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HOW THE IMAGE OF A PLACE SHAPES IDENTITY: FRAME, AFFORDANCE, AND FRONTIER (ON THE MATERIAL OF A SOVIET GUIDEBOOK TO CRIMEA)

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Purpose. To clarify how the image of a place shapes the identity of a historical subject and to propose a theoretical and methodological model that explains not only the content of an image but also the mechanism of its influence. The classical imagological approach, while productive in describing images, stops at the level of representation and leaves open the “black box” problem – the gap between the image offered and its actual reception by a concrete person. **Methods.** A three-level model is applied, integrating frame analysis (E. Goffman, R. Entman), affordance theory (J. Gibson, D. Norman, I. Hutchby), and frontier theory reconceptualised through the notion of the “contact zone” (M.-L. Pratt), complemented by a human-centred approach and the optics of memory politics. The model is tested on the Soviet tourist guidebook “Crimea. Guidebook” (Simferopol, 1969). This source is used purely as an object of scholarly analysis, not as a reliable source of facts – the study of the very mechanisms by which the Soviet regime constructed images of Crimea is precisely what this article is about. **Results.** The study shows how the frame of a “resort paradise” is embodied in a material carrier; how the affordances of the edition – durability, the visual priority of the cover, the hierarchy of visibility in its structure, and the programming of movement through the tourist route – render the image effective and turn it into lived experience; and how the notion of the frontier explains the opposing reception of the same carrier by different subjects, above all the deported Crimean Tatars, Armenians, and Greeks. The analysis demonstrates that frame, affordance, and frontier operate not as separate instruments but in synergy: the frame defines what is offered to be seen, the affordance shows through which properties of the carrier this offer becomes effective, and the frontier indicates where and by whom this experience is lived. **Conclusions.** An image becomes identity not automatically but through a material carrier lived by a concrete subject in a concrete space of displacement. The proposed model expands the theoretical foundation for studying the transformation of identities and mass images of Soviet Crimea (1954–1991) and can be applied to a broader corpus of sources – film materials, posters, and the press.

Keywords: Southern Ukraine, Crimea, identity, frontier, politics of memory, tourism, guidebooks.

ЯК ОБРАЗ МІСЦЯ ФОРМУЄ ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ: ФРЕЙМ, АФОРДАНС І ФРОНТИР (НА МАТЕРІАЛІ РАДЯНСЬКОГО ПУТІВНИКА КРИМОМ)

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Мета. З'ясувати, як образ місця формує ідентичність історичного суб'єкта, та запропонувати теоретико-методологічну модель, яка пояснює не лише зміст образу, а й механізм його впливу. Класичний імагологічний підхід продуктивний в описі образів, проте зупиняється на рівні репрезентації й лишає відкритою проблему «чорної скриньки» – проміжок між пропозицією образу та його реальним сприйняттям конкретною людиною. **Методи.** Застосовано тривірневу модель, що інтегрує фрейм-аналіз (Е. Гофман, Р. Ентман), теорію афродансів (Дж. Гібсон, Д. Норман, І. Хатчбі) та теорію фронтиру в переосмисленні через концепт «зони контакту» (М.-Л. Пратт), доповнену людиновимірним підходом і оптикою політики пам'яті. Модель апробовано на матеріалі радянського туристичного путівника «Крым. Путеводитель» («Крим. Путівник», Сімферополь, 1969). Це джерело залучається виключно як об'єкт наукового аналізу, а не як достовірне джерело фактів: саме дослідження механізмів, якими радянська влада конструювала образи Криму, і становить суть цієї статті. **Результати.** Показано, як фрейм «курортного раю» втілюється в матеріальному носії; як афроданси видання – довговічність, візуальне випередження обкладинкою, ієрархія видимості у структурі та програмування руху туристичним маршрутом – роблять образ дієвим і перетворюють його на прожитий



досвід; як поняття фронтиру пояснює протилежне сприйняття того самого носія різними суб'єктами, насамперед депортованими кримськими татарами, вірменами та греками. Аналіз засвідчує, що фрейм, афорданс і фронтір працюють не як окремі інструменти, а в синергії: фрейм задає, що пропонується побачити, афорданс – через які властивості носія ця пропозиція стає дією, а фронтір – де й ким цей досвід проживається. **Висновки.** Образ перетворюється на ідентичність не автоматично, а через матеріальний носій, що проживається конкретним суб'єктом у конкретному просторі витіснення. Запропонована модель розширює теоретичну базу дослідження трансформації ідентичностей і масових образів радянського Криму (1954–1991) та може бути застосована до ширшого корпусу джерел – кіноматеріалів, плакатів, преси.

Ключові слова: Південь України, Крим, ідентичність, фронтір, політика пам'яті, туризм, путівники.

1. Introduction

The relevance of this article stems from the need to rethink the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of historical processes, taking the tourist materials of Soviet Crimea as a case in point. The classical imagological approach is the first to require supplementation. This approach is known for its dichotomy of “one’s own” and “the alien”; it rests on the opposition between one’s own identity and the image of “the other”. Imagology also makes it possible to analyse media, literary, or artistic works not as documentary facts but precisely as a system of symbols and visual codes.

Such classical approaches make it possible to describe images, yet they do not provide a holistic understanding of how an image is transformed into a mechanism that shapes identity. The problem is not that these theoretical approaches may appear outdated, but that they stop at representation and do not reach historical reception or the subject. It should be noted, however, that the imagological approach still remains productive for describing images, although it requires supplementation with instruments that explain the mechanism of their influence. It is appropriate here to recall the “black box” problem, since classical approaches leave the gap between the image offered and its actual reception by a concrete person without due attention, whereas this gap needs to be conceptualised.

Despite a considerable body of scholarship on the Crimean peninsula and its population – in particular on the political history of the peninsula (A. Ivanets, S. Hromenko, M.-O. Kyslyi), on the history of the Crimean Tatar people (H. Bekirova, A. Fisher), and on biographical studies (M. Hrymych) – the visual image as a mechanism of influence on identity has remained outside the scope of scholarly attention.

The theoretical framework of the study is provided by three groups of works. Frame analysis is represented by the studies of E. Goffman and R. Entman and, in its Ukrainian reception, by the work of H. Riabokon; affordance theory by the works of J. Gibson, who introduced the concept, and of his successors D. Norman and I. Hutchby, who extended the concept to printed texts; frontier theory is represented by F. Turner and by M.-L. Pratt with her notion of the “contact zone”. A separate stratum consists of studies of the image of Crimea and of Southern Ukraine in travel guidebooks of the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century (O. Cheremisin, H. Mykhailenko). These works show that travelogues became a

new genre of tourist literature and shaped the image of Crimea and of the southern Ukrainian lands as a “paradisiacal”, civilised space distinct from the rest of the empire. Juxtaposing this tradition with the Soviet guidebook makes it possible to ask whether the Soviet image of a “resort paradise” continues the line of the travelogues and of nineteenth-century Russian “sentimental literature”, in which an “ideal Crimea” was likewise constructed, or whether it emerges as a fundamentally new genre – that is, whether the tourist image of Crimea was imported from outside or was of local origin.

The scholarly novelty of the article lies in the development of a three-level analytical model that combines frame analysis, affordance theory, and frontier theory and makes it possible to move from describing the content of an image to reconstructing the mechanism of its influence on identity. For the first time, a Soviet tourist guidebook is examined not as a source of information about Crimea but as a material carrier of a frame, the analysis of which allows the question to be raised of the origin of the peninsula’s tourist image – whether imported from the tradition of travelogues or formed by Soviet propaganda as a qualitatively new genre.

The article is an attempt to clarify how the image of a place may shape identity, combining frame analysis, affordance theory, and frontier theory with a human-centred approach and the optics of memory politics, using the example of a Soviet tourist guidebook to Crimea.

To achieve this aim, the author sets himself the following tasks: to reveal the analytical potential of frame analysis for identifying the interpretive frameworks of Soviet representations of Crimea; to show how affordance theory explains the role of material carriers in transmitting these frameworks, taking tourist guidebooks as an example; and to substantiate the supplementation of the model with the notions of the frontier and of human-centredness seen through memory politics, which return the historical subject to the analysis.

The sources of this article are the works of Western and Ukrainian scholars who have worked and continue to work on frame analysis, affordance theory, frontier theory, and memory politics. The principal source used consists of the tourist guidebooks to Crimea published in the Soviet period.

Methodology of the study. The study is carried out at the intersection of history, memory studies,

and media studies. Its basis is a three-level analytical model: frame analysis (E. Goffman, R. Entman) is applied to identify the interpretive framework within which Crimea was offered to be seen; affordance theory (J. Gibson, D. Norman, I. Hutchby) to establish through which properties of the material carrier this framework became effective; and frontier theory, reconceptualised through the notion of the “contact zone” (F. Turner, M.-L. Pratt), to explain the divergence in the perception of one and the same carrier by different subjects. The model is complemented by a human-centred approach and the optics of memory politics. Use was also made of the methods of source criticism (with regard to the Soviet edition as a propaganda text), of the comparative-historical method (juxtaposing the Soviet guidebook with the travelogues of the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century), and of qualitative analysis of the visual and structural components of the edition.

The article seeks to show that, in order to understand how the image of a place turns a person into the bearer of a particular identity, the historian needs not only archival sources but also new theoretical instruments.

The logic of the exposition follows the movement from the level at which the image is offered to the level at which it is lived. The first section reveals the analytical potential of frame analysis and shows the embodiment of the “resort paradise” frame in a concrete carrier. The second juxtaposes the Soviet guidebook with the tradition of travelogues. The third analyses the affordances of the edition on four levels – physical, visual, structural, and route-related. The fourth introduces the notions of the frontier and of the contact zone; the fifth introduces the human-centred approach, which returns the historical subject to the analysis, and sums up the synergy of the model’s three levels.

2. The Frame: The Level at Which the Image Is Offered

One of the founders of this theory is Erving Goffman. He notes that “primary frameworks” differ by class into natural and social ones (Goffman, 1974: 22). Natural frameworks are purely physical occurrences, determined from beginning to end by natural determinants. Social frameworks, by contrast, involve human effort – what may also be termed “guided doings”. Todd Gitlin should also be mentioned: he regarded frames as a means of obtaining information in order to present it in the news format most effective for perception (Riabokon, 2016: 76). Another scholar, Doris Graber, as H. Riabokon notes, sees in frame theory a way in which the audience perceives and actively processes information in order to construct the meaning of current events on the basis of existing cognitive models and clichés. Robert Entman, in his article “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”, notes that framing consists in selection and salience (Entman, 1993). To frame means to single out certain elements

of reality and to make them more noticeable in external communications (Entman, 1993: 52). For R. Entman, “salience” means rendering a piece of information more distinct, more meaningful, or more memorable for the audience. Such an increase raises the likelihood that the information will be retained in memory. He also notes that frames define problems, diagnose causes, deliver judgements, and propose ways of solving problems (Entman, 1993: 52).

The carrier in which this frame is embodied and becomes available for analysis is the tourist guidebook. It relates that, upon arriving in Crimea, life immediately becomes merrier, or that the peninsula has industrial prospects – and these are not trifles (Krym, 1969: 3). Such accounts possess force and influence over their recipients. They are symbolic means by which Soviet power acquired legitimacy on the peninsula (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 17). Indeed, as H. Riabokon notes, a great many political actions are performed at the level of speech acts (Riabokon, 2016: 76). He identifies the principal communicative genres of such discourse: propaganda, political and electoral advertising, speeches, and so on. In the context of Soviet Crimea it may be argued that the communicative genre of propaganda is the one that applies here. For it was precisely by promoting the frame of a “resort paradise” that the Soviet authorities imposed on their citizens an image of Crimea as a place of rest, renowned for its history, its vineyards, and its nature. H. Riabokon argues that a recipient who falls within the sphere of such influence develops a particular mode of thinking, which shapes his view of reality and becomes firmly imprinted in consciousness in the form of frames. He also notes that such stereotypes are fairly stable and rarely subject to correction. Consequently, if we take, for example, the peoples deported from Crimea, their claims about Crimea as a lost homeland could, consciously or unconsciously, be rejected by citizens of the Soviet Union owing to the dominance of the “resort paradise” frame.

If we take guidebooks to Soviet Crimea, at first glance we obtain books with illustrations of the peninsula and its architecture, with professionally composed routes and with places that must be visited. A good example is the collective work “Крым. Путеводитель” (“Crimea. A Guidebook”, Simferopol, 1969) (Krym, 1969). On the cover of this book we are met by the image of a girl in a vyshyvanka (an embroidered shirt), wearing a wreath and sitting on the seashore beside grapes and mountains. If we open the first pages of this source, we learn that the beginning of Crimea “is not yet Crimea”, and that, besides its vineyards, the peninsula is also quite heavily industrialised. And finally, that “extraordinary” people live here, followed by a list of surnames in which we shall not see representatives of the Crimean Tatars, Greeks, or Armenians who were deported from the peninsula.

The example given demonstrates that texts or images can make pieces of information more noticeable through their placement or repetition, or by linking them with culturally familiar symbols (Entman, 1993: 53). The frame also helps to determine what information people will notice, how they will understand it, and what they will remember. As a consequence, R. Entman argues that framing plays a major role in the exercise of political power. W. Gamson should be mentioned separately here: he observes that a frame can exert great social influence if it is encoded in terms (Entman, 1993: 55). An example is the term “resort paradise” or “all-Union health resort” (vsesoiuzna zdravnytsia) which, once entrenched, likewise displaced competing images of Crimea.

It should be emphasised separately that the concept of framing also contains dominant meanings. R. Entman notes that a dominant meaning has the highest probability of being noticed, processed, or accepted. One should also guard against a simplified interpretation of frames, since people, despite the dominance of frames or their large number, are capable of establishing their own interpretations or connections that are not made by the frames in texts or audiovisual materials. R. Entman also notes that the audience must genuinely rethink the message, and that such rethinking cannot be a by-product of the research itself, such as a focus-group discussion (Entman, 1993: 56).

3. The Guidebook in the Tradition of Travelogues

It should be emphasised that the Soviet guidebook was not the first attempt to construct an attractive image of Crimea. As early as the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, travel guidebooks (travelogues) by foreign and Russian travellers became a new genre of tourist literature which shaped the image of the peninsula and of Southern Ukraine as a “paradisical”, civilised space distinct from the rest of the empire (Mykhailenko, 2023; Cheremisin, 2020; Cheremisin & Mykhailenko, 2022; Cheremisin & Mykhailenko, 2019). In parallel, nineteenth-century Russian “sentimental literature” constructed an image of an “ideal Crimea” as a place for enjoying nature and antiquity. The Soviet frame of a “resort paradise” inherits many features of this tradition – the admiration of nature, of vineyards, and of the classical heritage – yet it radically changes the subject: whereas the travelogue was written from the standpoint of a guest from outside, the Soviet guidebook speaks in the name of an authority that already possesses the space and has displaced the indigenous population from it.

Hence a question fundamental to the novelty of this study arises: was the tourist image of Crimea imported from outside (a continuation of the travelogues and of the sentimental tradition), or was it of local, Soviet origin as a qualitatively new genre of propaganda? The proposed model provides an instrument for answering

it, by tracing precisely what the Soviet carrier retains from the earlier tradition and what it adds to it by means of the frame, the affordances, and the frontier.

4. The Affordances of the Guidebook: Four Levels

Frames, however, while explaining which image of Crimea was offered to be seen, leave open another question: through which properties of the carrier did this offer become effective? And why did one and the same guidebook speak differently to different readers? It is precisely here that the next level of the model is required – affordance theory.

The term “affordance” was introduced into scholarly usage by James Gibson in his work *“The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception”*. In his classic work, an affordance denotes what the environment offers animals – possibilities for action (Gibson, 1979: 119)¹. He states that affordances are unique to a given species of animal and that they should be measured relative to the animal. For example, a tree may afford food to a giraffe and shelter from predators to a squirrel. And, most importantly, affordances point both ways – to the environment and to the observer. That is, an affordance exists at the junction of environment and perceiver: it concerns both the object and the one who perceives it. The author emphasises separately that the affordance of something does not change as the observer’s need changes. The observer may or may not perceive the affordance depending on his needs, but the affordance itself is invariant; it always exists in order to be perceived (Gibson, 1979: 130). An object offers what it offers because it is what it is. The author also speaks of misinformation with regard to affordances. Just as, when information is picked up, perception arises, so, accordingly, if misinformation is picked up, misperception arises. Thus, if we perceive affordances correctly, we say that they are what they are. But we must, of course, understand what these things can be.

Let us also turn to Donald Norman, who effectively transferred the notion of affordance into design and came to regard an affordance as a cue as to what the object itself offers one to do. An example may be a properly designed room, whose navigation seems itself to tell the recipient what he is to do in it.

Ian Hutchby’s media affordances are also worth mentioning. This scholar effectively legitimises the transfer of affordance to printed publications. In his article he speaks of texts as technologies that are written in a particular way by their authors and are to be interpreted by their users or consumers (Hutchby, 2001: 1). The author cautions us, however, that neither the writing nor the reading of texts is determined.

¹ Here and below, page references to Gibson (1979), Hutchby (2001), and Pratt (1991) follow the pagination of the electronic (PDF) copies used, which differs from that of the printed editions given in the bibliography.

These processes are open and negotiable for both parties. The scholar asks whether objects can be subject to the same set of interpretations and answers in the negative. For affordances constrain the ways in which they can be “written” or “read”. They may also differ from species to species and from context to context (Hutchby, 2001: 5). The affordances of artefacts are not things that impose themselves upon human actions with them, around them, or through them. But they do set limits on what it is possible to do with an artefact, around it, or through it. For there is a variety of ways of responding to the range of affordances for action and interaction. We can analyse the development of these responses empirically, but in order to do so we must understand that technological artefacts are not reducible simply to what their users make of them.

There are a great many formats through which a person can obtain information – newspapers, posters, films, leaflets, guidebooks. Each of them has its own set of affordances: different genres make it possible to obtain a unique kind of information. A poster, for instance, can deliver an instantaneous emotional image; a newspaper, a sense of “lived experience” in the first person. The guidebook is in fact something else, and so it is worth analysing what precisely it offers a person. This analysis can be carried out on four levels. The first is the physical level. The collective work “Крым. Путеводитель” (“Crimea. A Guidebook”, Simferopol, 1969) is a carrier of information small in format and modest in length, in a hard binding, priced at 77 kopecks. This book offers a person prolonged contact, the possibility of returning to it when needed, and its preservation in a home library after the trip. This guidebook can outlive the journey and, remaining at home, it sustains the image of Crimea. The durability of the carrier creates the conditions for the durability of the image. A poster acts once and disappears; a guidebook in a hard binding can remind one of Crimea at home for years. This is the material mechanism by which the “resort paradise” settles into cultural memory and is not open to challenge.

The second level is the visual layer. What does the viewer perceive before he begins to read? The cover, of course. On the cover, as has already been noted above, we are met by a girl in a vyshyvanka, a wreath, the sea, a grapevine, and mountains. What does the vyshyvanka make it possible to see, and for whom? Whose presence on the peninsula does it affirm? And whose does it render invisible? The book contains a great many drawings and photographs, carefully selected. The drawings depict Crimean landscapes; the photographs show the Soviet presence on the peninsula – for instance, a photograph of the Ukraina Hotel or of the Obelisk of Glory on Sapun Hill.

The guidebook also shows architectural monuments of the khanate period and a great many places for rest and holidaymakers. Yet whose presence do we not see? There are no references, for example, to

living Crimean Tatar culture, since the Bakhchysarai Palace is present as scenery for an exotic past. Affordances also operate through what the carrier does not show – for example, through the Crimean Tatars, Armenians, or Greeks. In effect, the cover visually “assigns” Crimea to a particular identity even before one begins to engage with the text. The absence of the deported peoples and of their cultural markers is not accidental but an affordance of selection. The carrier makes it possible to see Crimea as Ukrainian or Slavic-Soviet and provides no means of seeing it as Crimean Tatar or Armenian.

The third level is structure and navigation. Here it is important to understand how the sequence of sections governs what the reader is to notice first and what he is to remember. The guidebook opens with an introduction to the peninsula, in which it is portrayed as a place possessing various images of Crimea – industrial, recreational, Slavic, and so on. The guidebook then immerses us in the nature of the peninsula, describes its flora and fauna, and moves smoothly on to the history of the peninsula from the earliest times to the Soviet era. Here one should ask what the small print conceals, or what is left out of the contents altogether. In this guidebook it is telling that the history of the Crimean Khanate is given only a few sentences in passing, and even then this state is not always called by its own name (Krym, 1969: 20–21). Further on in the guidebook we see specific regions and towns and advice on how to engage with them. The guidebook also contains a separate map with routes across the peninsula. It should be understood here that the structure of the guidebook is a hierarchy of visibility. It technically decides what “exists” in Crimea and what “does not”. The deported peoples are almost never mentioned in the texts and indexes – this is an affordance at the level of the book’s architecture.

The fourth level is the route as a script of behaviour. Here we should consider the places proposed for visiting, the logic of movement, and what is connected with the marking of places worthy of a visit and of territories that remain “empty”. This tourist map, appended to the guidebook, can in effect programme a person’s movement through space and therefore constitutes the strongest affordance, one that passes from perception into action. Where does the map lead, which towns does it show, and which places does it leave out of view? In effect, this map makes a particular route of movement possible, leaving most cultural markers of the deported population outside the route. That is, the traveller will certainly be able to see the excavations of Scythian Neapolis, but will not see a Crimean Tatar village, because it no longer exists. The route turns the frame into lived experience, and it is precisely here that affordance touches the frontier, since the tourist empirically assimilates a contact zone from which part of the population had been deported and erased.

Returning to invariance as a property of affordances in Gibson’s sense, it should be emphasised that the guidebook objectively makes certain actions possible (invariantly), but that different groups actualise different possibilities – and the divergence of perception may follow from this.

5. The Frontier, the Contact Zone, and Displacement

As we have already understood from affordance theory, the carrier makes different readings possible; but why do particular groups actualise opposing ones? Affordance can answer this only in part, for it lacks the perceiver with his experience, his memory, and his place in space. Frontier theory and the theory of sites of memory can help us here. The notion of the “frontier” was first introduced by Frederick Turner (Turner, 1920). His notion of the frontier was rather about the settlement of free space. His work should also be approached critically, since his view of the borderland was ethnocentric. He described this space as an emptiness awaiting settlement. And it is precisely this emptiness that we need in our study, but as an object of criticism, since the Soviet guidebook constructs Crimea in exactly the same way – as an “empty” space ready for settlement and resort development.

Crimea, however, should be seen not as an “emptiness” but as a space where cultures meet or collide under conditions of asymmetrical power. This is described in detail by Mary Louise Pratt in her article “Arts of the Contact Zone”. She uses the term “contact zones” in order to revise models of community and to designate social spaces where cultures meet, collide, and contend with one another, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power – colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath (Pratt, 1991: 2). She also introduces the terms “autoethnographic text” and “ethnographic text” and explains the difference between them: the former helps one to describe oneself on the basis of representations of other communities – for example, the “New Chronicle” by the Andean Guaman Poma, written in Quechua and in Spanish on a Spanish model (Pratt, 1991: 3). Ethnographic texts represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others) (Pratt, 1991: 3). An example here may be the guidebook, which functions as an ethnographic text in which the Soviet Union represents the conquered “other”, and in which the autoethnographic voice of the deported peoples is almost absent, for it is displaced by the metropolis. Autoethnographic texts, in the author’s view, are not autochthonous forms of expression or self-representation but rather a selective collaboration with the idioms of the metropolis or of the conqueror and an appropriation of them. She also notes that in this way a subject can lend itself authority in the language and speech repertoire of the coloniser (Pratt, 1991: 3).

