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**Олег Иванюк**

#### **ВОПРОС ЭТНИЧЕСКОГО СОСТАВА НАСЕЛЕНИЯ РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ В ДОПЕРЕПИСНЫХ ФОРМАХ УЧЕТА В XIX в.**

*В статье отражена история становления системы учета населения в Российской империи в XIX в. Осуществлен анализ различных его форм, таких как переписные книги, ревизии, текущий промышленный и полицейский учет и т. д., которые предшествовали общим переписям населения; акцентируется внимание на определении этнической принадлежности жителей империи.*

**Ключевые слова:** переписные книги, ревизии, промышленная статистика, текущий полицейский учет, губернские статистические комитеты, отчет губернатора.

**Oleh Ivaniuk**

#### **ISSUE OF ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF RUSSIAN EMPIRE'S POPULATION IN FORMS OF ACCOUNTING IN XIX CENTURY**

*The article discusses the history of the formation of a civil registration system in the Russian Empire in XIX century. It analyzes the variety of its forms such as census books, audit, current industry and police account, etc that had preceded the general census of the population; focuses on determining the ethnic composition of the population of the Empire.*

**Key words:** census books, audit, industrial statistics, current police account, provincial statistical committee, report of the governor.

УДК: 930(477-25)

**Olexandr Bon**

#### **UKRAINIAN HUMANISTS' VIEW ON KYIV IN EARLY TOTALITARIAN PERIOD**

*This article investigates the socio-cultural environment of Kyiv in early totalitarian period on the base of unpublished or little-known memoirs of the representatives of artistic circles and their correspondence.*

**Key words:** early totalitarian period, memoirs, correspondence, humanitarian intelligentsia, socio-cultural environment, M. Donets, O. Doroshkevych, P. Kozytskyi, Y. Meitus, B. Kratko, V. Vasylo.

During the long period of existence of the Ukrainian people under the tsarist and Soviet colonial regimes an incomplete social structure has developed as in the Ukrainian nation, as in many other oppressed nations. Without the ruling political classes, which were non-nationalized, the intelligentsia had the leading role in state building and cultural creation. Ukrainian intelligentsia, including humanitarians, laid the foundations of the Ukrainian national revival in the nineteenth century, was the leader

of the national revolution and the struggle to preserve the statehood in 1917–1920. The Bolshevik authority that had already established in Ukraine had to consider the following fact. In view of this, the study of the deployment of Soviet power relations and intelligence is an urgent problem.

With the approval of the Soviet regime in Ukraine and losing Ukrainian national aspirations for their own state the center of nonviolent, moral support of Ukrainian nation to revived Russian Empire

in the form of the Bolshevik regime moved to a spiritual and ecclesiastical sphere and the sphere of humanitarian arts.

Ukrainian humanitarian intelligentsia in turning 1920 was miscellaneous. In our opinion this heterogeneity can be determined in the professional planes as scientific and pedagogical, educational, scientific and clergy; in the political spheres — Ukrainian national communists, those who hold back the Bolshevik views (new generation of intellectuals), Ukrainian intelligentsia; in social plane — the origin and position.

The article aims to show Kyiv as the socio-cultural environment of humanities in 1918–1929s on the base of sources of personal origin such as memories, epistolary, diaries. Thus source base of the article are materials of humanitarians in 1920 years taken from the Central State Archives Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine (the TsDAML). These are undiscovered or unpublished documents introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

Materials of the TsDAML from the mentioned personal funds had been repeatedly the subject of the studies. But they had been investigated in the sources meaning [1] or in the biographical works. So, in S. Danylenko's monograph "The Durdukivski are the builders of Ukrainian world" (the end of the nineteenth — the first third of the twentieth century) for the characterization of S. Durdukivskyi's activity the materials of the memoirs of his son Borys were used.

After the bloody red terror the transition to the new economic policy in early 1920 (in social and economic life) and the indigenization (in cultural sphere) started. However, it can be argued that in the ideological sphere politics of the ruling party became even tougher — the left political parties that were the competitors of Bolsheviks were eliminated gradually. The monopartite system was set. The Bolshevik ideology in its essence couldn't stand any other ideological approaches to the solution to social problems of that time. That is, in our opinion, was the main cause of mistrust and outright hostility of the Ukrainian Soviet regime to the Ukrainian intelligentsia who supported national positions.

