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FOLKLORE AS AN INTEGRATIVE ELEMENT OF A MODERN UKRAINIAN ETHNIC NATIONAL IDENTITY

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ФОЛЬКЛОР ЯК ІНТЕГРАТИВНИЙ ЕЛЕМЕНТ СУЧАСНОГО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО ІДЕНТИТЕТУ

В статті йдеться про вплив народної творчості на розвиток української національної культури. Фольклор відігравав вирішальну роль в підготовці становлення сучасної української національної свідомості. Представники політичної та інтелектуальної еліти здійснили спробу створити так званий “національний стиль”, спираючись на цінності народної культури. Цей стиль повинен був, з одного боку, інтегрувати українське суспільство, з іншого – сприяти відокремленню від інших етносів, які проживали на етнічних українських територіях.

At the turn of the 19th century, the multi-ethnic Galicia was characterized by a strong rivalry between the Poles and the Ukrainians. They were the two dominant nations in the region. Both groups sought political independence; each wanted to be the leader of the region, in order to integrate Galicia into a nation state in the future¹. This was not possible without bringing out the regional distinctions between the two.

Looking at their ethnic and cultural proximity as well as their common existence within one state (first: Poland; from 1772 on: within the Habsburgs monarchy), this was no easy plan. Besides, in former centuries a smooth transition of national identities was typical.

Although generally, concerning political aspects, a transition to the Polish nationality prevailed. Above all, in the rural area, people adopted the Ukrainian nationality².

The nations belonging to the Catholic Church encouraged these changes. Though, the Poles were Roman-Catholics and the Ukrainians were Greek-Catholics. The church law permitted to believe in the one or the other religious group.

Farmers with a Polish nationality more often took advantage of this, because the network of Roman-Catholic churches was rather small in Galicia. Moreover, there was a Greek-Catholic chapel (in Ukrainian: *Tserkva*) in almost every village.

In the 19th century, Polish people used to baptize their children, marry and pay their last respects to their dead in the nearest *Tserkva*³. In the course of the century, the socio-economic distance more and more corresponded with the respective belief.

The farmers were subject to a so-called Ukrainisation, whereas the nobility and the bourgeoisie (including the intelligentsia) were subject to a so-called Polonisation. The Ukrainian population was thus threatened by the loss of its upper class, which was poverty-stricken and consisted of farmers mainly.

This development was partly constrained by the so-called *Concordia*. The *Concordia* is a pact, which was made by Galician bishops of both beliefs in 1863⁴. However, this pact had no considerable influence on the national identities of Galician-Poles and Ukrainians. Besides, living together for centuries as well as the religious situation (see above), encouraged mixed marriages.

This is also why the *Concordia* principles considered the religious and the national identity as follows:

Daughters of a mixed marriage had to adopt the belief of the mother, whereas, on the other hand, the sons, the belief of the father. In this manner, a custom was formed in Galicia, which was unique in Europe: parents and siblings vary in belief and nationality. Although it repressed the changeover to the religious denomination, which dominated the marriage. On the other hand, it encouraged the cultural unification within a multi-ethnic society.

At the end of the 19th century, as the formation of a modern national consciousness became more important, Polish and Ukrainian national activists started to point out prominent national features. They were mainly features, which of course, marked the national differences between the two nations. In this context, the features and their inherent history, “eternity”, “stability” and “indispensability” for the upcoming national development were emphasized.

Historical social differences had a direct influence on the selection of distinctive national features. In the cities, Poles built the majority, whereas most Ukrainian people lived in the villages. The Polish nobility, however, owned a major part of the country. Thus, the Poles appealed to the culture and tradition of the Polish nobility, the *Szlachta*. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, appealed to their own folklore.

At the turn of the century, their population consisted of 96 percent farmers in Galicia. This number did not change much in the following decades⁵. The further development of the Ukrainian society in Galicia was hindered by a slight urbanization of the country; as well as a fierce competition within the profession and trade on behalf of Polish and Jewish communities.

