., P. 315]. They were divided among the Austrian provinces of Galicia (3,380,000) and Bukovyna (300,000), and the Kingdom of Hungary (470,000). In each of these three territories the Ukrainians lived under quite different conditions. This calls for the separate treatment of each of the three groups...

The official designation for the East Slavic inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire was “Ruthenians”... in their own language they called themselves rusyny. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Galician and Bukovynian Ruthenians began to favour the adoption of a new national name – “Ukrainians” – which finally prevailed.

Ethnic nationality was of no political consequence in the eighteenth century. At the time of the annexation of Galicia to the Austrian Empire in 1772, the nobility of the land had been Polonized for a long time. Thus it is not surprising that properly speaking the Austrian government had at first no “Ruthenian policy”. Although the legal pretext used at the time of the First Partition of Poland was the alleged right of the Habsburg dynasty to the inheritance of the medieval Rus’ Galician-Volhynian Kingdom, the newly acquired province was, for all practical purposes, treated as a slice of Polish territory. However, the Ukrainian population of Galicia was soon to feel the impact of the new regime. The reform measures of the Austrian “enlightened”²⁶ monarchs, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, directly affected the two social groups that had retained their Rus’ identity: the peasants and the Uniate clergy [ibid., P. 316].

The most important measures enacted by the Austrian government between 1772 and 1790 in favour of the Galician peasantry were the following: the limitation of the corvee²⁷ to a maximum of three days a week, and of 156 days a year, from a peasant household, with a decreasing scale of services from the poorer groups of villagers; a strict prohibition of any additional exactions

²⁶ Enlightenment – intellectual movement that emerged in Britain and France during the time of transition from the feudalism to the capitalism (17th–18th centuries) that proposed new worldview based on rationalism and free-thinking. The philosophers who got nickname “Enlighteners” (John Locke, Voltaire, Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu) promoted ideas of natural rights of individual, limitation of power, idea of social progress, criticized the corruption of Church, ridiculed ignorance and prejudices.

²⁷ Corvee – form of juridical dependence of medieval peasants, unpaid labor of serfs in a field of landlord.

beyond the statutory corvee; the creation of a cadaster²⁸ and the securing to the peasants of the possession of the plots actually held and cultivated by them; the organization of villages into communities with elected officers; the granting of certain basic personal rights, such as the right to marry without the master's permission and the right to complain and appeal against the decisions of the landowner to the organs of state administration.

... the Galician peasant had become "at least an object of law, and not, as before [under the old Polish regime], outside any law."... The pro-peasant reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II laid the foundation for the dynastic loyalty of the Ukrainian masses in Galicia, which was to last until the end of the monarchy.

The Greek Catholic, or Uniate, Church occupied a crucial place in the history of the Galician Ukrainians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Austrian government granted the Uniate church and clergy equal status with their Roman Catholic counterparts, which had been denied them by the former Polish regime. In 1774, Maria Theresa decreed a new official term, "Greek Catholics"; the purpose was to stress the parity of the "Greek" and the "Roman" rites. This principle of parity, repeatedly emphasized by Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Leopold II, was implemented by a series of practical measures: the improvement of the legal and economic position of the Greek Catholic clergy, the creation of seminaries, and the creation of cathedral chapters in Lviv and Przemysl, whose members were to assist the bishops in the administration of their dioceses. The crowning reform, in 1808, was the elevation of the Lviv bishopric to the rank of Metropolitan See of Halych. This had been originally suggested, as early as 1773, by Bishop Lev Sheptytsky of Lviv (1717-79) with the argument that a Galician "Greek" metropolis would extend Austrian political influence among the Uniates of Western Ukraine, still part of Poland (until the Second Partition of 1793), and help to counter Russia's "schismatic" propaganda there [ibid., P. 316–317]...

The struggle of Cossack Ukraine for political independence in the seventeenth century was closely associated with the defence of Orthodoxy against Islam and Roman Catholicism. The Uniate church appeared at that time as an adjunct of alien Polish domination. By the nineteenth century, a curious reversal of roles had taken place. After the subordination of the Metropolitan See of Kiev to the Moscow Patriarchate (1685), the Orthodox church in Ukraine lost its autonomy, and gradually became completely Russified. The Uniate church, suppressed in the Russian Empire (1839), was limited to the Habsburg domains [*Austrian Empire*]. But here it experienced a remarkable resurgence. The beneficial reforms sponsored by the Austrian government

²⁸ Cadastre – register of landholders who pay taxes.

raised the educational and civic standards of the Greek Catholic clergy above those of the contemporary Orthodox clergy. At the same time, the impact of Austrian “Josephinism” enabled the Greek Catholic Church to rid itself of the Polish connection. It was now in a position to assume the role of a Ukrainian national church. From 1848 on, the Greek Catholic clergy provided the political leadership of the Ukrainian community in Galicia. Later, the leadership gradually passed into the hands of the lay intelligentsia, many of whom were, however, sons of clerical families [ibid., P. 317]...

20. How the self-recognition of Western Ukrainians changed during the 19th century?

21. Remember when and as a result of which processes Galicia became a part of the Austrian Empire?

22. Which groups of the Western Ukrainian society were affected by reforms of Austrian emperors?

23. What was the most important among Austrian reforms?

24. How those reforms changed the attitude of Ukrainians to the Austrian Empire?

25. How the position and identity of the Greek-Catholic Church changed after the Partitions of Poland?

26. Why did the Austrian emperors supported the Greek-Catholic Church?

The journey of the Czech writer Karel Vladislav Zapp through Galicia (1845)

The Dumy (historical epos) of the Ukrainians speak to one's soul... Some of the Christmas carols moved me very deeply...

The architectural style of the village churches is original and extremely picturesque. It seldom happens that a church does not have at least one dome; more often there are three domes, the middle one of which is tallest and handsomest. Wooden bell towers stand near the church ... These wooden churches are built by ordinary carpenters who also contribute to the wood-carved ornaments of the ikonostas... [ibid., P. 205–206].

Honore de Balzac (1799–1850) – world-famous French novelist and playwright whose books display a panorama of post-Napoleonic French life. Owing to his keen observation of detail and unfiltered representation of society, Balzac is regarded as one of the founders of realism in European literature. Balzac lived in Ukraine near Kyiv during the 1847–1850 with his beloved Ewelina Hanska, whom he married in 1850. In his letters to his family Balzac gave characteristics of Ukrainian life, its economic aspects and also about the climate, land and vegetation of Ukraine.

From letters of Honore de Balzac

In the kingdom of flowers and greenery there are many contrasts and marvels. One cannot imagine these spaces and the harvests on the land which is never fertilized, and yet which produces so much wheat every year [ibid., P. 209].

I saw the northern Rome, a city of Orthodoxy with some 300 churches, the wealth of the Lavra²⁹, St. Sophia ... It is worthwhile to see them at least once... During the 15 to 20-day fair people come to Kiev from all corners of Russia, and there is so much activity, both commercial and social, that it is impossible for me to describe it....

From articles of the French writer Prosper Merimee "The Kozaks of Ukraine and Their Late Hetmans" (1854)

The elected representative of a small people, encircled by powerful neighbors, he [*Bohdan Khmelnytskyi*] devoted his life to the struggle for independence. He was capable of splitting his enemies, as well as uniting all other friendly groups, he was unrestrained, brave, endowed in rich political tactics, prudent in his success, and resolute in time of defeat ... Khmelnytsky was courageous, cunning and intrepid; he had an instinct for war... All his power was based on his convincing the Kozaks that he was closely connected with their own interests. But his ambition, to be sure, was the result of his patriotism, or his absolute devotion to this wonderful union, which we call the Zaporozhian army ... He endeavored to create an aristocracy such as the Polish, but less cruel, and open to every brave and honest man. He had no idea of raising the peasantry to the rank of Kozaks, but yet he so cleverly juggled with it that even Germany, an alien to Slav customs, was greatly frightened [ibid., P. 210–211].

27. Which qualities of the hetman Khmelnytskyi the author described?

28. Why did Khmelnytskyi was successful in his rule?

From the petition of the French senator Kasimir Delamarre on the Ukrainian Question "A 15-Million European People, Forgotten in History" (1869)

There exists in Europe a people forgotten by historians – the Ruthenian people... twelve and a half million of them under the Russian tsar, and two and half million under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This people is as numerous as the people of Spain, and three times as numerous as the Czechs, and equals in number all the subjects of the Crown of St. Stephen [*Hungary*]. This people has its own history, different from that of Poland, and far different from the history of Muscovy. It has its own traditions and language which is separate from the Muscovite and the Polish, and which has a distinct individuality and for which these people continue to fight. History should not forget that up to the

²⁹ Lavra – a male Orthodox monastery, here it's the Kyiv Monastery of Caves.

time of Peter I this people, whom we call Ruthenians, was known as Rus or Ruthenians and their land was known as Rus or Ruthenia, and the people whom we today call Russian was known as Muscovites, and their land was Muscovy. At the end of the past century all in France and in Europe knew well enough how to distinguish Rus from Muscovy [ibid., P. 211].

29. Which important substitution was noticed by the French politician?

30. How do you think what was the political goal of K. Delamarre's petition?

Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861) – the most talented Ukrainian poet, painter, creator of the Ukrainian literary language. Taras Shevchenko was born in a serf family, from a childhood became an orphan. His master landlord noticed the Taras' inclination to draw and took him to firstly to Vilnus and then to Sent-Petersburg where Shevchenko attended lessons of professional painters. There Shevchenko was noticed by the compatriots who together with prominent Russian artists Vasiliy Zhukovskiy and painter Karl Brullov decided to repurchase him from slavery. It happened in 1838 when money were obtained from a lottery. The price was a Zhukovskiy's portrait by Brullov sold to the Russian royal family. Taras Shevchenko entered the Academy of Arts and in 1840 issued the first edition of his main book – collection of poems "Kobzar"³⁰. Shevchenko became a member of secret political society, The Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, which aimed to abolish serfdom and establish democratic federation of Slavic nations. After a disclosure of the Brotherhood Shevchenko was arrested and severely punished – sent for 10 years to deserts of Central Asia as a private of the Russian army. There he was forbidden to write and draw though he continued to do both. After the release in 1857 Shevchenko was prohibited to live in Ukraine. Never married and ill he died in 1861 – the same year the serfdom was finally abolished in the Russian Empire. Poems of Shevchenko were translated to many languages by the prominent writers including the writer Ethel Lilian Voynich.

The plundered gravemound

Source: Kobzar Says // Ukrainian Culture. – Monthly national magazine. 2013. – № 8. – P. 41.

Peaceful land, beloved country,
Ukraina cherished!
Mother, why have you been plundered?
Why do you thus perish?

³⁰ Kobzars – name that in Ukraine was given to blind itinerant singers who performed traditional Ukrainian epic songs about deeds of Cossacks – Dumy. They played the The kobza also called bandura – a Ukrainian folk music instrument of the lute family. Regarding the title of Shevchenko's book *kobzar* is a symbol of the national memory.

