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## **POLISH CULTURE IN UKRAINE UNDER CONDITIONS OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD FORMATION IN 1917–1921**

### ***Abstract***

*The purpose of the research is to find out the transformations in the Polish educational and theatrical and artistic activity in Ukraine in the conditions of changing forms of Ukrainian statehood, ideological systems and social transformations in 1917-1921. The methodology of the research is based on the application of the principles of historicism, systematic, social approach. In order to accomplish these tasks using historical, systemic, structural and functional methods, the article describes the main stages of the development of Polish schooling, analyzes the activities of Polish public organizations of educational and cultural and artistic orientation, and clarifies the significance and impact of Polish theater on public life. The scientific novelty of the research is to find out the influence of different forms of Ukrainian statehood, change of ideological systems and social transformations during the period of national liberation struggle of 1917 - 1921 on the development of Polish education and cultural and artistic life in Ukraine. Conclusions. After the Russian revolution of February and the creation of the Ukrainian state authorities in 1917, an active process of building Polish national life in Ukraine began. In the spring of 1917, the Polish representative institutions were established, and the cooperation of the Polish democratic forces with the Ukrainian authorities began. Thanks to a favorable UCR policy aimed at securing the rights of national minorities and introducing national-cultural autonomy, a process of mass creation of Polish elementary and secondary schools was underway, and a number of Polish educational organizations*

*emerged throughout Ukraine. The implementation of the policy of ensuring the equal rights of the entire population in the Ukrainian State by P. Skoropadsky has led to the abolition of national and personal autonomy. However, this period remained favorable for the development of Polish education and culture, as it provided political stability and the opportunity for the development of Polish socio-political and cultural life. The Bolsheviks' assertion of power in 1919 in Ukraine as a result of the struggle of different political forces and ideological systems cemented the class priority of social development and denied the possibility of continuing Polish educational and cultural activities because of the harassment of Polish public figures, which caused them to leave Poland. The remaining centers of Polish education and culture continued to operate within the Soviet system.*

**Keywords:** *Polish culture, Polish schooling, Polish Theater, Ukrainian national revolution, Ukrainian Central Council, Hetman P. Skoropadsky, USRR.*

**Introduction.** Crisis periods of history, including the First World War, the Russian February Revolution in 1917, the Ukrainian National Revolution and the state-building processes in Europe, caused significant social transformations. This was reflected in the activation of socio-political and cultural life of national minorities in Ukraine. The development of Polish culture in Ukraine in the context of revolutionary transformations contributed to the consolidation of the Polish population, raising its national consciousness. However, the growing political struggle after the Bolshevik revolt, the formation of the Ukrainian statehood on the basis of different ideological systems, the split of Polish political forces in Ukraine, the formation of an independent Polish statehood, had impact on the development of Polish education and culture in general. The Russian February and Ukrainian National Revolutions in 1917 caused democratic changes. This encouraged active development of Polish cultural and national life, which underwent a series of transformations but afterwards was winded up because of the establishment of Soviet power. Besides, public activists and good participants in Polish political, public and cultural life had to depart Ukraine. The last one to leave Ukraine in 1921 was J. Andrzejowski, an outstanding supporter of Polish education in Ukraine.

Ukrainian historians K. Lazarovich (Lazarovych, 2011), T. Makarenko (Makarenko, 2008) and others studied and researched the way

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how Ukrainian Central Council recognized and secured the rights of national minorities, what attitude P. Skoropadsky showed while resolving a national issue in the Ukrainian state, and what national policy was implemented by Bolsheviks. Characteristics of the states of Polish education in the days of Ukrainian and Polish state-building were given by Polish public figures, participants of social and political life of that time S. Sopicki (1959), S. Zielinski (1959) in memoirs, published in the middle of the XX century in London (Zeliński, 1959). The development of Polish education and the activity of Polish Theater in Kharkiv were described in the articles by O. Nikolaenko (Nikolaenko, 2008). O. Bilobrovets's articles reflect the socio-humanitarian space of the Poles of Ukraine during the First World War (Bilobrovets, 2015), the development of Polish education during the Ukrainian National Revolution (Bilobrovets, 2018) and the activities of the Polish Theater (Bilobrovets, 2016). The socio-political life of the Polish community in Kyiv, the work of Polish cultural and art organizations is revealed in a monograph by the Polish historian M. Kozheniowski (Kozheniowski, 2009). The bright pages of the Polish theater activity were reproduced in articles by V. Gunther (Gunther, 1966), V. Sviatkovska (Sviatkovska, 2010), P. Horbatovsky (Horbatovsky, 2008). However, the coverage of separate aspects of the political life of the Poles in Ukraine is fragmentary and does not give one solid piece of view on the development of Polish culture in Ukraine during the period of fundamental social changes and their importance for the development of national life of the Poles.