To characterize the socio-cultural environment of Kyiv humanities let's divide it according to the professional features: the literary (writers are big and important part of that is worth to be a separate study), figures of music, artists and sculptors, theater figures.

Kyiv literary environment in 1920 was miscellaneous in political, ideological, national, organizational affiliation. Also their financial situation differed significantly. It improved significantly in comparison with the beginning of 1920, when it was catastrophic. Nevertheless, sources indicate the ambiguous attitude of the environment of academic literary critics to their financial situation in Kyiv. So the letter

of the literary, the employee of VUAN Oleksandr Doroshkevych to Ukrainian and Russian literary Mykola Hudzii (Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1945) on June 7, 1928 said about his possible visit to Ukraine on vacation to Preobrazhennia (former Preobrazhenskii Monastery) in Kyiv, where it had been created as a holiday house for scientists. A. Doroshkevych said: "It would be great you to come to our gracious Little Russia (where, incidentally, it had been stopped to produce white bread) ..." [3, 1–1].

The following year, also concerning the holidays of M. Hudzii on July 5, 1929 O. Doroshkevych informed him about the decision of having a rest in the same Preobrazhennia — it was given only one room to the Moscow bureau of the Union of Scientific Workers in August. More places could not have been won — there were 100 rooms and 180 people who wanted to go there. O. Doroshkevych said: "You've been given it as a Ukrainian and as our friend" [3, 3]. About the conditions in a rest home in the Preobrazhennia we can find in the memoirs by Natali Polonska-Vasylenko about the academician Mykola Vasyenko from the funds of the TsDAML: "The skimpy dressed bare room with beds with straw mattresses and straw pillows, bedside table and stool, made me a bad impression. There wasn't any basic comfort" [4, 21]. The most primitive living conditions in the former cells of the monks were complemented by food assistance from the American charitable organization ARA.

As it has been already mentioned, ideologically humanities of Soviet Ukraine were not the only ones. During 1920 it was formed the generation of communist writers and literary that united in such organizations as "Molodniak", "MARS" and others. The organizer of "Molodniak" (1926–1932) and the editor of the magazine of the same name was Pavlo Matviiovych Usenko.

Members of this group marked by extreme communist views and brutal rhetoric to ideological opponents. In his notebooks in 1929, he showed the attitude to general socio-cultural environment in Kyiv of that time. P. Usenko did not treat only "capitalist system" with disdain but also it's decisive, in his view, features. The supporters of "bourgeois" city "whip to follow army of loungers of capitalist system". P. Usenko associated roulette with the "capitalist system". He associated "bourgeois" with the European mass culture, with what the Bolshevik regime had already broken the main and most importantly, free communications in 1920. They were deprived of seeing cinema, theater, European dances, European paintings. P. Usenko summarized the rating of urban environment of that time: "Dollar that has the small of Europe more than of the birthplace is frying in far countries, but not in their nimble hands. They and their children are deprived of living 'case', capture scam, losings and winnings, cars, European fashion, spectacles. He feels that this is not his city, the soul

of the city is not his, he is not served — and he ‘coils’, adapts, and asks ‘Is this a life?’ [5, 28].

The musicians’ environment, despite their seeming indifference towards politics, reflected national, cultural and political processes in Ukraine. The musical environment often had multidirectional trends. On the one hand the activity of the Ukrainian national trends increased and the “Bolshevisation” of musical theme took place. About 1917 year to the beginning of 1920 is said in an outstanding opera singer Mykhailo Donets memoirs “The Way to Ukrainian actor”, which was partially published in the newspaper “Bolshevik” in 1936. M. Donets was a part of the theater section of Workers’ Deputies Kyiv in autumn 1917. In the times of armed struggle in Ukraine he spoke a lot in the army in the Kyiv province. At that time theatre auditorium were filled with armed people with grenades, and the actors proposed to ban caring the bombs not to happen an accident, but then they used to it. During the civil war at the theater without any heating they had to play “Borys Hodunov” wearing boots and royal robes over the shroud [6, 3; 7]. The singer witnesses about the early years of Bolshevik ruling in Ukraine: “We preformed concerts with the current view in anecdotal terms. Barely alive nag pulled a cart with a platform on which the remains of a piano stood. So, in this way this mobile music moved together with us, actors who walked nearby, holding by the cart. We moved from rally to rally around the city, and that was considered to be an exceptional comfort. I remember an accident when a violinist at one of these concerts, tuning the violin asked the pianist: — “Give me ‘la’.” — “Here you are. Take your ‘la’,” she replied angrily and pulled out a broken keyboard piano key ‘la’ and gave it to the violinist” [6, 3; 7].