In 1918, when Eastern Galicia was within the frontiers of the regained Polish state, the situation changed only marginally. Economic conditions and the political situation lead to the return to the village by representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Since there were no jobs for them in the city, they looked for jobs in well-developed rural movements of social cooperatives.

The intelligentsia ruled every part of the social life⁶. As more and more academics moved to the village, the social life started to develop. Places of cultural interest, reading rooms, choirs and amateur theatres were found. Besides, the political arena became more radical.

A strong union between the rural and the town population was the characteristic feature of the Ukrainian national life in those days. The Ukrainian rural population and in particular the intelligentsia, has always been deeply rooted in their homeland.

Vasyl Mudryi, one of the leaders of the biggest political parties in Galicia (vice-president of the parliament of the republic of Poland in the thirties), the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, said in an interview:

Every Ukrainian academic used to be a farmer, either of the first or the second generation. There were very few academics, who were born before 1848. The Ukrainian academic, doctor or lawyer, is rooted to this soil with his own flesh and blood. Let it be the brother or the uncle living in the village⁷.

The influence of popular culture on the Ukrainian national life was immediate and dominant in that situation⁸. The dissidents of political life viewed popular culture not so much as a creative output, but rather looked at its ideological value to promote the spreading and strengthening of the Ukrainian national consciousness.

The wide influence of folk culture was not only confined to the social life in the village, but also influenced the urban population. Both in everyday life, and in professional art. One example is the spreading of elements of the culture of traditional costumes among Ukrainians in the cities. The traditional costumes soon received the status of a national costume.

The traditional ethnic Ukrainian groups set the most manifold folkloristic courses: Lemkos, Boikos and Hutsuls, who lived in the Kaparten and the foreland of the Kaparten⁹. Their popular art took up a dominant role in Ukrainian social life at the beginning of the 20th century. Basically, there was no certain type of regional costume. However, one always had the impression that this is a Boikos-costume¹⁰. This is why this costume was popular in-between the wars.

The costumes showed patterns of the Boikos-group on shirts of men and women. There were also patterns of other regional groups as well as clothes, which were generally seen as urban or stately. This was especially striking in those circles, where shirts were not stitched so far. In earlier days this was frowned upon, but came into vogue, again: Wearing one's shirt atop one's trousers¹¹.

Among the urban population, especially women wore traditional costumes, when attending events with a patriotic character¹².

The Polish press heard of it and wrote in the thirties: The traditional costumes of the women perfectly matched the black tailcoat of the men during the Shevchenko-events and concerts¹³.

The Polish ethnographer, Adam Fischer, writes:

Women wore different kinds of jewelry. They wore slides, flowers, feathers, metal strings, earrings and necklaces¹⁴.

In particular, they wore the *Namesta* of the Hutsuls, a sort of necklace, as well as slides and rings¹⁵. The men in the cities were also keen on showing their national affiliation, by wearing suits (sometimes even their dinner jackets) with stitched shirts and a folksy tie. Especially politicians, writers and culture activists dressed up like this.

By wearing the so-called *papa*, one tried to imitate the traditional costumes of the Cossacks¹⁶. Patriotic circles made propaganda for popular jewelry for the design of modern costumes. Motives of Hutsuls and Poltava came in the fore¹⁷.

The co-operative *Ukrainian Folk Culture* (Ukrains'ke Narodne Mystetstvo) from L'viv has to be mentioned in this context, since over the years, they shaped the so-called Ukrainian fashion and thus formed a characteristic style of traditional costumes for women and children. This style was, on the one hand, tied up to the rich folkloristic stitchery. On the other hand, in order to use elements of the folkloristic jewelry for the production of clothes, Ukrainian social groups organized events. At those events, one tried to make the achievements in popular culture public¹⁸.

The co-operative *Hutsulsland* (Hutsulshchyna) was involved in similar events. They and other manufacturers, who made inventive clothing, also influenced the spreading of traditional costumes in urban circles. Apart from traditional costumes, the Ukrainian urban population also used different elements from the art of woodcarving. Basic commodities as well as interior decorations, which were decorated with motifs from folklore art, were very popular. Uniaxial or biaxial ornaments, rather than plant motifs, were used in general. The souvenir trade was mainly responsible for the spreading of the different products of folklore, especially in-between the wars.