Before the sun rose in the morning
Did you fail to pray?
Did you to your unsure babes
Neglect to teach the way?
“I prayed, I worried, sleeping not.
Neither night nor day,
I watched over my small children,
Teaching them the way,
And my flowers throve and grew,
My children true and good,
And there was a time, indeed,
When in this world I ruled.
Yes, indeed, I ruled... O Bohdan.
My son so unwise!
On your mother, Ukraina,
Look now, turn your eyes.
Once, as she rocked you, she would sing
Of her unhappy fortune,
And singing, wept a mother’s tears,
Looking out for freedom!...
Bohdan, O my little Bohdan!
Had I known, in the cradle
I’d have choked you, in my sleep
I’d have overlain you.
Now my steppes have all been sold.
In Jews’ and Germans’ hands;
And my sons at foreign toil,
Far in foreign lands;
My brother, Dniro, now runs dry
And is deserting me;
And my dear gravemounds the Muscovites
Are plundering utterly.
Let them dig and excavate,
They do not seek their own...
And meanwhile, let the renegades
Wax in strength and grow,
Let them help the Muscovite
Be lord and master there,
And from their mother her old smock,
Patched and worn, to tear!
Help them to torment, you brutes,

Your mother – do not spare!”
Quartered, dug, and excavated,
Gravemound torn and plundered...
What have they been seeking there,
What was buried under
It by the old fathers? If...
If they had but found
what lay hidden there beneath it,
Then the children would not weep,
the mother cease her grieving.

31. How do you think whom Shevchenko means under the name “Bohdan” and why does his “mother” Ukraine want to kill him?

32. Which problems does Shevchenko pose in this verse?

33. Which “dear graves” the author means? Remember the story of plundering graves from the one of previous texts.

Topic 5. Ukraine in the Newest Period

In February 1917 the democratic revolution happened in the Russian Empire. As a result of it the monarchy in Russia fell. The new centers of power were established. On the one hand that was the Provisional Government which advocated moderate reforms and continuation of the World War I. On the other – there were more radical Councils of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies dominated by Socialist parties³¹ which advocated immediate cease of war, free distribution of land among peasants, establishment of eight-hour day and workers’ control over enterprises. At the same time in Ukraine intellectuals and representatives of political groups formed own national political center – the Central Rada (from Ukrainian – “Council). Its leader became a famous historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi. The Central Rada reelected in April by deputies from Ukrainian regions became a proto-parliament and demanded from the Provisional Government rights of self-governance for Ukraine. After the refuse of the Provisional Government to meet demands of the Central Rada it unilaterally proclaimed the autonomy³² of Ukraine in June 1917 by the 1st Universal³³.

³¹ Socialism – socioeconomic system and doctrine that call for the public rather than private ownership over the means of production and replacement of market exchange of goods by their distribution according to contribution and needs of producers.

³² Autonomy – self-government of the region within the state.

³³ Universals – name for decrees of Cossack hetmans in the 17th – 18th centuries. Also the name was used by the Central Rada during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 to mark the continuity of Ukrainian statehood tradition.

First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada to all Ukrainian People whether residing in the Ukraine or beyond its borders

Source: The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution. Appendix: The Four Universals. URL:

<http://www.ditext.com/hunczak/universals.html>.

Ukrainian people! Nation of peasants, workers, toilers!

By your will you have placed us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, to guard the rights and freedoms of the Ukrainian land.

Your finest sons, those who represent villages, factories, military barracks, all Ukrainian communities and associations, have elected us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and ordered us to stand firm and defend these rights and freedoms.

Your elected representatives, nation, have expressed their will thus:

Let the Ukraine be free! Without separating from all of Russia, without breaking with the Russian state, let the Ukrainian people have the right to manage its own life on its own soil. Let a National Ukrainian Assembly (Soim), elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret balloting, establish order and harmony in the Ukraine. Only our Ukrainian Assembly has the right to establish all laws which can provide that order among us here in the Ukraine.

Those laws which would govern the entire Russian state should be promulgated in the All-Russian Parliament.

No one can know better than we what we need and which laws are best for us.

No one can know better than our peasants how to manage their own land, therefore, we desire that after all the lands throughout Russia held by the nobility, the state, the monasteries, and the tsar have been confiscated and have become the property of the people, and after a law concerning this has been enacted by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the right to administer the Ukrainian lands shall belong to us, to our Ukrainian Assembly (*Soim*).

Thus spoke the electors from the entire Ukrainian land.

Having so resolved, they elected us, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, from among their midst and commanded us to be at the head of our people, to stand for its rights, and to create a new order in a free *autonomous* Ukraine...

We thought that the Central Russian Government would extend its hands to us in this task, that in agreement with it, we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, would be able to provide order for our land.

But the Provisional Russian Government rejected all our demands; it pushed aside the outstretched hand of the Ukrainian people. We have sent our delegates (envoys) to Petrograd³⁴ so that they might present our demands to the Russian Provisional Government.

³⁴ Petrograd – name of Sent-Petersburg (Russian capital in 1712–1918) during the WWI and Revolution of 1917.

Our major demands were the following:

That the Russian government publicly, by a special act, declare that it does not oppose the national will of the Ukraine, the right of our people to *autonomy*.

That the Central Russian Government have accredited to it our *Commissar on Ukrainian affairs* for all matters concerning the Ukraine.

That local power in the Ukraine be united under one representative from the Central Russian Government, that is, by a *Commissar in the Ukraine* chosen by us.

That a definite *portion of the monies* which are collected for the Central Treasury from our people be turned over to us, the representatives of this people for its own national-cultural needs.

The Central Russian Government rejected all of these demands.

It was not willing to say whether or not it recognizes the right of our people to autonomy and the right to manage its own life. It evaded an answer, and referred us to the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly...

And now, Ukrainian people, we are forced to create our own destiny. We cannot permit our land to fall into lawlessness and decline. Since the Russian Provisional Government cannot provide order for us, since it does not want to join us in this great task, then we must take it upon ourselves. This is our duty to our land and to the peoples who live on our land.

That is why we, *the Ukrainian Central Rada*, issue this Universal to our entire nation and proclaim: from this day forth we shall build our life.

Therefore, let each member of our nation, each citizen of a village or city know that the time has come for a great undertaking.

Hereafter, each village, each volost, each city or zemstvo³⁵ governing board which upholds the interests of the Ukrainian Nation should have *the closest of organizational ties with the Central Rada*.

In places where for some reason administrative authority remains in the hands of people hostile to the Ukrainian cause, we prescribe that our citizens carry out a broad, vigorous organizational effort and enlightenment of the people and then *elect an administration*.

In cities and those areas where the Ukrainian population is intermingled with other nationalities, we prescribe that our citizens immediately *come to agreement and understanding with the democratic elements of these nationalities*, and jointly begin preparations for a new orderly existence.

The Central Rada hopes that the non-Ukrainian peoples living on our territory will also care for order and peace in our land, and that in this difficult time of disorder in the entire state, they join us in a united and friendly fashion to work for the organization of an *autonomous Ukraine*.

And when we complete this preparatory organizational work, we will call together representatives from all nations of the Ukrainian Land and will

³⁵ Volost – rural administrative district in the Russian Empire; Zemstvo – elected bodies of the local self-rule in a countryside of the Russian Empire.

establish laws for it. These laws, this entire order which we shall prepare, the All-Russian Constituent Assembly must ratify by its own law...

Consequently, *we, the Ukrainian Central Rada*, order all the organized citizenry of our villages and towns and all Ukrainian community executive boards and organizations to institute a special tax on the population for our native cause, effective the first day of the month of July, to be transmitted accurately, immediately and regularly to *the treasury of the Ukrainian Central Rada*.

Ukrainian people! Your fate lies in your own hands. In this difficult time of universal disorder and ruin, prove by your unity and your statesmanship that you, a nation of workers, a nation of tillers of the soil, can proudly and with dignity take your place beside any organized nation-state, as an equal among equals.

- 1. To whom the Central Rada addressed?**
- 2. What were specific demands of the Central Rada?**
- 3. How the Central Rada explained the Provisional Government's reject to its demands?**
- 4. What did the Central Rada propose people to do to implement the Universal?**
- 5. How do you think why the Central Rada didn't demand a complete independence of Ukraine but demanded only the autonomy?**

What happened in the Ukrainian lands during the revolutionary turmoil of 1917–1920?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York : Oxford University Press. 2015. P. 41–44.

When the multinational empires in Eastern and Central Europe collapsed at the end of World War I, the leaders of their constituent nationalities attempted to reorganize the postwar political space according to the principle of national self-determination, which the victorious Allies endorsed. In practice, Ukrainians became a major exception to this principle, as the Allies resolved to incorporate the Ukrainian lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire into several new Eastern European states that were to serve as a cordon sanitaire against the Bolshevik³⁶ menace. The Bolsheviks, in turn, sought to keep as

³⁶ Bolsheviks (from Russian “bolshinstvo” – majority) – majority revolutionary faction of the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party, which was renamed the Communist Party after seizing power in Russia in November 1917. The leader of Bolsheviks was Vladimir Lenin. Bolsheviks won in the Civil War in Russia defeating internal counterrevolution, national movements (including the Ukrainian People’s Republic) and external intervention by the Entente forces, and founded the USSR. *Source: Альков В. А., Ільїн В. Г., Робак І. Ю. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури». Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. С. 6.*

much of the former Russian imperial territory as they could, while also realizing the need for federalization, or at least its appearance.

The unexpected collapse of the Russian monarchy in the spring of 1917 allowed the Ukrainian national movement to come out in the open, quickly capturing the sympathies of the peasant and soldier masses. Prolonged negotiations took place between the Ukrainian revolutionary parliament, the Central Rada, and the Russian Provisional Government³⁷ concerning the provinces that should come under the authority of the newly proclaimed Ukrainian People's Republic³⁸ and what the extent of this authority should be. Meanwhile, by the year's end, the Bolsheviks took power in the imperial capital and promptly initiated peace talks with the Central Powers. The Bolsheviks also proclaimed their own Ukrainian Soviet Republic and brought its representatives to the negotiation table, just as their troops were marching on Kyiv.

However, the Germans and the Austrians preferred to settle separately with Soviet Russia and the independent Ukrainian People's Republic, which they hoped to use as a breadbasket for their starving populations. The Brest-Litovsk Peace, signed in early 1918, forced the Bolsheviks to recognize the former Russian Ukraine as an independent state in its ethnographic borders (without the Crimea and the Ukrainian lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). A large German and Austrian occupation force marched into the Ukrainian People's Republic to ensure the collection of foodstuffs, which was spelled out in a secret protocol. The Germans soon replaced the left-leaning Ukrainian republican government with the more congenial conservative, monarchist regime of General Pavlo Skoropadsky, who was proclaimed "hetman." However, in the fall of 1918, the Central Powers lost the war and had to evacuate Ukraine, taking their puppet monarch with them.