Although the dancers performed for the Bolshevik troops they offered Ukrainian repertoire, which caused a great interest in the Red Army, and the payment was typical for that time. M. Donets says: “Once they paid ‘in ministerial’ — a pound of salt, three boxes of matches and two needles.” When the National Opera House was founded by Ukrainian authorities, M. Donets defiantly refused to work in it, and in early 1922 in the Kyiv Opera House performances were sold out: “However, for various reasons the theater worked regularly, sometimes due to a lack of electricity the theatre stopped working for some week.” At such times the artists went for concerts to the regions. According to M. Donets, the National Opera House started to work regularly in 1924. In terms of mid-1920, when the Bolshevik “ukrainization” started Mykhailo Donets supported it eagerly, and the opera was ukrainianized by the government’s decision in 1925.

First some part of actors ambiguously responded to this event: “It was amazing to listen to the opera in Ukrainian language.” But soon many of them responded with joy. M. Donets’ first performance

at the Kyiv Opera House, where he had returned in 1927 (in 1923–1927 he worked in Kharkov and Sverdlovsk) was the performance “Taras Bulba” in the main role, had a great success — “15 consecutive full houses”. Interestingly, in addition, the Kharkiv Opera performance failed because of the comic image and the changed end by the chief director. M. Donets mentioned about the Kyiv Opera performance: “This performance’s forced to silence chauvinistic talkers who claimed that there were no national operas, and so it was unnecessary to ukrainize opera.” Mykhailo Ivanovych was the first among other Ukrainian opera singers who became the honored artist of USSR in 1924 and in 1930 on the 25th anniversary of his activity he was awarded the title of People’s Artist of the Ukrainian RSR [6,10; 8]. Note that partially these memories of Mykhailo Donets were retold by Yakiv Maistrenko without referring to the singer [9].

We consider it appropriate to recall the memoirs by Maksym Rylskyi about Mykhailo Donets, published in 1963 in the newspaper “Soviet Ukraine” for the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of the famous Ukrainian bass singer. M. I. Donets, according to Maksym Rylskyi, “was strongly associated with the traditions of Russian vocal and performing arts and a personal friend and student of Ukrainian theater artists — Sadovskiy, Saksahanskyi, Zankovetska... Zankovetska on the slope of his life called Mykhailo Ivanovych to be her son.” M. Donets loved to tell how the Commissar of Education M. Skrypnyk told him to visit all three of these luminaries. Also he pointed to their dissimilar characters [10, 11].

It should be noted that loyalty to the Soviet government did not save Mykhailo Donets from denunciations of his colleagues and from his arrest in 1941. Accused in Ukrainian nationalism, he was shot on July 10 without a verdict before the German troops seized Kyiv. The history of the singer’s death with different versions has already been reflected in the literature [12; 13; 14] but this subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

The picture of Ukrainian musical environment is fulfilled interestingly with memories of T. Moroz-Strilets — the wife of the poet H. Kosynka “Close to the Heart”. In early 1920 she sang in a folk choir under the direction of Mykhailo Verykivskyi. The rehearsals took place in the choir room of M. Lysenko Musical Drama Institute on the Great Pidvalna (now — 54, Yaroslaviv Val Str.). Like many other Ukrainian cultural centers, this house has not survived. The building of the institute has become a club where the Ukrainian youth gathered regularly. They gathered in advance and shared news. The interesting memoir of T. Moroz-Strilets is about their marriage and H. Kosynka’s moving to the courtyard of St. Sophia to his wife’s house without anything except a bag and some bundles of books [15, 11–11]. Hryhorii Kosynka married Tamara Moroz whose

father, Mykhailo Frost, was the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council of the UAOC.