The most valuable of the author’s theses for the present article is that so-called legitimate moves are

in fact named as part of a system in which legitimacy is defined from the standpoint of the party endowed with power. The Crimean peninsula is not an “empty frontier” but rather a contact zone in which one population has been displaced and in whose place the frame of a “resort paradise” has been erected by the party endowed with power, by means of the guidebook. It should also be added that the guidebook operates differently for different readers: readers stand on opposite sides of the frontier, and this is something that neither frame analysis nor affordance can explain.

6. Human-Centredness and the Synergy of the Model

Above all, however, in every historical study it is important for us to see the human being; we therefore need to shift the emphasis from space to the person. Frame and affordance describe the offer made from above, whereas human-centredness demands a different approach. It demands an answer to the question of how this offer is lived by a concrete subject. Biographical studies or in-depth interviews can help us here. For only by understanding a person’s life experience can we understand whether the frame of a “resort paradise” will “work”. For what is a promise of a new life for an inhabitant of the RSFSR or of the Ukrainian SSR is, for a Crimean Tatar or an Armenian, a lost homeland. One carrier – two incompatible trajectories, because of different positions in the contact zone.

The proposed model gives the author’s dissertation research an instrument for analysing the transformation of the images of Crimea in the Soviet period and makes it possible to draw various recent methods and practices into its theoretical basis, reinforced by memory studies and studies of propaganda. It brings us to the understanding that frame, affordance, and frontier are not three separate instruments; they work in synergy. We see this best in the example of the Crimean guidebook. It constructs a frame – Crimea as a resort paradise – that is, what the guidebook offers us to feel. The affordances of the carrier – prolonged contact, visual priority, the programming of movement along a route – are that through which the image becomes effective. And finally the frontier: in whose place this resort locality was built, and who was displaced from this space. It gives us the answer to the question of where and by whom this experience is lived.

7. Conclusions

Thus, the classical approaches describe the image but stop at representation and do not reach the mechanism of its influence on identity. Using the example of the Crimean guidebook, we have been able to see how the synthesis of the three-level model works. First, frame analysis made it possible to identify the interpretive framework within which the Soviet authorities offered the peninsula to be seen – the frame of a “resort paradise”, which selected and made noticeable

certain elements of the image of Crimea (nature, vineyards, recreation, industrialisation) and displaced competing ones. Second, affordance theory showed through which properties of the material carrier this framework became effective: the durability of a hard-bound edition, the visual priority of the cover over the text, the hierarchy of visibility in the structure, and the programming of movement by the tourist route map turned the offer of an image into lived experience. Third, the notion of the frontier (the contact zone), together with the human-centred approach, explained why one and the same carrier acts in opposite ways for different subjects: for an inhabitant of the RSFSR or of the Ukrainian SSR the guidebook promised a new life, whereas for the deported Crimean Tatars, Armenians, and Greeks the same image meant displacement from a lost homeland – the difference in perception follows not from the carrier but from the subject's position in the contact zone. Taken together, this model closes the very gap that the classical approaches leave empty. This model is able to reconstruct the conditions of possibility for identification, but it does not give direct

access to the actual perception of a concrete person in the past – the “black box” is not fully opened, and this is a matter of principle rather than a shortcoming.

It should be understood that an image becomes identity not automatically but through a material carrier lived by a concrete subject in a concrete space of displacement. From this a prospect may follow: the application of the model to a broader corpus of sources (film materials, posters, the press) and to other Soviet images of “place”. Ultimately, the analysis carried out demonstrates that, in order to understand how the image of a place turns a person into the bearer of a particular identity, the historian needs not only archival sources but also contemporary theoretical instruments.

In preparing this work, the author used Claude (Anthropic, PBC) to correct grammatical and stylistic errors in the author's own text. The tool was applied solely for editing text written by the author; all ideas, arguments, scholarly propositions, and conclusions belong to the author, who bears full responsibility for the content of the publication.

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ARCHIVAL HERITAGE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE KHANENKO MUSEUM (1928–1933)

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Purpose of the work. The article is devoted to the study of the formation, composition and fate of the archival heritage of the library of the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts in the chronological framework of 1928–1933. This period was marked by cardinal changes in Soviet museum policy, ideological pressure and reorganization of cultural institutions of that time. **Methods** are based on a purposeful scientific process of studying archival sources, contemporary office work and inventory books, the processes of completing the book collection, accounting for rare editions and the specifics of the functioning of the library as a scientific center are highlighted. **The result** of the study lies in the introduction to scientific circulation of previously unknown archival materials. In file № 39 at the Scientific Archive of the Khanenko National Museum of Arts, the correspondence of the museum's library for the period 1928–1933 with various scientific institutions is stored. Documents relating to the archival heritage of the library of the Museum of Arts can be conditionally divided into three groups. The first is a group concerning the international cooperation of the museum library and the exchange of publications with other scientific institutions. The second group encompasses official correspondence regarding the purchase of books in the 1920s–1930s and covers business and financial reporting. The third group concerns the official correspondence of the library of the Museum of Arts, and also contains reports by prominent librarians and bibliographers. **Conclusions.** The archival heritage of the library of the Museum of Arts for 1928–1933 records the composition of acquisitions and the initial classification of books on the history of art, antique publications and periodicals. Therefore, the digitization and full publication of the preserved inventory books and catalogs will allow us to virtually recreate the original book fund of the library.

Keywords: Museum of Arts, history of the library, museum records, book collection.

АРХІВНА СПАДЩИНА БІБЛІОТЕКИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО МУЗЕЮ МИСТЕЦТВ ІМ. ХАНЕНКІВ (1928–1933 РР.)

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Мета роботи. Стаття присвячена дослідженню формування, складу та долі архівної спадщини бібліотеки Національного музею мистецтв імені Богдана Івановича та Варвари Николівни Ханенків у хронологічних межах 1928–1933 рр. Цей період відзначився кардинальними змінами в радянській музейній політиці, ідеологічним тиском та реорганізацією тогочасних культурних інституцій. **Методи дослідження** базуються на цілеспрямованому науковому процесі вивчення архівних джерел, тогочасного діловодства та інвентарних книг, висвітлено процеси комплектування книжкового фонду, обліку рідкісних видань та специфіку функціонування бібліотеки як наукового осередку. **Результат** роботи полягає в інтродукції до наукового обігу раніше невідомих архівних матеріалів. У справі № 39 при Науковому архіві Національного музею мистецтв ім. Ханенків зберігається листування музейної бібліотеки за період 1928–1933 рр. з різними науковими установами. Документи, що стосуються архівної спадщини бібліотеки Музею мистецтв Всеукраїнської академії наук, можна умовно поділити на три групи. Перша – це група, що стосується співробітництва музейної бібліотеки (в тому числі й міжнародного) та обміну виданнями з іншими науковими установами. Друга група огортає офіційне листування щодо закупівлі книг у 1920–1930-х рр. та охоплює ділову та фінансову звітність. Третя група стосується офіційної переписки бібліотеки Музею мистецтв ВУАН, а також містить доповіді видатних бібліотекарів та бібліографів. На основі комплексу архівних документів та матеріалів досліджується вплив керівництва ВУАН, органів радянської влади, а також співробітництва із Всенародною бібліотекою України, Центральною робітничою бібліотекою та Українською книжковою палатою. **Висновки.** Архівна спадщина бібліотеки Музею мистецтв ВУАН за 1928–1933 рр. фіксує склад надходжень і первинну класифікацію книг з історії мистецтва, антикварних видань та періодики. Тож оцифрування та повна публікація збережених інвентарних книг і каталогів дозволить віртуально відтворити первісний книжковий фонд бібліотеки.

Ключові слова: Музей мистецтв ВУАН, історія бібліотеки, музейне діловодство, книжковий фонд.



1. Introduction

The archival heritage of the Khanenko Museum Library (1928–1933) reflects one of the most dramatic and pivotal periods in the history of this unique collection. Thanks to the documents described in this study, this historical period is characterized by the intensification of Stalinist totalitarian control, the Soviet ideologization of science, and the onset of repressions against museum staff. During this time, the library, which was created by Khanenkos as a fundamental European scientific base for art history, effectively underwent forced reorganization, ideological purges, and isolation from free public access.

This study of the archival heritage of the Khanenko Museum Library (1928–1933) focuses on reconstructing the history of the museum's library during a period of repression and reorganization. **The aim of the study** is to introduce unique archival documents into scholarly circulation, restore the composition of the collections, and reveal the mechanisms behind the confiscation and loss of art literature, as well as to reconstruct the fate of the library during a pivotal period, when Soviet museum and archival policies were taking shape. The research methodology is based on a comprehensive approach to sources and includes the following methods. Source analysis: examination of primary documentation from the library of the Museum of Arts of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (orders, inventory books, correspondence). Historical-systemic method: review of the library as a holistic entity in relation to broader cultural processes in Ukraine during 1928–1933. The structure of the study is organized according to a chronological and thematic framework. The study highlights the general situation in museum affairs and library policy in the Ukrainian SSR in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as well as the state of the library collection prior to 1928. In particular, the study analyzes the structure and size of the library bequeathed to the museum by its founders, examines administrative pressure, and explores the first censorship restrictions on the acquisition of foreign art publications.

A review of documents from the period when the Khanenko Museum operated under the auspices of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1920–1930 reveals that these documents are primarily held at the Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (ff. 1, X, 279) and the Central Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine (fond 581), as well as in the research archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (VUAK fond), and at the M. T. Rylsky Institute of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (F. L. Ernst Collection, fond 13), the State Archives of Kyiv Oblast (ff. R-111, R-112, R-742, 2412, 4156), the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (fond 263), and the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities

and Administration of Ukraine (fond 166). However, these archives do not contain a detailed analysis of internal documentation or inventory books, and the examination of the library's fonds-forming documents remains a complex and in-depth scholarly task. Therefore, the aim of this study is to examine specifically the scientific archive of the Khanenko Museum as a repository of documents related to the activities of the museum library.

File № 39 in the Scientific Archive of the B. and V. Khanenko National Museum of Arts contains the museum library's correspondence from 1920 to 1933 with various scientific institutions (2). For many decades, the collections of the Khanenko Museum's Scientific Archive lay gathering dust. Today, the museum's collections are being actively digitized because they are invaluable. However, the museum's archive is no less valuable. S. I. Bilokin carried out a monumental study, examining the Khanenko Museum's library in comparison with other Kyiv libraries. He analyzed the fate of the collection, the losses to cultural heritage, and the circumstances under which the museum's founders (such as M. O. Makarenko) worked to preserve the collection (1).

Main Text. The documents pertaining to the archival heritage of the library of the Khanenko Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) can be broadly divided into three groups. The first group concerns the museum library's cooperation (including international cooperation) and the exchange of publications with other academic institutions. The second group consists of official correspondence regarding book purchases from 1928 to 1933 and includes business and financial reports. The third group concerns the official correspondence between the library of the Khanenko Museum and the All-Ukrainian Public Library of Ukraine (now the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine), which at that time was also part of the Academy of Sciences, the Central Workers' Library (now Yaroslav the Wise National Library of Ukraine), and the Book Chamber of Ukraine (now the Ivan Fedorov Book Chamber of Ukraine), and also includes reports by prominent librarians and bibliographers.

2. International Relations and Book Exchange

This section covers the museum library's cooperation (including international cooperation) and the exchange of publications with other academic institutions. It includes letters and copies of letters sent by the library of the Khanenko Museum to various institutions, as well as letters addressed to the museum from other institutions. The most frequent recipients are The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) (SA KMMA: fol. 3, 14, 110), State Museum of Modern Western Art (Moscow) (SA KMMA: fol. 84, 86), and The Kremlin Armoury (Moscow) (SA KMMA: fol. 89), the National Archaeological Museum (Sofia) (SA KMMA: fol. 4), the Museum of Local History in

Belgrade (SA KMMA: fol. 5), the Imperial Museum (Tokyo) (SA KMMA: fol. 6), Frans Hals Museum (Haarlem) (SA KMMA: fol. 5), Polish Academy of Sciences (Kraków) (SA KMMA: fol. 133), Literary Publishing House of the People's Commissariat of the USSR (SA KMMA: fol. 87), State Tretyakov Gallery (SA KMMA: fol. 13), Saratov Regional Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 49, 52), Caucasian Institute of History and Archaeology (Tiflis) (SA KMMA: fol. 78, 81), Azerbaijan Archaeological Committee (Baku) (SA KMMA: fol. 18, 80), the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture (Leningrad) (SA KMMA: fol. 19, 79), the Belarusian State Museum (Minsk) (SA KMMA: fol. 137), etc.

A letter from the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries describes the establishment of a publication exchange between the museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) (SA KMMA: fol. 28), a copy of a letter to the Central Asian Committee for Museums and the Protection of Antiquities, Art, and Nature (Tashkent) contains a request to send V. L. Vyatkin's publication «The Ancient Settlement of Afrasiab» (SA KMMA: fol. 17, 33, 53). A letter from the Germanisches National Museum and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin) announces the shipment of a copy of Albrecht Dürer's catalog (SA KMMA: fol. 96, 97, 109). A letter from the Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner (Paris) informs about the shipment of A. M. Grabar's book «Religious Painting of Bulgaria» (SA KMMA: fol. 146). In a letter, museum director M. O. Makarenko expresses his gratitude to D. D. Burliuk (USA) for sending the publication «Russian Artists in America» (SA KMMA: fol. 62).

There were also connections with Ukrainian research institutions, including exchanges and the receipt of new collections and catalogs, notably from the Poltava State Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 27), the Pryluky District Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 32, 39), the Lviv National Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 36), the Odesa Art Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 37), and the Chersonese Museum (Sevastopol) (SA KMMA: fol. 38), K. Kostandi Art Society (Odesa) (SA KMMA: fol. 39), Department of Ukrainian Art at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (SA KMMA: fol. 255), All-Ukrainian Historical Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 254), Chernihiv State Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 54), Kyiv Art Gallery (SA KMMA: fol. 73, 157), Odesa State Library (SA KMMA: fol. 265), the H. S. Skovoroda Museum of Sloboda Ukraine (SA KMMA: fol. 265), and others.

The list of addresses dated August 20, 1928, according to which the publication «Japanese Engraving» by the Art Museum of the VUAN was sent out, lists 74 different scientific institutions.

In a letter dated January 26, 1933, to the Presidium of the VUAN, the Art Museum requested permission to send fifty copies of the catalog for the museum exhibition «Art of the Islamic World» from the Academy's collection held at the museum for exchange with

the departments of Eastern art at foreign museums (SA KMMA: fol. 363). In response, the VUAN publishing house authorized the transfer of the publication (SA KMMA: fol. 364).

This official correspondence makes it clear just how vigorous the activities of the museum curators and librarians at the Khanenko Museum were, and to what extent the library's collections were enriched thanks to the efforts of the research staff.

3. Official Correspondence Regarding the Purchase of Books

The next group of archival documents from the library of the Khanenko Museum consists of official correspondence regarding the purchase of books from 1928 to 1933 and includes business and financial records. This group of sources contains cost estimates and financial plans: approved budgets for the acquisition of new foreign and domestic publications. Invoices and delivery notes: payment documents from bookstores, publishers, or antiquarian booksellers. Acceptance reports and inventory books: inventories, inventory journals of receipts, and registration records. Correspondence: staff memos regarding the need to acquire specific subject-related literature. During this period, the library's collection development took place under conditions of censorship and ideological control. For example, in the 1920s, the Khanenko Museum received books thanks to allocated state funds; however, by the 1930s, publications could be confiscated. Subsequently, the collections were replenished primarily through centralized channels via special funds, Ukrgolovlit, or as a result of the nationalization of private collections.

This group includes receipts for payments for periodicals, invoices from I. F. Kostsov's bookstore (Leningrad) (SA KMMA: fol. 16, 77), and letters from Martin Keller's antique shop (Leipzig) regarding bank transactions (SA KMMA: fol. 41, 71, 81, 115, 119, 120), letters to the Kyiv branch of the «International Book» section society with orders for foreign books, and a letter from the publishing house S. Fischer Verlag (Berlin) offering its services (SA KMMA: fol. 182, 184), an invoice from Zwemmer's Bookstore (London) (SA KMMA: fol. 85), a copy of a letter from the library to the Literary Publishing House of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (Moscow) ordering subscriptions to foreign journals (SA KMMA: fol. 189). This same group includes a letter from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions bookstore (Moscow) notifying of the shipment of ordered literature, a letter from the «Ekskursant» bookstore (Leningrad) offering publications for sale (SA KMMA: fol. 94, 95, 190), as well as a letter to the publisher of «The Barlington Magazine» reminding them to pay the subscription fee for 1930 and a letter from the F. Bruckmann's publishing house offering a subscription to the monthly «Panteon» (SA KMMA: fol. 203, 204).

Since the museum was required to report on the orders it wished to place, this group of documents contains many letters of request addressed to various government agencies. In particular, this includes correspondence with the Economic Department of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR regarding orders for foreign literature (SA KMMA: fol. 183, 186, 224, 234, 235, 246), as well as correspondence between the Museum of Art and the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR regarding preparations for a statistical survey of the library (SA KMMA: fol. 270).

The library's official correspondence includes letters from Ukrainian Main Administration of Scientific Institutions regarding the possibility of expanding the library's collection by withdrawing foreign scientific literature from the Leningrad book collection intended for research institutions of the Ukrainian SSR's National Committee of Science; the costs associated with selecting, packing, and shipping the books were to be covered by the interested institutions (SA KMMA: fol. 202). A letter from the office of the Permanent Secretary of the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences informs of the need to remove White émigré publications and Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist literature from the museum's library collection (SA KMMA: fol. 235).

In the copy of the letter of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR dated April 12, 1930, it is informed that in connection with the reduction of the imported quota for books by the People's Commissar of the Union, "International Book" temporarily stopped the implementation of orders from non-governmental organizations for foreign literature (SA KMMA: fol. 250).

According to a copy of Form № 2 of the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR, as of January 15, 1931, the following is reported about the scholarly activities of the library and reading room of the Khanenko Museum. The library served all citizens; based on its collection, it was a specialized library focusing on art history, and access was free. Two rooms were allocated for the library, with a total floor area of 83.32 square meters. An inventory of the book collection (based on the 1930 People's Commissariat for Education instructions) was conducted in the first half of 1932. As of October 1, 1929, there were 5668 volumes (bindings); a total of 305 volumes (bindings) were added during the year from October 1, 1929, to October 1, 1930, including 59 Ukrainian titles. The total number of processed volumes (ready for checkout), including those in the reading room and the traveling library, was 5973. Removed due to unsuitability: 8 items; removed due to physical wear and tear: 9 items; not returned: 10 items; lost for unknown reasons: 11 items; transferred to other institutions: 12 items. Books issued by the permanent library during the year from October 1, 1929, to October 1, 1930, to individual readers through subscriptions and in the

reading room: 2333 items. Library staff: 31 employees in total (most likely referring to the total number of museum employees). Expenses for 1929–1930: salaries – 1840 rubles; book purchases – 600 rubles; magazine subscriptions – 48 rubles; book binding – 200 rubles; total – 1763 rubles. Revenue for 1929–1930: 1763 rubles; projected revenue according to the 1931 budget: 2088 rubles. Total number of readers: 1048 (SA KMMA: fol. 274–275).

A copy of a letter dated October 11, 1931, from S. O. Gilyarov, Deputy Director of the Khanenko Museum, to the Science Sector of the People's Commissariat for Education contains a request to include the library on the list of institutions entitled to receive sets of mandatory copies of literature on art published in the USSR. According to S. O. Gilyarov, the library was the largest specialized art library in Kyiv; it served not only the museum itself, its research staff, and graduate students, but also other scientific and educational-artistic institutions in Kyiv, such as the Art Institute, the Institute of Cinematography, the Music and Theater Institute, and others. The museum's library resources were also widely used by Kyiv's theaters, the film studio, and certain production facilities (SA KMMA: fol. 295).

4. Correspondence with Institutions and Library Science Reports

The final group of documents – though by no means the least important – consists of official correspondence between the library of the Khanenko Museum and the All-Ukrainian Public Library, the Central Workers' Library and the Book Chamber of Ukraine, and also includes reports by prominent librarians and bibliographers. These documents focus on collection development: the exchange of duplicate copies, the distribution of specialized literature, and the transfer of unique art and museum publications. Academic institutions sought to harmonize the principles of cataloging and classifying rare books, as well as to organize joint exhibitions featuring materials from both institutions' collections.

Official record-keeping and correspondence between institutions centered on the division of collections. As the central library, the All-Ukrainian Public Library sought to consolidate the collections, while the Khanenko Museum argued for keeping specialized literature (particularly Western European and Eastern catalogs) directly alongside the museum's collections to facilitate the attribution of exhibits. Museum staff requested that the All-Ukrainian Public Library transfer duplicate copies of art history journals and foreign periodicals. The correspondence includes requests from the All-Ukrainian Public Library for descriptions of rare publications from the Khanenko collection.

The abstracts of presentations by librarians and bibliographers during meetings of the Research Institute of Book Studies or the Bibliographic Commission

of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) clearly reveal efforts to highlight the specific nature of the scholarly description of art books, since books at the Khanenko Museum were regarded as independent artifacts of material culture. Preserving the integrity of the Khanenko collection was a priority; the museum's librarians emphasized that dispersing the library of Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko among various departments of the All-Ukrainian Public Library would destroy its contextual value. The benefit of collaborating with the All-Ukrainian Public Library lay in preventing duplication when purchasing expensive foreign literature abroad. These documents attest to the high level of expertise among Ukrainian specialists of that time, who worked under conditions of intense ideological pressure and financial hardship. By the early 1930s, most of these initiatives had been shut down due to the intensification of Soviet repression, the ideologization of science, and the physical elimination or exile of leading personnel from both institutions.

Correspondence between the library of the Khanenko Museum and the All-Ukrainian Public Library reveals active scholarly collaboration. In particular, in a letter dated April 2, 1928, Director S. P. Posternak of the All-Ukrainian Public Library reported on the start of work on a consolidated catalog of foreign journals held by libraries in Kyiv, with the aim of identifying which journals were available in Kyiv and in which specific libraries. Over the course of several months in 1927, a staff member compiled a catalog of foreign journals for 1926 directly at the libraries. To supplement this catalog, the All-Ukrainian Public Library requested that the library send it a list of available foreign journals for 1927, specifying for each journal exactly which volumes, issues, and numbers of each journal for 1927 the library had actually received and which of them it had subscribed to for 1928 (SA KMMA: fol. 25). In its reply to the All-Ukrainian Public Library, the museum library sent a list of the foreign periodicals it had received. In 1927, the museum library received «Gazette des Beaux-Arts» – Paris, Rome XV, January, February, March, April, May, June – 1927. Delivery. T13, T44, T45, T46, T47, T48; «Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art». – New York 1927. Volume XXII. Numbers 2–12. In 1928, the museum library received the «Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art» – New York; «Burlington Magazine» – London; «La Revue de l'Art» – Paris; and «Der Cicerone» – Leipzig, Berlin (SA KMMA: fol. 31).

In a letter dated June 11, 1928, S. P. Posternak asks the museum library to send publications of the Khanenko Museum to the address of the All-Ukrainian Public Library, in light of the creation, within the «Ukrainica» Department of the Library at the VUAN, of a special subsection dedicated to publications of the Academy and all its institutions, whose task was to compile the most comprehensive collection of all

academic publications (SA KMMA: fol. 44, 127). In response, the library sent two copies of the publication «Japanese Engraving» (SA KMMA: fol. 70).