³⁷ Provisional Government – supreme power in Russia established by liberal politicians from the State Duma (parliament) and moderate socialists after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in March of 1917. The Provisional Government favored continuing the war with the Central Powers and gradual reforms. Unable to satisfy popular expectations for peace, distribution of land among peasants and 8-hour working day, the Provisional Government ceased to exist due to the Bolshevik coup in November of 1917. The Provisional Government tried to postpone the consideration of the Ukrainian demand for autonomy until the convention of the Russian Constituent Assembly and tried to limit the competency of the Central Rada. *Source: ibid., P. 26.*

³⁸ Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) – first contemporary Ukrainian state that was founded and existed during the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921 and represented by such governmental bodies as the Central Rada and the Directory. Armies of the Ukrainian People's Republic were defeated by Bolsheviks and the Polish army in the end of 1919. After that the Directory's leader Symon Petliura emigrated and established the government in exile while military units of the UPR continued the partisan armed struggle against The Red Army (Bolsheviks) until 1921. *Source: ibid., P. 32.*

The defeat of the Central Powers also meant the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, allowing the Ukrainian activists to proclaim the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in eastern Galicia. However, the newly reconstituted Polish state also laid claim to eastern Galicia. A Ukrainian-Polish war broke out there, in which the Ukrainians eventually suffered defeat when fresh Polish forces marched in (the Allies had originally trained and equipped them for use against the Central Powers). Still, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic lasted long enough to solemnly declare its union with the Ukrainian People's Republic, by then restored in the east.

In 1919 the Ukrainian lands of the former Russian Empire became a bloody battlefield in the Russian civil war between the Bolshevik Reds and the anti-Bolshevik Whites, with the Ukrainian republican troops fighting against both by turns. It was a Ukrainian civil war as well, because ethnic Ukrainians fought in all of these armies for their respective visions of "Ukraine," which many of them still saw as inseparably linked to Russia. This period also saw the collapse of civic order, marked by the free reign of peasant bands in the countryside that sometimes grew into real armies. For example, the anarchist leader in southern Ukraine, Nestor Makhno, commanded a force of 40,000 and fought alternately with or against the Bolsheviks. The collapse of authority in the countryside also led to bloody pogroms against Jews in the provinces west of the Dniro, claiming an estimated 50,000 lives. All the armies marching through the land committed them, but peasant gang leaders loosely affiliated with the Ukrainian republican government were apparently responsible for the largest share, even though the helpless Ukrainian leaders issued appeals against the pogroms...

In 1920 the Bolsheviks finally defeated the Whites in mainland Ukraine, although the latter still held out in the Crimean Peninsula until the fall, and pushed the Ukrainian army into Polish-controlled territory in the west. The Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin saw the main cause of the Ukrainian national movement's growth in the failure of successive Russian governments to economically placate the peasantry, which he construed as petty landowners susceptible to nationalist agitation. In order to disarm the peasantry's suspicions, the Bolsheviks organized a massive distribution of the land and also declared that Ukraine would remain a separate republic in federation with Soviet Russia. After the brief Soviet-Polish war in 1920 ended in an impasse, the Bolsheviks squeezed the Whites out of the Crimea. The period of revolutionary wars in the former Russian Empire ended.

Agreement was also reached about the former Austro-Hungarian territories. Frightened by the Bolshevik threat in the east, the Allies sacrificed the principle of national self-determination in favor of security. They assigned eastern Galicia to Poland, northern Bukovyna to Romania, and Transcarpathia to the new state of Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian population in the former Austro-Hungarian lands actually became the largest national minority in interwar Europe.

- 6. Try to distinguish periods of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921.**
- 7. What were achievements and failures of the Ukrainian leaders during the revolution?**
- 8. How the international situation of that time helped or prevented the obtaining independence by Ukraine?**
- 9. What were results of the revolution for Ukrainian lands?**

Gareth Jones (1905–1935) – a Welsh journalist who first made the fact of artificial famine in Soviet Ukraine (Holodomor) public in the West. From 1930 to 1933 Gareth Jones three times visited the USSR and after each trip wrote articles regarding results of the Joseph Stalin's Five-Year Plan. During the second visit he experienced the onset of starvation in Ukraine caused by forced requisition of grain from farmers by the Soviet government which in that way provided needs of industrial modernization. Gareth Jones also was the first foreign journalist who highlighted the Adolf Hitler's ascension to power in 1933. Shortly after Hitler was appointed as a dictator of Germany Jones exposed to the world the terrible famine that was organized in Ukraine by the Stalin's leadership and explained reasons for this tragedy. At that time Jones' observations were sharply criticized as a lie by pro-Soviet Western journalists. Getting support from the US press magnate Randolph Hearst, Gareth Jones continued public criticism of Stalin's crimes against the Soviet peasantry. In 1935 during his world trip Jones was kidnapped and murdered by bandits in Mongolia. In November 2009 Gareth's alma mater of Trinity College Cambridge eventually recognized the true historical importance of Gareth's diary notes of his observation of famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933.

Excerpts from Gareth Jones' articles

Source: Famine Exposure Newspaper Articles relating to Gareth Jones' trips to The Soviet Union (1930–35). URL: https://www.garethjones.org/soviet_articles/soviet_articles.htm.

Gareth's final visit to the Soviet Union in March 1933, exposing the Holodomor³⁹

I walked through the country visiting villages and investigating twelve collective farms... Everywhere I heard the cry: 'There is no bread: we are dying!' This cry is rising from all parts of Russia: from the Volga district, from Siberia, from White Russia, from Central Asia and from the Ukraine black dirt

³⁹ Holodomor (from Ukrainian "holod" – hunger and "mor" – death) – artificial famine that was organized in Soviet Ukraine in 1932–1933 by the Stalin leadership to punish individual farmers who resisted the policy of collectivization and force them to join the collective farms.

country. I saw a peasant pick up a crust of bread and an orange peel which I had thrown away in the train.

Soldiers warned me against travelling by night, as there were too many desperate men about. A foreign expert who returned from Kazakstan told me that 1,000,000 out of the 5,000,000 of inhabitants there have died of hunger.

Famine rules Russia. The 5-year Plan Has Killed the Bread Supply

A few days ago I stood in a worker's cottage outside Moscow. A father and a son, the father, a Russian skilled worker in a Moscow factory and the son a member of the Young Communist League, stood glaring at one another.

The father trembling with excitement, lost control of himself and shouted at his Communist son. It is terrible now. We workers are starving. Look at Chelyabinsk where I once worked. Disease there is carrying away numbers of us workers and the little food there is uneatable. That is what you have done to our Mother Russia.

The son cried back: "But look at the giants of industry which we have built. Look at the new tractor works. Look at the Dniepostroy⁴⁰. That has construction has been worth suffering for."

"Construction indeed!" Was the father's reply: "What's the use of construction when you have destroyed all that's best in Russia?"

What that worker said at least 96 per cent. of the people of Russia are thinking. There has been construction, but, in the act of building, all that was best in Russia has disappeared. The main result of the Five Year Plan has been the tragic ruin of Russian agriculture. This ruin I saw in its grim reality. I tramped through a number of villages in the snow of March. I saw children with swollen bellies. I slept in peasants' huts, sometimes nine of us in one room. I talked to every peasant I met, and the general conclusion I draw is that the present state of Russian agriculture is already catastrophic but that in a year's time its condition will have worsened tenfold.

What did the peasants say? There was one cry which resounded everywhere I went and that was: "There is no bread." The other sentence, which as the leitmotiv of my Russian visit was: "All are swollen." Even within a few miles of Moscow there is no bread left. As I was going through the countryside in that district I chatted to several women who were trudging with empty sacks towards Moscow. They all said: "It is terrible. We have no bread. We have to go all the way to Moscow to get bread and then they will only give us four pounds, which costs three roubles (six shillings nominally). How can a poor man live?"...

"What about your cows?" was the next question. To the Russian peasant

⁴⁰ Dnieperstroy – name for the construction of Dnieper Hydroelectric Station – largest hydroelectric power station on the Dnieper River, that was built in 1927-1932 and became one of the largest projects of the First Five-Years Plan.

the cow means wealth, food and happiness. It is almost the centre-point upon which his life gravitates.

“The cattle have nearly all died. How can we feed the cattle when we have only fodder to eat ourselves?”

“And your horses?” was the question I asked in every village I visited. The horse is now a question of life and death, for without a horse how can one plough? And if one cannot plough, how can one sow for the next harvest? And if one cannot sow for the next harvest, then death is the only prospect in the future.

The reply spelled doom for most of the villages. The peasants said: “Most of our horses have died and we have so little fodder that the remaining ones all scraggy and ill.”...

What of the towns? Moscow as yet does not look so stricken, and no one staying in Moscow would have an inkling of what is going on in the countryside, unless he could talk to the peasants who have come hundreds and hundreds of miles to the capital to look for bread. The people in Moscow warmly clad, and many of the skilled workers, who have their warm meal every day at the factory, are well fed. Some of those who earn very good salaries, or who have special privileges, look even, well dressed, but the vast majority of the unskilled workers are feeling the pinch...

The Five-Year Plan has built many fine factories. But it is bread that makes factory wheels go round, and the Five-Year Plan has destroyed the bread-supplier of Russia.

10. What was the claim of father worker to his son Communist? How did son justify food problems?

11. What was the reason for the mass starvation according to Gareth Jones?

In 1930s the international situation deteriorated radically. Reasons for that were tensions between the main winners in the WWI (Great Britain, France, the USA) and countries that were defeated or deprived certain gains in that war (Germany, Italy, Japan, the USSR). The tensions were aggravated by the world economic crisis (the Great Depression) and establishment of dictatorial regimes in the latter countries. The nonparticipation of the USA in European problems and international isolation of the USSR also contributed to powerless position of the League of Nations – predecessor of the United Nations that had to prevent wars. The mutual distrust between Western democracies and the USSR where the repressive Stalin’s dictatorship was established made the creation of collective security system impossible. As a result countries tried to avoid the upcoming war separately that benefited Adolf Hitler. Ukraine controlled by the USSR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia found itself in a center of international rivalry. The Appeasement of Hitler by Britain and France at the expense of Czechoslovakia only brought the war closer. At the same time during the

German occupation of Czechoslovakia its Ukrainian province Transcarpathia proclaimed short-lived independence. However the Munich Agreement between Western democracies and Germany that permitted it to annex Czechoslovakia, persuaded the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin to break with democratic countries and negotiate directly with Hitler to avoid of being the next victim of German aggression. On August 23 1939 Germany and the USSR signed the non-aggression treaty and a secret protocol to it known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (named after ministers of foreign affairs of both countries). That agreement changed the fate of the Europe and Ukraine dramatically.