But the most clearly the musical environment of Kyiv in 1920 is reflected in memoirs and letters of famous musicians. So, in the letter of a conductor and composer Pylyp Omelianovych Kozytskyi to his colleague Kyryl Hryhorovych Stepovyi on March 13, 1922 was given a picture of musical life. He mentioned about the trip of the choir “Dumka” to Moscow, where after the first concerts nobody believed that the choir of such professional level could come to Kyiv. Also it was mentioned about some Moscow reviews including Demian Bidnyi’s “Something About Petliura, About Ukrainian Choir and About Moscow Great Shame”, where he reproaches Moscow audience for the indifference to address of “Thoughts”. There were posters in Moscow — “Four Evenings of Little Russians” [16, 4].

Pylyp Kozytskyi reported to Kyryl Stetsenko about the cases of the musicians, who were far from music. The Committee for honoring Mykola Leontovych took care of Mykola Grinchenko (musicologist, future rector of M. Lysenko Music and Drama Institute) and composer, artist and physician Yaroslav Lopatynskyi (native Galician), who were kept as prisoners in the KGB. Y. Lopatynskyi was released (he would return to Galicia in 1923), but at that time Pylyp Kozytskyi didn’t know about the release of Grinchenko.

He also said about the situation in Kyiv, “It’s rather pale, boring, difficult.” At the same time he mentioned about the fruitful work of Vasyl Verkhovnytsia, who had written several songs, made ethnographic trip to Poltava (to the village Yaresky), recorded more than 200 songs, created the music museum in Poltava. He also wrote about the fruitful work of composer L. Revutskyi. He told about the revival of the national choir under the direction of M. Verykivskyi, the work of the choir of S. Durdukivskyi, the studio choir work of M. Leontovych under the direction of P. Tychyna. He mentioned numerous concerts and musical events in Kyiv and suddenly — the negative mood in assessments of music in Kyiv. We believe that the answer was in that part of the letter where the author mentioned about Hryhorii Mytrofanovych Davydovskiy (lived in 1888–1952, a famous choral conductor, a composer, a teacher, an honored artist from 1951), who was arrested by the KGB. He also described a disappointing picture of an important part of cultural space of Kyiv “Publishing in Kyiv is quite hopeless, no one buys and publishes no music works” [16, 4].

In another letter during this period we find the description of the situation at Lysenkivskiy Institute (M. Lysenko Music and Drama Institute, later, in 1934, divided into Conservatory and Theatre Institute), according to the famous music theorist B. Yavorskyi, professors were people who had nothing to do with the idea of the Institute. B. Yavorskyi said that it was necessary to take appropriate actions:

“It is needed to reorganize Directorate, to invite ideological people there — those who are Ukrainians.” Pylyp Kozytskyi mentioned also about the difficult financial situation of the Institute, urged that it was necessary to affect people, who had the influence on the subsidies of the Institute [16, 7].

The great addition to the picture of musical life in Kyiv in early totalitarian days can be found in the archive of Pylyp Omelianovych Kozytskyi. So in his memoirs “My Life”, dated on April 7, 1943, which were written in the evacuation in Ufa, the musical environment in Kyiv at the beginning of Bolshevik ruling was described vividly.

While Kyryl Stetsenko, who had returned to Kyiv from a deportation and joined the Ukrainian musical life, enlisted Pylyp Kozytskyi to music and social work as an assistant of conductor of the first national choir. Subsequently, P. Kozytskyi accepted the offer to work as a music teacher at the first T. Shevchenko Ukrainian gymnasium (who worked until spring 1924), that was led by famous educator and national figure B. Durdukivskyi. Soon the choir school of 120–140 people “became very popular as one of the best Ukrainian school choirs in Kyiv” [17, 14–15]. The young composer wrote handling large choral works of Lysenko himself and also composed choruses on the texts by T. Shevchenko, B. Grinchenko, P. Kulish, P. Tychyna, I. Franko. Some of them were included into the appropriate book, published in 1929. In 1918 he was offered a course of lectures on the history of Ukrainian music at a Conductor Department of M. Lysenko Music and Drama Institute. He combined this work with a job of Conducting Department Dean to 1924, before moving to Kharkov. At this time the range ties with Ukrainian musical figures — K. Stetsenko, la prairie, B. Yavorsky was expanded.

Pylyp Kozytskyi said about the acquaintance and friendship with Mykola Leontovich: “First I’ve heard the works of this genius Ukrainian composer at a concert of Christmas carols and sides that has been created by National Choir led by O. Koshyts in winter 1917.”