Needle works by the co-operative *Hutsuls'ka Rizhba* from Kosovo were very popular in the thirties¹⁹. For the people from Kosovo candlesticks were nothing special. The Ukrainians treated ceramic dishes and handmade carpeting like national relics. Other ethnic groups than the Hutsuls also knew those very products.

One could easily identify accommodation of the Ukrainians, even in the cities, by looking at their furniture. There were stitched window curtains, tablecloths and not to forget the ornamented towels, which covered the icon²⁰. The status of the traditional costumes was so very strong that the population of Galicia related it with the Ukrainian folklore.

Changing one's religion equaled the change of one's national identity back then. When, for example, a person of the Ukrainian group converted from the Greek-Catholic to the Roman-Catholic denomination, the person immediately stopped wearing the traditional costume.

The ritual ornamented towel had the biggest symbolic role in the social and religious life of the Ukrainian population. It was white linen with richly stitched ornaments. Red and black geometric patterns of the Hutsuls dominated the linen. Sometimes also blue, green or yellow. These colors were found on ornamented towels with plant motifs. This linen was called the Poltawer type and already started to spread in Galicia at the end of the 19th century.

One common element on the ornamented towels was the so-called *arbor vitae*. It was also found on Kelimes, on house walls, on stoves as well as on Easter eggs²¹.

In Ukrainian circles, the ritual ornamented towel was part of the people's lives, by birth till death. It was also used when there was an engagement, a marriage ceremony or a burial in the village.

In the cities, folklore had a great influence and was even found in the architecture of churches, liturgical vestments and the churches' jewelry²².

The execution of Jesus Christ, Mary as well as saints and angels in icons, frescoes and church

windows with folklore embroidery was very popular at the end of the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, the so-called secession style dominated and promoted the forming of the Ukrainian national style in Galicia. The monumental frescoes of 1915 (Lysenko institute of music, L'viv) by Modest Sosenko are one example in this context²³.

The so-called national style was formed under the influence of the Hutsuls art in the religious and secular architecture at the beginning of the 20th century. Architects from L'viv are generally reckoned as the founders: the Ukrainian Ivan Levins'kyi and his assistant and the Pole Tadeusz Obmiński²⁴. The room of the former insurance company *Dnister* in L'viv (vul. Rus'ka), built in 1905 – 1906, is an exemplar of the Ukrainian national style in architecture.

In the years 1906 to 1908, the monumental dormitory of the Ukrainian educational society was built. It has the same national style as the insurance company. The façade of both buildings was typical of the Art Nouveau of L'viv.

The Gorals, a mountain people, richly decorated it with ornaments typical of the woodcraft²⁵. The ground floor showed stucco elements instead of wooden beams. In the case of the dormitory, the lower house wall was decorated with stones.

The stylistic canon influenced the architecture in L'viv, Stanislav, Tarnopol and Przemysl and other small towns and cities in Eastern Galicia.

The contemporary architect of L'viv, Alfred Zachariewicz, was tied up to the folkloristic motifs²⁶. Many in Galicia imitated the search for a national style, initiated by Levins'kyi. They were Ukrainian architects like Oleksandr Lushpins'kyi, Oleksandr Tymoshenko, Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi, Roman Hytsai, Ievhen Nahir'nyi, Lev Levins'kyi and Sylvester Havryshkiewych. In the field of sacral architecture, attempts to form a Ukrainian national style began at the end of the 19th century.

At the time, when architects from Galicia looked for archetypes in the architecture of the Kyiv baroque for new churches. Besides, ideological thoughts prompted these attempts.

The emphasis lied on the ostentation of the connection of the rest of the Ukrainian region with the capital Kyiv. But also artistic reasons were considered looking at the prominent secession style and its connection to the achievements of the baroque style.

Favored were churches with a nave and a big dome in the middle and two smaller domes above the presbytery. Above the entrance or the Greek cross, there was the central dome and four smaller domes above every blade of the church. Between the wars, these were mainly projects by Ievhen Nahir'nyis and Sylvester Havryshkiewychs.