**The purpose** of this study is to clarify the transformations in Polish educational, theatre and art activity in Ukraine in the conditions of changes in Ukrainian statehood, ideological systems and social transformations in 1917-1921. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to apply the principles of historicism, systematic and social approach, which enable a comprehensive analysis of the development of Polish culture, ascertain the internal and external factors of influence and the social conditions of its development. Historical, systematic, structural and functional methods help to characterize the main stages of the development of Polish schooling system, to analyze the activity of Polish public organizations of educational, cultural and art orientation, to find out the significance and impact of Polish theater on public life.

**Presenting the main material.** In early XX century in the Russian Empire, the development of Polish education and culture was slowed down by the russification and colonization policy of the tsarist authority. Cultural and educational organizations, created after the revolution in 1905, were later banned. The legal period for the development of Polish schooling came with the law of the State Duma on 01.07.1914 and the possibility to open private schools with the mother tongue of education. The process of establishing Polish schools greatly accelerated and was later on brought under state control during the First World War due to the increase in the number of refugees from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. The most active period of the life of Polish cultural and educational organizations began after the Russian February and Ukrainian National Revolutions in 1917. After the overthrow of the tsar authority and the formation of new authorities in Ukraine, new public institutions in the field of education began to emerge, trying to fully secure the national rights of the Polish community.

In March, 1917, the Polish Executive Committee in Rus was formed in Kyiv. That was the body of the Polish representation in Ukraine. One of its first decisions was to create a Education Department, headed by prof. S. Kalinovsky on March 10, 1917. It consisted of well-known public figures. The main tasks of the PEC Education Department were to coordinate educational activities, cultural and educational events in Ukraine, to develop programs and educational instructions, to ensure that schools operated in the legal field, to collect statistics on the state of schooling in Ukraine and the needs of educational institutions, as well as publishing (Kozheniowsky, 2009, p. 192).

The organization of elementary, secondary schools and other academic institutions was entrusted by the PEC Education Department to regional and local structures - in particular the Polska Macierz Szkolna (PMS). During the summer, 1917, organizations Polska Macierz Szkolna began to emerge in Kyiv province, afterwards in July, 1918, they joined into a single Kyiv Polska Macierz Szkolna. In July, 1917, the Zhytomyr Polska Macierz Szkolna was founded in Zhytomyr, becoming one of the largest organizations in the region, having 400 members. It was headed by Elena Kurmanovich (State Archives of Zhytomyr Region, F.R. 405. Op. 1 D. 8 p. 301). Soon afterwards the PMS held an educational congress in Volyn, at which the Polish

Teachers Union was created. With the funds of the PMS there were free three-month courses provided in the Union for training teachers, mainly for those from the province (July 29, 1917).

The active educational movement in Podilia region was headed by L. Yaroshynska, the head of the Polska Macierz Szkolna in Podilia. The organization supervised about 400 local school organizations and the same number of schools, excluding shelters and boarding schools for children. (November 15, 1917). The main focus of the organization was on folk schools, which were mainly established by the efforts of local priests. Professor Vazhinsky worked out a curriculum for the schools. Several thousand copies of the textbooks were printed, then purchased by Z. Grocholsky and sent out to schools (Sviderska, 1966, p. 144).

Educational activity was also conducted by other organizations, except Polska Macierz Szkolna, such as *the Polish Teacher Society*, *the Polish High School Support Society*, *the Polish Gymnasium Support Society*, *the Parents and Teachers Association* in Kyiv (Kozheniowski, 2009, p. 225-227), *the Union of Polish Teachers of Volyn* in Zhytomyr (State Archive of Zhytomyr Region. F. R-405. Op. 1. D. 8. L. 295), *the Polish Teachers Union* in Odessa (May 21, 1917.). etc.