“‘Shchedryk’ by Leontovych has impressed me so much that I have been dreaming about its sounds for days and weeks.” M. Leontovych arrived to Kyiv in 1918 and began working at the Conductor Department at Lysenko Institute, and then at the Art Department at Narcomos URSR, processed the Ukrainian folk songs that were studied with the Choir Conducting Department students [17, 15].

M. Leontovych and P. Kozytskyi were linked with friendly relations. On the way to Lukianivka, where M. Leontovych lived, he visited P. Kozytskyi: “He usually comes to my bachelor room, sits at the piano and starts playing quietly. Then, without saying any word, silently he shakes hands and leaves. and there was only excited joy of creative inspiration in his grey, gentle, full of inner fire and life eyes. Leontovych’s eyes were beautiful — they had great soul

of genius poet of Ukrainian folk songs. The famous portrait of P. Roerich reproduced the inner beauty of the Leontovych soul best." Remarkably, later in his memoirs the 'praise' to the Soviet regime was expressed, but the manuscript word 'domination of the Soviet power' were crossed out and replaced with 'determination' [17, 16].

The political and ideological changes happened in the musical life too. M. Verhovynets translated "The Internationale" for the choir, M. Leontovych wrote for the Red officers school the layout "Young Guard" and "We are the Blacksmiths". There appeared song of H. Veriovka — "Go Straight, People, Go!"

For the head of the music department of People's Commissariat URSS was appointed a famous Russian singer L. V. Sobinov (in 1919), his staff were Y. Stepovyi, M. Leontovych, who headed the Moscow State Chapel of Ukraine together with M. Malyshevskiy [17, 16].

P. Kozytskyi described the activities of the Committee for the memory to M. Leontovych too. In January 1921, after the death of the composer, and the news was terribly impressed Ukrainian public, and by the initiative of S. Chapkivskiy (Oles Chapkivskiy (1884–1938) was a Ukrainian journalist, critic, art historian, public figure) this committee was organized. Not only musicians participated there but also a chairman artist Y. Mykhailiv and the members P. Kozytskyi, M. Verykivskiy, S. Chapkivskiy, P. Tychyna and others [17, 17–17].

First the Committee set the task of conservation and ordering of the heritage of a dead composer, and the task of material support to his family. At the initiative of the Committee the Gymnasium Street was renamed to Leontovych Street.

From autumn 1921 to spring 1922 the composers Y. Stepovyi and K. Stetsenko died. Then the Committee expanded the range of its tasks and ordered the heritage of K. Stetsenko. Mostly P. Kozytskyi did it. The Committee became the center of a preparation for publication of works of dead composers, combined Ukrainian music creative power, and established the scientific researches. In 1922 a musicologist M. Grinchenko moved from Kamenetz and also a famous scientist K. Kvitka started working. In 1923 under the decree of NGOs the committee was reorganized into Ukrainian M. Leontovych Music Society. The association published a monthly magazine "Music" (Ukrainian musical newspaper), which was edited by M. Kozytskyi who turned it to the publishing center of musical life. The performing groups were organized such as M. Leontovych Choir Studio (leaders — P. Tychyna and H. Veriovka), and K. Stetsenko Choir Studio. The Association regularly organized so-called "Tuesdays" where Ukrainian music was performed [18, 9, 16–17].

In 1924 the Association was fulfilled with both professional and amateur groups and collective members. In that year the Society organized a nationwide first music exhibition including concerts, exhibitions,

musical exhibits summary of musical institutions. In 1925 the Association performed a Ukrainian Day of Music. This was the first attempt of "Olympics of Professional and Amateur Music Groups" [17, 18].

In 1924 Soviet well-being commanded the Association to express their ideological position being the Soviet musical public organization, so it was reflected in the declaration of the Association in 1924 that was called "October into Music", which played a great role in strengthening the Soviet direction in Ukrainian musical life. That is, in the mid-1920 the regime pressured the artists demanding recognition of loyalty. So P. Kozytskyi acknowledged indirectly there was a direction that wasn't the Soviet one. P. Kozytskyi worked on the Soviet themes — there were written works devoted to P. Tychyna, H. Narbut, S. Chapkivskiy (the figures of Ukrainian art), using the poetry by V. Chumak, B. Sosiura. In the autumn of 1924 he accepted the NDA suggestion and moved to Kharkiv as an inspector of the Music Department and a Head of Music Council.