In a letter dated January 10, 1929, Director Y. O. Mezhenko reports on the preparation of the «Guide to Kyiv Libraries» and requests that the museum assist the institute in compiling comprehensive information about the library by completing and returning a questionnaire (SA KMMA: fol. 113). In response, the museum sent the completed questionnaire for the institution covering the year 1929. In particular, staff librarian O. S. Polishchuk reports that the library consists of books on art history and museology, art-related periodicals, museum and auction catalogs, collections of photographic reproductions of Western European artworks (18000 items), and so on. The library contains 5296 volumes and has existed since 1919. It is based on the book collection of B. I. and V. N. Khanenko, as well as the private collections of L. P. Dobrovolsky, V. D. Zhevakhov, V. O. Shchavinsky, and a portion of the books from the Art Cabinet at the University of Saint Volodymyr (SA KMMA: fol. 116–117). You might be interested in a document that sets out the seven-point library usage rules of the Khanenko Museum (SA KMMA: fol. 191). In the following document, the leadership of the All-Ukrainian Public Library invites staff members of the museum library to attend a bibliographic conference (scheduled for April 26–27, 1929) (SA KMMA: fol. 222). The following documents in File No. 39 contains abstracts of presentations by prominent Ukrainian library scientists and bibliographers V. O. Kozlovsky, «Libraries of State and Regional Museums of the Ukrainian SSR» (SA KMMA: fol. 214), «A Unified Library Network; The Place of State, Public, and Specialized Research Libraries in This Network» (SA KMMA: pp. 258–260) and O. I. Polulyakh's «The Problem of Library Staff in Research Libraries» (SA KMMA: fol. 257) at the Kyiv Library Congress of Research Libraries. O. I. Polulyakh, together with V. O. Kozlovsky, worked on the systematization and bibliographic description of books and incunabula from specialized art history collections that were transferred to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences or stored directly at major museums in Kyiv. Also in 1926, a graduate program was established at the Khanenko Museum. During this same period, O. I. Polulyakh was responsible at the All-Ukrainian Public Library for developing programs and reports on «Training Library Specialists» and professional development for researchers.

In a letter dated March 7, 1931, V. F. Ivanitsky, deputy director of the All-Ukrainian Public Library, requested the transfer of a handwritten book containing copies of various 18th-century documents, as well as a collection of samples of bookbinding and book paper, which Y. A. Alexandrovich had previously donated to the museum (SA KMMA:

fol. 268). An official invitation announced a meeting of the scientific libraries' working group at the All-Ukrainian Public Library premises (58a Korolenko St.) at 7:00 p.m. on April 14, 1931. The agenda included a report by H. D. Bila titled «Project for Sectoral Associations of Research Libraries and the Association of Higher Education Institution Libraries in Kyiv» (SA KMMA: fol. 276). A letter dated April 17, 1931, from the Office of the Permanent Secretary of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences requested a list of the Khanenko Museum staff members who would be using the All-Ukrainian Public Library's collections (SA KMMA: fol. 279). In response, the museum sent a list of research staff members for the issuance of permits: M. F. Khristovyi – museum director; S. O. Gilyarov – professor, deputy director; M. I. Vyazmitina – research associate, department head; G. A. Adolf, O. K. Geibel, L. P. Kalenichenko, L. M. Sak – graduate students (SA KMMA: fol. 280). However, the graduate students were granted permission to use only the reading room of the All-Ukrainian Public Library, which was open daily from 9:20 a.m. to 9:20 p.m. (SA KMMA: fol. 283).

A document dated May 27, 1931, contains information from the Bibliographic Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences regarding the agenda of the bibliographic conference chaired by Academician M. V. Ptukha, held at 14 T. Shevchenko Boulevard, Kyiv. The conference consisted of seven sessions (SA KMMA: fol. 290). The first session featured a presentation by Y. S. Rozanov, director of the Central Workers' Library, titled «Bibliography and Dialectical Materialism» (SA KMMA: fol. 305–306). The second series consists of a report by S. P. Posternak (Bibliographic Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) titled «The State and Tasks of Bibliography in the Ukrainian SSR and Specifically in Kyiv in Connection with the Reconstruction Era» (SA KMMA: fol. 307–309, 315–317); a report by M. A. Godkevich (the Book Chamber of Ukraine) titled «State Bibliography» (SA KMMA: fol. 312–313); a report by Y. I. Liberberg (Institute of Jewish Culture) titled «The State and Tasks of Jewish Bibliographic Work in the USSR» (SA KMMA: fol. 314). The third session included report by T. G. Sotnik (Press Bureau of Foreign Literature) «Bibliography of Scientific and Technical Literature» (SA KMMA: fol. 302). The fourth series consists of a report by M. P. Gerashenko, «The Tasks of Bibliography in the Field of Agricultural Science» (SA KMMA: fol. 303–304); and a report by M. T. Khokhol (Library of the Institutes of Cooperation) «The Tasks and Organization of Specialized Bibliography at Higher Educational Institutions» (SA KMMA: fol. 318). The fifth session included report by P. I. Inozemtsev (the Book Chamber of Ukraine) «The Struggle for Bibliographic Culture» (SA KMMA: fol. 310); presentation by V. I. Ignatenko

(the Book Chamber of Ukraine) «Training of Bibliographic Specialists» (SA KMMA: fol. 319). The sixth session included presentation by M. I. Yasinsky (the All-Ukrainian Public Library) «Bibliographic Formatting of Journals» (SA KMMA: fol. 320); presentation by A. E. Kryster (VUAN) «The Tasks and Organization of Bibliography in Scientific Journals». The seventh session included a presentation by P. M. Alekseev (the Book Chamber of Ukraine) titled «International Bibliography in the West» (SA KMMA: fol. 321); a report by K. A. Dovgan, «The Current Methodological Situation in the Field of Book Studies and Bibliography» (SA KMMA: fol. 310–311).

In a letter dated February 8, 1932, to the All-Ukrainian Public Library, the Khanenko Museum reports that librarian O. S. Polishchuk has been sent to take continuing education courses (SA KMMA: fol. 334). In response, the All-Ukrainian Public Library announced that the courses would begin on February 25, 1932, and noted the need to pay tuition in the amount of 60 rubles (SA KMMA: fol. 338).

Among the research institutions with which the library of the Khanenko Museum collaborated were the Central Workers' Library and the Book Chamber of Ukraine. In an official request dated October 9, 1928, the museum library asked the Central Workers' Library to lend A. M. Mironov's «Albrecht Dürer» for temporary use, and later notified the library of the book's return (SA KMMA: fol. 90, 111). In an official letter dated October 8, 1928, Director of the Book Chamber of Ukraine, A. I. Kozachenko announced the establishment of an Office for International Book Exchange at the institution. The director therefore recommended reporting the availability of publications for the book exchange (SA KMMA: fol. 82).

5. Conclusions

Thus, the archival holdings of the library of the Khanenko Museum for 1928–1933 document the composition of acquisitions and the initial classification of books on art history, antiquarian editions, and periodicals. Meeting minutes, reports by research staff, and administrative correspondence illustrate how acquisition policies changed and censorship was introduced, and how valuable items were transferred to other organizations or sold abroad through the State Trade Agency. From 1928 to 1933, the Khanenko Museum (as well as its library) underwent constant reorganizations, a consequence of the general Soviet campaign against «bourgeois» academic institutions. The documents reveal evidence of the systematic removal of masterpieces, rare incunabula, and book collections. This was accompanied by the destruction of the integrity of the museum and library collection. Therefore, the digitization and complete publication of the surviving inventory books and catalogs will make it possible to virtually reconstruct the library's original book collection.

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THE SYMBOL OF THE CROSS IN PRE-BURIAL RITUALS IN THE GALICIAN HUTSUL REGION (SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

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The aim of this article is to conduct a comprehensive investigation into the semantics, functions and specific features of the symbol of the cross in traditional beliefs concerning death and pre-funeral rituals among the Hutsuls of Galician Hutsulshchyna in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particular attention is paid to determining the place of the cross within the system of folk beliefs, revealing its role in the sacralisation of space, and examining the interaction between Christian and pre-Christian worldview concepts preserved in Hutsul tradition.

The **methodological** framework of the study is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, and systematic analysis. The research employs historical-comparative, historical-genetic, structural-functional, ethnological, and semiotic methods. The source base includes historical and ethnographic works from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contemporary scholarly studies, archival materials, and the author's own field research conducted in the Verkhovyna and Kosiv districts of the Ivano-Frankivsk region.

Results. The study demonstrates that the symbol of the cross was present at all key stages of the pre-funeral ritual cycle. It has been established that, in the traditional culture of the Hutsuls, the cross performed not only religious but also apotropaic and communicative functions. The research traces the specific features of the use of the symbol of the cross during the preparation of the deceased for burial and in the sacralisation of the domestic space. It is shown that the cross functioned in close interaction with other protective elements of folk magic, including fire, tar, garlic and grain, forming an integrated system of ritual practices intended to ensure the soul's transition to the afterlife and to protect the living from the possible harmful influence of demonic forces believed to become active with the arrival of death. **Conclusions.** The study concludes that in the pre-funeral rituals of Galician Hutsulshchyna during the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the cross retained its status as a universal sacred symbol, combining the Christian doctrine of salvation and resurrection with archaic folk beliefs concerning death, the soul and the afterlife. Its multifunctional nature ensured its exceptional endurance within traditional Hutsul culture, where the cross remained one of the most significant elements of pre-funeral ritual practice, fulfilling religious, protective, ideological and socio-cultural functions.

Keywords: cross, death, ritual practices, Hutsuls, Galician Hutsulshchyna, folk beliefs, apotropaic practices, traditional culture, sacred space.

СИМВОЛ ХРЕСТА В ПЕРЕДПОХОВАЛЬНІЙ ОБРЯДОВІСТІ НА ГАЛИЦЬКІЙ ГУЦУЛЬЩИНІ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

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Метою статті є комплексне дослідження семантики, функцій та особливостей використання символу хреста у традиційних уявленнях про смерть у передпоховальній обрядовості гуцулів в межах Галицької Гуцульщини у другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. Особливу увагу приділено визначенню місця хреста в системі народних вірувань, виявленню його ролі в сакралізації простору та взаємодії християнських і дохристиянських світоглядних уявлень гуцулів. **Методологічну** основу дослідження становлять принципи історизму, наукової об'єктивності та системності. Використано історико-порівняльний, історико-генетичний, структурно-функціональний, етнологічний та семіотичний методи дослідження. Основою джерельної бази стали історико-етнографічні праці кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., сучасні наукові дослідження, архівні матеріали та власні польові дослідження, здійснені на території Верховинського та Косівського районів Івано-Франківської області. **Результати.** З'ясовано, що символ хреста супроводжував усі основні цикли передпоховального етапу. Встановлено, що в традиційній культурі гуцулів хрест виконував не лише релігійну, а й апотропеїчну (охоронну) та комунікативну функції. Простежено особливості використання символу хреста під час підготовки померлого до поховання, а також практики сакралізації житлового простору.



Доведено, що символ хреста функціонував у тісному взаємозв'язку з іншими обереговими засобами народної магії, зокрема вогнем, дьогтем, сажею, зерном, утворюючи єдину систему захисних обрядодій, спрямованих на забезпечення переходу душі до потойбіччя та захисті живих від можливого негативного впливу демонічних сил, що за віруваннями гуцулів активізувалися з приходом смерті. **Висновки.** Встановлено, що в передпоховальній обрядовості Галицької Гуцульщини другої половини XIX – початку XX ст. хрест зберігав статус універсального сакрального символу, який уніфікував християнське вчення про спасіння і воскресіння та архаїчні народні уявлення про смерть, душу та потойбічний світ. Його багатофункціональність забезпечила виняткову стійкість у традиційній культурі гуцулів, де хрест залишався одним із найважливіших елементів передпоховальної обрядовості, виконуючи релігійну, захисну, та соціокультурну функції.

Ключові слова: хрест, смерть, обрядовість, гуцули, Галицька Гуцульщина, народні вірування, апотропеїка, традиційна культура, сакральний простір.

1. Introduction

By the beginning of the 20-th century, funeral rites in the Galician Hutsul region remained the most archaic and conservative aspect of its traditional culture, having developed over the centuries into a coherent system of rituals, practices and symbols. One of the key elements of this system in Hutsul tradition was the symbol of the cross. In Christian terms, it personified the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the victory of life over death and the hope of resurrection; however, in folk culture, its meaning was considerably broader. This was particularly evident in ritual practices associated with the approach and onset of death. The cross became an integral part of preparing a person for their passing, the sacralisation of the living space, and a means of performing protective rites and ritual practices designed to ensure the soul's proper passage to the afterlife. Alongside church rites, local folk customs continued to be practised in the community, in which the symbol of the cross was combined with other apotropaic elements: candles, water, grain, garlic, tar and other objects that were also believed to possess protective qualities.

The study of the symbol of the cross in pre-funeral rites allows for a deeper understanding of the distinctive features of the Hutsul worldview, the nature of the interaction between Christian tradition and folk beliefs, and the mechanisms for the preservation of archaic elements in the spiritual culture of the Carpathian population.

2. The role of the cross in preparations for death

In the traditional Hutsul worldview, death was perceived as a complex, protracted and perilous transitional stage, during which both the deceased and their living relatives and members of the community faced threats from demonic forces that filled the mythological universe of Hutsul culture: the aridnyk, the devil, the opyr, the nyavka, the bida, poterchata, and so on. (Onishchuk, 1909: 47–139). This was an extremely unstable period, when the established balance of the world of the living was disrupted by the opening of the boundary between the earthly and the otherworldly realms. It is for this very reason that Hutsul funeral rites took shape as a coherent system of ritual actions, linked primarily to apotropaic practices, the use of numerous attributes of folk magic, and rituals involving the symbol of the cross, with the aim of neutralising

the chaotic forces of evil which, according to folk beliefs, became active at the moment of death and throughout the entire funeral and memorial cycle. In this context, the cross served not only as the central symbol of the Christian faith, but also as a universal sacred sign of a protective nature, capable of ordering space and restoring the disturbed cosmic balance. Its use can be traced through virtually every stage of the funeral rite: from the moment of agony and the declaration of death to the burial and subsequent memorial practices. Placing a cross on the dying person, the coffin, the doors and windows of the house, funeral paraphernalia along the route of the funeral procession, and on the grave was intended not only to bless the deceased but also to protect the living from the possible return of the soul and the harmful influence of demonic beings.

Hutsul funeral rites follow a clearly defined three-stage structure, comprising the pre-burial, burial and post-burial (commemoration) cycles (Guziy, 2006: 569). Each of these stages constitutes a separate, self-contained set of ritual acts aimed at facilitating the deceased's transition from the world of the living to the «after life», as well as at ensuring the protection of the family and the community. By analysing ethnographic sources from the second half of the 19th century and drawing on the findings of recent fieldwork conducted within the communities of the Verkhovyna and Kosiv districts, we can identify a fourth sub-stage – the «preparatory» stage – which precedes the three main ones. This stage is linked exclusively to the concept of a «proper» death. In traditional Hutsul culture, a «proper» death (sometimes described as «good», «natural» or «righteous») (Shukhevych, 2018: 1156), meant a death that occurred at the appointed time of life, in one's own home, surrounded by family, and with all the necessary pre-death rites observed. Key features of such a death included the opportunity for confession and communion, the making of an oral will, saying farewell to loved ones, the recitation of prayers, and the lighting of a candle, accompanied by the frequent making of the sign of the cross (Spaska – Labchuk, 1967). Of particular significance in this context were actions aimed at easing the soul's departure and ensuring its passage to the afterlife. To this end, a cross was placed upon the dying person if they were unable to do so themselves. This act was of paramount importance, given

that, according to Hutsul belief, a soul without a cross would not reach the «Other World» but would remain wandering on Earth (Pawluk, 1951). In the lowland villages of Galician Hutsulshchyna, a consecrated candle was lit beside the dying person, it was placed in their hands or kept near their bed. The candle's flame symbolised the light of Christ, which was meant to illuminate the soul's path to the Kingdom of Heaven, and also served an apotropaic function, protecting the person from the interference of demonic forces at the moment of death. Relatives and those present prayed continuously, repeatedly making the sign of the cross over themselves and the dying person. It was the sign of the cross that was considered the most effective means of ensuring victory over the forces of evil, which, according to popular belief, became particularly active at the moment the soul parted from the body (Gurej, 1967).

In contrast to a «proper» death, particular concern was caused by the so-called «sudden» or «abrupt» death, which occurred suddenly and violently, through suicide, drowning, death by lightning strike or other extraordinary circumstances. Such cases disrupted the traditional order of the afterlife and were regarded as potentially dangerous to the community. Those who died in such circumstances were often attributed with the characteristics of «unclean» dead, capable of exerting a negative influence on the living after death. This is precisely why additional protective and apotropaic practices were applied to them, a significant proportion of which were also linked to the symbolism of the cross. For example, if an unbaptised child (zbiglyne) dies, according to Hutsul belief, it will inevitably turn into a devil, Satan (bida) will take it and carry it away. «That one, the zbiglyne, as misfortune carries it into the clouds, cries out in many voices and pleads: «Whoever believes in God, let them give me a cross, or at least a cross-shaped object. If no one heeds it, it vanishes without a trace and becomes the worst of devils» (Shikerik, 2009: 150). In this context, the preparatory stage of the funeral rites served an extremely important function in preparing a person for the transition to another state of being. Through a complex of religious, magical and social actions, not only was a farewell to the deceased observed, but a protective space was also formed, designed to ensure the soul's harmonious transition to the afterlife and to minimise risks to the living members of the community. It is precisely within this stage that the symbolism of the cross as a universal symbol of protection and the ordering of the liminal state between life and death is most clearly manifested. V. Shukhevych describes the Hutsuls' preparations for death as follows: «As soon as a man shows signs of impending death, they lay him on a bench by the dining room window, wrap him in a white cloth, wash his hands and feet with warm water, and shave the older man. Those who still have the strength make the sign of the cross themselves,

and if they are unable to do so, others make the sign of the cross for them» (Shukhevych, 2018: 609). In the presence of a person who is «passing away», one must refrain from weeping and instead recite the «Lord's Prayer» (Shukhevych, 2018: 609). According to the accounts of R. Kaindl (Kaindl, 2000) and O. Kolberg (Kolberg, 1970), ordinary Hutsuls at the end of the 19th century knew no canonical prayers apart from the «Lord's Prayer» and, occasionally, the «Hail Mary». Consequently, it was the symbol of the cross, which accompanied prayer at the bedside of the dying, that sanctified space and time, remaining the primary symbol of faith for the Hutsuls.

According to Hutsul beliefs, a home to which «death had come» would partially lose its status as a safe living environment and become a place vulnerable to the influence of demonic forces. Objects that had come into contact with the deceased were also considered defiled and were often used in folk magic practices with the exception of the cross. Even seeds were removed from the house so that they would not «freeze» along with the owner (Shukhevych, 2018: 609). Such actions were driven by beliefs regarding the «impurity» of both the deceased's body and the space in which death occurred. Therefore, the preparatory stage involved not only preparing the person for death, but also the entire living space. It is no coincidence that the beams of a Hutsul house were invariably crowned with crosses and thunder symbols. Crosses were burned onto the doorways using a Jordan candle, and similar symbols were drawn with tar or soot. These actions were intended to protect the dwelling from any negative influence, which, according to folk beliefs, was particularly intensified with the onset of death. In addition to the cross, other ritual objects and amulets were used, including candles, holy water, poppy seeds and wedding regalia, in line with similar practices throughout Ukraine and Europe (Huzii, 2006: 569). Also, relatives sought to create a proper sacred space around the dying person. Icons, holy water, candles and other objects of religious worship were placed by the bedside. In some localities, a window was opened or a door left ajar so that angels could come to the person and take their soul (Shukhevych, 2018: 609). These actions reflected a syncretic blend of Christian dogmatic beliefs with older folk beliefs concerning the soul's journey and the need to ensure its proper passage between the worlds. Thus, the symbol of the cross in the rites associated with preparing for death in the Galician Hutsul region served as an independent apotropaic means, whilst remaining a unique sign of God.

3. The significance of the cross in pre-burial rites

The pre-burial stage began immediately after a person's death. «When a person dies, the body is laid out, dressed beforehand during life, if death occurs suddenly, it is dressed immediately by anyone: relatives

or neighbors. Once the body is placed on the bench, it is covered, leaving the footwear and the face uncovered» (Shekeryk-Donikiv, 2009: 162). As part of this ritual, a small wooden cross was made, tied with red thread, placed in a small cup containing grain, and set beside the head of the deceased. The grain traditionally symbolised rebirth and the cyclical nature of existence; the red thread served as a talisman; and the cross, as P. Shekeryk-Donikiv notes, was intended to serve the soul after death so that it might pray to God (Shekeryk-Donikiv, 2009: 163). This purpose of the folk-crafted cross is an element of local tradition, which likely has more ancient origins, since shortly after a death, a member of the household would go to church, from where they would bring back a hand-made cross (crucifix), which was placed alongside the wooden cross that had already been made (Kolberg, 1970: 327). The duplication of the folk wooden cross and the church crucifix may indicate not only the archaic nature of the original tradition, but also the different functional purposes of these objects. In the Christian tradition, the cross with the crucifix is a testament to Christ's sacrifice and a symbol of the Resurrection, whereas the folk wooden cross, together with bread and a candle, may have been regarded as an essential item of equipment to ensure the soul's well-being in the afterlife (Shekeryk-Donikiv, 2009: 163). This combination of two objects – different in origin but similar in symbolic meaning – clearly demonstrates the syncretism of the Hutsul pre-funeral tradition. Such practices correspond to broader Carpathian and pan-Ukrainian beliefs regarding the need to provide the deceased with items that might be required during their passage to the afterlife. In this context, a small wooden cross, made immediately after death, can be regarded not only as a Christian symbol but also as a kind of mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Placing it by the head of the deceased, together with grain and a red thread, was intended to ensure the soul's safe passage to the afterlife and, at the same time, to protect the home from the deceased's possible return. Consequently, the combination of the folk-crafted cross with the ecclesiastical crucifix reflects a synthesis of archaic beliefs and Christian symbolism characteristic of Hutsul tradition, in which both objects, despite their outward similarity, performed different yet complementary functions within the structure of the pre-burial rites.

According to V. Shukhevych, after a person's death, whilst some of the household members went to fetch the gravedigger, the carpenter, the priest and the trembita players, others lit a bonfire in front of the house (Shukhevych, 2018: 610). Among the Hutsuls, the bonfire was associated with concepts such as purification, grace, light, life and protection; the cross

embodied these same qualities. In this instance, it may be surmised that, amongst other things, the bonfire in the ritual system of the pre-funeral cycle is present as a vestige of relict Slavic traditions, when the rite of cremation was practised (Kolesa, 2001: 12). An analysis of ethnographic materials suggests that the symbolism of the cross in traditional Hutsul rituals during preparations for a funeral has, to a large extent, retained archaic features. The use of bonfires, grain, and the marking of cross-shaped symbols with tar and charcoal attests to the pre-Christian foundations of many beliefs, which were subsequently integrated into the Christian tradition.