All educational organizations cooperated with the authorities that were formed in Ukraine. The Vice Secretariat for Polish Affairs was created in July, 1917, at the Secretariat of Nationalities of the Ukrainian Central Council government. The education department in it was headed by S. Kalinovsky. In the Secretariat there was an Educational Board under the leadership of K. Vilkoshevsky. The Educational Board consisted of people, who were invited by the Secretariat. However, it was planned that in the future its members would be chosen on the elective basis (State Archives of Kyiv Region, F. 1787. Op. 7. D. 2. L. 9).

Professor S. Kalinovsky said that the attitude of the Ukrainian government to Polish cultural and educational affairs was “the best” at that time. The Secretary-General of Education I. Steshenko and his deputy P. Kholodny were extremely supportive to the organization of Polish schools. This position did not come from their love for everything Polish, but from the policy of recognizing national autonomy and hence the need for the Polish schools to exist under the Polish standard, without any interference in their life. (Jabłoński, 1948, p. 58).

After the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic and the creation of national-personal autonomy, the legal status of Polish schools became the competence of the Ministry of Polish Affairs, which replaced the Vice Secretariat of Polish affairs. (Stepen, 1998, p. 49).

On December 01, 1917 Kyiv City Council solved the issue of opening Polish city schools. 6 primary schools of *Polska Macierz*, 1 school of *Charity Society*, 1 school of *Public Education Society* became admitted to the network of city schools. In addition, there was a decision approved to open 4 Polish schools on the suburbs of the city, mainly for children of workers. Eventually, if the need appeared, the city administration was willing to open more new schools. City Council gave money for the maintenance of these schools. The management of these schools was carried out by the city school subcommittee, which consisted of Polish deputies, representatives of various educational institutions, namely, *Polish Teachers' Society*, *Polska Macierz*, *Public Education Society*, and parental committees. Thus, the Polish population itself could manage their schools. These were the first state Polish schools in Kyiv. The process of their creation was quick and successful thanks to the efforts of the Polish members of the City Council, as they worked in cooperation with the educational organizations of the city. (December 17, 1917).

Generally during the period just after the February Revolution, in the conditions of establishment of Ukrainian authorities, despite all the difficulties and problems of the war time, the status of Polish schools in the academic year 1917-1918 was successful. There were 16 secondary Polish schools in the Kiev province (most of them exactly in Kyiv) with 3366 students. There were 425 students in vocational schools. Primary schools were the most numerous. In Kyiv, 1525 children attended them, and in total in the Kyiv province there were 11154 students (State Archives of Kyiv Region F. 1787. Op. 7. D. 2. L. 68).

In Volyn province, secondary education was significantly weaker than the primary one. There were 1333 students in 8 secondary schools, compared to 497 primary schools, with a total number more than 26295 students. This was due to the large number of teachers and professors gathered in Kyiv, which is why most schools were in Kyiv. There were only 2 secondary schools in Zhytomyr, and 6 schools out there in the province. Only that fact greatly strengthened the educational attitude in the Volyn province in general. Polish schooling gained the highest

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development in the Podilia province. In total, there were 546 elementary schools with almost 35832 students. 752 teachers taught in them. The number of secondary schools was 7, with 1000 students (Sopicki, 1959, p. 201). In total, there were 1310 Polish schools and 83554 students in the territory, supervised by the Polish Executive Committee. (Sopicki, 1959, p. 202).

In southeastern Ukraine, the strongest element of Polish schooling was *Odesa*. There were 2 secondary schools (gymnasiums) with 800 students, and 6 elementary schools with 1595 children. A significant number of refugees was concentrated in *Kharkiv* and *Katerinoslav*. There were Polish schools there as well. The city council was interested in the development of the educational sphere of the city. Following the departure of Russian troops from Warsaw and the evacuation of many scientific and educational institutions, Odesa Mayor B. Belikov wrote several requests about moving the Warsaw Polytechnic to Odesa. However, this request was not accomplished (State Archives of Odesa Region F. 16. Op. 92. D. 24. L. 3-5).

In February, 1917, a Polish higher education institution was opened in Kyiv. That was the Higher Polish courses, which were subsequently transformed into a Polish college. The total number of students in 1917-1918 was 718 people (527 women and 191 men). 557 of them were refugees, and 161 people were local by origin and studied earlier in other Russian universities. (Vilczynsky, 1963, p. 196).