The memoirs of a famous composer Yulii Serhiievych Meitus are valuable to characterize the artistic community in Kyiv in 1920. At that time, a young composer Yulii Meitus wrote music for many productions at the theater "Berezil". According to his memoirs, an artist Anatolii Petrytskyi who was primarily a theater artist, always expressed his opinion sharply and directly: "He was too scratchy." He could reveal the characters of a play with a help of art means. Later in 1930 in Kharkiv an artist and a composer lived on the same street, and Y. Meitus mentioned how he saw the pictures in the window of the second floor, where there was a workshop of A. Petrytskyi. A. Petrytskyi always had thin humor and sharpness judgments [19, 1; 3].

In his memoirs about a singer Zoia Mykhailivna Haidai, dated on April 15, 1985, Yulii Serhiievych Meitus pointed their creative collaboration in connection with his versions of Ukrainian folk songs. They were part of the Ukrainian musical space and continued the tradition of pre-revolutionary Ukrainian music. In the particular adaptation of Yulii Meitus a song "When the Mother Wouldn't Beat" made in 1928, established into her repertoire. The artists also took part in 1930 [19, 13].

We have another interesting evidence of the nature and the content of Ukrainian music. These are the memories of Borys Durdukivskiy about his father — singer Serhii Fedorovych Durdukivskiy (1880–1932). These memoirs were written in 1982 for the younger generations of the Durdukivski on a proposal of his niece T. Rafalska. They were based on the documents, photographs, which were transferred to the TsDAML and facts that were firmly kept in the memory of B. Durdukivskiy. He gave the impression of his teens about singers in Kyiv. In particular he told about such an obscure

segment as the church: “The first time I heard the abbey voice of archdeacon Rozov in Lavra. Later, while in the Sophia Cathedral the prayer services were served in Ukrainian by the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, nearby in the so-called ‘winter-small’ church, the prayer services were served in Slavonic by the Orthodox Church, which had recognized the head of the church the Patriarch of Moscow. My father often came to this ‘small’ church with me and listened to Rozov, who served there. I remember the voice of Rozov. It was a really unique bass, which was extremely beautiful, of soft velvet timbre from the bottom counter — to the top of F and higher. My father told me listen to that voice, because I would never hear such voice again” [20, 12].

In mid-1919 the Ukrainian opera was created in Kyiv and Serhii Fedorovych Durdukivskiy sang there together with Mariia Ivanivna Lytvynenko-Volhemut. The theater was located on the Merynkhovska Street, apartment № 8 [20, 20].

Borys Durdukivskiy said that O. Koshyts had already offered him to go abroad, but he had refused. At that time Serhii Durdukivskiy brought food-stuffs from his tour, because “Everybody was hungry in Kyiv. Once, I remember, my father brought much salt, which we didn’t also have. This was probably the cause for returning of Stetsenko Chapel from a trip, which was written about at the essay by P. Tychyna “Journey from Stetsenko Chapel”, which was published only in 1982. P. Tychyna mentioned about a soloist S. Durdukivskiy there.

At that time “P. Tychyna worked in the cultural and educational department of Dniprosoiuz (Dnipro Consumers Society). This department often arranged big concerts and invited my father who performed songs of Ukrainian composers as a soloist and sometimes accompanied by the choir”. He also mentioned about the funeral gala concert dedicated to the death of Mykola Leontovych that was arranged by a cooperative association of Dniprosoiuz. The pillow with traces of blood of a composer M. Leontovych impressed everybody.

S. Durdukivskiy had friendly relations with Y. Stepovyi and he often visited him in the Music Lane near the old building of conservatory. The Y. Stepovyi apartment was one of the centers of an informal Ukrainian musical life — there musical events were discussed and pieces of music were performed. There were original works devoted to the singer Y. Stepovyi in musical library of S. Durdukivskiy [20, 21– 22].

From December 1920 to August 1923 Serhii Durdukivskiy taught at Lysenko Music and Drama Institute. His documents in the funds in the TsDAML showed that Serhii Fedorovych worked at Kyiv Opera House from September 1923 to October 22, in 1923, when the “theater was closed”. He earned 23 rubles and 51 coins a month.

In January 1924 Serhii Durdukivskiy organized a vocal group of soloists at Leontovych music society. The singer was also a member of the Society together with P. Kozytskyi and P. Tychyna. [20, 27– 28].