This last model was in accord with the sacral architecture of the Hutsuls. Popular architecture was highly influenced by sacral architecture. Not only in the way of interpretation, but also by attempting to imitate churches of the Hutsuls. For example, the *Tserkva* in Gladyszow/ Land of Lemkos²⁷.

The immediate influence of folklore on the works of artists as well as on everyday life, was natural for a nation, which has been without a state for centuries. Thus it is an acknowledged fact that folklore provided the genetic foundation for national art²⁸.

A lot of art historians proved that the Ukrainian folklore does not stem from the villages. It was rather founded during the Old Russian Empire. After the political breakpoint of the Kievan Rus', folklore was civilized and developed further by the people. In this context, the rich forms of jewelry can be mentioned. Their handling was only possible on a high artistic and cultural level.

This is why it was acknowledged as a deliberate work of creativity. Numerous painters portrayed princes and bojars of the Rus Empire of the early Middle Ages in their paintings. Furthermore, national heroes wore traditional costumes with numerous motifs of folklore. These motifs could also be found in the rooms of the princes, in the courtyards of the early Russian nobility as well as on common objects.

A leading representative of this art-style was Hryhorii Pavluts'kyi, art historian from Kyiv, and professor at the university of Kyiv²⁹. The painter Petro Mehyk, founder of the artist group *Spokii*, made propaganda for this style in Poland. In a paper by Mehyk, written for the exhibition "Folklore ion Poland" in Warsaw, October 5, 1937, he states: "One should not take the Ukrainian art as a means to satisfy the artistic needs of the village. This art form includes the whole nation"³⁰.

Vasyl Simovych was of a similar opinion. Concerning the Ukrainian folk song, he proved that they shaped the feelings of whole generations of Ukrainian patriots³¹. Simovych referred to the very

old folk songs, which were called *Dumy*. Those were very long and included legendary and historical national heroes. They were about the war of Cossacks and Ukrainians fighting in this war³².

The folk songs remain in the collective memory until the present. They do not only influence the national consciousness. Moreover, they convey an artistic sensibility. They became a source of inspiration for artists in the 19th and 20th century. Besides, they were part of village life as well as folk festivals, concerts and commemorations.

The *dumy* were acknowledged as folk songs for the whole nation. They were sung *a cappella* with folk instruments like the Bandura and lyre or the violin. The musical works of Mykola Lysenko and Stanislav Ludkevych, who are acknowledged as the founders of Ukrainian music, do have their roots in folk songs.

Ludkevych wanted to link of folkloristic elements and the achievements of European modernism³³. He was followed by members of the "Prague school" like Viteslav Novak and Josef Suka of the academy of music in Prague. Both members were the most famous. Other composers were: Vasyl Barvyns'kyi, Nestor Nizhankiv's'kyi, Zhynovyi Lyshko, Mykola Kolessa, Roman Simovych and Stefania Turkevych-Lisovs'ka. Their works were almost entirely linked to the Ukrainian national identity. Although compared to former decades, the influence of folkloristic elements was less in the twenties and thirties. Nevertheless, folklore inspired every field of Ukrainian art.

During romanticism and subsequent ages, folklore had a strong impact on fiction. Taking for example the works of Taras Shevchenkos, Ivan Frankos, Lesia Ukrainkas or Mykhailo Kotsiubyns'kyi. At the turn of the 19th century, there were a lot of elements given from dialects or stylization concerning the language of the people. In fiction, villages were often chosen as the setting of novels and farmers became heroes.

In the context of Ukrainian literature, representatives of the so-called "Young Muse" (*Moloda Muza*), in particular, used these elements: Vasyl Pachkovs'kyi, Bohdan Lepkyi (in-between the wars, he was actively involved in science and literature, Volodymyr Byrchak, Sydor Tverdochlin and partly Ulana Kravchenko³⁴. Her work mixes folklore with reference to the Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian nation.

The defeat of the Ukrainians' strive for independence from 1918 to 1920 promoted such literary tendencies. From those days, importance was attached to historical narratives.