In April 1918 Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadsky was installed in Ukraine. The new leader in state-building was guided by a territorial but not ethnic principle, considering that the Ukrainian people were not only ethnic and national concept, but also a political one. That's why, the main emphasis was put on the consolidation of society as a whole, including foreign population (Lazarovych, 2012, p. 95). The government of P. Skoropadsky officially did not cancel the Ministry of Polish Affairs, but interpreted it as “dying in a natural way along with the epoch of revolution” (Jablonsky, 1948, p. 131-132). Finally, despite the protests of national minorities, on July 9, 1918, the Council of Ministers adopted a decision that cancelled the law “On national-personal autonomy” and abolished the national ministries of Great Russian and Polish affairs (Lazarovych, 2012, p. 98).

Among the structures of the Ministry, the education department worked for the longest time. Its head G. Ulashin intended to rescue this structure. However, at the end of August, 1918, a decision was taken on the final liquidation of the department. The Ukrainian Ministry of Education began to establish relations with Polish schools on its own (Jabłoński, 1948, p. 133). Skoropadsky did not need to try and get mutual support from the Poles by granting them cultural rights, because he had already the support of Polish landowners (CDAVO, F. 3766. Op. 1. D. 137, L. 4).

In conditions of intensification of the political struggle between various forces and the change of power in Ukraine in 1918, many children shelters were left without money and without care, on the brink of hungry death. The *Polska Macierz* appealed to the Polish people for help. A committee was formed, which started a week of collecting donations for the hungry children of the *Polska Macierz*, which began on August 3, 1918. In favour of PMS, due to the help of dramatic artists and the leading stage master S. Yarach, there was a theatre performance “The Master and the Carol Singer” by Korzeniowski (July 31, 1918). Polish shops and some Russian ones made discounts on goods during this week. Besides, a percentage of sales was directed to buy products and to support school for Polish children and youngsters (August 3, 1918).

It was extremely difficult time in Ukraine in 1919, as there was a struggle between the forces of the Directory of the UNR, which replaced the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadsky, the forces of the White Army of A. Denikin and the Red Army of the Bolsheviks. After the establishment of Bolsheviks’ power in Ukraine in late 1919, most educational institutions ceased to exist. In particular, the women school can be mentioned that was established earlier by the *Society of Parents and Teachers in Kyiv* (Kozheniovsky, 2009, p. 219). In order to protect interests of Polish teachers on the basis of the *Polish Teachers’ Society*, a *Union of School and Culture Workers*, headed by S. Zhukovich, was formed in summer 1918. In 1919, the representative of this *Union* together with the delegates from *Polska Macierz* and the *Charity Society* joined the government structures of the Bolsheviks, to protect teachers who were threatened with repression, arrest, involvement in field work, mobilization to the Red Army. However, in November, 1919, the *Union* ceased to exist because its leaders and members left for Poland. The sections of the education department of the Polish Executive Committee

also disappeared because of the arrest by Bolsheviks of its leaders, K. Vylkoshevsky and L. Yanovsky. The symbolic event that completed the period of development of Polish education in Ukraine can be considered the moment when one of the most famous figures, philanthropist and defender of education J. Andrzejowski and his associates left for Poland in 1921 (Kozheniovsky, 2009, p. 228).

Despite the material and human losses that Polish people suffered, because on their territory the major battles of the First World War took place, they still maintained will to win and hope to preserve their national identity. Poles in Ukraine continued to develop cultural and art life. To a large extent, during the war, this was possible because many refugees came to cities, in particular to Kiev. Among them there were a lot of artists, writers and journalists. The activity of the Polish theater as the center of Polish theatre life in Ukraine was raised to a new level, its repertoire and level of acting skill improved.

The Polish theatre here was started from the activity of amateur groups after the *Art Fans' Society* was founded in 1906. During its existence, the theatre survived the times of reaction and strict government censorship (CDAC. F. 274. Op. 4. D. 206. L. 4). A new positive period in the theatre life came when F. Rikhlovsky became its director. At the beginning of the war, at his own risk, he formed a troupe of artists and therefore kept the cultural institution, gave the opportunity to dozens of actors to earn money for living (Stepen, 1998, p. 22-23).

The management hosted guest performances, invited famous actors and accordingly changed the repertoire. Due to the cooperation with theatre scene workers who immigrated to Ukraine from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, the theatre improved to the higher level. A well-known and talented Lviv writer K. Makushynski was a literary director of the theatre, the well-known Krakow and Warsaw actor M. Vengzhin became a stage director (November 1, 1915).