He considered the case of the SVU (the Union for Liberation of Ukraine) to be created artificially. In early 1930 his nephews asked one of the main defendants in the case about his ‘hearted confessions’ in the process of the SVU. S. Durdukivskiy wept bitterly and said: “I have no right to speak about this”.

S. Durdukivskiy often sang in the choir of autocephalous communities in the St. Sophia Cathedral, when in 1920 it belonged to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, he was a soloist in concerts of sacred music. Once performing a solo cantata “The Evening Star Has Raised” on a high note instead of the Ukrainian word ‘wax’ he used the Russified word ‘wax’. All the laity noticed that and at that time the cathedral was always crowded [20, 36].

The artistic environment of painters and sculptors was also transformed politically and socially. In the undated excerpt memories of the famous sculptor Bernard Mykhailovych Kratko was briefly shown complex and contradictory processes in the artistic environment in Kyiv. He taught at the Kyiv Art Institute in 1925–1935. These memories were about the history of fine arts in Ukraine. He sympathized the Bolsheviks during the revolution in Russia. He also served as he said, the ‘cultural tasks’ of the Bolshevik in Petrograd.

In 1925 B. Kratko was appointed to be a dean of the faculty of Kyiv Art Institute. Although he described the events too biased there were still important observations that showed the ideological confrontation in the artistic environment. Thus, in his opinion, the director of the Kyiv Art Institute, Ivan Vrona, was not a specialist painter but “the man who talks about art”. There was a prevailed continuous struggle between the professors of different directions at the Institute. and Ivan Vrona, according to B. Kratko, didn’t have “Marxist thoughts about socialist realism”. and the teachers of the pre-revolution school took the position “There were formalist of the tendencies of decadent art everywhere” [21, 20].

The theater workers were an integral and exciting part of the humanitarian circle of Kyiv. One of the prominent art figures in the first half of the twentieth century was a director, an actor and a founder of the Museum of Theatre, Music and Cinema of Ukraine Vasyl Stepanovych Vasylo (Miliaiev) (1893–1972). In his personal fund in the Central State Archives Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine among many valuable materials there are dairies of 1914–1926 years, which are a valuable source about the growth of Ukrainian culture and theatrical art, in particular. The particular values, in our opinion, are those parts of the dairy related to the activities of theater “Berezil” in Kyiv.

So in mid-June 1924, after returning from a tour in Kharkov and Poltava, he said that the case of "Berezil" was "very bad" and pointed: "If Hryenko (People's Commissar of Education) was not there, it would be much worth". This opinion was expressed by the director, the chief administrator of the theater Mykhailo Oleksandrovych Datskiv. The fate of the theater worker and member of the Ukrainian National Revolution of 1917–1921 is interesting too. He fought in UGA, was arrested by the Cheka, was taken to a concentration camp and was involved in the Red Army and fought in the Polish front. Staying in Soviet Ukraine in 1930 he was arrested and died in the camps in March in 1939 [22]. At that time the financial situation of "Berezil" was too difficult.

So ten people directing the theater lab were called by Les Kurbas to Odesa and were able together with their money to leave, only if they were lucky to pass sublease of an agrarian item, as M. O. Datskiv reported [23, 18]. Not only theatrical figures in Kyiv but also in the regions had financial difficulties. V. Vasylo talking about "bourgeois origin" of his parents who lived in Fastov told that the children (and V. Vasylo too) tried to help them: "How could we help our parents if we didn't have a penny in our pockets" [23, 19]. Vasylo Vasylo dairy refuted the common notion that at the end of the 1921–1923 famine years the financial situation in Ukraine improved. His parents were in terrible poverty. His father was removed from the list at the employment house: "Parents are begging me to leave the theater and get another, more reliable job. It is hard and painful to see such a situation" [23, 21]. On June 29, 1924 there was message that Lenin Theatre House was handed to "Berezil". Also it was said about the fruitful cooperation between "Berezil" and Lysenko Music and Drama Institute. In July 1924 the setting "Kings" was staged, which was favorably accepted by the audience [23, 22].