4. Conclusions

The research carried out provides grounds for asserting that the symbol of the cross held an important place in the traditions associated with preparing a person for death and in pre-burial rites within the Galician Hutsul region in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Its function was not limited solely to the canonical Christian interpretation, but encompassed a broader range of mythological and socio-cultural meanings. In this context, the cross emerges as a syncretic symbol, combining the function of a talisman with the Christian understanding of salvation and resurrection, and serving as one of the key elements of Hutsul pre-burial rituals. At the same time, within the system of traditional beliefs, it served as an important means of symbolically organising space. In combination with other apotropaic means, the cross became a key instrument for the sacralisation of the home and the neutralisation of the dangers accompanying the liminal state between life and death. It simultaneously served as a sign of the salvation of the soul, a means of protecting the community, and an important mechanism for restoring the disrupted order, ensuring the deceased's passage to the world of the ancestors. The study revealed that the semantics of the cross in the funeral rites of the Galician Hutsul region were shaped by the long-standing interplay between pre-Christian beliefs and ecclesiastical tradition. Consequently, the cross in Hutsul pre-funeral rites emerges as a complex, multifunctional symbol that unifies church and folk traditions, combining Christian notions of the resurrection with archaic beliefs about death, the soul and the afterlife. A promising avenue for further research is a comprehensive analysis of the functioning of the cross as a symbol at all stages of Hutsul funeral and memorial rites, and its comparison with the traditions of other historical and ethnographic regions of Ukraine. Equally important is the study of the transformation of the semantics and ritual functions of the cross in the context of the social and cultural changes of the 21st century.

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THE SCHOLARLY LEGACY OF M.D. BEREZOVCHUK IN THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEES OF POOR PEASANTS: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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The article presents a comprehensive historiographical analysis of M. D. Berezovchuk's scholarly legacy in the study of the committees of poor peasants (CPPs) in Ukraine. The research is relevant because Soviet historiography requires reassessment and Berezovchuk's place in the study of the CPPs needs clearer definition. Although his works strongly influenced views of the CPPs in the social and political life of the Ukrainian countryside, his scholarly legacy has not previously been the subject of a separate comprehensive study. **Purpose of the study.** To identify the main features of Berezovchuk's approach to CPP history, determine his contribution to the study of the subject, and examine how his works are used and assessed in contemporary Ukrainian and English-language scholarship. **Methodological framework.** The study combines the principles of historicism, objectivity, and systematic analysis with historical-biographical, problem-chronological, historiographical, and comparative-historical methods.

Conclusions. The article examines the main areas of Berezovchuk's research on the CPPs. His major contributions were the synthesis of a substantial body of sources, the systematization of knowledge about CPP activity, and the introduction of documentary materials into scholarship. His works strongly influenced Soviet historiography of the subject. However, the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle led him to present the CPPs as a natural pillar of Soviet power. As a result, he paid too little attention to regional differences, the internal diversity of the peasantry, and conflicts between the state and the countryside.

The research finds that English-language historians used Berezovchuk's works selectively. James E. Mace and Daria Mattingly drew factual information from them but explained the role of the CPPs through political control, coercion, and the participation of local agents in Soviet policy. Berezovchuk's works therefore remain important for the materials they contain and for understanding Soviet historical writing. Contemporary scholars check his conclusions against other sources and often revise them.

Keywords: agrarian policy; historiography; committees of poor peasants (CPPs); M. D. Berezovchuk; Soviet historiography; Soviet power; Ukrainian peasantry.

НАУКОВИЙ ДОРОБОК М.Д. БЕРЕЗОВЧУКА У ВИСВІТЛЕННІ ІСТОРІЇ КОМІТЕТІВ НЕЗАМОЖНИХ СЕЛЯН: ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ

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У статті здійснено комплексний історіографічний аналіз наукового доробку М. Д. Березовчука у висвітленні історії комітетів незаможних селян (КНС) в Україні. Актуальність дослідження зумовлена потребою переосмислити спадщину радянської історіографії та визначити місце праць М. Д. Березовчука в розвитку досліджень КНС. Попри істотний вплив його робіт на уявлення про роль КНС у суспільно-політичному житті українського села, наукова спадщина історика досі не була предметом окремого комплексного аналізу. **Мета дослідження.** Визначити особливості наукового підходу М. Д. Березовчука до історії КНС, з'ясувати його внесок у вивчення проблеми та встановити, як його праці використовують і оцінюють у сучасній українській та англійській літературі. **Методологічна основа.** Застосовано принципи історизму, об'єктивності й системності, а також історико-біографічний, проблемно-хронологічний, історіографічний і порівняльно-історичний методи.

Висновки. Проаналізовано основні напрями наукової діяльності М. Д. Березовчука, присвячені історії КНС. Установлено, що його вагомими здобутками стали узагальнення значного масиву джерел, систематизація знань про діяльність КНС і введення до наукового обігу документальних матеріалів. Праці історика суттєво вплинули на радянську історіографію проблеми. Водночас марксистсько-ленінська теорія класової боротьби спонукала автора подавати КНС як закономірну опору радянської влади. Через це він приділяв недостатньо уваги регіональним відмінностям, внутрішній неоднорідності селянства та конфліктам між державою і селом.



У результаті дослідження встановлено, що англomовні історики використовували праці М. Д. Березовчука вибірково. Джеймс Е. Мейс і Дарія Маттінглі брали з них фактичні відомості, але пояснювали роль КНС через політичний контроль, примус та участь місцевих виконавців у радянській політиці. Тому праці Березовчука важливі насамперед завдяки зібраним матеріалам і для розуміння особливостей радянської історичної науки. Сучасні дослідники перевіряють його висновки за іншими джерелами й часто переглядають їх.

Ключові слова: аграрна політика; історіографія; комітети незаможних селян (КНС); М. Д. Березовчук; радянська історіографія; радянська влада; українське селянство.

1. Introduction

M. D. Berezovchuk's scholarly legacy occupies a notable place in Soviet historiography of the Ukrainian peasantry. His works organized a substantial body of documents and offered one of the most consistent Soviet accounts of the history of the committees of poor peasants (CPPs). These works should be assessed by distinguishing the facts he collected from the conclusions shaped by Marxist-Leninist methodology. This distinction helps to define his contribution and the extent to which his conclusions can be used in current research.

Review of Recent Research and Publications.

Since the restoration of Ukraine's independence, scholars have not only added new information about the CPPs but have also revised Berezovchuk's main arguments. O. Hanzha shifted attention from the Soviet thesis of “socialist construction” to changes in the peasantry during the consolidation of Soviet rule (Hanzha, 2006). M. Frolov confirmed the links between the CPPs and the party apparatus described by Berezovchuk but explained them as a mechanism of party-state control rather than an expression of poor-peasant initiative (Frolov, 2009). O. Melnychuk clarified the economic functions of the CPPs through the cooperative movement in Podillia (Melnichuk, 2002). V. Voloshenko showed regional differences in CPP organization and refined the general model for all of Ukraine (Voloshenko, 2009). H. Kapustian directly questioned the view of the CPPs as a united representative of poor-peasant interests, emphasizing conflict and lumpen traits among some activists (Kapustian, 2017). E. Levandovska traced CPP activity to 1933 and assessed the committees mainly as agents of Soviet policy in the countryside (Levandovska, 2013).

Contemporary historians use the material collected by Berezovchuk, refine some of his observations, and revise his general account of CPP history. Yet his scholarly legacy has usually received only passing attention. B. Andrusyshyn's biographical entry describes Berezovchuk's life and career but does not systematically examine his views of the CPPs (Andrusyshyn, 2003). Scholars have also paid too little attention to how his works are used and assessed in English-language historiography. Documents of the period and Soviet scholarship widely used the abbreviated term *komnezamy*. This article retains it only in titles and when explaining terminology of the period; otherwise, it uses “committees of poor peasants” and the abbreviation “CPPs.”

The purpose of the study is to provide a historiographical analysis of Berezovchuk's scholarly legacy in the study of the CPPs. The article identifies the main areas of his research, describes the sources and methods used in his works, compares his conclusions with later Ukrainian and English-language studies, and assesses the importance of his legacy for the history of the Ukrainian peasantry.

The methodological framework combines the principles of historicism, objectivity, and systematic analysis. The historical-biographical method traces the formation of Berezovchuk's views; the problem-chronological method identifies the stages of his scholarly work; the historiographical method defines the main arguments of his publications; and the comparative-historical method compares his conclusions with current approaches. Analysis and synthesis help to summarize his work and explain how it was used later.

The scientific novelty of the article lies in its overall assessment of the factual contributions and methodological limits of Berezovchuk's works, its comparison of his conclusions with current Ukrainian research, and its analysis of how his publications are cited and reassessed in English-language historiography.

2. Formation of M. D. Berezovchuk's Scholarly Views

M. D. Berezovchuk (1920–1996) belonged to a generation of Soviet historians who worked under ideological control over historical research. After graduating from the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute in 1947, he worked in higher pedagogical education and held administrative positions at institutions in Uzhhorod, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Uman, and Kyiv. His combination of research with work in institutions connected to the Soviet party-state system influenced both his choice of topics and his research approach. At the same time, his broad use and organization of sources gave his works a notable place in the historiography of the CPPs (Andrusyshyn, 2003).

Berezovchuk's scholarly views were shaped by Marxist-Leninist methodology. It treated poor peasants as natural allies of the working class and the CPPs as a social pillar of Soviet power in the countryside. He therefore focused on the creation and development of the CPPs, their role in strengthening Soviet rule, their links with party structures, and their participation in agrarian policy. His views developed during the growth of Soviet agrarian

historiography in the 1950s–1970s, when the history of peasant organizations was explained through “socialist construction.” This context shaped his choice of topics and his generally positive assessment of CPP activity.

3. The Concept of the Committees of Poor Peasants in the Works of M. D. Berezovchuk

Berezovchuk viewed the CPPs as one of the main instruments of Soviet rural policy and as a means of involving poor peasants in socialist transformation. This view was based on the Leninist account of the peasant question. Berezovchuk therefore focused on CPP participation in strengthening Soviet authority, carrying out agrarian policy, and combating the so-called kulaks. Local traditions, peasants’ economic interests, differences within CPP membership, and regional variation did not receive enough attention.

By placing CPP activity within Soviet policy toward the Ukrainian peasantry, Berezovchuk offered a broad account of the committees’ role in the social, political, and economic changes of the 1920s. One of his main achievements was the use of laws, party documents, statistics, and earlier scholarship. However, he used most of this evidence to support predetermined claims about the leading role of poor peasants and the inevitability of socialist change in the countryside. As a result, contradictions in CPP activity, differences in their social composition, and the attitudes of various peasant groups toward Soviet policy were not studied separately.

4. Major Works of M. D. Berezovchuk on the History of the Committees of Poor Peasants

In 1965, Berezovchuk published *The Committees of Poor Peasants of Ukraine in the Struggle for Socialism*, one of the first comprehensive studies of CPP history (Berezovchuk, 1965). He described their organizational development and their role in strengthening Soviet rule, restructuring agrarian relations, and mobilizing poor peasants. For its time, the book was one of the fullest studies of the subject. However, Berezovchuk organized the material around the thesis of “socialist construction,” so CPP development appeared to be a natural and mainly positive process. He examined the committees’ links with party and state institutions in detail but gave too little attention to social tension, peasant resistance, and the mixed consequences of Soviet policy.

Another area of Berezovchuk’s work was the publication of sources. Together with T. M. Kolisher, P. K. Stoian, and V. V. Sukharyev, he edited the collection of documents and memoirs *The Party’s Support in the Countryside* (1971), devoted to CPP activity (*The Party’s Support in the Countryside*, 1971). The volume introduced national and local materials into scholarship, including memoirs of

CPP activists and party and Komsomol officials. However, the selection reflected the official Soviet view, so conflicts, abuses, and critical peasant attitudes were much less visible. The collection is valuable as a source of evidence and as an example of how the Soviet account of the CPPs was formed.

Works on historiography also occupy an important place in Berezovchuk’s legacy. When he discussed earlier and contemporary authors, he focused mainly on how fully they described the role of poor peasants and CPP participation in state policy. These texts are valuable for two reasons: they show how the subject was studied in the second half of the twentieth century and reveal the criteria Soviet historians used to define certain explanations as ideologically “correct” (Berezovchuk, 1976, p. 139).

Berezovchuk explained the emergence of the CPPs mainly through the needs of Bolshevik rural policy. This approach oversimplified differences between regions. Later research has shown a more complex combination of military, political, and socio-economic factors, as well as substantial regional variation. Berezovchuk’s conclusions are therefore important for understanding the development of CPP studies, but they must be checked against new sources and current research approaches (Hanzha, 2006, pp. 7–10; Voloshenko, 2009).

In the article “Poor Peasants’ Committees and Komnezamy of Ukraine in Historiography” (1976), Berezovchuk summarized the main Soviet approaches to the study of rural poor organizations. He aimed to organize existing research and identify directions for further work. However, he judged earlier authors mainly by whether their works agreed with official ideas about class struggle and socialist change in the countryside. The article is therefore useful both as a literature review and as an example of how Soviet historians evaluated works on this subject (Berezovchuk, 1976, pp. 137–144).

Berezovchuk made extensive use of statistics to support his conclusions. The figures he collected make it possible to trace CPP membership, organizational networks, and specific areas of activity. Yet the statistics usually confirmed his main arguments and were rarely checked critically. He did not always consider the origin and completeness of the data or the differences between official reports and local practice (Berezovchuk, 1970, p. 129).

Berezovchuk thus produced the most comprehensive Soviet account of CPP history. Its strengths were the broad source base, the organization of factual material, and close attention to institutions and organizations. However, he focused on the strengthening of Soviet power and the mobilization of poor peasants. Peasant resistance, internal conflicts within the CPPs, and conflict between the state and the countryside remained secondary.

5. M. D. Berezovchuk's Polemic with Foreign Historiography and the Use of His Works in English-Language Research

A distinctive place in Berezovchuk's work belongs to the article “Anti-Marxist American Historiography on the Activities of Rural Poor Organizations in Ukraine” (1988). In it, he argued against Merle Fainsod, Moshe Lewin, James E. Mace, and other Western authors who emphasized the coercive nature of Bolshevik agrarian policy, the social diversity of the peasantry, and the use of the CPPs as a means of control. Berezovchuk called these conclusions “bourgeois falsification” and opposed them with the thesis of an alliance between the working class and poor peasants (Berezovchuk, 1988, pp. 78–91).

This polemic was mainly ideological. Berezovchuk relied on Lenin's writings, party documents, and Soviet statistics, while considering other views and their evidence selectively. Even so, the article remains a useful source for historians. It shows which Western arguments were seen as a threat to the Soviet account of rural history in the late 1980s and reveals the limits of acceptable debate in Soviet historical scholarship.

English-language historians did not ignore Berezovchuk's works. James E. Mace's article “The Komitety Nezamozhnykh Selyan and the Structure of Soviet Rule in the Ukrainian Countryside, 1920–1933” cites several of his publications (Mace, 1983). Mace used factual information collected by the Soviet historian but explained the role of the CPPs differently. He viewed them not as an independent organization of poor peasants but as part of the system of Soviet rule that was intended to offset the regime's weakness in the countryside and enforce political control.

Later English-language historians also used Berezovchuk's works selectively. In her dissertation on rank-and-file perpetrators of the Holodomor, Daria Mattingly cites The Committees of Poor Peasants of Ukraine in the Struggle for Socialism among Soviet works that contain information on women's participation in the CPPs. (Mattingly, 2019).

The English-language studies identified here do not provide a separate, comprehensive assessment of Berezovchuk's entire scholarly legacy. Their authors referred only to individual works, statistics, and documentary selections and explained them differently

from Berezovchuk. The facts he collected have remained more valuable than his methodology.

This evidence helps define Berezovchuk's place in historiography more precisely. He worked within the ideological limits of Soviet scholarship but also collected a substantial body of evidence that English-language historians used. Citation does not mean agreement with his conclusions: contemporary scholars check, refine, and criticize them.

6. Conclusions

The analysis shows that M. D. Berezovchuk occupies an important place in the historiography of the CPPs. In his works, he organized a substantial body of archival materials, statistics, and laws and produced one of the most coherent Soviet accounts of CPP history. The broad source base and attention to institutions and organizations explain the lasting influence of his research.

Berezovchuk's views were based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. He therefore treated the CPPs as a social pillar of Soviet power, a means of political mobilization, and an agent of agrarian change. This approach helped him describe their organizational development and links with party structures in detail, but it limited his analysis of peasant interests, resistance, regional differences, and the internal diversity of poor peasants.

English-language studies show how Berezovchuk's work was later used. James E. Mace drew on the facts Berezovchuk collected but viewed the CPPs as part of the system of Soviet rule. Daria Mattingly used his monograph as a source of information on CPP membership and activity and checked it against other evidence. M. Berezovchuk gathered valuable factual evidence, which was recognized by researchers, including those abroad, but his conclusions appeared to them to be politically biased.

Berezovchuk's scholarly legacy is important for two reasons: it contains a large body of organized evidence on the CPPs and reflects the Soviet approach to their history. Contemporary scholars use his factual material selectively, refine particular points, and revise his general account of CPP activity. This critical approach makes it possible to define the place of the CPPs in Soviet governance and in changes to the Ukrainian peasantry during the 1920s and early 1930s more precisely.

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MUSIC IN THE SYSTEM OF CLASSICAL MALE GYMNASIUM EDUCATION DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

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The article examines the role of music education as a component of the educational environment of classical male gymnasiums in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, based on materials from the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District. **The purpose** of the study is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the institutional foundations of music education, the organisation of music instruction, the development of student orchestras, and the educational, cultural, and upbringing functions of musical practices. **Methods.** The study is based on a combination of general scientific and special historical methods. The historical-systemic approach made it possible to examine music education as an integral component of the classical gymnasium educational system. The historical-comparative method was employed to identify the distinctive features of music instruction in individual male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District. The historical-genetic method enabled the author to trace the evolution of music education and the activities of student orchestras throughout the period under study. The source base comprises legislative and regulatory documents issued by the Ministry of Public Education, as well as the annual reports of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District covering the period from 1889 to 1916. **Results.** The study demonstrates that, despite its optional status within the curriculum, music occupied an important place in the system of classical male gymnasium education. It identifies the principal features of the regulatory framework governing music instruction, the organisation of student orchestras, staffing arrangements, and financial support for music education. The research traces the gradual spread of orchestral performance in the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District and the expansion of student musical ensembles during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is shown that musical practices extended beyond classroom instruction to include literary and musical evenings, concerts, ceremonial academic events, charity performances, and the participation of student ensembles in the cultural life of urban communities. The analysis of concert repertoires reveals the combination of artistic, aesthetic, cultural, educational, and pedagogical functions of music, as well as its contribution to shaping the educational environment of the classical gymnasium. **Conclusions.** The study proves that music constituted an important component of the classical male gymnasium as a socio-cultural institution. It integrated curricular, extracurricular, and cultural activities, promoted aesthetic education, fostered performance skills, encouraged collaborative practices, and broadened students' cultural horizons. The proposed approach positions music education as a productive analytical lens for exploring the educational environment of male gymnasiums in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thereby contributing to a broader understanding of the organisation and functioning of the secondary education system in Dnieper Ukraine.

Keywords: history of education, Kyiv Educational District, male gymnasiums, late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dnieper Ukraine, gymnasium education, everyday life, educational process, student orchestras, cultural development.

МУЗИКА В СИСТЕМІ КЛАСИЧНОЇ ГІМНАЗІЙНОЇ ОСВІТИ НАПРИКІНЦІ XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

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У статті досліджено музичну освіту як складову освітнього середовища класичних чоловічих гімназій наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. на матеріалах чоловічих гімназій Київського навчального округу. **Мета** статті полягає у комплексному аналізі



інституційних засад музичної освіти, організації музичного навчання, розвитку учнівських оркестрів та визначенні освітніх, культурних і виховних функцій музичних практик. **Методи.** Історико-системний підхід дав змогу розглянути музичну освіту як складову цілісної системи класичної гімназійної освіти. Історико-порівняльний метод використано для виявлення особливостей організації музичного навчання в окремих чоловічих гімназіях Київського навчального округу. Історико-генетичний метод дозволив простежити еволюцію музичної освіти та діяльності учнівських оркестрів упродовж досліджуваного періоду. Джерельну основу роботи становлять нормативно-правові акти Міністерства народної освіти, а також щорічні звіти попечителя Київського навчального округу за 1889–1916 рр. **Результати.** Встановлено, що, незважаючи на факультативний статус музики в навчальних планах, вона посідала важливе місце в системі класичної чоловічої гімназійної освіти. З’ясовано особливості нормативного регулювання музичного навчання, організації учнівських оркестрів, кадрового забезпечення та фінансування музичних занять. Простежено поступове поширення оркестрового музикування в чоловічих гімназіях Київського навчального округу та розширення мережі музичних колективів наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. Показано, що музичні практики охоплювали не лише навчальні заняття, а й літературно-музичні вечори, концерти, урочисті академічні акти, благодійні заходи та участь учнівських колективів у культурному житті міст. Аналіз концертного репертуару дозволив виявити поєднання художньо-естетичних, культурно-просвітницьких і виховних функцій музики, а також її роль у формуванні освітнього середовища класичної гімназії. **Висновки.** Доведено, що музика була важливим елементом функціонування класичної чоловічої гімназії як соціокультурного інституту. Вона забезпечувала інтеграцію навчальної, позакласної та культурно-просвітницької діяльності, сприяла естетичному вихованню, розвитку виконавських навичок, формуванню культури колективної взаємодії та розширенню культурного кругозору учнів. Запропонований підхід дозволяє розглядати музичну освіту як один із інструментів дослідження освітнього середовища чоловічих гімназій кінця XIX – початку XX ст., що розширює сучасні уявлення про функціонування системи середньої освіти в Наддніпрянській Україні.

Ключові слова: історія освіти, Київський навчальний округ, чоловічі гімназії, XIX – початок XX ст., Наддніпрянська Україна, гімназійна освіта, повсякденне життя, освітньо-виховний процес, учнівські оркестри, культурний розвиток.

1. Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the classical gymnasium was one of the principal types of secondary educational institutions in Dnieper Ukraine, providing not only a comprehensive general education but also fostering the holistic development of students. Its educational model was based on the integration of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic education, reflecting contemporary European pedagogical concepts of the harmonious development of young people. Consequently, the educational process extended beyond the teaching of compulsory subjects to encompass a wide range of extracurricular activities aimed at cultivating cultural interests, artistic taste, creative abilities, and social skills.

Within this educational framework, music occupied a particularly important place, performing functions that extended far beyond those of an ordinary school subject. It constituted an integral component of the educational process, serving as a means of aesthetic development, organisation of students' leisure, and the formation of the institutional culture of the gymnasium. Learning to play musical instruments, participating in choirs and student orchestras, literary and musical evenings, ceremonial events, charity concerts, and public celebrations contributed to the development of discipline, responsibility, teamwork, and public performance skills. At the same time, musical practices became an essential element of gymnasium cultural life, integrating educational institutions into the social and cultural space of urban communities while strengthening their interaction with local society.

Despite the secondary status of music within the official curriculum, the administrations of many gymnasiums devoted considerable attention to its development by investing in musical instruments, maintaining student orchestras, remunerating music teachers, and inviting professional musicians to participate in the

educational process. This demonstrates that music was regarded not merely as an optional supplement to formal education but as an important component in shaping educated, cultured, and socially active individuals. Consequently, examining the place of music within the system of classical gymnasium education provides a deeper understanding not only of the organisation of the educational process but also of the mechanisms through which the educational environment of male gymnasiums in Dnieper Ukraine functioned during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The history of gymnasium education and music education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has attracted increasing scholarly attention over recent decades. Educational practices of the early twentieth century, particularly during the First World War, have been examined by Yu. Kramar (Kramar, 2026). In the works of L. Bobyk (Protsiv), especially those devoted to music education (Bobyk, 2024), the primary focus is placed on music schools, conservatories, and other specialised artistic institutions, whereas the functioning of music within the system of general secondary education receives only limited attention.