In summer, 1916, Polish intelligentsia concentrated here in Kyiv, turning the city into one of the largest Polish art centers in Russia. There were many actors, mostly from Warsaw, in this environment, namely: Y. Osterwa, S. Jarach, M. Tarasevich, B. Boleslawsky and others (Gunther, 1966, p. 195). Along with the permanent Polish theatre and theatre “Studio”, there were other smaller polish theatres in Kyiv. The first one to be mentioned was the *Polish Farse*, situated in the club

"*Ogniwo*", the second one was *Figliki*, situated in the Bank Workers' Club in 7 Khreshchatyk Str. (Gunther, 1916, p. 19).

Another center of Polish theatre life in Ukraine was *Odesa*. Under force of military circumstances artists of the Vilen opera under the art leadership of Boleslawski were evacuated here. After his departure the artists united around the dramatic section of the *Polish House*. Coherent work led to success in their work. Usually performances took place in the club *Ognisko* and in the *Polish House* with professional actors as well as amateurs (November 1, 1915). The Polish theater, which was situated at the *Polish House* in Kharkiv, preserved old traditions. The performances were conducted in Polish language according to the works of Polish authors.

Charity in theatre life was really significant in the period of war and revolutionary changes. The Polish theatre, as well as numerous amateur dramatic groups across Ukraine, staged a number of plays for charity. Earnings from performances, touring and concert activity were totally or partially transferred for the benefit of the Poles, who suffered from the war. Such an idea was also supported by the Kyiv Polish theater, the Small Theater of Mianovsky in Zhytomyr, the pianist Y. Turchinsky (December 12, 1914), the composer K. Shimanovsky, the violinist V. Kokhansky (Ostashevsky, 1915, p. 3) and others.

In 1917, the activity of Polish theatres was raised to a higher level, which was reflected in particular by its high attendance and great reviews in press. It was noted that in the theatre season 1916–1917 the performances were marked by good directing, original stage decoration, successful and lively cast of actors (Gunther, 1966, p. 198). The Polish theatre became one of the centers of Polish national life, in which the Polish language sounded, patriotic speeches were made. This all united Polish population in an effort to rebuild the Polish state and protect national rights.

In big cities of Ukraine, the Polish creative intelligentsia from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia got concentrated as a result of evacuation and refugees, including artists, sculptors and architects. They supported a high cultural demand for art. In 1915–1916, art exhibitions of paintings and works of ancient art from private collections were held in Kyiv. They were organized by members of the Non-permanent Income Section of the Kyiv PJSC, headed by E. Khers, and had a significant resonance in the Polish environment (Pfaffus, 1915 p. 3). In September 1916, an important

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event in Odesa happened and it was the exhibition of art works prepared by the *Past Monuments Care Society* (September 11, 1916). In addition to their high art value, these exhibitions carried out an idea of charity, because some part of the earnings was given to help Poles, who became victims of war. In 1917, a group of exhibition organizers initiated the creation of few cultural societies.

The Russian February Revolution in 1917 gave an opportunity for the free development of the Polish national forces, which caused, in particular, creation of a number of public organizations with cultural and educational orientation. Effective work was done by the *Polish Past Monuments Care Society* in Kyiv, Odesa and Zhytomyr, established at the beginning of the war (Kozheniowski, 2009, p. 418). In March 1917 a gathering of Polish theatre workers was organized. There were 50 participants there. They created the *Union of Polish Scene Workers*, headed by M. Tarasevich (April 12, 1917). *The Circle of Polish Writers and Journalists* was founded in Kyiv as well. The *Circle* represented and protected their rights, in particular, ensured the protection of their copyrights (Idzikovski, 1917, p. 3).

In Zhytomyr there were formed the following: the *Association of Dramatic Art Fans* (To the moment, 1917, p. 3) and the *Polish Singing Society "Lutnia"* in June 1917, headed by I. Zhiznovsky and included 60 people as members (June 18, 1917).