The Treaty of Nonaggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Government of the German Reich and The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Desirous of strengthening the cause of peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and proceeding from the fundamental provisions of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April, 1926 between Germany and the U.S.S.R., have reached the following Agreement:

Article I

Both High Contracting Parties obligate themselves to desist from any act of violence, any aggressive action, and any attack on each other, either individually or jointly with other Powers.

Article II

Should one of the High Contracting Parties become the object of belligerent action by a third Power, the other High Contracting Party shall in no manner lend its support to this third Power...

Article IV

Should disputes or conflicts arise between the High Contracting Parties, neither shall participate in any grouping of Powers whatsoever that is directly or indirectly aimed at the other party.

Article V

Should disputes or conflicts arise between the High Contracting Parties over problems of one kind or another, both parties shall settle these disputes or conflicts exclusively through friendly exchange of opinion or, if necessary, through the establishment of arbitration commissions.

Article VI

The present Treaty is concluded for a period of ten years, with the proviso that, in so far as one of the High Contracting Parties does not advance it one year prior to the expiration of this period, the validity of this Treaty shall automatically be extended for another five years.

Article VII

The present treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Berlin. The Agreement shall enter into force as soon as it is signed.

12. How do you think why Hitler who always considered the USSR as an enemy sought the agreement with that country? Why the treaty had to be ratified in “the shortest possible time”?

13. How was the article 1 fulfilled by signatories?

Secret supplementary protocol on the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR

Source: Secret Supplementary Protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact, 1939. URL:

<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110994.pdf?v=58678c689942571e1c9c5bdd350c38f1>

In signing the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the two sides discussed in strict confidentiality the issue of delimiting the spheres of mutual interest in Eastern Europe. This discussion led to the following result:

1. In the event of territorial-political reorganization of the districts making up the Baltic states (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern border of Lithuania is simultaneously the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR. The interests of Lithuania with respect to the Vilnius district are recognized by both sides.

2. In the event of territorial-political reorganization of the districts making up the Polish Republic, the border of the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR will run approximately along... Narew, Vistula, and San rivers.

The question of whether it is in the (signatories') mutual interest to preserve the independent Polish State and what the borders of that state will be can be ascertained conclusively only in the course of future political development.

In any event, both governments will resolve this matter through friendly mutual agreement.

3. Concerning southeastern Europe, the Soviet side emphasizes the interest of the USSR in Bessarabia⁴¹. The German side declares its complete political disinterest in these areas.

4. This protocol will be held in strict secrecy by both sides.

14. How the aggressive plans of signatories are masked/rephrased in the secret protocol?

15. What were plans of sides for the Ukrainian lands?

⁴¹ Bessarabia – today's the Republic of Moldova and a part of Odessa oblast of Ukraine.

Serhii Plokyh (born in 1957) – the contemporary Ukrainian-American historian, the director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University (USA) whose works are dedicated to the origin of Slavic nations, cultural, Medieval, international and Soviet history. In 2018 Serhii Plokyh was awarded by the highest state prize of Ukraine for works of literature – the Shevchenko National Prize – for his book “The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine”. That book currently is one of the best English works that present the history of Ukraine conceptually – through the prism of certain problems and ideas.

Nazi Occupation of Ukraine during the World War II

Source: Plokyh Serhii. *The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine / Serhii Plokyh*. – New York, 2015. – P. 259–275.

Adolf Hitler presented his views on the future of the world in *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*)... the former Habsburg subject pledged to fight against the so-called Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world and propounded the creation of a German empire that would provide the Aryan race with *Lebensraum* (living space) in eastern Europe... From 1933, when he became chancellor of Germany and his Nazi Party came to power, he had enough resources to begin implementing his plans. Hitler’s ideas, spelled out for the first time in 1923, had a profound impact on the world, but in few places was their impact as destructive and their consequence as tragic as in Ukraine – the centerpiece of Hitler’s vision of *Lebensraum*.

The idea of *Lebensraum* for the Germans was not Hitler’s creation. First formulated before World War I, it envisioned the acquisition of German territory all over the world. Germany’s defeat in the war made colonial expansion across the British-controlled seaways all but impossible, and Hitler saw room for growth in eastern Europe alone. “It would have been more practical to undertake that military struggle for new territory in Europe rather than to wage war for the acquisition of possessions abroad,” he wrote in *Mein Kampf*... His goal was... to wipe out the existing population all the way to the Volga and settle the fertile lands of eastern Europe – Ukraine in particular – with German colonists...

Hitler’s rural utopia for the Germans required not only the acquisition of new territory but also its deurbanization and depopulation... Ukraine would learn what that meant in practice... during its three-year occupation by Nazi Germany from 1941 to 1944. With its pre-1914 reputation as the breadbasket of Europe and one of the highest concentrations of Jews on the continent, Ukraine would become both a prime object of German expansionism and one of the Nazis’ main victims. Between 1939 and 1945 it would lose almost 7 million citizens (close to 1 million of them Jewish), or more than 16 percent of its prewar population. Only Belarus and Poland – two other countries within the sphere of Hitler’s *Lebensraum* – sustained higher proportional losses.

The invasion began in the early hours of June 22, 1941, along a front stretching from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Germany and its allies, including Romania and Hungary, fielded some 3.8 million soldiers. Germany's Army Group South attacked Ukraine... On the Soviet front, the Germans concentrated some 4,000 tanks and more than 7,000 artillery pieces. Over 4,000 aircraft covered the advance. The Germans had almost complete control of the air – a surprise Luftwaffe attack destroyed the bulk of Soviet military planes on the airfields before they could become airborne.

The Red Army had approximately the same number of men on the Soviet western border as the Germans and significantly more tanks, guns, and aircraft. The USSR's materiel, however, was inferior to the latest German models, and inexperienced officers, who had only recently replaced the more experienced commanders purged by Stalin, led its men into battle. Commanders abandoned their units, while the morale of the soldiers, many of them peasants who had survived the famine and collectivization⁴², was low. It fell further with every passing day as the Germans took advantage of their surprise attack, gained territory rapidly, and inflicted devastating casualties on the retreating Soviet troops. What Stalin had considered his success – the acquisition of new territory after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact – turned out to be a trap. In the month preceding the invasion, he had moved his troops west of the defense lines built over the previous decade so as to protect the new borders, and now they had to defend a border that they had had no time to fortify. As envisioned by the planners of blitzkrieg warfare, the German panzer divisions cut through the Soviet defenses, encircling entire armies and creating havoc behind Red Army lines.

In western Ukraine, Red Army commanders launched a major counteroffensive in the region of Lutsk, Brody, and Rivne, sending all their tank formations into battle, only to be outmaneuvered and defeated by a much smaller Wehrmacht tank force. It would be all downhill after that. In three weeks, the Wehrmacht managed to advance eastward anywhere from three hundred to six hundred kilometers. Not only Galicia and Volhynia, recently occupied by Soviet forces, but also large parts of Right-Bank Ukraine were

⁴² Collectivization – mass creation of the collective farms that was carried out in the USSR in late 1920 and early 1930s. The collectivization included the liquidation of individual farms, numerous arrests and exiles of peasants, the organization of the artificial famine (Holodomor) by the Stalinist leadership to force peasants work in collective farms in favor of the state. The collectivization was the main mechanism to ensure and finance the rapid industrialization that was carried out by the Soviet government at the same time (food supply of industrial workers and army, increase of the grain export to obtain money for the industrialization). *Source: Альков В. А. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури» / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Льїн, І. Ю. Робак. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. – С. 9.*

lost. More than 2,500 Soviet tanks and close to 2,000 aircraft were destroyed. Casualties were hard to count. In August, German divisions surrounded and imprisoned more than 100,000 Red Army soldiers near the city of Uman in Podolia, but they took the greatest prize near Kyiv the following month. Contrary to the advice of Red Army commanders, including the head of the General Staff, Georgii Zhukov, Stalin refused to withdraw his troops from the Kyiv region, given the city's symbolic importance, and caused probably the greatest Soviet military disaster of the entire war.

Red Army units led by... General Mykhailo Kyrponos, resisted the advance but could do little against German mechanized divisions. Kyiv fell to the Germans on September 19, 1941. General Kyrponos died in battle the next day near the town of Lohvytsia. The Wehrmacht surrounded and took prisoner more than 660,000 Red Army soldiers in the Kyiv pocket. In October, the same fate befell close to 100,000 men between Melitopol and Berdiansk in southern Ukraine, and another 100,000 surrendered near Kerch in the Crimea in November. By the end of the year, when the Red Army was forced to abandon almost all of Ukraine, more than 3.5 million of its officers and soldiers were in enemy hands. The retreating Soviets followed a scorched-earth policy, removing industrial equipment, livestock, supplies, and people from areas they were about to leave. Altogether, they evacuated approximately 550 large factories and 3.5 million skilled laborers to the east.

The Germans divided the Ukrainian territories under their control into three parts: Galicia was lumped together with what had been Western Galicia and the Warsaw region into an entity called the General Government; most of Ukraine from Volhynia in the northwest to Zaporizhia in the southeast, along with southern Belarus around the cities of Pinsk and Homel, became the Reichskommissariat Ukraine; and eastern Ukraine, from Chernihiv in the north to Luhansk and Stalino (Yuzivka, Donetsk) in the south, remained under military command as an area too close to the front lines to be assigned to civilian administration...

Nazi treatment of Soviet prisoners of war sent another signal, this time to the citizens of central and eastern Ukraine, that the Germans of 1941 bore no resemblance to the Germans of 1918. If the former were just occupiers, the latter were colonizers who treated the conquered as subhuman.

... the Germans would not agree to extend to Soviet prisoners the treatment they offered POWs from the West. Whereas they treated the latter with a degree of respect, recognizing rank and providing access to medical attention, as well as to parcels of food and clothing, they denied Soviet prisoners of war all of that. Besides, they did not leave everyone who wanted to surrender alive; many they shot on the spot. On June 6, 1941, more than two weeks before the invasion, the headquarters had issued the order for troops to shoot on capture commissars and Red Army political officers, as well as

NKVD⁴³ men and Jews... Those left alive got sent to makeshift concentration camps – old factories, schoolyards, often fields surrounded by barbed wire.

During forced death marches to those concentration camps, guards shot those wounded, ill, and weary prisoners who could no longer walk. The locals tried to feed the exhausted POWs and help them in any way they could, the assumption being that others were feeding and helping their own sons, husbands, and fathers mobilized into the Red Army before the war and probably facing the same ordeals. Once in camp, the prisoners often went without food and water, which caused hunger, starvation, and, ultimately, cannibalism. Disease took care of those who managed to survive on the meager rations. Nazi propaganda portrayed the Soviet POWs as subhuman, and their treatment was inhuman indeed. Ideology was only partly responsible for that. The Germans had not planned on taking hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of prisoners... In the course of the war, more than 60 percent of those captured on the eastern front died in captivity...