Noteworthy to see was a writing in the diary on July 16, 1924 where it was said that Les Kurbas need to focus on the work in the VUFKU (Ukrainian Movie and Photo Management), which attracted the director to present Ukraine abroad, "And there is no director, who has adequately presented the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian art... Who knows, maybe Ukrainians would be lucky enough to form a new school in cinematography" [23, 23].

At that time a situation of Ukrainian actors and directors was really difficult. Russian opposition forces continued and supported Bolshevik attempts to monopolize ideological humanitarian sphere generally. In August 1924 Vasylo Vasylo noted his memory about the conversation of a drunk actor Saltykov: "I would hang your Kurbas upside down. You are all chauvinists! The people will send you away to the devil, they don't need you, but nowadays in Ukraine there is such a situation (ukrainization) that everything close to the Russian art should go away." The fact was that Kurbas did not accept actors

and required technique and expression — so that was "a real chauvinism" [23, 32].

In the same month we could find the evidence of creative Kurbas pursuits. He was "disappointed in Berezil" and rushed into the arms of the movie, where he found new opportunities in work and opportunities related to the actor. Take money and work without any chatters and claims about ideology, and so on. "Kurbas concluded that "Berezil" must be also transferred to the state of the factory where everyone had their place, earned a salary and did no merits" [23, 33].

But on August, 15 we found a note that Kurbas had disappointed in the VUFKU that he named "cess-pool of intrigue" and wanted to create his own film production in "Berezil" [23, 34]. Also he described the state theater environment and pressure on him by Bolshevik regime in mid-1920 but not at the end of the decade, as it is generally accepted. On October 12, 1924 the general meeting of workers of Art Association "Berezil" took place which discussed the status. Under the pressure of the government the previous status was declared to be "inappropriate neither to our ideological aspirations nor to our economic structure — we are not NEPmen that pull the benefit from our 'limited partnership', we do not accept this kind of form".

Simultaneously, the Commission to clean the members of the union was elected including: political commissar Lazoryshak, a representative of Art workers union (ROBMYS), F. Lopatynskiy, V. Vasylo, and A. Makarenko. All union members became the members of the international organization of the help to revolution fighters (MOPR), of the Society of literacy, of the club ROBMYS, and adopted to deduct 1% of their earnings to help Leningrad proletariat. [23, 52].

About another form of pressure we have some notes in V. Vasylo diary on February 20, 1925. The general rehearsal of the play "Chasing Two Hares" took place in the presence of "proletarian society" — it was the first but not the last, during the existence of "Berezil" [23, 73].

Thus we can conclude that the socio-cultural environment of humanities in 1918–1929 years was characterized by complex and contradictory processes. Not only during the national liberation struggles in 1917–1921, but also to mid-1920 the humanities financial situation remained difficult. Exactly during this period, but not at the end of 1920 the pressure of the Bolshevik regime aimed at the ideological unification of the artistic community started. This was facilitated by the spread of Bolshevik ideas among writers, musicians, movie and theater actors. In order to increase Bolshevik influence on socio-cultural environment the pressure methods of secret police were used. But despite this, the Ukrainian humanists continued to spread national artistic traditions in music, theater and literature. The arguments we can find in their memoirs, diaries and epistolary heritage.

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#### **КИЇВ РАННЬОТОТАЛІТАРНОЇ ДОБИ ОЧИМА КИЇВСЬКИХ ГУМАНІТАРІЇВ**

*У статті досліджується соціокультурне середовище Києва ранньототалітарної доби (1918–1929) на основі неопублікованих чи маловідомих спогадів представників мистецьких кіл та їх листування.*

**Ключові слова:** *ранньототалітарний, спогади, листування, гуманітарна інтелігенція, соціокультурне середовище, М. Донець, О. Дорошкевич, П. Козицький, Ю. Мейтус, Б. Кратко, В. Василько.*

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#### **КИЕВ РАННЕТОТАЛИТАРНОЙ ЭПОХИ ГЛАЗАМИ КИЕВСКИХ ГУМАНИТАРИЕВ**

*В статье исследуется социокультурная среда Киева раннетоталитарной эпохи (1918–1929) на основе неопубликованных или малоизвестных воспоминаний представителей художественных кругов и их переписки.*

**Ключевые слова:** *раннетоталитарный, воспоминания, переписка, гуманитарная интеллигенция, социокультурная среда, М. Донец, А. Дорошкевич, П. Козицкий, Ю. Мейтус, Б. Кратко, В. Василько.*