Mostly used by representatives of the above-mentioned "Young Muse" as well as by Ukrainian authors like Vasyl Kuchabs'kyi, Julian Opils'kyi, Halyna Zhurba and Fedor Dudka³⁵. The farmer trilogy "Wolhynien" (*Volyn*) by Ulas Samchuk, published in the thirties, had a big response³⁶. In terms of folkloristic elements, one can definitely compare this narrative with "Peasants" (*Chlopi*), a narrative by the Polish winner of the Nobel Prize of literature, Władysław Reymont.

The folkloristic elements of people living in the foreland were mostly used in the Ukrainian literature in Galicia: Lemkos, Boikos and Hutsuls. The winner of the Nobel Prize, Vasyl Stefanyk, introduced the dialect of the Hutsuls into Ukrainian literature³⁷. Mythology and spiritual life of the Hutsuls can be found in works by Rostyslava Jendyka and Vasyl Tkachuk³⁸. Marko Cheremshyna was also a talented Hutsuls writer³⁹. The poet Bohdan Ihor Antonych, who died at the age of 28, had a great impact on the popularization of folklore in literature. In particular, by using nature and the life of the Lemkos. The works of Antonych were indeed influenced by the mythology and demonology of the Lemkos⁴⁰. To sum this up, there are folkloristic elements and references to Ukrainian villages in most of the works by Ukrainian writers of the 20th century.

Compared to Galicia, Ukrainian regions, which were not a sovereign Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic in the Soviet Union after 1917, had different ways of relating to folklore. Scientists and persons engaged in the cultural sector had to investigate folklore and provide evidence of its uniqueness and nativeness. Actually, in the Ukrainian regions, folklore was seriously present in public life, in artistry and scientific research. It was always examined with regard to ideological principles: A treasury of values of the class society. The overall goal was to exploit folklore for propaganda of the new man and his or her devotion to the communistic soul and world revolution. Thus, in the year 1920, an ethnographic commission was formed at the Ukrainian Academy of Science. The commission was in charge of historical songs and a work place for musical ethnography. Later, in Kyiv in 1936, it became the Institute for Ukrainian Folklore.

Apart from scientists, writers, composers and other people engaged in the cultural sector, were

encouraged to investigate folklore. Their main task was to prove that folklore was an element of the suppressed farmers. According to them, farmers were outcasts and not part of the sophisticated culture. Therefore, farmers formed their own spiritual world, which had a certain character of class. Scientists and writers prove that the folklore culture of the farmers was observable in people like Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians. They looked for features within folk culture of these three nations, in order to prove their parallel development.

In the Soviet Ukraine, these trends lasted beyond World War II. Regardless of political dissidents opinion, this cultural policy revealed dozens of reference material. It was partly published.

In this context, a monumental work of series serves as a typical example. It was initiated in the Maksym Ryls'kyi Institute for Art, Folklore and ethnography of the Academy of the Sciences in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in the sixties and was called: *Ukrains'ka narodna tvorchist'* (Ukrainian folklore). Professor Oleksii I. Deia was in charge of the compilation of the series⁴¹.

The ideas of the Soviet rulers did not always correspond with the peoples' opinion. In fact, the people understood their own folk culture as a national feature. It even became manifest during Stalinism. The patriots' "escape to popularity" became more definite, when the communist party propagated the so-called proletarian culture even more. Back then, many followers of the Ukrainian Independence associated the then popular motto "Machine-City-Compound" with Internationalism and Russian culture. The motto was thus of course linked to their own culture and national identity.

In Galicia, there were demands to separate the folkloristic roots. However, the majority of the political and intellectual elite agreed in artistic adaptation of folklore. Folklore was generally considered as a way to a more sophisticated culture as well as a way to emerge a modern national consciousness.