The following political events, the struggle between the military forces of the UNR, the Bolsheviks, P. Skoropadsky and S. Petliura in Ukraine, revolutionary and military chaos had very bad impact on cultural life and its development in general. The Polish talented intelligentsia became the target of repression to a new government. Thus, an armed group of people burst into the theatre and beat the decorator's V. Drabik's wife and dramatic actress Vzhesniovska. Returning from the rehearsal, a group of artists barely escaped from the hands of the Bolsheviks' gang. Everyday conditions of life and work got more complicated. That caused the departure of many artists to their homeland. S. Vysotska stayed in Kiev for a little while longer as a permanent resident of Kyiv and as a wife of a famous doctor G. Stanislavsky. She turned her theatre "Studio" into a new Polish scene in order to keep at least a little group of people representing Polish culture as well as to collect the rest of the Richlovsky's theatre along

with the supporters of theatre art. Legitimation of a drama actor was a kind of protection during the Bolshevik terror times. In 1919 Vysotska's small theatre group stopped to exist (Gunther, 1966, p. 198). The political and military struggle in Ukraine in early 1920 ended up with the establishment of the Bolshevik's government, and their priority was class interests without taking into account national needs.

**Conclusions.** Thus, desire to create forms of Polish national life, protection of the rights of national minorities, development of their education and culture in Ukraine became possible after the Russian February and Ukrainian National revolutions in 1917, which were external factors influencing the development of Polish culture. The Polish representative structures in government of Ukraine were formed, such as the Polish Executive Committee in Rus in Kyiv. The Polish democratic forces began to cooperate with the Ukrainian government. The UCC's policy, aimed at introducing national-cultural autonomy, securing the rights of national minorities, contributed to the development of Polish education and culture. From March 1917, a mass process of establishing Polish schools began, and a number of Polish educational organizations emerged throughout Ukraine. In Kyiv, in addition to primary and secondary schools, a Polish higher education institution was established – the Polish University College. The activity of the Polish Theatre in Kyiv went up to a new, higher organizational and art level, at the same time. It gathered best artistic representatives in Ukraine, was supported by the Polish institutions and the entire Polish population. The development of Polish education, literature and arts were supported by numerous non-governmental organizations and societies, created during this time.

From the moment the Hetman P. Skoropadsky's government came to power in April 1918, national-cultural autonomy got cancelled, as well as the Ministry of Polish Affairs. However, this period was generally favorable for the development of Polish education and culture, as it provided political stability and continued functioning of Polish schools and public cultural and educational organizations. The change in the political system and the establishment of Bolshevik power in Ukraine denied the possibility of carrying out Polish educational and cultural activities because the priority was class ideology but not the development of national cultures. Harassment and repression against Polish civic and cultural activists began,

causing their departures to Poland. Those Polish education and culture representatives, who stayed, were forced to adapt ideologically and continued to exist within the Soviet system. Thus, during the period of state-building in Ukraine and national liberation fights of 1917–1921, the development of Polish culture in Ukraine was transformed from the possible full realization of the national rights of Poles to its decline and transition to fundamentally other ideological positions, subordination to the class ideology of a new Soviet power.

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***Білобровець Ольга. ПОЛЬСЬКА КУЛЬТУРА В УКРАЇНІ В  
УМОВАХ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ.  
1917–1921 РР.***

***Анотація***

*Мета роботи полягає в з'ясуванні сутності трансформації в польській освітній і театрално-мистецькій діяльності в Україні в умовах зміни форм української державності, ідеологічних систем та соціальних перетворень в 1917 – 1921 рр. Методологія дослідження базується на застосуванні принципу історизму, що розглядає специфічні умови розвитку польської культури в період революції та боротьби за державність українського народу; принципу системності, що спирається на дослідження польської культури в загальній системі національних завдань відродження польської державності; соціального підходу, який враховує усвідомлення певних суспільних груп у розвитку польської культури. Для реалізації поставлених завдань за допомогою історико-системного методу в статті охарактеризовано основні етапи розвитку польського шкільництва. Аналіз діяльності польських громадських організацій освітнього та культурно-мистецького спрямування, з'ясування значення та впливу польського театру на суспільне життя здійснено на основі структурного та функціонального методів. Наукова новизна дослідження полягає в з'ясуванні впливу різних форм української державності, зміни ідеологічних систем та соціальних перетворень у період Української революції та боротьби за державність 1917 – 1921 рр. на розвиток польської освіти та культурно-мистецьке життя в Україні. Висновки. Після російської лютневої революції і створення українських органів державної влади в 1917 р. розпочався активний процес розбудови польського національного життя в Україні. Навесні 1917 р. було створено польські представницькі інституції, розпочалась співпраця польських демократичних сил з органами української влади. Завдяки сприятливій політиці УЦР, спрямованій на забезпечення прав національних меншин та впровадження національно-культурної автономії, проходив процес масового створення польських початкових і середніх шкіл, виникла низка польських освітніх організацій по всій*