Another strand of historiography addresses music education in various types of secondary educational institutions. O. Semilet (Semilet, 2014) investigated the development of music education in private educational institutions of Taurida Province, focusing primarily on girls' gymnasiums and private schools. Consequently, the functioning of music in state male gymnasiums lay beyond the scope of her research. The study most closely related to the present topic is that of I. Kalinin (Kalinin, 2025), which examines music instruction in the male gymnasiums of Kyiv during the modern period. The author analyses the organisation of music instruction, the activities of music teachers, and selected aspects of student musical ensembles. However, the study is confined to Kyiv gymnasiums

and does not encompass the broader educational space of the Kyiv Educational District, which included dozens of male gymnasiums characterised by diverse approaches to organising music education.

Thus, although modern scholarship has made significant progress in exploring the history of music education, the place of music within the system of classical gymnasium education remains insufficiently investigated. In particular, the organisation of music instruction in male gymnasiums, the activities of student orchestras, the staffing and material support of music education, and the role of musical practices in both the educational process and the everyday life of educational institutions have received little scholarly attention. This research gap determines both the relevance and the scholarly novelty of the present study, which is based on materials from the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District.

The source base of the study primarily consists of the *Annual Reports of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District* covering the period from 1889 to 1916, which provide systematic information on the organisation of the educational process, the activities of student orchestras, staffing, financial support for music education, and the material resources of male gymnasiums. Equally important are the legislative and regulatory documents issued by the Ministry of Public Education, particularly the *Statute of Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums* (1871) and the *Collection of Regulations and Directives for Male Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums of the Ministry of Public Education*, which make it possible to reconstruct the regulatory framework governing music education. The incorporation of recent scholarly literature has enabled the comparison of documentary evidence with existing academic interpretations and has helped to determine the place of the present research within contemporary historiography.

The methodological framework of the study combines the historical-systemic, historical-comparative, and historical-genetic methods. Their application makes it possible to examine music education as an element of the broader system of classical gymnasium education, compare its organisation across individual educational institutions, and trace the development of student musical ensembles. The article proceeds from an analysis of the institutional framework of music education to an examination of its practical forms within the everyday life of male gymnasiums.

The purpose of this article is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the place and role of music in the system of classical gymnasium education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, based on materials from the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District. The study examines the organisation of music instruction, the activities of student orchestras, the staffing and material support of music education, and the functions performed by musical practices within the educational process.

2. Institutional Framework of Music Education

The operation of male gymnasiums in the Russian Empire, including those within the Kyiv Educational District, was regulated by the *Statute of Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums of the Ministry of Public Education* (1871) (Ustav, 1871), which established the organisational principles governing gymnasium education, defined the content of instruction, and outlined the principal directions of educational work. The educational process was further specified by the curricula and syllabi approved in 1872, which regulated the range of school subjects, their content, and their distribution across grades in accordance with the age and educational needs of students (*Sbornik postanovlenii*, 1912: 487-489). The curriculum distinguished between compulsory and optional subjects. The compulsory curriculum included Religious Instruction, the Russian and Church Slavonic languages, Russian literature, logic, Latin and Greek, mathematics, geography, physics, history, German and French, penmanship, astronomy, introductory philosophy, and military drill. Optional subjects comprised drawing, music, dancing, English, hygiene, and manual training (Ustav, 1871: 45-46). Despite its optional status, music gradually acquired a significant place within the system of classical gymnasium education, as evidenced both by official regulations and by the educational practices of the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District.

Following the designation of music as an optional subject, official regulations did not prescribe detailed procedures for its instruction, allowing individual gymnasium administrations considerable autonomy in organising music education according to their staffing capacities and material resources. Despite its optional status, the annual reports of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District demonstrate that music instruction received considerable attention in male gymnasiums. School administrations and teaching staff repeatedly emphasised that "...music is of great importance for the development of aesthetic taste" (Kalinin, 2025: 105). Accordingly, music was regarded not merely as a means of artistic development but as an integral component of the gymnasium educational system, intended to cultivate disciplined, cultured, and civically minded young people. This approach shaped the commitment of gymnasium administrations to expanding music instruction and creating the institutional conditions necessary for its effective implementation.

The organisation of music instruction in male gymnasiums reflected both students' academic workload and the material resources available to individual institutions. Initially, music was taught primarily in preparatory classes and in the first two grades. Participation declined considerably in the upper grades, largely because students had limited free time after completing compulsory lessons. Moreover, the afternoon hours allocated to music classes were not always

conducive to regular practice. Another persistent challenge was the lack of specially equipped rehearsal rooms in most gymnasiums, with music lessons often taking place in school corridors during breaks (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1891: 30-31). Despite these difficulties, gymnasium administrations sought to ensure the continuity of music instruction, recognising it as an important component of the educational process.

Student orchestras constituted one of the key institutional components of music education in male gymnasiums. Their development can be traced through the annual reports of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District, which document the gradual spread of musical ensembles throughout the district's educational institutions. By 1892, student orchestras had already been established in the Hlukhiv, Zlatopil, Kyiv Second, Kyiv-Pechersk, Lubny, Pryluky, and Chernihiv gymnasiums (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1893: 32-33). By 1894, orchestras had also been organised in the Kyiv First and Novhorod-Siverskyi gymnasiums (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1895: 42-43), while in 1896 they appeared in the First and Second Zhytomyr Gymnasiums, the Kamianets-Podilskyi Gymnasium, and the Ostroh Gymnasium (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1897: 74-76). Among these institutions, the Kyiv gymnasiums stood out for their superior musical provision, both in terms of the quantity and diversity of instruments available and the professional qualifications of their music teachers.

The further development of music education was accompanied by increasing diversity in the composition of student ensembles. In 1901, the Kyiv Third Gymnasium established a mixed string and wind orchestra, while the Cherkasy Gymnasium organised a balalaika orchestra (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1902: 179-182). Instruction in balalaika performance rapidly gained popularity owing to the affordability of the instruments, the relative ease with which they could be mastered, and their widespread use in contemporary musical culture. By 1908, balalaika orchestras involved 470 students in seventeen gymnasiums (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1909: 60-62), while by 1910 their number had increased to 623 students in twenty-three gymnasiums (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1911: 85-91). From 1909 onwards, students also began studying the mandolin, and the First and Second Kyiv Gymnasiums initiated the formation of symphony orchestras (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1913: 114). By the end of 1916, student orchestras operated in all male gymnasiums in Kyiv as well as in many other gymnasiums throughout the Kyiv Educational District.

Adequate staffing represented another essential prerequisite for the successful functioning of student orchestras. As a rule, musical ensembles were directed by bandmasters from local military regiments, whose professional training and practical experience in conducting wind and string orchestras ensured a high standard of musical instruction. To this end,

gymnasium administrations concluded agreements with military authorities, thereby securing the regular operation of student orchestras and the professional preparation of gymnasium students (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1902: 179-182). This practice demonstrates that the organisation of music education extended beyond the internal structures of educational institutions and relied upon cooperation between gymnasiums and local military establishments, which provided qualified specialists.

The functioning of music education also required stable financial support. Music teachers' salaries were financed from the special funds of individual gymnasiums and generally amounted to between one and two roubles per student per month, while the institutions themselves covered the majority of the associated expenses. For example, twenty-nine students studied music at the First Zhytomyr Gymnasium, where the institution paid the music teacher an annual salary of twenty-five roubles in addition to receiving nine roubles per student. At the Second Zhytomyr Gymnasium, where fourteen students received music instruction, the institution supplemented the teacher's remuneration by ten roubles per student (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1894: 28-30). Such a funding model demonstrates that gymnasium administrations did not merely introduce optional music classes formally but invested substantial resources in their development by maintaining music classes, supporting student orchestras, and employing qualified instructors. These measures created the institutional foundations that enabled music to become an important component of the educational process within the system of classical male gymnasium education.

3. Musical Practices and Educational Functions

The establishment of the necessary institutional conditions for music education contributed to the gradual transformation of music into an important component of the everyday life of male gymnasiums. Its functions extended far beyond classroom instruction and encompassed diverse forms of extracurricular activity that combined educational, pedagogical, and cultural-enlightenment objectives. The programme of musical training included instrumental and vocal works, excerpts from operas, overtures, choral pieces, cantatas, songs, short musical forms, elements of music theory, and folk music (Semilet, 2014: 188). At the same time, gymnasium students rehearsed musical pieces and theatrical performances presented during school and anniversary celebrations, vocal, literary and musical evenings and morning events, literary and musical gatherings, gymnastics festivals, military parades, and various public occasions. Furthermore, music teachers regularly organised public assessment concerts at which students demonstrated the results of their training and the level of their performance skills. Such events had considerable pedagogical

significance, as they contributed to the development of concert performance skills and stage culture among gymnasium students.

Literary and musical evenings, concerts, and ceremonial academic events became some of the most widespread forms through which musical practices were implemented in male gymnasiums. They were held both within and beyond the educational institution and involved students, teachers, parents, and representatives of the local community. An analysis of the reports of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District indicates that musical accompaniment was an integral part of most ceremonial events, while student orchestras and choirs regularly participated in celebrations, anniversary events, charity concerts, and literary and musical evenings. These activities extended beyond the formal educational process, transforming the gymnasium into an important centre of urban cultural life and facilitating interaction between the educational institution and the local sociocultural environment.

An analysis of the programmes of vocal, literary and musical evenings and morning events provides grounds for identifying a high level of students' musical preparation and the gradual professionalisation of musical performance. The repertoires of student ensembles were distinguished by their generic and stylistic diversity and included demanding excerpts from operas, overtures, choral works, short musical forms, cantatas, and solo instrumental and vocal pieces. Popular compositions included state anthems, various marches, the "Waltz" from the opera *Faust*, the mazurka *Chrysanthemum*, Offenbach's *The Tales of Hoffmann*, as well as arrangements of folk melodies (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1913: 114-158). The substantial volume of the repertoire points to the systematic character of musical training: in the Kamianets-Podil'skyi Gymnasium alone, students mastered approximately 130 orchestral pieces in 1899 (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1900: 138-141). This indicates a high level of student involvement in musical activities and the considerable amount of time devoted to musical training outside compulsory lessons.

The content of the concert repertoire also makes it possible to situate the musical practices of male gymnasiums within the broader context of the educational policy of the Russian Empire in the Ukrainian lands. The inclusion of state anthems, marches, and musical works associated with official ceremonies indicates that music served not only artistic and aesthetic functions but also representative and formative ones, contributing to students' incorporation into the symbolic space of the imperial state and to the formation of corresponding patterns of loyalty. At the same time, the regulatory documents and the analysed reports of the Kyiv Educational District do not indicate any institutional recognition of the Ukrainian musical tradition as an independent component of gymnasium music education. References to the performance of folk melodies likewise do not provide sufficient

grounds for identifying them unequivocally with the Ukrainian repertoire, since their ethnocultural affiliation was generally not specified in the documents. Thus, music education in the male gymnasiums of Dnieper Ukraine functioned within the framework of the imperial educational space, while the Ukrainian national musical tradition was not represented within it as a distinct, normatively defined component.

The growing popularity of musical activities indicates that music was becoming an important part of students' everyday lives. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of students wishing to learn musical instruments and participate in orchestras steadily increased. As a result, many male gymnasiums began to hold music classes three times a week, while the most committed students continued rehearsals and musical exercises even during the summer holidays (*Otchet popechitel'ia*, 1913: 127-128). At the same time, music education was not confined to the school environment. A considerable number of students further developed their performance skills at home by learning the violin, piano, or pianoforte, while some also attended music schools. These practices indicate a high level of interest in music education and demonstrate that it was perceived not merely as an optional school subject, but as an important component of students' personal and cultural development.

The analysis of musical practices in male gymnasiums demonstrates that music performed functions far broader than those implied by its formal status as an optional subject. It served as an important means of aesthetic education, the development of performance abilities, the cultivation of artistic taste, and the formation of collaborative skills. At the same time, the content of concert programmes and repertoires reflected the educational priorities of contemporary gymnasium education. Music was therefore not only part of the educational process but also an important instrument of student socialisation, integrating instruction, extracurricular activity, and cultural life within a unified educational environment.

4. Conclusions

Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, music occupied a considerably more substantial place in the system of classical male gymnasium education than might be assumed from its formal status as an optional subject. The analysis of materials from the male gymnasiums of the Kyiv Educational District demonstrates that the effective functioning of music education depended on a combination of institutional factors, including regulatory provisions, the active involvement of school administrations, appropriate staffing, financial support, and the development of a suitable material base. Together, these factors made it possible to establish a stable system of musical training that showed a consistent tendency towards expansion and further development throughout the period under study.

The study has established that music performed a range of educational, cultural, and social functions. It served not only as a means of students' aesthetic development but also as an important element in shaping the educational environment of the gymnasium. Through the activities of student orchestras and participation in concerts, literary and musical evenings, and public events, musical practices connected the educational process with the cultural life of the city. They also contributed to the development of collaborative skills, discipline, public performance abilities, and a broader cultural outlook among gymnasium students.

The findings further suggest that music education should be regarded not as an isolated component of

the curriculum, but as one of the mechanisms through which the classical gymnasium functioned as an integrated sociocultural institution. The analysis of musical practices therefore provides a deeper understanding of the organisation of the educational environment, the interaction between educational institutions and local communities, and the system of educational priorities characteristic of the classical male gymnasium in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Further research may involve a comparative analysis of musical practices in male and female gymnasiums across different educational districts, as well as an examination of the impact of the First World War on the activities of student musical ensembles.

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THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SHAPING THE URBAN SPACE OF POST-REFORM KHERSON (SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY)

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The purpose of this article is to define the institutional role of the Kherson City Duma and the city administration in shaping the urban space of post-reform Kherson based on an analysis of municipal records, as well as to analyze the mechanisms through which local self-government influenced the modernization of the city's infrastructure, socio-functional organization, and management practices, which shaped the nature of the city's urban transformations during the post-reform era. **The methodological** foundation of the study is modernization theory, which allows for the interpretation of urban self-government as the driving force behind the transition from traditional to rationalized forms of urban space management. Additionally, elements of historical-genetic and structural-functional analysis are applied, enabling the identification of interrelationships between administrative decisions, economic resources, and spatial practices of urban development. **The main focus** of the article is on the analysis of the minutes of the Kherson City Duma meetings, which reflect key areas of urban policy: the development of transportation and logistics infrastructure (cleaning the Dnipro estuaries, regulating navigation, and establishing commercial infrastructure), the modernization of public utilities (water supply, sanitation, and urban improvement), as well as the institutionalization of educational and cultural spaces (reorganization of educational institutions and support for theatrical life). Particular attention is paid to mechanisms for financing urban projects, municipal lending practices, and the city's interaction with state agencies. **The conclusions** emphasize that Kherson's municipal government served as a key institution in the modernization of the urban space, combining administrative, financial, and infrastructural tools of influence. At the same time, its activities demonstrate limited autonomy, constrained by the imperial regulatory framework, even despite the full independence granted to municipal institutions by the 1870 reform, which shaped the specific nature of urbanization processes in the southern Ukrainian region.

Keywords: municipal self-government, urban space, Kherson, Southern Ukraine, city council and administration, infrastructure.

ІНСТИТУЦІЙНА РОЛЬ МІСЬКОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ У ФОРМУВАННІ МІСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ ПОРЕФОРМЕННОГО ХЕРСОНА (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА ХІХ СТ.)

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Метою статті є визначення інституційної ролі Херсонської міської думи та управи у формуванні міського простору пореформенного Херсона на підставі аналізу матеріалів муніципального діловодства, а також аналіз механізмів впливу самоврядування на модернізацію інфраструктури, соціально-функціональної організації та управлінських практик міста, що визначили характер урбаністичних трансформацій міста пореформенної доби. **Методологічну основу** дослідження становить теорія модернізації, яка дозволяє інтерпритувати міське самоврядування як рушійну силу переходу від традиційних до раціоналізованих форм управління міським простором. Також, застосовано елементи історико-генетичного та структурно-функціонального аналізу, що забезпечує виявлення взаємозв'язків між адміністративними рішеннями, економічними ресурсами та просторовими практиками міського розвитку. **Основний зміст** статті зосереджено на аналізі протоколів засідань Херсонської міської думи, які відображають ключові напрями міської політики: розвиток транспортно-логічної інфраструктури (очищення дніпровських гирл, регулювання судноплавства, формування торгової інфраструктури), модернізацію комунального господарства (водопостачання, санітарний контроль, благоустрій), а також інституалізацію освітнього та культурного простору (реорганізація навчальних закладів, підтримка театрального життя). Особлива увага приділяється механізмам фінансування міських проєктів, практикам муніципального кредитування та взаємодії міста з державними структурами. **У висновках** підкреслюється, що



міське самоврядування Херсона виступало ключовою інституцією модернізації міського простору, поєднуючи адміністративні, фінансові та інфраструктурні інструменти впливу. Водночас його діяльність демонструє обмежену автономію, зумовлену імперською нормативною рамкою, навіть незважаючи на проголошену реформою 1870 р. повну самостійність муніципальних інституцій, що визначало специфічний характер урбанізаційних процесів у південноукраїнському регіоні.

Ключові слова: міське самоврядування, міський простір, Херсон, Південь України, міська дума та управа, інфраструктура.

1. Introduction

The relevance of this study is determined by the need for an in-depth understanding of the historical experience of urban self-government under conditions of social transformation, and of its role in shaping the urban environment. In contemporary Ukraine, which is undergoing complex processes of decentralisation, the reconstruction of territories affected by the war, and a reconsideration of local self-government models, the historical practices of urban development in earlier periods of modernisation acquire particular significance. The historical experience of shaping urban space makes it possible to identify long-term trends in the development of the urban environment, the local specifics of urbanisation processes, and the potential of municipal institutions in ensuring sustainable urban development.

The study of the activities of municipal self-government bodies in Southern Ukraine dates back to the pre-revolutionary period. The first attempts to comprehend the processes of the formation and development of urban communities, the specifics of managing municipal economies, and the functioning of municipal institutions were reflected in the works of nineteenth-century historians and local historians. A significant contribution to this field was made by A. Skal'kovs'kyi (Skal'kovs'kyi, 1836), N. Murzakevych (Murzakevych, 1893), and A. Markevych (Markevych, 1879), among other scholars, who focused on the history of settlement, administrative development, and economic assimilation of the Southern Ukrainian region. Of particular importance are their archaeographic publications, through which a substantial body of documentary material shedding light on the evolution of the urban environment, the system of local governance, and economic processes in the cities was introduced into scholarly circulation. Among the works of this period, a special place belongs to the study by D. Horlovs'kyi (Horlovs'kyi, 1896), devoted to an analysis of the activities of the Kherson City Duma during the first twenty-five years of its existence, in which the author published a number of documents that today remain of considerable importance for reconstructing the practices of municipal administration.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the attention of historians and local historians was largely concentrated on empire-wide socio-economic transformations, the activities of the zemstvo institutions, and issues of socio-political development and the revolutionary movement. Within this context, the functioning of city dumas and municipal boards was

examined only fragmentarily and predominantly as an auxiliary element of broader historical processes. Studies devoted specifically to the mechanisms of shaping Kherson's urban space, or to the role of self-government bodies in developing urban infrastructure, were virtually absent. As a result, a considerable part of the activities of municipal authorities has remained outside the scope of scholarly attention.

Another significant problem lies in the insufficient level of archival material introduced into scholarly circulation. A substantial number of documents of the Kherson City Duma and City Board were, for a long time, used only episodically, which limited the possibilities for a comprehensive study of decision-making processes, the implementation of municipal policies, and the elaboration of urban development strategies. It is therefore a pressing task of contemporary research to expand the source base through archival documents that make it possible to trace the everyday practice of municipal self-government and to reconstruct the underlying logic of urban spatial transformation.

Following the restoration of Ukraine's state independence, a noticeable revival of interest in the history of local self-government and regional urbanisation processes has been observed. This period saw the emergence of studies aimed at reconsidering the role of urban institutions in the modernisation of society and the development of the urban environment. A significant contribution to the study of the history of Southern Ukrainian cities was made by V. Konstantinova (Konstantinova, 2010), F. Turchenko and H. Turchenko (Turchenko, F., Turchenko, H., 2003), and O. Cheremisin (Cheremisin, 2025), who examined the region's urbanisation processes within the context of the modernisation transformations of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time, the activities of the Kherson City Duma as an institutional factor in shaping the urban space remain insufficiently studied.

A significant contribution to research on the activities of the Kherson City Duma was made by O. Cheremisin (Cheremisin, 2025), whose work is devoted to the source-based aspects of the functioning of Kherson's municipal self-government in 1879. The study focuses on reconstructing the everyday practices of urban institutions through an analysis of a body of documents produced by the Kherson City Duma and City Board. The author convincingly demonstrates the considerable heuristic potential of the duma's session journals and the official publications of the municipal public administration as sources for studying decision-making mechanisms, the specifics of interaction

between self-government bodies and the urban community, and the formation of a local administrative culture under the conditions of modernisation transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, Cheremisin's study did not set out to specifically analyse the role of municipal self-government bodies in shaping and transforming Kherson's urban space. The author's primary focus was on the source-studies characterisation of the documentary corpus of the city duma, the reconstruction of everyday administrative practices, and the topical problem of preserving historical documentary heritage amid the Russian-Ukrainian war, whereas the question of the influence of municipal institutions on the city's spatial development remained beyond the scope of his research.

Thus, an analysis of the existing historiography indicates that the question of the participation of municipal self-government bodies in the transformation of Kherson's urban environment during the second half of the nineteenth century has not yet become the subject of a dedicated, comprehensive study. Existing works predominantly address individual aspects of the city's history or general trends in the region's development, while the potential of archival sources and the possibilities offered by contemporary methodological approaches remain only partially utilised.

The purpose of this article is to determine the institutional role of the Kherson City Duma and City Board in shaping the urban space of post-reform Kherson, based on an analysis of municipal administrative records, as well as to analyse the mechanisms through which self-government influenced the modernisation of infrastructure, the socio-functional organisation, and the administrative practices of the city, which determined the character of urban transformations in the post-reform era.

2. Sources of the Study

The source base of the study comprises two interrelated documents: the «Pam'iatna knyha Khersons'koho mis'koho hromads'koho upravlinnia» [Commemorative Book of the Kherson Municipal Public Administration] for 1880 (State Archives of Kherson Region (DAKhO), F. 4, Op. 1, Spr. 2) and the «Zhurnal zasidan' mis'koi dumy za 1879-1880 rr.» [Journal of the Sessions of the City Duma for 1879-1880] (DAKhO, F. 4, Op. 1, Spr. 1). It is precisely these sources that make it possible to trace the institutional mechanisms through which municipal self-government bodies influenced the transformation of Kherson's urban space during the post-reform period. Whereas the first source reflects the immediate process of administrative decision-making, the course of discussions among the councillors, and the work of standing and ad hoc commissions, the second contains generalised information on the structure of municipal government, the city's financial condition,

the composition of elected bodies, the activities of commissions, and the outcomes of individual municipal projects. Taken together, these documents make it possible to examine the logic underlying strategic decision-making in the sphere of urban space.