The general tendency to separate from the Polish population influenced this notion. In the context of national differences, this process was fundamental for the national existence. The intention was as follows: The clothes of Ukrainians should be different from Polish clothing. On the other hand, the Polish people were mobilized by this intention: Those who lived without a separate folk culture as well as folkloristic traditions in Eastern Galicia and were thus assigned to traditions of the Polish nobility. The Polish ethnographer Adam Fischer wrote about his observations of the Galician village in-between wars period:

These days, Ukrainian and Polish houses differ in color. The Polish people use the color white to paint the front of the house. Further, they rub the lower walls with clay. The Ukrainians paint the walls of their homes in blue and rub the lower walls with yellow clay⁴².

In the cities, Ukrainians were keen to decorate the facades with folkloristic elements. Polish people, on the other hand, elements of the nobility. The entrances were decorated with colonnades. If the owner was a nobleman, there often was an emblem on the front door. Through urbanization, industrialization and the general process of modernization, Ukrainians were prompted to start a process of unification.

However, the influence of folklore after the resettlement of the Polish people out of the cities of Eastern Galicia and Western Volhynia was, again, noticeable. It was not about a renaissance of a national style. The reason was, in fact, the settlement of village people. They brought their traditional clothes, items and customs to the cities. Yet, they also served as a source of inspiration for the entire national culture. By-and-by they became symbols of backwardness.

This is why the people concerned tried to get rid of these items as quick as possible and to not be different from the traditional urban population in looks and manners⁴³. The process of russification as well as the constraint of civil rights within the soviet context provoked the manifestation of the Ukrainian identity and the defense of their own national culture. This attitude mainly manifested itself in the families as well as in close circles of friends, where the stitched shirt and adorned towels were still synonyms for the preservation of one's national identity.

The emphasis of the Ukrainian national identity underwent a renaissance after the achievement of a Ukrainian state. This was impossible without the reference to folklore. Even if the general knowledge was not aware of a folkloric style within the Ukrainian society, patriotic and political circles were keen on the external manifestation the national identity and independence. In patriotic circles, men wore stitched shirts and women wore stitched blouses. Mostly during historic anniversaries, national and religious ceremonies, meetings as well as during parliamentary elections and elections of self-governing bodies.

These shirts and blouses were almost an obligatory part of those events. In the context of architecture, the independent Ukraine gradually started to refer to one's national style. Primarily in sacral architecture.

In the context of urban building industry, were yet no references made to one's own national style. This type was only found in the forelands, but mainly with public buildings. However, people referred to the national style before. Looking at, for example, projects by the architect Radoslav Zhuk (he mainly worked in the United States and Canada and also in the Ukraine after 1919)⁴⁴.

In Western Ukraine, the building of churches is however something new. They tie in directly with the so-called style of the Cossacks, which was cultivated by the orthodox patriarchy population in Kyiv. New sources of inspiration were also found in the decoration methods and in interior decoration: Frescoes, church windows and church interiors of the *Tserkva*. Especially those churches, which used to be Roman-Catholic churches before World War II and overtaken by the Eastern churches. Since designing the body of the church was limited, they were keen on expressing their identity by decorating the church interiors. One example is the church window of the Saint Andrew – *Tserkva* (formerly Church of Bernhardiner in L'viv): Mary and Jesus wear stitched shirts in the traditional Ukrainian style⁴⁵. Due to the above-mentioned projects and the design, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches definitely differ from Orthodox churches. They even differ from churches presently built in Russia, Belorussia and Serbia. Thus, the churches are a unique expression of Ukrainian sacral architecture.

To sum up, the influence of folklore on the development of a Ukrainian national culture was important and significant. At the turn of the 19th century, folklore was a strong promoter of ethnic nationalism⁴⁶ and thus had a significant role for the emerging of a modern Ethnic Ukrainian national identity.

Folklore was also present in the following decades of the 20th century, in almost every spiritual and material field of the Ukrainian people. According to folklore and its inherent values, representatives of the political and intellectual elite tried to form a so-called national style. In the one hand, this style was supposed to integrate the Ukrainian people from within. On the other hand, it was supposed to separate the Ukrainian people and their folklore from other nationalities, which lived on 'ethnic Ukrainian territory'.