The Holocaust was the single most horrific episode of the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, which had no shortage of horror. Most Ukrainian Jews who became victims never made it either to Auschwitz or to any other extermination camp. Heinrich Himmler's *Einsatzgruppen* [extermination squads], with the help of local police formed by the German administration, gunned them down on the outskirts of the cities, towns, and villages in which they lived. The shooting began in the summer of 1941 in all territories taken by the Wehrmacht from the retreating Soviets. By January 1942, when high Nazi officials gathered in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee to coordinate the implementation of the Final Solution – the eradication of European Jewry – Nazi death squads had killed close to 1 million Jewish men, women, and children. They did so in broad daylight, sometimes in plain sight and almost always within earshot of the local non-Jewish population. The Holocaust in Ukraine and the rest of the western Soviet Union not only destroyed the Jewish population and its communal life, as was the case in Europe generally, but also traumatized those who witnessed it.

Every sixth Jew who died in the Holocaust – altogether close to a million people – came from Ukraine. By far the best-known massacre, with the greatest number of victims, took place in Babi Yar (in Ukrainian, Babyn Yar, or Old Woman's Ravine) on the outskirts of Kyiv. There, in the course of two days, the automatic fire of Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C, assisted by the German and local police, killed 33,761 Jewish citizens of Kyiv. The shootings took place on September 29 and 30, 1941, on the orders of Major General Kurt Eberhard, the military governor of Kyiv...

Eberhard ordered the mass execution in retaliation for acts of sabotage carried out by Soviet agents. Five days after Kyiv fell to the Germans on September 19, bombs planted before the Soviet retreat blew up a number of

⁴³ NKVD – name for the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs and for the secret police.

landmark buildings in the city's downtown. As expected, the German military command occupied the structures, and the explosions killed quite a few senior German officers. Nazi propaganda claimed that the Germans were fighting the war in the east against the Jewish Commune, as the propagandists referred to the Soviet regime, linking the Jewish origins and communist beliefs of some of its early leaders. As the German authorities saw it, there was a direct association between Soviet agents and Jews...

"Jews of the city of Kiev and vicinity!" read a leaflet distributed in Kyiv in late September. "On Monday, September 29, you are to appear by 8:00 a.m. with your possessions, money, documents, valuables, and warm clothing at Dorohozhytska Street, next to the Jewish cemetery. Failure to appear is punishable by death." The Jewish citizens of Kyiv – largely women, children, and the elderly, as the men had been summoned to military service – thought that they were being assembled for resettlement and would not be harmed. The next day was Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Those who responded to the call were escorted to the gates of the Jewish cemetery, forced to surrender their documents and valuables, stripped naked, and then shot in groups of ten on the slopes of a ravine. The Babi Yar massacre stands out in history, as it was the first attempt to annihilate the entire Jewish community of a major urban center anywhere in Europe. But numerous other massacres of horrendous proportions preceded and followed it. In late August, a German police battalion gunned down more than 23,000 Jews, largely refugees from Hungarian-ruled Transcarpathia. In October, close to 12,000 Jews of Dnipropetrovsk were shot in a ravine on the outskirts of the city... In December, about 10,000 Jews of Kharkiv met the same fate on the premises of the city's tractor factory...

The severity of the occupation regime differed from one part of Hitler's Ukrainian *Lebensraum* to another...

The worst was in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The man responsible for some of the most heinous crimes committed by the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine was the *Reichskommissar* of Ukraine, Erich Koch... In Ukraine he was tasked with exploiting resources and depopulating the conquered territory. He treated the Ukrainian population as European colonizers treated blacks and Asians in their overseas colonies... Koch did not want Ukrainians progressing beyond the fourth grade of elementary school and shut down universities and schools for students above fifteen years of age. "If I find a Ukrainian who is worthy of sitting at the same table with me, I must have him shot," he declared on one occasion. His subordinates did a great deal of shooting indeed, some of it in the Babi Yar ravine, the same place where a few months earlier the Germans had killed nearly 34,000 Kyiv Jews. By the time the occupation of Kyiv ended in November 1943, another 60,000 Nazi victims – Soviet prisoners of war, Ukrainian nationalists, members of the Soviet underground, and Roma – had found their final resting place in Babi Yar...

Blockaded and starved, Kyiv was witnessing its first cases of famine since 1933. The Nazis' vision of *Lebensraum* included the pastoralization of Ukraine and the elimination of major urban centers, whose population they otherwise had to feed, diverting resources from the Reich and its army. Thus the policy was to starve the cities, whose inhabitants, driven by hunger into the countryside, would become a productive force, feeding themselves and the German Reich. The Germans left collective farms intact, taking advantage of the Soviet invention for extracting resources from the rural population...

Starting in January 1942, the Nazis exploited Ukraine as a source not only of agricultural products but also of forced labor. That month the first train of so-called *Ostarbeiter* (eastern workers) left Kyiv for Germany, carrying young Ukrainians attracted by the promise of jobs, good living conditions, and the chance to get acquainted with Europe...

The ads turned out to be a trap. Whether they worked in factories or the households of individual Germans, young men and women ended up as slave laborers, forced to wear a badge reading "OST" and regarded as subhuman by the German authorities and a good part of German society. As news of exploitation in Germany began to reach Ukraine, the occupation authorities had more and more difficulty fulfilling monthly quotas of 40,000 Ukrainian laborers: they began rounding up people arbitrarily and packing them off to Germany by force. Altogether, close to 2.2 million Ukrainians were apprehended and sent to Germany in 1942 and 1943. Many died of malnutrition, disease, and Allied bombing of the military and munitions factories where they worked. Those who survived and were liberated by Red Army soldiers in late 1944 and 1945... were often treated as traitors, and some were shipped directly from German concentration camps to Soviet ones in the Gulag system⁴⁴. Ukraine was not the only part of the Soviet Union where the Germans engaged in slave-hunting expeditions, but it was by far the largest hunting ground. Citizens of Ukraine constituted close to 80 percent of all *Ostarbeiter* taken from occupied areas of eastern Europe to Germany in the course of the war...

Ukraine became a graveyard for millions of Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, and Poles, to list only the largest affected ethnic groups. The Holocaust eradicated most of Ukrainian Jewry... The Polish population of Volhynia and Galicia was under attack from Ukrainian nationalists. As the Red Army began its advance into Ukraine after the victorious Battle of Kursk in July 1943, the Soviet leaders confronted a very different country from the one they had left in haste in the summer and fall of 1941. The cities were empty and their industrial enterprises completely destroyed.

⁴⁴ Gulag (literally – “Main Administration of Camps”) – the network of forced-labor concentration camps in the USSR that existed in 1920s–1950s. “Gulag” became world famous symbol of Stalin’s political repressions after the publication of book “The Gulag Archipelago” by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

16. What were Nazi plans for Ukraine and Eastern Europe?

17. What were reasons for the Red Army's defeats at the beginning of war?

18. Which groups suffered the most during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine?

19. How long the Nazi occupation of Ukraine lasted?

20. Why Ukraine had the most traumatic experience during the World War II among European countries? Write down main casualties of Ukraine.

21. Write down from the text main terms associated with the World War II in Ukraine and its occupation.

What were the Soviet policies in Ukraine during the postwar period?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York : Oxford University Press, 2015. P. 56–58.

As one of the major battlefields of World War II, Ukraine suffered the nearly complete destruction of its industries and major cities. Postwar reconstruction focused on heavy industry and mining, but by the 1960s the Soviet authorities finally began paying some attention to the consumer needs of the modern, urban society Ukraine had become. State industries increased their production of television sets and refrigerators; a car factory in the city of Zaporizhia began producing the first Soviet subcompact automobile in 1960. In the absence of market mechanisms in the socialist planned economy, however, most Soviet products were substandard. Like other Soviet citizens, Ukrainians craved fashionable and high-quality Western goods, but could get hold of them only rarely. A sense of inequality simmered among the masses. For all the communist rhetoric of equality, only functionaries enjoyed access to luxury apartments, well-supplied stores, and resorts that were closed to ordinary citizens.

Party decrees during the postwar period never referred to Ukrainization⁴⁵; rather, ideologists organized periodic campaigns against vaguely defined manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism in culture. The party line called for the

⁴⁵ Ukrainization – official policy of the Soviet leadership in 1923–1933 on support and introduction of the Ukrainian culture and language in various spheres of life. The Communist Party initiated the Ukrainization to strengthen Soviet rule in Ukraine through the involvement of local people into public service and through enhancing the national image of state and Party institutions. The Ukrainization was the Ukrainian version of the all-Union policy of indigenization – support of non-Russian cultures in the outskirts of the USSR. The indigenization in general had to make the Soviet power attractive to colonized nations of Asia and Africa. *Source: Альков В. А. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури» / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Ільїн, І. Ю. Робак. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. – С. 33.*

glorification of Russian-Ukrainian friendship and unity. The number of Ukrainian books, newspapers, and schools decreased gradually and were replaced by Russian ones. The authorities never formally decreed assimilation into Russian culture, but their policies clearly promoted it. By the end of the Soviet period, most cities in eastern and central Ukraine became Russophone again, thus undoing the bilingualism achieved during prewar Ukrainization. Industrial areas in the east, although Ukrainian in ethnic composition, never really became Ukrainian-speaking, because the Soviet policies did not give modern Ukrainian culture a chance to take root there. As was the case under the tsars, peasants coming to work in the Donbas assimilated into the dominant Russian culture. The Ukrainian language held its ground in western Ukraine and in villages of the central region. In the 1950s and 1960s it was also the official language of the Ukrainian SSR, the language of party speeches and government decrees. Beginning in the 1970s, however, the party and state apparatus in the republic expanded the use of Russian in official capacities.

Official Soviet ideology saw Ukrainians as junior partners of the Russians in running the Soviet Union. Individual Ukrainians could make outstanding careers in the party and the government anywhere in the Soviet Union, but the state impinged [*encroach*] upon their group rights as a nation. Party bureaucracy promoted assimilation into Russian culture, and the Ukrainian SSR's sovereignty was nothing but a formality, with all important decisions dictated from the Kremlin.

22. Which changes the Soviet economy experienced after the WW II

23. What were shortcomings of the Soviet economy?

24. What was an essence and goal of the national policy of the Soviet leadership in Ukraine?

George H. W. Bush (1924–2018) – the 41st president of the United States from 1989 to 1993 who was the first of American presidents who visited Ukraine. The visit was a part of George Bush's trip to the USSR in July–August 1991 to meet the Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. During the visit George Bush expressed the support to the democratic reforms in the USSR and personally to their initiator Gorbachev. On 1 August 1991 in Kyiv George Bush hold the speech before deputies of the parliament of Soviet Ukraine. That speech aroused discontent among Ukrainian nationalists and American conservatives who jokingly called it "Chicken Kiev"⁴⁶ speech" (they implied its "weak tone and miscalculation").

⁴⁶ Chicken Kiev – the Ukrainian dish. Here it is used as wordplay.