Both documents were held in the State Archives of Kherson Region, Fond 4, Opys 1. Following the occupation of Kherson by Russian forces, a considerable part of the documentary holdings was illegally removed, which has substantially hindered researchers' access to the original materials of nineteenth-century local self-government bodies.

By origin, both documents belong to the corpus of administrative records of municipal self-government bodies and arose directly in the course of the practical activities of the Kherson City Duma and City Board. They are characterised by a high degree of authenticity, as they reflect the ongoing administrative activity of the municipal institutions without any subsequent historical interpretation or editorial reworking. It is precisely this feature that makes them exceptionally valuable for reconstructing the mechanisms of municipal self-government and the processes of administrative decision-making, for identifying the range of issues regarded as priorities by the city authorities, and for reconstructing the institutional mechanisms underlying the formulation of municipal policy.

In terms of document type, the Journal of the Sessions of the Kherson City Duma can be classified as minute-taking (protocol) documentation. The Commemorative Book of the Kherson Municipal Public Administration, by contrast, is of a generalising nature. It represents an official publication of the municipal self-government, which systematised the most important documents, reports, financial indicators, government orders, and information on the activities of municipal institutions.

With regard to authorship, the documents are of collective origin. The texts were compiled directly by municipal officials, secretaries of the City Board, and clerks, who were responsible for maintaining the minutes and preparing the printed editions. This accounts for the high degree of official character of the documents while, at the same time, imposing certain limitations, since administrative logic predominates in the presentation of the material.

Both documents cover virtually all areas of municipal self-government activity: budgetary policy, land relations, urban improvement, the development of transport infrastructure, sanitary measures, educational policy, municipal utilities, the functioning of municipal institutions, and interaction with the central authorities.

In terms of reliability, the documents display a high degree of trustworthiness. They were produced within the framework of official record-keeping and were used for the practical administration of the city; however, they did not always fully capture the discussions among

the councillors. They therefore predominantly reflect the official position of the municipal authorities.

3. The Role of Municipal Self-Government in the Development of Kherson's Urban Space

The introduction of the Municipal Statute of 1870 (*Polozhenie o gorodskom obshchestvennom upravlenii*, 1870: 395-414) constituted one of the key stages in the modernisation transformations of the empire during the second half of the nineteenth century. The reform substantially expanded the competence of municipal self-government bodies in the sphere of economic administration, urban improvement, the development of municipal infrastructure, education, healthcare, and the financial provision of urban needs. Although state administrative oversight of the dumas and boards continued to be maintained, municipal institutions were granted considerably greater scope for independent development. In the second half of the nineteenth century, city dumas gradually became important agents of urban modernisation, acting as the initiators of infrastructural projects, sanitary reforms, educational transformations, and urban improvement measures.

These processes were particularly evident in the cities of Southern Ukraine, whose development took place under conditions of rapid economic growth, the expansion of trade relations, and the region's integration into international markets. The formation of new transport communications, the development of port facilities, population growth, and the increasing complexity of urban infrastructure all necessitated new models of managing urban space. Under these conditions, municipal self-government bodies increasingly functioned as institutions determining the strategic directions of cities' spatial development.

Kherson, as one of the leading administrative and commercial-port centres of Southern Ukraine, fully participated in these modernisation processes. Materials of the Kherson City Duma indicate that, as early as the late 1870s, the municipal authorities were actively intervening in shaping the urban space through the implementation of sanitary measures, the development of water-supply systems, the modernisation of port infrastructure, support for educational institutions, the regulation of land relations, and the creation of new public spaces. It is precisely for this reason that an analysis of the city duma's activities makes it possible to trace the mechanisms through which local self-government was transformed into one of the key factors of urban modernisation in post-reform Kherson.

Throughout the first half of 1879, one of the central areas of activity of the Kherson City Duma was the ordering of the urban environment through the implementation of a set of sanitary and hygienic measures. The impetus for intensifying this work came from the empire-wide policy of combating epidemic diseases; however, in Kherson's case, the sanitary reforms

acquired a considerably broader significance, becoming part of the process of modernising the urban space. As early as the duma's first session on 8 February 1879, a decision was taken to establish a permanent sanitary commission and to allocate 2,000 roubles for measures aimed at improving the urban environment. It is worth noting that, in addition to councillors from the City Board, the commission also included police and medical officials, which indicates the gradual formation of an inter-institutional system for managing the urban space. The very fact of establishing a separate, specialised commission demonstrates a shift from situational responses to sanitary problems towards the formation of a permanent mechanism for monitoring the state of the urban environment (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 8-12).

Particularly indicative was the programme of sanitary improvement for Kherson considered by the duma on 14 February 1879. It provided for the effective zoning of the city's territory by dividing the city into two sanitary-administrative districts and establishing a system of permanent supervision over their condition. In our view, the introduction of special sanitary inspectors is indicative of the formation of new administrative practices for monitoring the urban environment. At the same time, the programme envisaged the organisation of an ordered system for the collection, transportation, and disposal of waste, the designation of specific sites for the storage of refuse, construction debris, and manure, and the arrangement of designated areas outside residential development. In effect, this can be regarded as the formation of elements of spatial planning, whereby different parts of the city were assigned specific economic functions and subordinated to a unified system of control.

The resolution of problems relating to the functioning of slaughterhouses was likewise an important component of the modernisation of the urban space. This issue was addressed at the session of 20 February 1879 and illustrates the gradual shift from private and semi-private practices of livestock slaughter towards the creation of specialised municipal infrastructure. The existing slaughtering establishments were deemed not to meet sanitary requirements and to have a negative impact on the condition of the municipal slaughterhouses funded from the city budget. In this case, one can discern a tendency characteristic of the era of modernization - namely, the concentration of potentially hazardous production functions in specially designated spaces under the control of the municipal authorities (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 18-26). We therefore consider that the contemporary authorities regarded the slaughterhouses as an instrument for ordering the urban environment and improving the city's sanitary condition.

One of the most large-scale directions in the transformation of the urban space was the resolution of water-supply problems. The discussion at the duma's

session of several water-supply system projects indicates that the municipal authorities were aware of the strategic importance of creating a centralised system for supplying the population with water. The proposed projects envisaged the construction of pumping stations and water-purification reservoirs, the laying of a network of cast-iron pipes along the city's central thoroughfares, and the creation of a system of public water-collection points. It is particularly important to note that the introduction of the water-supply system altered the spatial organisation of the city. It raised the sanitary standards of the built environment and created preconditions for the further expansion of the city's territory. In this context, the water-supply system served as one of the key instruments of the modernisation of Kherson's urban space.

Questions concerning the development of transport and port infrastructure likewise occupied a fairly important place in the *duma's* activities. In March 1879, the municipal authorities allocated additional funds to complete works on clearing and deepening the mouths of the Dnieper. This decision was of strategic importance for Kherson's functioning as a major commercial centre. The improvement of navigation ensured the city's integration into Black Sea and empire-wide trade networks, contributed to the growth of trade turnover, and expanded the economic functions of the urban space. At the same session, the *duma* also resolved to deploy the specialised vessel *Dnipro* and to establish a police-and-pilot post. Taken together, these measures indicate the formation of a complex system aimed at ensuring the stable functioning of a transport hub of international significance (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 36-44). It may be argued here that the city *duma* was, in effect, investing in the development of the city's transport framework, which is one of the fundamental hallmarks of urban modernisation in the second half of the nineteenth century.

An analysis of the decisions adopted indicates that the municipal authorities were increasingly moving beyond the performance of purely administrative functions towards the implementation of a comprehensive policy of modernising the urban environment. One of the principal directions of this activity was the transformation of sanitary infrastructure, since epidemic threats were a widespread phenomenon throughout the Black Sea region, prompting the self-government bodies to develop new elements of the urban medical sphere. For instance, at the session of 12 March 1879, the city *duma* considered the establishment of a special isolation facility for potential victims of infectious disease. On the instructions of the City Board, a separate building was leased to house a quarantine hospital. In our view, this may indicate the emergence of new functional facilities within the structure of the urban space. In effect, this represented the institutionalisation of sanitary control and the formation of a distinct medical segment of urban infrastructure,

intended to protect the population under conditions of epidemic danger.

The development of the city's sanitary space was accompanied by an active search for financial mechanisms to implement modernisation projects. This was particularly evident in discussions concerning the construction of the water-supply system and the improvement of city streets. At one session, it was announced that the Ministry of Internal Affairs had declined to provide a state loan for the construction of the water-supply system and the laying of granite paving. Despite the lack of support from the central authorities, the city *duma* did not abandon these projects. On the contrary, the very framing of the issue indicates that water supply and the improvement of the road network were regarded by the authorities as necessary components of a modern urban environment (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 52-64). It may therefore be argued that the city's spatial development depended entirely on the initiative of local institutions and their capacity to mobilise financial resources.

It is notable that the modernisation policy of the self-government bodies was not confined to a single category of issues. An important place among the projects under discussion was occupied by the idea of constructing a new theatre. Within the context of shaping the urban space, this subject acquires particular significance, since it concerned the creation of new public spaces for cultural communication. The municipal authorities regarded the theatre as an important element of the infrastructure of a modern city, one that was expected to foster the cultural integration of the population and the formation of an urban identity. Accordingly, in our view, the development of theatrical infrastructure may be considered a component of the symbolic ordering of the urban space and the formation of new models of a specifically urban way of life. However, the proposed initiative extended well beyond the construction of a single public building. The concept developed by the commission envisaged the creation of an integrated cultural and recreational complex, to include the theatre, the buildings of the city club, and Pavlivs'kyi Park. Of particular significance was the decision to transfer the park for use by a public organisation while retaining the population's right of free access to the greater part of the territory. The users were assigned obligations regarding the maintenance and further improvement of the green space. In this way, the city *duma* acted as an institution shaping a public space intended for leisure, cultural life, and the social communication of the city's inhabitants.

Support for maritime education was likewise an important component of the city's spatial modernisation. The Kherson *duma* paid considerable attention to the activities of the navigation classes, which trained qualified personnel for the merchant and maritime fleet. Support for this educational institution extended

beyond the bounds of local educational policy, since it had a direct bearing on the city's economic specialisation and its role within the system of Black Sea transport communications. In this context, the development of educational infrastructure formed part of a broader strategy of modernising the urban space, oriented towards strengthening Kherson's port functions and its integration into international trade networks.

The materials of the eighth session of the Kherson City Duma, held on 21 June 1879, attest to a further expansion of the functions of the self-government bodies and to the gradual transformation of the дума into a leading institution of urban modernisation. Whereas issues of sanitary safety and anti-epidemic measures had predominated at the beginning of the year, by the summer of 1879 long-term infrastructural and social projects aimed at enhancing the city's competitiveness and improving the quality of the urban environment occupied an increasingly prominent place in the activities of the municipal authorities (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 65-70).

One of the central areas of activity remained ensuring the functioning of transport and communication infrastructure, on which the economic development of Kherson as a major port centre of Southern Ukraine directly depended. The дума paid particular attention to works on clearing and deepening the mouths of the Dnieper. The documents indicate that the implementation of this project required substantial financial resources, amounting to 8,000 roubles, which were used in full for hydro-engineering works and the repair of specialised equipment. Despite the city's difficult financial situation, the дума agreed to continue funding the works and to appeal to the central authorities for additional support.

At the same time, the documents demonstrate the gradual formation of a new administrative culture. The дума required the preparation of detailed reports on the technical results of the works carried out, the volume of funds expended, and the prospects for the project's further implementation. Such a practice attests to the spread of the principles of rational administration and bureaucratic modernisation characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century. Municipal self-government relied increasingly on financial calculations, technical expertise, and a system of reporting, which was consistent with general trends in the modernisation of municipal administration in European cities.

The session materials convincingly demonstrate that the self-government bodies regarded the system of public education as one of the key instruments of the city's social modernisation. Particular attention was devoted to the funding of schools located in the Voiennyi and Zabalkivs'kyi suburbs (forshtady). Following the zemstvo's refusal to participate in funding these educational institutions, the city дума assumed the additional expenditure itself. In our view, this decision attests to the growing responsibility of the municipal authorities for

the development of the city's peripheral districts and their integration into a unified social space of Kherson (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 70-74).

It is notable that the additional funds were directed primarily towards the educational institutions of the outlying districts, where the less affluent segments of the population resided. In this respect, self-government effectively functioned as an instrument for the social levelling of the urban environment. Educational policy was regarded as an important mechanism for integrating the population into modern urban society.

Of particular interest is the project to reorganise the Kherson Parish School and to establish a new girls' public school in the Pivnichnyi forshtadt. An analysis of the documents indicates that the municipal authorities sought to optimise the territorial distribution of these institutions in accordance with the needs of the population. A survey conducted by the City Board revealed an uneven distribution of access to education across different parts of the city. It was for this reason that the Pivnichnyi forshtadt was chosen as the site for the new school. This district was characterized by a high concentration of poor residents and an insufficient provision of educational institutions (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 1: 76-82).

The second half of 1879 was dominated by the central theme of the construction of the municipal water-supply system. In our view, the concentration of attention on this particular issue may indicate that the self-government bodies already regarded water supply as a necessary condition for sanitary safety. The дума initiated negotiations with the Ministry of Finance regarding the duty-free import of up to 25,000 puds of equipment and materials required for the construction of the water-supply system. At the same time, preparation began on a concession agreement with the Vadon brothers, which, in our view, resembles the use of public-private partnership mechanisms in resolving municipal problems.

The formation of a new municipal financial policy was an important manifestation of modernisation activity. Owing to the limited nature of current budgetary resources, the дума turned to seeking long-term credit mechanisms. To finance infrastructural projects, it was planned to secure a loan of 400,000 roubles against the security of municipal lands through the Kherson Zemstvo Bank. Of particular significance is the fact that the city's land fund was regarded as an economic asset capable of attracting investment. To this end, the municipal authorities initiated the preparation of a copy of the plan of the city lands, the completion of the necessary land-survey procedures, and the acquisition of the official documents required to formalise the security (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 2: 8-12).

At the same time, the materials of the water-supply commission may also attest to the spread of new administrative practices. Particularly indicative is the involvement of the engineer Lev Veishtok in preparing

the project. His communications to the duma demonstrate that, in the consideration of infrastructural projects, technical expertise, competition among contractors, and economic calculations were assuming ever greater importance. In effect, municipal self-government was beginning to apply the principles of competitive selection and professional project evaluation, which was a characteristic feature of modern municipal administration.

The session of 2 November 1879 was of particular significance, as it attested to the expansion of the self-government bodies' competences well beyond the bounds of traditional municipal economy. Symptomatically for present-day Kherson as well, the question arose of publishing a history of Kherson prepared by Lurchenko. In this instance, the municipal authorities acted as an agent in the formation of historical memory and local identity. Support for the publication of the city's history attests to a gradual recognition of the importance of historical narrative as a significant element of urban development and civic self-identification (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 2: 16-22). In effect, the self-government bodies participated in constructing the image of Kherson as a distinct urban community possessing its own historical past.

The Ministry of Finance's decision to grant the city a loan of 150,000 roubles against the security of municipal lands proved exceptionally important for the implementation of the modernisation programme. This decision simultaneously demonstrates both the financial capacities of the self-government and the limits of its autonomy. On the one hand, the city duma gained access to substantial investment resources for implementing the water-supply project. On the other hand, the very mechanism of borrowing attested to the continued dependence of local self-government on central governmental institutions. The implementation of large-scale infrastructural projects remained impossible without the sanction of the imperial administration.

The further development of this trend can be traced at the session of 12 November 1879, when practical preparations for the construction of the water-supply system began. Of particular significance was the involvement of the military engineer Khainovs'kyi in conducting a technical survey of the city and preparing the corresponding project documentation. In our view, this approach reflects the role, characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century, of the military engineering corps as one of the principal bearers of technical expertise. The self-government actively drew on state technical capacity in order to implement its own modernisation plans (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 2: 28-67).

Equally indicative was the establishment of a special water-supply commission. Its creation may attest to the further specialisation of municipal government and the formation of an increasingly complex system of decision-making. Large-scale infrastructural projects required the establishment of separate working bodies

with clearly defined functions, although the councillors themselves were also actively involved in the commission's work (DAKhO. F. 4. Op. 1. Spr. 2: 72-84).

4. Conclusions

The analysis of the materials of the sessions of the Kherson City Duma for 1879 makes it possible to conclude that, under the conditions created by the implementation of the Municipal Statute of 1870, the self-government bodies were gradually transformed from institutions responsible for routine economic administration into an important institution of the socio-economic modernisation of the urban space. The documents convincingly demonstrate the expansion of the functional scope of the duma's activities, which increasingly intervened in the sphere of engineering infrastructure, transport communications, medicine, education, culture, and financial administration. In practical terms, this manifested itself through the implementation of large-scale projects for the construction of the water-supply system, the improvement of navigation at the mouths of the Dnieper, the reform of the educational network, support for maritime training, and the introduction of new mechanisms of urban improvement. It may therefore be concluded that the city duma became the principal coordinator of modernisation projects aimed at adapting Kherson to the new economic and social challenges of the second half of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, the materials examined make it possible to trace the specific features of the functioning of municipal government within the imperial administrative system. Despite the substantial expansion of the competence of the self-government bodies, their activity remained closely tied to state structures and dependent on governmental decisions. The implementation of the most large-scale processes required obtaining ministerial approval, securing state loans, coordinating financial operations, and drawing on the technical expertise of representatives of the central authorities. It was precisely this interaction that determined both the possibilities and the limits of the modernisation activity of the Kherson City Duma, which was continually compelled to seek a balance between its own economic needs and the regulatory constraints imposed by state administration.

At the same time, it should be concluded that the activity of Kherson's self-government reflected broader processes of the modernisation of urban space in Southern Ukraine. A new administrative culture gradually took shape, grounded in the principles of rational planning, financial calculation, technical expertise, and institutional specialisation. The establishment of specialised commissions, the development of long-term infrastructural programmes, the introduction of sanitary-inspection systems, the involvement of private capital, and the use of competitive mechanisms in the implementation of municipal projects all attest

to the emergence of modern practices of governance at the local level. In this context, the Kherson City Duma emerges as a coordinator of modernisation processes,

whose activity contributed to the city's gradual transition towards a more complex system of modern municipal administration.

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THE IMAGE OF DRONES AS A SYMBOL OF RUSSIA'S ONGOING TERROR IN KHERSON THROUGH THE LENS OF ORAL HISTORY

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The purpose of this article is to reconstruct the image of drones as one of the key symbols of Russia's ongoing terror against the civilian population of Kherson during the post-occupation period, based on oral history materials. The study aims to identify the characteristics of individual and collective perceptions of unmanned aerial vehicles in the minds of the city's residents, analyze their place within everyday wartime experience, and identify the main conceptual images through which the civilian population interprets the constant threat of aerial attacks by Russian forces. Particular attention is paid to the transformation of the perception of drones from a technical means of warfare to a symbol of total control, constant danger, technological exhaustion, and the destruction of familiar patterns of everyday life. **The study's methodology** draws on the principles of oral history, using semi-structured in-depth interviews as the primary method for documenting the individual experiences of war eyewitnesses. The source base consists of interviews with residents of Kherson, recorded during the post-occupation period from December 2025 to June 2026. The analysis employed methods of oral history interpretation, historical-comparative, historical-anthropological, and historical-psychological methods, which enabled a comprehensive analysis of the empirical material, the identification of recurring semantic patterns, and the reconstruction of the collective image of drones in the everyday consciousness of the civilian population. **The article argues** that the image of the drone in the respondents' accounts goes far beyond its perception as a type of modern weaponry. Respondents attest to the formation of a complex, multi-layered system of perceptions, within which the drone emerges as a mechanism of constant aerial surveillance, a means of personalizing violence, an instrument of selective persecution of the civilian population, and a factor in the transformation of everyday practices. Central to the consciousness of most respondents is the image of the drone as a "hunter" carrying out the practice of so-called "human safaris"; however, the analysis revealed that this image is only one component of a much broader system of perceptions regarding Russian terror. Alongside this image, the drone emerges in respondents' narratives as a symbol of modern warfare, a source of fear and psychological pressure, an instrument of surveillance and control, a distinctive everyday sound signalling danger, and a marker of constant exhaustion and tension. **The conclusions** argue that the image of the drone in the collective memory of residents of post-occupation Kherson has become one of the most important symbols of modern Russian terror, embodying the experience of constant danger.

Keywords: oral history, Kherson, drone, terror, everyday life, war, historical memory.

ОБРАЗ ДРОНОВ ЯК СИМВОЛУ БЕЗПЕРЕРВНОГО РОСІЙСЬКОГО ТЕРОРУ ХЕРСОНА КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ УСНОЇ ІСТОРІЇ

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Метою статті є реконструкція образу дронів як одного з ключових символів безперервного російського терору цивільного населення Херсона у післявоєнний період на основі матеріалів усної історії. Дослідження спрямоване на виявлення особливостей індивідуальних і колективних уявлень про безпілотні літальні апарати у свідомості мешканців міста, аналіз їхнього місця у структурі повсякденного досвіду війни та визначення основних смислових образів, через які цивільне населення інтерпретує постійну загрозу російського повітряного насильства. Особлива увага приділена трансформації сприйняття дронів від технічного засобу ведення бойових дій до символу тотального контролю, постійної небезпеки, технологічного виснаження та руйнування звичних моделей повсякденного життя. Методологічну основу дослідження становлять принципи усної історії,



що базуються на використанні напівструктурованого глибинного інтерв'ю як основного способу фіксації індивідуального досвіду очевидців війни. Джерельну базу формують інтерв'ю з мешканцями Херсона, записані у післякупаційний період з грудня 2025 р. до червня 2026 р. У процесі аналізу застосовано методи усної історичної інтерпретації, історико-порівняльний, історико-антропологічний, історико-психологічний методи, що дозволили здійснити комплексний аналіз емпіричного матеріалу, простежити повторюваність окремих смислових конструкцій та реконструювати колективний образ дрона у повсякденній свідомості цивільного населення. У статті доводиться, що образ дрона у розповіді респондентів виходить далеко за межі його сприйняття як одного з видів сучасного озброєння. Респонденти засвідчують формування складної багаторівневої системи уявлень, у межах якої дрон постає як механізм постійного повітряного контролю, інструмент персоналізації насильства, засіб вибіркового переслідування цивільного населення, фактор трансформації повсякденних практик. Центральне місце у свідомості більшості опитаних посідає образ дрона як «мисливця», що реалізує практику так званого «сафарі на людей». Однак, проведений аналіз показав, що цей образ є лише одним із компонентів значно ширшої системи сприйняття російського терору. Поряд із ним виокремлюються образи дрона як символ сучасної війни, небезпеки, страху, персоналізованого мисливця, психологічного тиску, тригерний звук, визначальник повсякденності, «влади», інструменту виснаження, створення напруженості. У висновках обґрунтовується, що образ дрона у колективній пам'яті мешканців післякупаційного Херсона перетворився на один із найважливіших символів сучасного російського терору, який концентрує у собі досвід безперервної небезпеки.

Ключові слова: усна історія, Херсон, дрон, терор, повсякденність, війна, історична пам'ять.

1. Introduction

The relevance of this study stems from the need for a comprehensive understanding of the transformation of everyday life for Ukraine's civilian population in the context of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, which has shaped a new historical experience of living under a constant aerial threat – a phenomenon requiring academic research based on authentic oral history sources. Most contemporary studies focus on the military-technical, security, military-political or international legal aspects of the use of unmanned aerial vehicles. Their perception by the civilian population as a symbol of everyday Russian terror has not yet been the subject of an independent historical analysis. Oral history, in particular, makes it possible to reconstruct the mechanisms behind the formation of collective perceptions, the transformation of spatial and behavioural practices, changes in patterns of everyday life, and the process by which the drone acquires symbolic meaning in residents' minds. Kherston holds particular academic value: following its de-occupation, the city became a site of prolonged, systematic drone terror carried out by Russian forces against the civilian population.