Artists, people engaged in cultural activities, politicians and even priests consider it as their patriotic obligation to make use of the achievements of folklore. Among intellectuals and in the cities, the connection to certain elements of Ukrainian folklore was manifested as a sign of national identity and the fight for national sovereignty.

Nowadays, after this goal was achieved, the function cultivating those traditions is to form one's own national identity and to strengthen the regional local patriotism. For current policy maker who do wish to pursue the Ethnic Ukrainian national identity complex, the Polish-Ukrainian rivalry in Galicia at the beginning of the 19th century suggests that the greatest effort should be placed not on supporting and privileging the Ukrainian language, but on such goals as emphasizing the historical and cultural differences between Ukrainians and Russians, and the need for a Western foreign orientation.

¹ See Kozik, J., *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830 – 1848*; Wasilewski, L., *Ukraińska sprawa narodowa w jej rozwoju dziejowym*, Warszawa 1925; Wereszycki, H., *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe*. – Kraków, 1975.

² Evidence for even the lower Schlachta became Ukrainain provides: Smoleński, W., *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*. – Kraków, 1908. – Pp. 132–135.

³ Osadczy, W., *Kościół i Cerkiew na wspólnej drodze. Concordia 1863. Z dziejów porozumienia między obrządkiem greckokatolickim a łańskim w Galicji Wschodniej*. – Lublin, 1999. – P. 91.

⁴ See *Prawo kościelne o stosunkach obu obrządków w Galicji, greckokatolickiego, słowiańskiego Rusinów i łańskiego Polaków*. – Lwów, 1865; siehe auch Osadczy. Pp. cit. – Pp. 81–110.

⁵ Broadly on this item: Stępień, S., *W kręgu badań nad społeczeństwem II Rzeczypospolitej. Społeczność ukraińska*, in: "Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne" 1987, vol. 4–5. – Pp. 137–174.

- ⁶ See Stępień, S., Ukraiński "ideał narodowy" w okresie międzywojennym. Czynniki budujące świadomość narodową postrzegane z perspektywy polityków galicyjskich, in: "Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze 2003, vol. 15–16. – Pp. 79–95.
- ⁷ Pruszyński, K., "Rozmowa z wicemarszałkiem Wasylem Mudrym", in: "Bunt Młodych" 1935 (20. 12.) – 1936 (5. 1.). – Pp. 2–3.
- ⁸ See Stępień, S.: Wpływ kultury ludowej na kształtowanie się tożsamości narodowej Ukraińców w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym, in: J. Wyrozumski (ed.), Miasto i kultura ludowa w dziejach Białorusi, Litwy, Polski i Ukrainy. – Kraków, 1996. – Pp. 171–180.
- ⁹ See Ponomarov, A.P., Etnichnist' ta istoriia Ukrainy. – Kyiv, 1996.
- ¹⁰ More on this issue see Marciniak, M. J., "Strój ludowy Bojków", in: "Płaj" 1992, ą 6. – Pp. 44–56; see also Reinfuss, R., Ze studiów nad kulturą materialną Bojków, in: "Rocznik Ziemi Górskich", 1935.
- ¹¹ Fischer, A., Zarys etnografii Polski Południowo-Wschodniej, in: Czerny, Z. (ed.), Polska Południowo-Wschodnia. – Lwów, 1939. – Pp. 223–225.
- ¹² Rudnyts'ka, M.: "Zhinka i natsiia", in: "Zhinka", 1.1.1935, № 1. – Pp. 1, I – Ia; "Vechir narodnoi noshi". Ibidem. – P. 3.
- ¹³ Since the end of the 19th century the "Shevchenko-cult" was part of the Ukrainian schedule (each year 9–10th od March).
- ¹⁴ Fischer, op. cit. – P. 226.
- ¹⁵ "Vaha piznannia narodnoho mystetstva", in: Nova Khata 1931, № 3. – P. 2; "V spravi narodnoi noshi", ibidem, 1930, № 6. – Pp. 7–8; for more information on Ukrainian costumes see: Voropai, O., Zvychai nashoho narodu. Etnohrafichniy narys. – Munchen, 1966, vol. 2. – Pp. 273–419.
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