The President George Bush's speech to the Supreme Council of Ukraine

*Source: Chicken Kiev speech. URL:
https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Chicken_Kiev_speech.*

Well, first, thank all of you for that warm welcome. And may I take this opportunity to thank all people of Ukraine that gave us such a warm welcome, such a heartfelt greeting... We'll never forget it...

Centuries ago, your forebears named this country Ukraine, or "frontier," because your steppes link Europe and Asia. But Ukrainians have become frontiersmen of another sort. Today you explore the frontiers and contours of liberty.

... I have come here to talk with you and to learn. For those who love freedom, every experiment in building an open society offers new lessons and insights. You face an especially daunting task. For years, people in this nation felt powerless, overshadowed by a vast government apparatus, cramped by forces that attempted to control every aspect of their lives.

Today, your people probe the promises of freedom. In cities and Republics, on farms, in business, around university campuses, you debate the fundamental questions of liberty, self-rule, and free enterprise. Americans, you see, have a deep commitment to these values. We follow your progress with a sense of fascination, excitement, and hope. This alone is historic. In the past, our nations engaged in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado. Now, the fireworks of superpower confrontation are giving way to the quieter and far more hopeful art of cooperation.

I come here to tell you: We support the struggle in this great country for democracy and economic reform. And I would like to talk to you today about how the United States views this complex and exciting period in your history, how we intend to relate to the Soviet central Government and the Republican governments.

In Moscow, I outlined our approach: We will support those in the center and the Republics who pursue freedom, democracy, and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities but on the basis of principles. We cannot tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between Republics or between Republics and the center. That is your business; that's not the business of the United States of America.

Do not doubt our real commitment, however, to reform. But do not think we can presume to solve your problems for you. Theodore Roosevelt, one of our great Presidents, once wrote: To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have someone else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that someone else for the

good of both of us. That's what our former President said. We will work for the good of both of us, which means that we will not meddle in your internal affairs.

Some people have urged the United States to choose between supporting President Gorbachev and supporting independence-minded leaders throughout the U.S.S.R. I consider this a false choice. In fairness, President Gorbachev has achieved astonishing things, and his policies of glasnost⁴⁷, perestroika, and democratization point toward the goals of freedom, democracy, and economic liberty.

We will maintain the strongest possible relationship with the Soviet Government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the U.S.S.R. And therefore, as a federation ourselves, we want good relations - improved relations - with the Republics. So, let me build upon my comments in Moscow by describing in more detail what Americans mean when we talk about freedom, democracy, and economic liberty.

No terms have been abused more regularly, nor more cynically than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats, jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith to government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

I don't want to sound like I'm lecturing, but let's begin with the broad term "freedom." When Americans talk of freedom, we refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion, without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens, without restricting other's freedoms. We do not consider freedom a privilege, to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right, bestowed upon all men and women...

Freedom requires tolerance, a concept embedded in openness, in glasnost, and in our first amendment protections for the freedoms of speech, association, and religion – all religions...

But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form chains, until they form shackles. Later today, I'll visit the monument at Babi Yar⁴⁸ - a somber reminder, a solemn reminder, of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.

Yet freedom is not the same as independence. Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local depotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred.

⁴⁷ Glasnost (from Russian "publicity") – part of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov's policy that suggested easing the state censorship in mass media, freedom of information and open discussion of political issues.

⁴⁸ Babi Yar – a ravine in Kyiv where during the World War II Nazis and their collaborators massacred near 150,000 of Jews, Romani people, Soviet prisoners of war and Ukrainian nationalists.

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts - and yes, the votes - of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed, that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years, you had elections with ballots, but you did not enjoy democracy. And now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

The key to its success lies in understanding government's proper role and its limits. Democracy is not a technical process driven by dry statistics. It is the very human enterprise of preserving freedom, so that we can do the important things, the really important things: raise families, explore our own creativity, build good and fruitful lives.

In modern societies, freedom and democracy rely on economic liberty. A free economy is nothing more than a system of communication. It simply cannot function without individual rights or a profit motive, which give people an incentive to go to work, an incentive to produce.

And it certainly cannot function without the rule of law, without fair and enforceable contracts, without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

Free economies depend upon the freedom of expression, the ability of people to exchange ideas and test out new theories. The Soviet Union weakened itself for years by restricting the flow of information... And when you restricted free movement - even tourist travel - you prevented your own people from making the most of their talent. You cannot innovate if you cannot communicate.

And finally, a free economy demands engagement in the economic mainstream. Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, trade enriches all who engage in it. Isolation and protectionism doom its practitioners to degradation and want.

I note this today because some Soviet cities, regions, and even Republics have engaged in ruinous trade wars. The Republics of this nation have extensive bonds of trade, which no one can repeal with the stroke of a pen or the passage of a law. The vast majority of trade conducted by Soviet companies - imports and exports - involves, as you know better than I, trade between Republics. The nine-plus-one agreement⁴⁹ holds forth the hope that Republics will combine greater autonomy with greater voluntary interaction - political, social, cultural, economic - rather than pursuing the hopeless course of isolation.

And so, American investors and businessmen look forward to doing business in the Soviet Union, including the Ukraine. We've signed agreements

⁴⁹ "Nine-plus-one agreement" - a process of elaboration of the new Union Treaty by 9 Soviet Republics to establish the decentralized federation instead of the USSR. The agreement was never implemented due to the dissolution of the USSR in December 1991.

this week that will encourage further interaction between the U.S. and all levels of the Soviet Union. But ultimately, our trade relations will depend upon our ability to develop a common language, a common language of commerce - currencies that communicate with one another, laws that protect innovators and entrepreneurs, bonds of understanding and trust.

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every single day. I set forth a Presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. And this aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering. And it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl⁵⁰. You should know that America's heart – the hearts of all – went out to the people here at the time of Chernobyl...

We understand that you cannot reform your system overnight. America's first system of government – the Continental Congress – failed because the States were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights...

And now, as Soviet citizens try to forge a new social compact, you have the obligation to restore power to citizens demoralized by decades of totalitarian rule. You have to give them hope, inspiration, determination - by showing your faith in their abilities. Societies that don't trust themselves or their people cannot provide freedom. They can guarantee only the bleak tyranny of suspicion, avarice, and poverty.

An old Ukrainian proverb says: When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from weakness. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to what we call – appropriately call a new world order.

You're the leaders. You are the participants in the political process...

We salute you. We salute the changes that we see... One guy wants this and another one that. That's the way the process works when you're open and free – competing with ideas to see who is going to emerge correct and who can do the most for the people in Ukraine.

And so, for us this has been a wonderful trip, albeit far too short. And may I simply say, may God bless the people of Ukraine. Thank you very, very much.

25. Remember the name of the Soviet policy that started system changes within the USSR in late 1980s and which made the visit of the US President to that country possible.

26. How the President Bush explained his arrival to Soviet Ukraine?

⁵⁰ Chernobyl disaster – an explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in April 1986, the biggest nuclear disaster in history.

27. What were interests of the USA in the processes that took place in the USSR?

28. What were the main concerns of the President Bush? Which ideas and warnings he tried to deliver to the Ukrainian deputies?

Less than a month had passed since the visit of the US President George Bush and his concerns regarding the uncontrolled disintegration of the USSR, and Ukraine proclaimed independence. By 1991 the USSR plunged into economic chaos, deep crisis in relations among Soviet republics, political rivalry between the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian leader Boris Yeltsin. As a political solution Mikhail Gorbachev proposed signing the new Union Treaty that was based on the results of a referendum⁵¹ on the future of the Soviet Union held in March 1991 (majority voted for preservation of the USSR) and which had to transform the USSR into loose democratic federation of sovereign states. The group of higher Communist Party and Soviet officials considered such Treaty as factual dissolution of the USSR and were afraid of complete loss of the political power by the Communist Party. Aiming to preserve the USSR by means of violence that group attempted a coup⁵² against Mikhail Gorbachev on 19 August 1991 (The State Committee on the State of Emergency). The failure of that coup only accelerated the disintegration of the USSR in December 1991 and enabled Ukraine to gain independence.

Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine

Source: Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. URL: http://static.rada.gov.ua/site/postanova_eng/Rres_Declaration_Independence_rev12.htm.

In view of the mortal danger surrounding Ukraine in connection with the state coup in the USSR on August 19, 1991,

- Continuing the thousand-year tradition of state development in Ukraine,
- Proceeding from the right of a nation to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and other international legal documents, and
- Implementing the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada⁵³ of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic solemnly

⁵¹ Referendum (from Latin “refero” – something that should be reported) – form of direct democracy, the direct vote of citizens on the important question. Ukraine officially approved the independence from the USSR on the national Referendum on December 1 1991.

⁵² Coup – illegal, violent and sudden seizure of power.

⁵³ Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Council) – name of parliament in the Soviet and independent Ukraine since 1991.

DECLARES
THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state – UKRAINE.

The territory of Ukraine is indivisible and inviolable.

From this day forward, only the Constitution and laws of Ukraine are valid on the territory of Ukraine.

This act becomes effective at the moment of its approval.

VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE RESOLUTION

On Declaration of Independence of Ukraine

The Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic resolves that:

– Ukraine shall be declared an independent democratic state on August 24, 1991.

Upon declaration of its independence, only its Constitution, laws, orders of the Government, and other legislative acts of the republic are valid on the territory of Ukraine.

– A republican referendum shall be organized on December 1, 1991 to confirm the act of declaration of independence.

29. Which body proclaimed the independence of Ukraine?

30. By which arguments, reasons the Act's author explained the right of Ukraine to become independent?

31. In which political circumstances and why so rapidly the document was adopted and entered into force?

After gaining the independence Ukraine had the world's third largest nuclear arsenal (after the USA and Russian Federation). It consisted of stationary and mobile rocket complexes, strategic aviation. However Ukraine wasn't able to independently operate them (control center was in Moscow) and couldn't maintain such expensive weapons. In addition the nuclear-weapon states insisted on complete elimination of the nuclear armaments by Ukraine. As a result on December 5 1994 Ukraine signed the agreement on elimination of nuclear weapon (the Budapest Memorandum) and by 2000s removed it from own territory. The elimination was financed by the world institutions and the USA.

Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Source: Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/No%20Volume/52241/Part/I-52241-0800000280401fbb.pdf>.

Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America,

Welcoming the accession of Ukraine to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear-weapon State,

Taking into account the commitment of Ukraine to eliminate all nuclear weapons from its territory within a specified period of time,

Noting the changes in the world-wide security situation, including the end of the Cold War, which have brought about conditions for deep reductions in nuclear forces.

Confirm the following:

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act⁵⁴, to respect the Independence and Sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to seek immediate United Nations Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm, in the case of the Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or

⁵⁴ CSCE Final Act or the Helsinki Accords – final act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) that was signed in 1975 by 35 Western as well as Communist countries, primarily the USSR, and which fixed principles of inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states and non-intervention in internal affairs.

dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will consult in the event a situation arises which raises a question concerning these commitments.