*території України. Впровадження у життя політики забезпечення рівних прав усього населення в Українській Державі П. Скоропадського привело до скасування національно-персональної автономії. Однак цей період залишався сприятливим для розвитку польської освіти і культури, оскільки забезпечував політичну стабільність і можливість розвитку польського суспільно-політичного та культурного життя. Утвердження влади більшовиків у 1919 р. в Україні в результаті боротьби різних політичних сил та ідеологічних систем закріплювало класовий пріоритет суспільного розвитку й заперечувало можливість продовження польської освітньої і культурної діяльності через утиски польських громадських діячів, що викликало їх від'їзд до Польщі. Ті осередки польської освіти й культури, які залишилися, продовжували діяти вже в системі радянської влади.*

**Ключові слова:** *Польська культура, польське шкільництво, польський театр, Українська національна революція, Українська Центральна Рада, гетьманат П. Скоропадського, УСРР.*

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WARUNKACH USTANOWIENIA PAŃSTWA UKRAIŃSKIEGO.  
1917–1921**

**Streszczenie**

*Celem pracy jest zbadanie przekształceń polskiej działalności edukacyjnej oraz teatralnej i artystycznej na Ukrainie w warunkach zmieniających się form państwowości ukraińskiej, systemów ideologicznych i przemian społecznych w latach 1917–1921. Metodologia opracowania opiera się na zastosowaniu zasady historyzmu, która bada szczególne warunki rozwoju polskiej kultury podczas rewolucji i walki o państwowość narodu ukraińskiego; zasada systematyczności, która polega na badaniu kultury polskiej w ogólnym systemie narodowych zadań ożywienia polskiej państwowości; podejście społeczne, które uwzględnia świadomość niektórych grup społecznych potrzeby rozwoju polskiej kultury. Główne etapy rozwoju polskiej szkoły opisano w artykule dotyczącym realizacji postawionych zadań metodą historyczno-systemową. Analiza działań polskich organizacji publicznych o charakterze edukacyjnym i kulturalno-artystycznym, mająca na celu ustalenie znaczenia i wpływu polskiego teatru na życie publiczne, została przeprowadzona w oparciu o metody strukturalne i funkcjonalne. Nowością naukową badań jest ustalenie wpływu różnych form ukraińskiej państwowości, zmiany systemów ideologicznych i przemian społecznych w okresie walk o wyzwolenie narodowe w latach 1917–1921 na rozwój polskiej edukacji oraz życia kulturalnego i artystycznego na Ukrainie. Wnioski. Po rewolucji rosyjskiej w lutym i utworzeniu ukraińskich władz państwowych w 1917 r. rozpoczął się aktywny*

*proces budowania polskiego życia narodowego na Ukrainie. Wiosną 1917 r. powołano polskie instytucje przedstawicielskie i rozpoczęto współpracę polskich sił demokratycznych z władzami ukraińskimi. Dzięki korzystnej polityce UCR mającej na celu zabezpieczenie praw mniejszości narodowych i wprowadzenie autonomii narodowo-kulturowej, rozpoczął się proces masowego tworzenia polskich szkół podstawowych i średnich, a na terenie całej Ukrainy powstało wiele polskich organizacji edukacyjnych. Realizacja polityki zapewnienia równych praw całej ludności w państwie ukraińskim przez P. Skoropadsky doprowadziła do zniesienia autonomii narodowej i osobistej. Okres ten pozostał jednak sprzyjający rozwojowi polskiej edukacji i kultury, ponieważ zapewniał stabilność polityczną i szansę rozwoju polskiego życia społeczno-politycznego i kulturalnego. Uznanie przez bolszewików władzy w 1919 r. na Ukrainie w wyniku walki różnych sił politycznych i systemów ideologicznych umocniło klasowy priorytet rozwoju społecznego i zaprzeczyło możliwości kontynuowania polskiej działalności edukacyjnej i kulturalnej z powodu nękania polskich osób publicznych, które spowodowały ich opuszczenie Polski. Pozostałe ośrodki polskiej edukacji i kultury nadal działały w systemie sowieckim.*

**Słowa kluczowe:** *kultura polska, polskie szkolnictwo, teatr polski, Ukraińska rewolucja narodowa, Ukraińska Rada Centralna, hetmanat P. Skoropadskiego, USRR.*

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