In these circumstances, the image of the drone takes on a historical significance of its own, embodying notions of constant aerial surveillance, personalised violence, uncertainty, the erosion of private space and the transformation of everyday life. It is for this reason that the study of the image of the drone through the prism of oral history establishes a new field of historical research, whilst also creating a new body of sources for investigating the mechanisms of Russian terror against the civilian population and its reflection in historical memory.

The historiography of this field is still taking shape, but though it already includes several significant contributions. For example, the article by O. Muraviov, I. Dovbysh, R. Halagan, G. Bohdan and A. Momot presents a comprehensive analysis of current trends in the development of unmanned aerial vehicles from the perspective of the technical sciences. The authors focus primarily on the improvement of navigation

systems, the application of artificial intelligence, computer vision, multispectral scanning, LIDAR and swarm interaction algorithms, and on increasing the autonomy of unmanned platforms. Considerable attention is paid to promising areas of UAV application in the military sector, agriculture, cartography, territorial monitoring and other fields, whilst the main technological challenges associated with the creation of fully autonomous unmanned systems are also outlined. At the same time, the study reflects a trend characteristic of contemporary historiography, which tends to view drones primarily as objects of technical refinement and tools for performing specialised functions, whilst neglecting their social, anthropological and historical dimensions. The authors do not address the impact of the systematic use of unmanned aerial vehicles on the daily lives of civilians, which highlights one of the significant gaps in current research [Muraviov, Dovbysh, Halagan, Bohdan, Momot, 2023: 199–205].

The research by Yu. Ivanenko, O. Liashenko and T. Filimonchuk, which analyses methods of UAV control, plays an important role in the study of modern unmanned aerial vehicles. The authors have systematised the main approaches to the design of control systems for unmanned platforms, examined the architecture of their operation, the characteristics of autonomous, navigational and automatic control systems, and outlined the prospects for the development of intelligent flight control algorithms. Considerable attention is paid to mathematical models, the principles of designing on-board navigation systems, the use of satellite technologies, automatic decision-making tools and elements of artificial intelligence, which ensure the increasing autonomy of unmanned aerial vehicles. Overall, the research focuses entirely on the engineering and technical aspects of UAV operation, treating them as complex technical systems and objects of automatic control [Ivanenko, Liashenko, Filimonchuk, 2023: 26–30].

V. Samoulenko's article examines the specific features of deploying autonomous unmanned systems, equipped with optoelectronic navigation systems, for the performance of tasks by units of the National Guard

of Ukraine in modern combat conditions. The author focuses primarily on the technical aspects of enhancing UAV autonomy, the issue of their resilience to electronic warfare measures, the specifics of their operation in dense urban environments, and the prospects for using opto-electronic navigation as an alternative to satellite positioning systems. A significant part of the study is devoted to analysing the tactical advantages of autonomous unmanned systems for conducting reconnaissance, monitoring and providing intelligence support for military operations, as well as summarising the experience of their use in modern armed conflicts. At the same time, the work considers drones exclusively as a component of military-technical infrastructure and a tool for enhancing the effectiveness of combat operations, whilst disregarding their impact on the civilian population [Samoulenko, 2023: 83–91].

A significant contribution to the development of the theoretical foundations for research into unmanned aviation was made in an article by S. Mosov, V. Khyzhniak, A. Lytovchenko and D. Yadchenko, which focuses on the classification, functions and tasks of unmanned aviation in the field of civil protection in Ukraine. The authors carried out a comprehensive analysis of existing approaches to the classification of unmanned aerial vehicles, proposed adapting the current regulatory classification to the needs of the State Emergency Service of Ukraine, and systematised the main functions of UAVs in the field of civil protection, in particular monitoring, reconnaissance, search and rescue operations, firefighting, cargo transport, communication relay and the management of the consequences of emergencies. The scientific value of the study lies in its attempt to formulate a comprehensive concept for the use of unmanned aviation outside the military sphere and to substantiate the regulatory and methodological foundations for its operation within the civil protection system. At the same time, the authors consider UAVs exclusively as a technological tool for supporting the activities of rescue services [Mosov, Khyzhniak, Lytovchenko, Yadchenko, 2021: 54–68].

Studies focusing on the application of oral history methodology to document the Russian-Ukrainian war and preserve local historical memory occupy an important place in contemporary historiography. First and foremost, it is worth noting the work of H.M. Mykhailenko, which focuses on preserving the memory of Kherson's fallen soldiers as a factor in the formation of local identity. The researcher convincingly demonstrates that oral history serves as an effective tool for recording individual testimonies, reconstructing local historical experience and establishing a source base for preserving collective memory of the contemporary war. The author substantiates the significance of oral history interviews as a mechanism for documenting personal experiences, local practices of remembrance and the creation of long-term archives of testimonies, which enable future historical

reconstruction of events. Overall, it should be noted that the use of oral history in research into the contemporary history of Kherson has already become a distinct field of academic study, with the greatest intensity of such research focusing specifically on documenting the period of the city's occupation in 2022 [Mykhailenko, 2025: 39–52].

A distinct strand of contemporary historiography is represented by works devoted to the public perception of the Kherson region in the context of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war. In this context, the study by S.K. Kostyuchkov deserves attention; he analysed the process of shaping the territory's political brand through the mass media, using Kherson and Chornobaivka as examples. The author examines the mechanisms for constructing a contemporary symbolic image of the region in the information space, demonstrating how the events of the war, civil resistance and media representation are shaping the new political identity of the Kherson region and its perception within Ukrainian and international public discourse. This work is important for understanding the processes of symbolisation in modern warfare; however, the main focus is on the political-communicative and media dimensions of regional brand formation [Kostyuchkov, 2023: 101–107].

An analysis of the scholarly literature shows that contemporary historiography is characterised by intensive research into the technical characteristics of unmanned aerial vehicles, the improvement of their control systems, the expansion of their functional capabilities, the specifics of their combat use, regulatory frameworks, and their application in the fields of civil protection and infrastructure monitoring. At the same time, the vast majority of existing works treat the drone as a technological or military-applied tool, neglecting its historical-anthropological and socio-cultural dimensions. The processes by which the image of the drone is formed in the minds of the civilian population, the transformation of everyday practices under the influence of an immediate aerial threat, the mechanisms by which UAVs are symbolised as instruments of Russian terror, and their place within the structure of individual and collective memory remain under-researched. There is a lack of comprehensive historical studies, based on oral history materials, which would enable the reconstruction of how drone terror is perceived by direct eyewitnesses and analyse it as a distinct phenomenon of everyday experience in modern warfare. This gap in the scholarship defines the focus of the present study.

The aim of this article is to reconstruct the image of drones as one of the key symbols of Russia's ongoing terror against the civilian population of Kherson during the post-occupation period, based on oral history sources. The study aims to identify the characteristics of individual and collective perceptions of unmanned aerial vehicles in the minds of the city's

residents, analyse their place within the structure of everyday wartime experience, and identify the key conceptual images through which the civilian population interprets the constant threat of Russian aerial violence. Particular attention is paid to the transformation of the perception of drones from a technical means of warfare to a symbol of total control, constant danger, technological and psychological exhaustion, and the disruption of familiar patterns of everyday life.

The methodological basis of the study is oral history, which enables the documentation and interpretation of eyewitnesses' individual experiences of historical events.

Oral history has long occupied an important place within historical scholarship and has been successfully applied to the study of various historical periods and social transformations. It has become particularly widespread in the study of the 1932–1933 Holodomor, the events of the Second World War, the Holocaust, the war in Afghanistan, the Orange Revolution, the Revolution of Dignity, and the current Russian–Ukrainian war, primarily in the context of documenting the experiences of ATO/OOS veterans and the civilian population. Alongside its development, oral history has built a solid methodological framework. For example, H. Hrinchenko substantiated the crucial importance of the interconnection between memory, thought and individual experience in oral history research, treating the oral history interview as an independent social fact [Hrinchenko, 2012]. The fundamental theoretical and methodological foundations of oral history and the specific features of using interviews as a historical source were also developed in the works of L. Ballard [Ballard, 2007].

T. Tkhorzhevskaya made a significant contribution to the development of the Ukrainian school of oral history with her work on the urbanisation of Odesa in the 1950s–1980s, in which the author analysed the formation of the discourse of the ‘other’ within the processes of urban modernisation [Tkhorzhevskaya, 2022]. The theoretical work of earlier scholars convincingly demonstrates that oral history is one of the most effective tools for reconstructing historical memory, everyday experience and socio-cultural transformations, particularly in cases where official documentary sources do not allow for a full reconstruction of the individual dimension of historical events. This is why oral-history methodology is particularly well suited to researching the contemporary experiences of the civilian population of Kherson, who continue to live under conditions of unceasing Russian drone terror.

The research is based on the principles of voluntary participation by respondents, informed consent, confidentiality and the psychological safety of interviewees. The field research methodology involves the use of semi-structured interviews, combining the structure of a questionnaire with the opportunity for respondents to freely develop their own narratives

and provide as complete a reconstruction of their life experiences as possible. To this end, a questionnaire was developed, comprising nine thematic sections and containing 61 questions. The first section is devoted to recording the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and carrying out all necessary procedures for obtaining informed consent. Respondents were given the option of either using their real name or remaining anonymous. All confidential responses are marked ‘pseudonym’. The second section concerns the reconstruction of everyday life for the population of Kherson amidst constant artillery shelling and drone attacks. The third section focuses on documenting everyday practices developed in conditions of constant danger. The fourth section is devoted to the psychological aspects of experiencing war, the recording of emotional states, traumatic experiences and mechanisms of psychological adaptation. The fifth section covers an assessment of the activities of state authorities and local government. The sixth section focuses on researching the transformation of the city's social environment, practices of mutual aid and the role of voluntary work. The seventh section is reflective in nature and provides respondents with the opportunity to reflect independently on their experiences of the war. The eighth section has been specifically designed to document personal experiences of Russian drone attacks against the civilian population. The final, ninth section provides a space for free reflection on the respondent's future plans and those of Kherson.

At the time of writing, 37 in-depth oral history interviews, ranging in length from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours, had been conducted. The respondents included 21 women and 16 men aged between 18 and 74. The sample aimed for maximum social and geographical representativeness, which made it possible to include representatives of various age, occupational and social groups living in all administrative districts of Kherson. All interviews were recorded using digital recording equipment. The audio recordings were transcribed, organised and catalogued in an electronic archive, whilst preserving the respondents' own style of expression. Particular attention was paid to recording the empirical material as fully as possible, including detailed recollections, emotional reactions and reflective interpretations of their experiences. This approach reflects the unique value of the resulting body of sources, which documents the testimonies of people who continue to live under conditions of systematic drone terror. This is what gives the resulting oral history materials their exceptional value as a source for researching the everyday reality of the current Russian-Ukrainian war, the mechanisms by which the civilian population adapts to conditions of continuous violence, and the processes of forming a collective memory of the experiences endured.

The interviews were analysed using thematic coding, the identification of recurring semantic patterns,

a comparative analysis of individual narratives, and the reconstruction of key imagery characterising the civilian population's perception of drone terror.

2. The image of the drone as the primary symbol of ongoing Russian terror in the testimonies of Kherson residents

An analysis of oral history testimonies shows that, in the post-occupation period, the drone became one of the central and primary symbols of Russian terror against the city's civilian population. The unmanned aerial vehicle emerged as a cohesive symbol of the constant presence of war, personalised violence, total aerial control and a profound transformation of everyday life. Whilst in the respondents' accounts artillery shelling is predominantly perceived as an extremely destructive but phased form of violence, with distinct moments of "launch", "arrival", "explosion" and consequences, the drone is described primarily as a prolonged, mobile, unpredictable and psychologically personalised threat. According to I. Kravchenko, "*artillery is now a wave and a strike*", whereas "*drones are anticipation*"¹. These formulations highlight a fundamental difference between two forms of wartime experience: artillery is associated with the moment of physical impact, whilst a drone is associated with a protracted state of tense anticipation of a possible attack. This duration of waiting, the inability to pinpoint the exact moment of danger, and the sense that the attack might be directed at a specific individual make the image of drones particularly significant in the respondents' memories.

In the testimonies of Kherson residents, the drone threat was described in interviews with varying degrees of emotional intensity; however, the overall logic of perception remained the same: the drone has taken on the characteristics of an independent symbol of a terrorist-ridden everyday life. Some respondents use the term "*human safari*" to explain the image of the drone and drone-based terror. For example, according to V. Melikhova's account, "*it all started around 2025 – the safari. An active one*", and she goes on to clarify explicitly, "*it's a kind of safari, a hunt for people*". In this example, the image of the drone takes on its most radical meaning, when it is interpreted as an instrument for the targeted persecution of civilians. Overall, in some of the accounts, the drone emerges as a structural factor in a new reality, replacing the sensory, spatial, behavioural and psychological mechanisms of adaptation employed by civilians.

Part of this image is the notion of the drone as a hunter, drawing in part on the concept of a "*human safari*". It should be noted, however, that this model is present to varying degrees of explicitness. For example,

in V. Melikhova's narrative, this idea is formulated as clearly and conceptually as possible: "*safari*", "*hunting humans*". In T. Cherkashyna's work, this concept is not articulated as a "*safari*", yet the descriptive logic fully corresponds to this concept: "*the drone flies and ... it searches for a target. A car, a person, a group of people, a house or a courtyard where there is someone alive*". In O. Chupikova's account, the image of a "*safari*" takes on a theoretical framework, because, in addition to clearly articulating the term "*safari*", she also discusses the source of this image – the film by the American journalist Zarina Zabryski, "*Kherson. Human safari*": "I myself attended one of the premieres. Zarina Zabryski presented her film "*Kherson. Human safari*". We watched this film in the basement, and I know that, apart from the fact that this film was presented and screened, there are also some performances and events taking place there"².

To understand this, it is important to note that the term 'human safari' itself is not of local origin. It was introduced from outside by the director of a documentary film that was shown to the public; however, this metaphor has gained widespread recognition and has come to function as an established way of conceptualising Russian tactics involving the use of FPV drones against the civilian population. Therefore, in my view, "*human safari*" should be understood as one of the local linguistic representations of the broader concept of the "*hunter drone*", which dominates the majority of the interviewees' accounts. Whilst the image of the "*hunter drone*" manifests itself to a greater or lesser extent in all respondents, only 6 out of 37 respondents – that is, just 16 % – explicitly use the expression "*human safari*" to explain the concept.

It is noteworthy that none of the respondents who used the term "*safari*" explained its meaning or connotations in their accounts, as they assumed that their interlocutor understood exactly what was being referred to. This suggests that this category is gradually entering common usage in local discourse and is becoming one of the social markers used to describe Russian drone terror.

Equally telling is O. Chupikova's mention of watching a documentary in a cellar. The term "*cellar*" itself took on special significance during the occupation. Cellars were associated primarily with places of unlawful detention, torture, and physical and psychological violence against pro-Ukrainian residents, including educators. In the collective memory of the city's residents, the concept of the "*basement*" became one of the symbols of the terror of occupation, as noted by the Brazilian researcher Vicente Ferraro [Ferraro, Lotta, Honchar, 2026: 1-18]. Following de-occupation, the semantics of this space underwent

¹ Кравченко Іван, 1995 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область. Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 13 грудня 2025 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

² Чупикова Ольга Василівна, 1974 року народження, с. Антонівка, Херсонська область. Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 11 грудня 2025 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

a significant transformation and reinterpretation. Amid systematic artillery shelling and, in particular, the widespread use of drones, the basement lost its significance as a place of repression and took on the meaning of a space of refuge, shelter and collective survival. Many respondents noted that people in Kherson are currently gathering mainly in basements. There, they wait out the shelling, continue their cultural life, and hold community events, film screenings, meetings, public discussions and so on.

Of particular interest are the accounts of O. Kirpukhin, which illustrate how the civilian population has developed a unique form of empirical technical expertise regarding the operational characteristics of Russian drones. The respondent notes: “*I now try to go out more in the evening. A friend of mine told me that if you want to avoid drones, you should go out at dusk, because the drones don’t have time to switch from day to night mode*”¹.

Regardless of the extent to which this view fully corresponds to the technical specifications of specific drone models, its very existence is significant, as it indicates that, in the context of prolonged drone terror, the civilian population is beginning to accumulate and disseminate practical knowledge about the functioning of the enemy’s weapons, transforming this into advice for day-to-day survival.

Therefore, the analysis suggests that the image of the drone as a hunter is corroborated by the majority of testimonies, though it manifests itself in varying degrees: ranging from the direct description of a “*human safari*” to indirect accounts of pursuit, surveillance, target acquisition and a person’s attempts to remain undetected.

This range of manifestations is significant in itself, as it does not reduce the entire image of the drone solely to the “*safari*” formula. Rather, the “*hunter drone*” constitutes the central core of a broader symbolic complex. In the respondents’ minds, it combines several interrelated characteristics: the ability to see a person from above, the possibility of selecting a specific target, the unpredictability of the moment of attack, the psychological effect of pursuit and destruction, and the sense of the randomness of death. In many accounts, an artillery shell remains impersonal. It may or may not hit its target; it may destroy a house or fly past. A drone, by contrast, is psychologically perceived as something that “*sees*”, “*searches*”, “*descends*”, “*attacks*” and “*drops its payload*”.

In this context, the personalised nature of drone terror takes on particular significance. Respondents repeatedly emphasise that the fear of drones differs from the fear of artillery, precisely because of the sense that the threat is directed at them personally. Objectively,

artillery may cause more destruction; however, subjectively, drones are perceived as more frightening precisely because of the personalised nature of the threat. According to I. Kravchenko, a drone represents “*anticipation*”; as T. Cherkashyna recounts, a person hopes that “*this drone simply didn’t notice, flew past, didn’t pay any attention*”. Therefore, throughout the testimonies, the main psychological aspect of drone terror is the fear of being spotted, singled out and attacked.

At the same time, the image of the drone is shaped by its ability to subjugate everyday life. In the respondents’ accounts, ordinary activities of civilian life – going to the shop, visiting the post office, walking the dog, waiting for transport, being in the courtyard, carrying things – lose their neutral character and become risky practices. In many accounts, the drone erodes the boundary between war and civilian routine, and danger becomes embedded in the very fabric of everyday life.

Furthermore, an analysis of the documented testimonies shows that the image of the drone as a hunter – which is central to most respondents’ perceptions – represents only the first level of understanding of contemporary Russian terror. A much deeper analysis of the narratives reveals that this image is undergoing further evolution in the minds of Kherson’s residents. The drone is taking on the characteristics of a personalised pursuer, conducting individual surveillance of a specific person. This aspect, in my view, constitutes one of the fundamentally new characteristics of modern warfare – one absent from previous academic research. Whilst artillery or aviation have historically been associated with the mass destruction of territory, the FPV drone, in the minds of civilians, personifies individualised violence, because a specific individual has become the target of the war.

Almost all respondents use roughly the same vocabulary, typical of descriptions of a living being: “*sees*”, “*hovers*”, “*looks*”, “*noticed/did not notice*”, “*searches*”, “*hunts*”, “*catches up*” and so on. This vocabulary shows that respondents are describing the conscious behaviour of a specific entity. This suggests that collective consciousness already attributes anthropomorphic qualities to the drone. The impression is that the drone behaves as if it were independently making decisions regarding a specific victim.

This process is particularly evident in the account given by Zh. Dotsenko. Describing her first direct encounter with a drone, she said: “*I first saw a drone when we were packing humanitarian aid*”, and later added: “*...everyone froze, staring and staring at that drone whilst it flew about going about its business*”². In everyday language, the expression “*was off doing*

¹ Кирпукhin Олександр (псевдонім), 2002 року народження, м. Херсон. Інтерв’ю проводив О. Черемісін 01 червня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

² Доценко Жанна Іванівна, 1981 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область. Інтерв’ю проводив О. Черемісін 07 січня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

his own thing” is usually used to describe a person who is going about their own business or pursuing their own aims. The application of this phrase to a UAV suggests a – perhaps unconscious – anthropomorphisation of the drone. In the respondent’s perception, the drone has taken on the characteristics of an independent entity with its own behaviour, flight path and logic of action.

A similar pattern can be observed in the accounts of other respondents when they describe the drone’s behaviour using phrases such as *“the drone has already spotted you and that’s it; in other words, it sees that you are a target for it, and it is already hunting you down”*. The logical structure in this example follows the sequence: spots, sees, identifies a person as a target, hunts.

Thus, respondents effectively reconstruct the operational algorithm of an FPV drone as a sequential process of detecting, identifying, tracking and targeting a specific individual. At the same time, the drone is imbued with anthropomorphic characteristics in the unconscious collective perception of Kherson’s residents. This anthropomorphisation that is one of the key elements in shaping the overall image of the UAV. A civilian interacts with a drone that hovers overhead, changes course, pursues, circles and carries out an attack. As a result, the drone becomes the primary embodiment of Russian violence in the respondents’ everyday experience, and its image naturally transforms into a personalised image of a hunter who is purposefully searching for and pursuing a specific person.

Similar points can be seen in the account of S. Vorobyov¹, about seeing the drone: *“I saw it, quickly ran back into the hairdresser’s, and said to the girls: “Girls, there’s a drone up there”*”.

These examples are significant in that they draw a distinction between different models of warfare. Model No. 1 involves coordinate-based strikes, where the target is an area (for example, a street, a neighbourhood or buildings). Model No. 2 involves the active search for a specific individual. The very concept of ‘hovering’ indicates the presence of a deliberate process of selecting a victim. Similarly, according to T. Cherkashyna’s testimony, *“the drone is flying and ... it’s looking for a target. A car, a person, a group of people”*. It is worth noting here that in this list, a person is placed on a par with other objects as a fully valid target option.

It is significant that this personalisation is also evident in the behavioural reactions of the respondents themselves, as their accounts reveal a shift in their survival strategies. Whilst during artillery shelling the main priority is to leave the danger zone as quickly

as possible or take cover, when a drone appears, the primary concern becomes the desire not to be spotted. According to T. Cherkashyna’s account, *“very often, when you hear the sound of a drone, you really hope that you haven’t been seen”*. In this example, the respondent is not concerned with the force of the explosion or the direction of the drone’s movement; what matters to her is not being seen. Visual contact, therefore, is perceived here as the main dividing line between safety and danger.

Tellingly, the figure of the drone operator is almost entirely absent from these accounts, and, psychologically, the drone itself that becomes the main perpetrator of the violence. Given that the operator is virtually absent from the testimonies, this pattern is unsurprising, since the drone is what civilians come into direct contact with. This is precisely why, in oral history, the drone is portrayed as an independent participant in the hostilities, giving the impression that it acts autonomously and independently.

Changes in urban behaviour are directly linked to these aspects. The respondents’ accounts reveal the emergence of a new culture of concealment, as people seek to disappear from view. For all respondents, the city’s architecture begins to serve as a series of hiding places. Trees, buildings, arches, balcony recesses and building entrances are transformed into means of visual concealment. Consequently, the war has influenced the formation of a new way in which people interact with their surroundings, and this has been a direct consequence of drone warfare.

An equally important aspect of personalisation is the shift in the perception of death and the very image of death itself. Comments from respondents such as *“once you hear it, there’s nowhere to run”* or *“it started to descend and was heading straight towards me”* indicate an extremely high level of personal threat. Death is now perceived as the result of a specific victim’s personal choice, although when asked, *“Did you ever think, “I might not survive this?”*”, far from everyone answered in the affirmative; the majority said they tried not to think about it.