32. What was the main subject of the Memorandum?

33. How the great powers explained the expediency to eliminate Ukraine's nuclear weapons?

34. Which guarantees were given to Ukraine? Were the assurances fulfilled? (Give a detailed answer).

35. How do you think what were the weak points of that document?

How did independent Ukraine become an inefficient economy and a paragon of crony capitalism?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York : Oxford University Press. 2015. P. 77–78.

From its Soviet predecessor Ukraine inherited an economy dominated by heavy industry, much of it simply incapable of being reformed. Large, inefficient factories produced military hardware for the Soviet army and in turn depended on dirt-cheap fuel from elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Huge, obsolete mines were kept running... In the 1990s the economic ties among the former Soviet republics loosened, leaving much of the Ukrainian-made machinery idle. The reorientation toward the production of consumer goods proved slow and painful.

The Kravchuk⁵⁵ administration demonstrated little interest in economic reform, mostly because of its anticipated social and political costs. Instead, the government preferred to subsidize unprofitable state enterprises in order to prevent mass unemployment. In 1993 the government's free printing of currency led to annual hyperinflation of over 10,000 percent. Their savings wiped out and their salaries not keeping up with prices, three-quarters of Ukrainians lived below the poverty level. For many urban residents, having relatives in a village or owning a small garden plot in the countryside, where they could grow their own food, became the key to survival. At the same time, well-connected traders made instant fortunes by importing cheap indispensable goods.

⁵⁵ Leonid Kravchuk – former top Communist Party's official, the first President of the independent Ukraine in 1991–1994.

During his first presidential term (1994–1999), Leonid Kuchma⁵⁶ managed to introduce strict monetary controls and, eventually, a relatively stable new currency, the hryvnia (1996). His larger project, however, was the privatization of state enterprises, which originally succeeded only in relation to smaller, consumer-oriented businesses. Influential managers of large factories and mines, most of them former Soviet “Red directors” like Kuchma, initially resisted privatization because they thrived by exploiting state subsidies. It took some years for them and for more dynamic younger entrepreneurs to discover the benefits of embracing capitalism. Privatization took off in Ukraine in the late 1990s, concurrently with an industrial revival led by the export-oriented metallurgical industry. But this privatization was anything but transparent.

What emerged in Ukraine in the 2000s was crony capitalism⁵⁷ at its worst. The new rich usually owed their instant wealth to their government connections, if not their own political appointments, but some of them also came from gangster backgrounds. Organized crime merged with big business and the political class to create an impenetrable ruling elite concerned only with its own enrichment. Its ostentatious display of wealth brought to Kyiv and other big cities brand-name boutiques and luxury cars, but social tensions were simmering in residential neighborhoods. The gap between rich and poor grew rapidly, exacerbating popular resentment against rampant corruption and political manipulation.

36. Which characteristics of the post-Soviet Ukrainian economy were obstacles for its integration to the world economy and market relations?

37. Why the Ukrainian government’s economic policy in 1990s was inconsistent, self-contradictory?

38. What kind of capitalism formed in Ukraine by 2000s and why?

⁵⁶ Leonid Kuchma – second President of Ukraine whose ruling saw adoption of Constitution in 1996 and introduction of the national currency, large-scale privatization of state industrial enterprises and formation of oligarchy (large capitalists with a criminal background and current political influence).

⁵⁷ Capitalism – socioeconomic system in which most of means of production are privately owned, while production is guided, income and goods are distributed through the operation of markets. In a capitalist economy owners of means of production (factories, land etc) produce goods for obtaining a profit through an exploitation of hired labor force which also is a commodity. *Source: Альков В. А. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури» / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Ільїн, І. Ю. Робак. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. – С. 7.*

What did the two recent revolutions⁵⁸ in Ukraine (2004 and 2013–2014) have in common?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York : Oxford University Press. 2015. – P. 84–87.

Both the Orange Revolution and the EuroMaidan were massive popular revolts that used Kyiv's main square, the Maidan, as their central political stage. Both involved long standoffs with the authorities lasting through the cold winter months, an indication of the revolutionaries' determination and their popular support in the capital. Both targeted the political order represented by Viktor Yanukovich: in 2004 he was the prime minister, trying to reach the presidency through rigged elections; in 2013, he was the president, who personified a corrupt and inefficient regime and was increasingly subservient to dictatorial Russia. The leaders of both revolutions called for Western-style democracy and transparency; in both cases, the West supported them and Russia denounced them as illegitimate.

Placed in the broader historical context of Ukraine's Soviet past, such parallels reveal a deeper connection between the two movements. Ukraine did not experience the Soviet collapse as a social revolution complete with the removal of the old elites. Manipulative and corrupt former Soviet bureaucrats and Red directors continued running the state for the first decade after independence. By the first decade of the 2000s, they tried to transfer their power to the next generation of politicians representing the interests of the oligarchs⁵⁹. The latter not only accumulated their wealth by looting state assets during insider privatizations, but also represented regional economic clans that, at least in some cases, developed from the organized-crime structures of the early 1990s. Yanukovich's own criminal record symbolized the nature of the system that could select him as a candidate for the highest office.

Yet, Ukrainian society changed much in the decades following independence. A new, primarily urban middle class developed, with attendant expectations of economic opportunity for small businesses and decent pay for professionals. A new generation of Ukrainian urbanites vacationed abroad, and their children studied in the West. It was increasingly difficult for them to

⁵⁸ Revolution (from Latin "revolutio" – a turn around) – forcible overthrow of a government or social order that led to a radical and progressive change of existing social relations. *Source: ibid.*, – C. 27.

⁵⁹ Oligarchy (from Greek "oligos" – few, "arkho" – to rule) – small group of citizens (especially in post-Soviet countries), rich businessmen and monopolists who combine economic and political power. The oligarchy emerged in Ukraine as a result of the privatization of state enterprises in 1990s–2000s and now it's the main reason for a corruption, lack of political and economical competition, industrial stagnation of the country. *Source: ibid.*, – C. 23.

tolerate a kleptocratic⁶⁰ regime employing familiar Soviet methods of political manipulation. The transfer of power from the old Soviet elites to the new, “criminal” ones was what prompted many urban professionals, small business owners, and students to rebel. Both revolutions generated impressive grassroots support in central and western Ukraine, but not in the southeastern regions, where the Communist Party and the Party of Regions cultivated the governance style familiar from the Soviet past. Scholars have noted the prominent role of civil society and grassroots initiative in the Euromaidan Revolution. Both revolts reflected a clash between civil society and a paternalistic state, as well as between Western-style democracy and Soviet-style authoritarianism, the latter being the mark of Putin’s regime in today’s Russia. In other words, it was a conflict of political models masquerading as ethnic strife.

Although the revolt in both cases was caused by domestic factors, the revolutionaries defined their vision of Ukraine in geopolitical terms by necessity. They opposed the crooked Ukrainian regime associated with the Soviet past and buttressed by present-day Russian support. Such Russian complicity made the West appear attractive as a democratic model and potential counterweight against Ukraine’s backward-looking eastern neighbor. The “West” was a metaphor, of course: an idealized “Europe” of prosperity and democracy rather than the reality of the bureaucratized and economically troubled European Union. In any case, neither revolution was waged merely for the privilege of moving from one geopolitical sphere of influence to another but, rather, to build a new Ukraine for the benefit of its people.

It is also telling in this respect that, whereas in 2004 it was the parliamentary opposition that issued a call for mass protests, in 2013 the spontaneous mass rally in the capital caught the opposition parties unprepared. This change testified to both the deep-seated popular discontent that fueled the revolutions and distrust of politicians in general. The leaders of the Orange Revolution ended up playing only a minor role in the EuroMaidan Revolution. New parties came to prominence, and other political figures moved into leadership positions.

39. Why the author considers two protest movements as a continuation of the Ukrainians’ struggle for independence?

40. Which social changes in the independent Ukraine made the revolutions possible?

41. Which groups became driver forces of revolutions and which resisted it? What were ideological basis for those groups?

42. What was the ideal of two revolutions and how it corresponded with reality?

⁶⁰ Kleptocracy – government by those who seek chiefly status and personal gain at the expense of the governed. *Source: Kleptocracy. URL: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kleptocracy>.*

43. What were differences of revolutions in 2004 and 2013–2014?

44. Try to make a conclusion – can we call two protests as revolutions?

Prove your opinion.

What shared characteristics led the Crimean Peninsula and the Donbas region to become conflict zones?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know. New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. P. 115–117.

These two regions are not in immediate geographic proximity to one another. The Donbas, comprising Donetsk and Luhansk provinces, is Ukraine's easternmost region, bordering on Russia in the north and east. The Crimean Peninsula, which was constituted politically within Ukraine as the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, was the country's southernmost tip extending into the Black Sea. The two regions are separated by Zaporizhia and Kherson provinces, which showed few signs of political separatism or pro-Russian sympathies. Historically, the Crimea was part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (SFSR) between 1920 and 1954, but the Donbas was not.

Moreover, the economic profiles of the two regions are diametrically opposed. The Crimea's economy is based primarily on tourism, with winemaking and servicing the naval bases the only notable industries prior to the exploration of offshore and onshore gas fields starting in the 2000s. The Donbas, in contrast, is an old industrial region, with coal mines and steel mills dominating its steppe landscape since the late nineteenth century. Many older mines and factories have become obsolete, but the Donbas's metallurgy and chemical industries have found their place in the global economy of the twenty-first century.

A look at the ethnic composition of the two regions does not reveal an obvious connection either. Whereas ethnic Russians have constituted a majority of the Crimean population ever since Stalin's deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944, ethnic Ukrainians have continued to outnumber them in the two Donbas provinces. As of the last census in 2001, the main ethnic groups in the Crimea were Russians (58.5 percent), Ukrainians (24.4 percent), and Crimean Tatars (12.1 percent). In the Donbas, ethnic Ukrainians constituted 56.9 percent in Donetsk province, where 38.2 percent claimed Russian ethnicity, and 58 percent in Luhansk province, which had 39.1 percent Russians. The proportion of ethnic Russians in the Donbas is thus the highest of any Ukrainian region except the Crimea, but they are not a majority there.

However, the same 2001 census put the Crimea and the Donbas in a category of their own as the only two Ukrainian regions where the majority of the population claimed Russian as their native language: 77 percent in the Crimea, 68.8 percent in Luhansk, and 74.9 percent in Donetsk province. This discrepancy between self-identified ethnicity and mother tongue is indicative of the cultural

assimilation⁶¹ of Ukrainians during the late Soviet period. The resulting hybrid identity often correlated with an allegiance to the Soviet version of modernity and, after its disappearance, to the strong paternalistic⁶² regime in Russia.

In both regions, the local identity also has strong symbolic connections to the imperial past. Generations of Russian journalists and schoolteachers have perpetuated the image of Sevastopol as the “city of Russian naval glory,” heroically defended both during the Crimean War and World War II. Soviet films, songs, and political pronouncements lionized the (always Russian-speaking) Donbas miners as model workers, shouldering their patriotic duty to provide the country with fuel. Such historical myth-making became ingrained in local identities. More important, however, it became encoded in Soviet great-power ideology, which Putin’s Russia is trying to revive.

In the decades since Ukraine’s independence, both regions initially served as the electoral base of the Communist Party; this residual allegiance made sense, as both regions cultivated identities linked to the Soviet past, in addition to being heavily Russian-speaking. In the 2000s, however, Yanukovich’s Party of Regions gradually absorbed the Communist Party’s constituency. The new political force promoted a Russophone regional identity that was also anchored to the belief in a strong state and extensive state services. When it was losing on the national political scene, the Yanukovich camp tried twice, in 2004 and 2014, to play the regional separatism card. As present-day events have shown, because of Russia’s proximity and increasingly assertive policies, this was a dangerous game.

When mass protests began in 2014, the Yanukovich clique employed a familiar strategy of framing the unrest as an identity conflict, a war against Russian culture in Ukraine. Yet, they soon lost control over the genie they summoned when Putin’s Russia marched in to “protect” its “compatriots.” It mattered little whether the latter even wanted to be protected, for on the eve of the war, opinion polls in the Donbas showed that only about a third favored separating from Ukraine and joining Russia. The conflict quickly shifted its focus from building a multicultural Ukraine to rebuilding a greater Russia.

⁶¹ Assimilation – (from Latin “assimilatio” – imitation, similarity) – the partial or total loss of culture by individuals or groups in favor of another, dominant culture including the change of the national identity. *Source: Альков В. А. Термінологічний словник з курсу «Історія України та української культури» / В. А. Альков, В. Г. Львів, І. Ю. Робаєв. – Харків : ХНМУ, 2018. С. 5.*

⁶² Paternalism – attitude and practice that are commonly, though not exclusively, understood as a violation on the personal freedom and autonomy of a person with a beneficent or protective intent. Paternalism generally involves competing claims between individual liberty and authoritative social control. *Source: Paternalism. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/paternalism>.*

Simply, paternalism is a complete reliance of citizens on the governmental decisions that led to the lack of individual initiative.

45. What are the similarities of two regions?

46. What were domestic and external reasons for the separatism in Crimea and Donbass?

How and why did Russia annex the Crimea from Ukraine?

Source: Yekelchyk Serhy. The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know / Serhy Yekelchyk. – New York: Oxford University Press. 2015. P. 4–5.

The EuroMaidan's victory frustrated Russia's political leaders, who had just forced the Yanukovych regime to turn its back on the West. The Kremlin could not undo the overthrow of its ally in Kyiv, but it could cripple the new Ukraine while at the same time asserting Russia's greater geopolitical role. Annexing Ukraine's southernmost region, the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, presented a seemingly perfect way of achieving both aims. With such a thorn in its side, Ukraine would be prevented from joining the European Union or NATO, neither of which organizations accept members with active territorial conflicts. At the same time, "returning" the Crimea to Russia was bound to be popular with the Russian public, which by and large remained nostalgic for the larger great-power polity that was the Soviet Union and, before it, the Russian Empire. The Crimea holds a special place in Russian military mythology that has arisen around its defense during the Crimean War (1853–1855) and World War II. Present-day Russia could also advance a better claim to the Crimea than to the other parts of the empire that were lost in 1917 or 1991 because this region had belonged to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (SFSR) between 1920 and 1954, before being transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) in an internal Soviet territorial rearrangement.

The Crimea was also a low-dangling fruit. The only region of Ukraine with an ethnic Russian majority, the Crimean Peninsula was for decades after the Soviet collapse the political bailiwick of parties cultivating an alternative to modern Ukrainian identity – first the Communist Party and, more recently, Yanukovych's Party of Regions. The local elites were likely to defect because the Russian authoritarian system was more to their liking, as well as for cultural and economic reasons. The Russian Black Sea Fleet kept a major naval base in the Crimea, in Sevastopol, with commandos easily available for any military operation on the peninsula. They were unlikely to face any serious opposition locally.

Within days of the change of power in Kyiv, starting on February 27, 2014, commandos in unmarked uniforms (later revealed as Russian soldiers) began taking over government buildings, airports, and military installations in the Crimea. The local legislature scheduled a hurried (and unconstitutional, under Ukrainian law) referendum on the Crimea's independence from Ukraine and on joining Russia, which took place on March 16, 2014. According to the official results, which many analysts questioned, 96.77 percent of the Crimean population was in favor, with a voter turnout of 83.1 percent. The Crimean

authorities declared independence the next day and signed an accession treaty with Russia on March 18, 2014.

On March 27, 2014, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the referendum and the annexation as illegal. Only Russia and 10 of its allies, including North Korea, Syria, and Venezuela, voted against it. Beginning in April, Western countries introduced the first round of diplomatic and economic sanctions against Russia in connection with its violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity. Within Russia, however, President Vladimir Putin's approval rating soared to a record-high 83 percent. He apparently managed to strike a deep nationalist chord by "returning" the Crimea and standing up to the West.

47. Which goals the Russian leadership pursued annexing Crimea in 2014?

48. Which factors made it easy for the Russian Federation to annex the peninsula?

Minsk Agreements (Minsk Protocol) – complex of agreements to stop the War in Donbass region that were signed in September of 2014 and February of 2015 in Minsk (the Republic of Belarus). The agreements were signed at the most dramatic moments of the war – after the encirclement of Ukrainian armed forces near city Ilovaik and during the Battle of Debaltseve which was lost by the Ukrainian army. Signatories of the documents were representatives of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, OSCE⁶³ and separatist leaders of the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. Although the Minsk Agreements failed to stop fighting or ensure reintegration of Donbass to Ukraine, their current significance is in a cessation of a large-scale war. On the other hand, opponents of the Minsk Agreements on Ukrainian side believe that their signing caused conservation of the conflict and forced Ukraine to make concessions to Russia unilaterally.

Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements

Source: Package of measures for the Implementation of the Minsk agreements. URL:

https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/UA_150212_MinskAgreement_en.pdf.

1. Immediate and comprehensive ceasefire in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine and its strict implementation as of 15 February 2015, 12am local time.

2. Withdrawal of all heavy weapons by both sides by equal distances in order to create a security zone of at least 50km wide from each other for the

⁶³ OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

artillery systems of caliber of 100 and more, a security zone of 70km wide for MLRS and 140km wide for MLRS Tornado-S, Uragan, Smerch and Tactical Missile Systems (Tochka, Tochka U):

- for the Ukrainian troops: from the de facto line of contact;
- for the armed formations from certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine: from the line of contact according to the Minsk Memorandum of Sept. 19th, 2014;

The withdrawal of the heavy weapons as specified above is to start on day 2 of the ceasefire at the latest and be completed within 14 days. The process shall be facilitated by the OSCE and supported by the Trilateral Contact Group⁶⁴.

3. Ensure effective monitoring and verification of the ceasefire regime and the withdrawal of heavy weapons by the OSCE from day 1 of the withdrawal, using all technical equipment necessary, including satellites, drones, radar equipment, etc.

4. Launch a dialogue, on day 1 of the withdrawal, on modalities of local elections in accordance with Ukrainian legislation and the Law of Ukraine “On interim local self-government order in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions” as well as on the future regime of these areas based on this law. Adopt promptly, by no later than 30 days after the date of signing of this document a Resolution of the Parliament of Ukraine specifying the area enjoying a special regime, under the Law of Ukraine “On interim self-government order in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions”, based on the line of the Minsk Memorandum of September 19, 2014.

5. Ensure pardon and amnesty by enacting the law prohibiting the prosecution and punishment of persons in connection with the events that took place in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine.

6. Ensure release and exchange of all hostages and unlawfully detained persons, based on the principle “all for all”. This process is to be finished on the day 5 after the withdrawal at the latest.

7. Ensure safe access, delivery, storage, and distribution of humanitarian assistance to those in need, on the basis of an international mechanism.

8. Definition of modalities of full resumption of socio-economic ties, including social transfers such as pension payments and other payments (incomes and revenues, timely payments of all utility bills, reinstating taxation within the legal framework of Ukraine). To this end, Ukraine shall reinstate control

⁶⁴ The Trilateral Contact Group on Ukraine – a group of representatives from Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe that was formed as means to facilitate a diplomatic resolution to the war in the Donbass region of Ukraine. *Source: Trilateral Contact Group on Ukraine. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trilateral_Contact_Group_on_Ukraine.*

of the segment of its banking system in the conflict-affected areas and possibly an international mechanism to facilitate such transfers shall be established.

9. Reinstatement of full control of the state border by the government of Ukraine throughout the conflict area, starting on day 1 after the local elections and ending after the comprehensive political settlement (local elections in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions on the basis of the Law of Ukraine and constitutional reform) to be finalized by the end of 2015, provided that paragraph 11 has been implemented in consultation with and upon agreement by representatives of certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in the framework of the Trilateral Contact Group.

10. Withdrawal of all foreign armed formations, military equipment, as well as mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine under monitoring of the OSCE. Disarmament of all illegal groups.

11. Carrying out constitutional reform in Ukraine with a new constitution entering into force by the end of 2015 providing for decentralization as a key element (including a reference to the specificities of certain areas in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, agreed with the representatives of these areas), as well as adopting permanent legislation on the special status of certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in line with measures as set out in the footnote until the end of 2015.

12. Based on the Law of Ukraine “On interim local self-government order in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions”, questions related to local elections will be discussed and agreed upon with representatives of certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in the framework of the Trilateral Contact Group. Elections will be held in accordance with relevant OSCE standards and monitored by OSCE/ODIHR⁶⁵.

13. Intensify the work of the Trilateral Contact Group including through the establishment of working groups on the implementation of relevant aspects of the Minsk agreements. They will reflect the composition of the Trilateral Contact Group.

Participants of the Trilateral Contact Group:

Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini

Second President of Ukraine, L. D. Kuchma

Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Ukraine, M. Y. Zurabov

A. V. Zakharchenko

I. V. Plotnitskiy

Minsk, 12 February 2015

⁶⁵ The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) – the principal institution of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) dealing with the "human dimension" of security. *Source: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. URL:*

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Office_for_Democratic_Institutions_and_Human_Rights.

49. Which events in Ukraine preceded and led to the signing of the Minsk agreements? Was their signing necessary?

50. Briefly write down the main idea of each point of the agreement. How do you think what is the most unacceptable out of them for Ukraine and why?

51. How the pro-Russian separatists are named in the agreement? How they should be treated according to the document?

52. What can you say about specificity of the agreement's points? What is remained unclear to you? Write down questions to the document's content.

53. Remember the similar conflicts from the world history. What can you suggest to finish the War in Donbass?

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