In this context, the pattern of the drone hovering deserves particular attention, as it recurs with considerable frequency in many testimonies: *“hovering”, “circling”, “hanging”, “waiting”*. In my view, these moments should be interpreted as an effect of psychological pressure. It is as if the drone is assessing the situation. Consequently, the pause between its appearance and a potential attack becomes one of the most powerful factors in psychological dominance.

Consequently, the respondents’ general perception of the drone as a hunter is gradually transforming into a far more complex image of a personal pursuer. This characteristic, in particular, sets modern drone terror apart from other forms of military violence. Respondents describe the drone in virtually identical and unanimous terms as an entity that observes, assesses,

¹ Воробійов Сергій Олександрович, 1979 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область. Інтерв’ю проводив О. Черемісін 09 січня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

tracks, waits for, searches for and pursues a specific person or vehicle. As a result, a fundamentally new model of interaction between civilians and war has emerged: people have ceased to perceive themselves as random victims of war and have begun to see themselves as potential targets of individual selection. This process of personalising violence constitutes one of the most significant features of the drone's image in the collective memory of post-occupation Kherson's residents. It also lays the groundwork for broader interpretations in which the drone functions as a specific form of control over civilians' everyday lives.

3. Drone terror in everyday life

Generally speaking, in the collective imagination of Kherson's residents, drones go far beyond the immediate use of military force. They have come to play a role in a kind of surveillance over the city's everyday life. The very presence or absence of a drone determines whether the simplest civilian activities can be carried out, and this has a significant impact on the behaviour of ordinary people. It is telling that virtually none of the respondents describe their own daily lives as being free from the threat of drones. In most interviews, decisions regarding any activity are made only after assessing the situation in the air. According to T. Cherkashyna, reports of drones *“are the only thing that can alter our movements, or indeed whether we leave the house at all”*, and when information about their activity is received, it *“forces us either to seek shelter or simply to change the direction in which we are travelling”*. What is revealing in this example is the general pattern of how daily life is organised. Therefore, the presence or absence of a drone determines which route a person will take and whether they will be able to go about their daily business. In effect, a situation arises where the freedom of civilian movement is subordinated to the operational logic of Russian drones.

A similar pattern can be observed in most of the interviews. For example, according to I. Kravchenko, *“routes have changed completely”*, and people are travelling *“only along tried and tested routes”*. According to E. Konovalova, once drones have entered her neighbourhood, any sense of relative safety disappears, and *“movement has been reduced to a minimum”*¹. According to L. Dvornikova, even a simple trip to the post office or a shop can be a very frightening and dangerous experience: *“I'm now trying to go to the shops that are closer to home. And I make sure there's a road running between the houses, so there's no open space. At the moment, whilst there are no leaves on the trees, it's quite scary. But once*

*the leaves come out, I'll be able to hide under the trees”*². You can simply forget about taking a leisurely stroll through the city's parks or public gardens. Urban space is beginning to function according to the logic of the drone threat and aerial surveillance. Unfortunately, the drone has become the defining factor in the new geography of everyday life, and those who survive are precisely those who adhere to established methods of living in such an environment, moving under cover and at the highest possible speeds.

Whereas in peacetime the organisation of the city was determined by transport accessibility, under conditions of drone terror the main criterion has become the level of potential vulnerability to an air attack. According to respondents, the areas near Dnipro, Kindiyka, Ostriv and Richport have effectively been excluded from the system of everyday travel because of the high activity of drones. Particularly telling in these accounts is the specification of streets where there is nowhere to hide, as the area is assessed on the basis of maximum vulnerability. For each respondent, their living space has been reduced as much as possible to a few relatively safe routes. It is therefore entirely fair to speak of a complete reorientation of urban space in the minds of civilians.

At the same time, the acoustic dimension of this image deserves particular attention. A comparative analysis of eyewitness accounts suggests that sound has become one of the main vehicles of drone terror. Whereas in the traditional wars of the past the civilian population reacted first and foremost to explosions, in modern warfare the characteristic whirring of a drone has become the primary warning signal. Y. Kalinichenko recalls: *“I was once walking to work from the bus stop, having got off the minibus, when a very loud sound came from the sky near the Central Market area. The sound of a drone – it's like an old, rattling moped, the kind you can sense just by the sound. So I looked up, but I couldn't see it anywhere. The sound was very loud, but it wasn't visible”*³. Other respondents emphasised that at first this sound was unfamiliar, but over time they began to recognise it *“from the very first second”*. According to V. Melikhova, at first *“you hear only the sound, and you start looking up”*. I. Kravchenko recounted: *“I heard a distinctive sound, one I already knew and had heard before, and saw the drone hovering. Right above my head, you might say”*. According to V. Kolisnyk, it is the buzzing itself that triggers an immediate psychological reaction: *“Trembling and, let's say, a racing heart – it really does happen – and you immediately start figuring*

¹ Конавалова Євгенія Володимирівна (псевдонім), 1980 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 15 травня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

² Дворнікова Лариса Миколаївна, 1980 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 02 квітня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін.

³ .Калініченко Юлія Віталіївна (псевдонім), 1976 року народження, м. Херсон, Херсонська область Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 15 грудня 2025 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін

out where to run and where those around you are. Of course, it's better in summer – there's foliage on the trees. And you can immediately work out which building entrances are open – unfortunately, not all of them – where you can take cover. I'm glad when an entrance is open; my wife and I can dash in there, or you might run to a shop – the shop's always open"¹. Consequently, the sound of a drone has gradually taken on a symbolic meaning of its own. Over time, it has become a kind of acoustic marker of mortal danger. What is significant in this regard is that many respondents identified the sound itself as the trigger, whilst in response to the question *"What helps you to calm down?"* they answered *"music"*. This combination suggests the emergence of a new type of sensory dimension to war. An analysis of most of the interviews shows that living for long periods under the constant threat of drone attacks forces civilians to develop fundamentally new skills for perceiving their surroundings. People gradually learn both to recognise a sound within a second and to automatically interpret it as a signal to change their behaviour immediately. Many respondents noted that they now listen out for everything, are always looking both upwards and down at their feet, and, if danger arises, instantly decide where the nearest hiding place is. Over time, sensory orientation becomes second nature, and a person is able to orient themselves simultaneously in both air and ground space. It can therefore be said that drone terror has forced a change in the way the environment is perceived.

In this context, the perception of the open sky takes on particular significance, as it is from there that potential danger arises. Respondents often noted that when a person hears a drone, they feel as though they are being targeted, that they could be seen, and that there is no place where they are completely safe. Surveillance is carried out from the air; it is from there that control is exercised and force may potentially be used. It is important to emphasise here that the enemy's control of airspace often leads to a real possibility of an attack. This potential is what creates a mechanism of psychological pressure. Therefore, psychological control should be added to the list of key mechanisms of terror, as it is fundamentally impossible to predict the behaviour of a drone and the operator controlling it.

In this context, it is worth noting that whilst an artillery strike ends with the explosion, a drone continues to monitor the area even after a direct hit. It can observe what happens after the explosion – how people move their belongings and clear up the aftermath – it can coordinate subsequent artillery strikes, and afterwards, finish off any survivors itself. It hinders the

evacuation of the wounded, lies in wait for the State Emergency Service and medics, and strikes at them; it prevents the provision of aid and the restoration of normal life for residents. This is why the terror can be described as having taken on a protracted, ongoing nature.

Consequently, the impact of drones on everyday life is at its greatest; people are unable to distinguish between times of war and times of relative calm. The use of FPV drones has virtually eliminated this distinction. Everyday life is entirely dictated by the presence or absence of a drone in the air.

Attention should also be paid to the transformation in the organisation of time in people's lives. In the vast majority of interviews, respondents already describe their day in terms of drone activity. The chronology of daily life boils down to constantly checking notifications about drone activity; walking the dog is automatically accompanied by an assessment of sounds in the air; even a trip to the shop is regarded as a *"risky"* act. Consequently, the logic of time boils down to expressions such as *"Groundhog Day"*, in which everything repeats in a vicious circle from which it is simply impossible to escape.

In this context, the phenomenon of the automation of behavioural responses is worth noting. Almost all respondents emphasise that, in the early days of FPV drones, they did not yet have established behavioural patterns; consequently, there were instances where they simply watched the drone, trying to work out what it was, not yet knowing how to react. However, over time, experience accumulated and led to the development of almost automatic response patterns. People learnt to react to the situation as it arose: instantly changing their route, running for cover under trees or into a building entrance. Consequently, these behavioural responses have become integrated into the realm of everyday reflexes. But what is most striking is that the respondents do not describe their daily lives as anything out of the ordinary. Every day, they live in confined spaces, change their routes, seek shelter, experience fear when they hear the sound of a drone, and listen out for sounds – yet they do not perceive this as anything extraordinary. This suggests that the respondents have integrated psychological trauma into the structure and logic of their daily lives, turning the process into a routine. For them, it is a normal daily routine that has become the norm.

This routine nature of everyday life highlights an important pattern regarding changes in the behaviour of the entire urban community – one evident in almost all the interviews. Furthermore, a complex system of mutual information-sharing and mutual aid is taking shape. This manifests itself through alerts about the appearance of drones via specialised Telegram channels, with information on their location becoming a vital resource for survival.

¹ Колісник Віктор Вікторович, 1966 року народження, м. Дніпро, Дніпропетровська область. Інтерв'ю проводив О. Черемісін 24 січня 2026 р. Дешифрував аудіозапис та створив транскрипт О. Черемісін

4. Conclusions

A comprehensive analysis of oral history accounts leads to the conclusion that the image of the drone, as shaped by the collective experience of residents in post-occupation Kherson, cannot be reduced to a single characteristic or a single metaphor. Despite the unquestionable dominance of the ‘hunter’ image and the concept of a “*human safari*” – which do indeed form the central core of most interviews – the empirical material reveals a significantly more complex structure to this phenomenon. In the minds of the respondents, the drone has gradually transformed into a multidimensional symbol of modern Russian terror, simultaneously combining military, social, psychological, spatial, temporal and cultural dimensions. This multi-layered nature is one of the most important features recorded in the oral history testimonies. Respondents almost never describe the drone solely as a technical means of attack. On the contrary, each subsequent account complements the previous one, forming an ever-expanding system of interrelated symbolic meanings.

In this context, I consider it fundamentally important that the image of a “*human safari*”, which is widely used in public discourse today, only partially reflects the substance of the collective experience. Undoubtedly, a certain proportion of respondents directly or indirectly endorse precisely this model of perception, and this is confirmed in the interviews. At the same time, the oral history materials demonstrate that the residents themselves interpret the role of drones in their own lives in a much broader sense. For them, the drone is a constant companion in everyday life, a spatial regulator, an acoustic symbol of war, a mechanism of destruction, a means of psychological pressure, and the materialised embodiment of the enemy hovering over the city. That is why, in my view, reducing the image of the drone solely to the concept of a ‘safari’ inevitably narrows the rich empirical material contained in the oral history interviews.

It is particularly noteworthy that, for most respondents, there is a gradual shift in the focus of their perception of the war. Whilst at the initial stage of the full-scale invasion the main symbols of the war were the occupation, Russian checkpoints, military equipment or massive artillery strikes, after de-occupation, the drone came to occupy a dominant place in the structure of everyday wartime experience.

At the same time, it should be noted that the image of a drone is shaped as an integrated system of everyday experience. As a result, most respondents make almost no distinction between descriptions of continuous attacks and accounts of everyday life. A trip to the shop, walking the dog, waiting for the bus, travelling by minibus, stepping out into one’s own courtyard, helping neighbours after shelling – all these ordinary civilian activities are described through the prism of the possibility of a drone

appearing. In effect, the war has completely permeated the fabric of everyday life. This points to a fundamentally new form of wartime experience, in which the war has become so deeply integrated into ordinary life that it no longer exists separately from it. People have learnt to recognise the sound of a drone in a split second, identify its model, automatically assess the urban landscape, change their route, hide from surveillance, make quick decisions, and constantly monitor both the air and the ground. All this constitutes life in a new reality, where adaptation has become the result of long-term social and psychological consequences. And in this life, the “*drone*” has become an integral symbol, uniting the physical, psychological and social dimensions of modern warfare. This complexity is what distinguishes the use of drones from traditional military technology, which is usually associated with swift death.

By synthesising the oral history materials collected, it is possible to propose a theoretical model of the structure of the image of the drone in the everyday experience of Kherson’s civilian population. Its universal element is the image of the drone as a hunter, which personifies terror and creates a sense of individual persecution. At the same time, only some of the respondents verbalise this image through the local concept of a “*human safari*”. Despite the relatively small number of direct references, it is telling that respondents use this expression without further explanation, indicating that it has become firmly established in the linguistic landscape of Kherson as a clear symbol of the targeted hunting of the civilian population.

The second level forms an anthropomorphised image of the drone, which, in the respondents’ minds, takes on the characteristics of an autonomous entity capable of carrying out individual surveillance, pursuit and the selection of victims. This anthropomorphisation reinforces the image of the drone as a hunter, conveying a sense of a targeted (personal) threat.

The third level presents the drone as a symbol of aerial power, which regulates freedom of movement, controls urban space, determines the feasibility of everyday practices, and exerts psychological pressure. The fourth level presents the drone as an acoustic symbol of war, altering the sensory perception of the surrounding world and triggering automatic behavioural responses. The fifth level is represented by the image of the drone as a symbol of unceasing Russian terror, which integrates all the previous components into a single system of everyday experience. In my view, this multi-layered nature most fully reflects the findings of this study.

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THE CONCEPT OF “LOCAL AUXILIARY POLICE” IN THE REICHSKOMMISSARIAT “UKRAINE” IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE: TERMINOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION

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The purpose of this study is to provide a systematic analysis of the concept of the “local auxiliary police” in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” (hereinafter – RKU) within contemporary historiographical discourse, to identify its main structural characteristics, and to provide a theoretical justification for its use as a generalized historiographical category in the study of the Nazi occupation regime of 1941–1944. The **methodological framework** is based on general scientific and specialized historical methods, including the comparative-historical, structural-functional, and terminological methods. The comparative-historical method was employed to compare different scholarly approaches to defining local police formations. The structural-functional method was used to identify the organizational, personnel, and functional characteristics of the local auxiliary police. The relationship between historical concepts and their historiographical interpretations was examined through terminological analysis. The **scientific novelty** of the study lies in the theoretical analysis of the organizational, legal, personnel, and functional characteristics of local police formations in the RKU. The **main outcome** of the study is the formulation of a generalized historiographical category of “local auxiliary police” that may serve as an effective analytical tool for studying the Nazi occupation regime. The **conclusions** demonstrate that, despite differences in the authorities responsible for their establishment, official designations, and organizational structures, local police formations shared common principles of recruitment, subordination, and formally defined functions. The attributes “local” and “auxiliary” characterize the territorial principle of recruitment and the institutional dependence of these formations on the German occupation authorities.

Keywords: local auxiliary police, Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”, Hilfspolizei, Schutzmannschaft, local police formations, occupation administration, historiographical discourse, terminology, Nazi occupation regime.

ПОНЯТТЯ «МІСЦЕВА ДОПОМІЖНА ПОЛІЦІЯ» РАЙХСКОМІСАРИАТУ «УКРАЇНА» У СУЧАСНОМУ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ: ПРОБЛЕМИ ТЕРМІНОЛОГІЇ ТА ТЕОРЕТИЧНОГО ОБГРУНТУВАННЯ

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Метою статті було визначено проведення системного аналізу поняття «місцева допоміжна поліція» Райхскомісаріату «Україна» (далі – РКУ) у сучасному історіографічному дискурсі, визначення його основних структурних ознак та теоретичне обґрунтування можливості використання у якості узагальнюючої історіографічної категорії при вивченні нацистського окупаційного режиму 1941–1944 рр. Методологічною основою дослідження виступали загальнонаукові та спеціальні методи, такі як історико-порівняльний, структурно-функціональний і термінологічний. На основі історико-порівняльного методу було зіставлено різні наукові підходи до визначення місцевих поліційних формувань. Через структурно-функціональний метод визначалися організаційні, кадрові та функціональні характеристики місцевої допоміжної поліції. Співвідношення між історичними поняттями та їх історіографічними інтерпретаціями встановлювалось на основі термінологічного методу. Наукова новизна полягає у теоретичному аналізі організаційних, нормативних, кадрових та службових характеристик місцевих поліційних формувань РКУ. Результатом роботи є сформований узагальнюючий термін «місцева допоміжна поліція», який може стати ефективним інструментом у вивченні нацистського окупаційного режиму. У висновках доведено, що місцеві поліційні



формування, незважаючи на їх різну суб'єктність створення, офіційні назви та організаційну структуру, мали єдині підходи до комплектування, підпорядкування та службового призначення. Прикметники «місцева» та «допоміжна» характеризують територіальний принцип формування та залежність від німецьких органів влади.

Ключові слова: місцева допоміжна поліція, Райхскомісаріат «Україна», допоміжна поліція, охоронна поліція, місцеві поліційні формування, окупаційна адміністрація, історіографічний дискурс, термінологія, нацистський окупаційний режим.

1. Introduction

Problem Statement. Over the past several decades, the reconstruction of the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine during 1941–1944 has become one of the most dynamic areas of research in Ukrainian historiography. The substantial expansion of the source base through the introduction of archival documents into scholarly research, the active development of studies of the everyday life of local communities, the functioning of military and civil occupation administrations, collaboration, and the Holocaust have significantly deepened scholarly understanding of the functioning of German administrative and police structures in occupied Ukraine. Local police formations became one of the key components of the occupation regime. Despite their official “auxiliary” status, they played an important role in implementing the policies of the occupation authorities throughout the territory of the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” (RKU) and in various spheres of occupation administration.

The aim of this article is to provide a systematic analysis of the concept of the “local auxiliary police” in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” (RKU) within contemporary historiographical discourse, to identify its main structural characteristics, and to provide a theoretical justification for its use as a generalized historiographical category in the study of the Nazi occupation regime of 1941–1944.

Developing clear definitions of this concept will help eliminate terminological inconsistencies, facilitate the correlation of historical concepts with their historiographical interpretations in contemporary historiographical discourse, and contribute to the development of a unified theoretical and methodological approach to studying the specific features of local police structures within the Nazi occupation regime.

The methodological framework of the study included general scientific and specialized historical methods, including the comparative-historical, structural-functional, and terminological methods. The comparative-historical method was used to compare different scholarly approaches to defining local police formations. The structural-functional method was employed to identify the organizational, personnel, and functional characteristics of the local auxiliary police. The relationship between historical concepts and their historiographical interpretations was examined through terminological analysis.

Analysis of Research. The establishment, transformation, and functioning of local police structures within the occupation apparatus have been examined by O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2005, 2011a, 2011b; Honcharenko et al., 2014), I. Dereiko (Dereiko,

2012), S. Stelnykovich (Stelnykovich, 2016), D. Sytnyk (Sytnyk, 2024), I. Kovalchuk (Kovalchuk, 2018), Yu. Radchenko (Radchenko, 2024), and M. Urakin (Urakin, 2025). These studies have made a significant contribution to the development of contemporary Ukrainian historiography on the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine during 1941–1944.

European and North American scholars have also made a substantial contribution to the study of this issue. Among the most significant works are those of Martin Dean (Dean, 1996, 2000, p. 64–73), Alexander Statiev (Statiev, 2010), Aviel Roshwald (Roshwald, 2023), Wendy Lower and Ray Brandon (Brandon & Lower, 2008), John-Paul Himka (Himka, 2021), Dieter Pohl (Pohl, 1997), Frank Grelka (Grelka, 2005), Johannes Spohr (Spohr, 2022), Thomas Sandkühler (Sandkühler, 2020), and Christian Schmittwilken (Schmittwilken, 2024).

Although a substantial body of scholarship has examined various aspects of local policing in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”, contemporary historiographical discourse still lacks a unified conceptual framework for defining these structures. Scholarly literature employs such terms as “Ukrainian police”, “auxiliary police”, “local police”, “local auxiliary police”, “Schutzmannschaft”, “security police”, and “police formations”, sometimes using them interchangeably. At the same time, these terms may refer to historical concepts that differ substantially in meaning, while the processes of establishment, transformation, and institutional integration of local police structures operating in Nazi-occupied Ukraine are not always taken into account.

This lack of terminological consistency can be explained not only by the complexity of the process through which local police formations were established in the summer of 1941 and subsequently transformed following the establishment of the RKU’s civil administration but also by the specific features of German administrative and legal practice and the use of different official designations in contemporary documentary sources. An additional difficulty arises from the uncritical transfer of historical terms, including official German terminology, into contemporary historiographical discourse. Such an approach may lead to excessive fragmentation of the subject of research and obscure the common organizational and functional characteristics of different local police formations.

2. Official Legal and Regulatory Narrative

The conceptual reconstruction of the notion of “local auxiliary police” requires the development of

a scholarly model of the corresponding institution within the Nazi occupation regime. “Local auxiliary police” is a contemporary generalizing concept used in contemporary scholarship addressing the occupation regime in the territory of the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” (RKU). At the same time, this concept was never used in German occupation legal and administrative practice. Most of the key concepts used to characterize the German occupation regime are generalized analytical constructs developed for the purposes of scholarly inquiry. They should therefore be treated primarily as analytical tools rather than as categories whose application is constrained by secondary terminological distinctions.

When relying on official organizational and legal terminology, researchers encounter a multiplicity of designations for the relevant police structures, which may lead to their treatment as separate institutional entities. This, in turn, creates difficulties in reconstructing their practical functioning. There is therefore a need to develop a model that would allow the various local police formations of the RKU to be analyzed within a single conceptual framework. Exceptions may include specialized and departmental police formations that also operated within the territory of the RKU. These included the fire police, railway police, water police, the SD Criminal Police, and several police battalions established within the territory of the RKU. At the same time, in terms of their jurisdiction and service functions, the railway and water police also closely resembled local police formations of the RKU. There is also evidence of attempts to establish an auxiliary border police in Ukraine whose task was to guard the border with Romania (Honcharenko, 2011a, p. 392).

3. Main Criteria for the Analytical Parameters of the Formation of the Concept of “Local Auxiliary Police”

In light of the circumstances outlined above, an integrative approach should be employed to develop a single generalizing concept as an analytical tool for understanding the occupation past of 1941–1944. At the same time, the specialized police formations mentioned above, namely the SD Criminal Police, as well as departmental police formations, should be excluded from this concept.

The main criteria defining the analytical parameters for studying the specific features of the functioning of local police structures include: chronological boundaries and the actors responsible for initiating their establishment; official designations; the subordination of the occupied territories to the German provisional military administration or the civil administration of the RKU; the legal and regulatory basis for their establishment, or the absence thereof; formally defined service functions and their actual implementation; the voluntary or coercive nature of recruitment;

chain of command; the predominant composition of personnel; the presence of a vertical administrative structure; and the powers and professional and legal status of personnel.

Accordingly, the concept of “local auxiliary police” should be defined using organizational, personnel, legal, and functional analytical parameters. At the same time, contradictions between historical concepts and historiographical concepts must also be taken into account. Thus, German original documentation employs institutional and organizational designations whose key attributes include “Ukrainian,” “auxiliary” (*Hilfspolizei*), and *Schutzmannschaft*. Yet even at this level, discrepancies can be observed between the regulations adopted by the German authorities and the official designations of police units actually used in practice. Quite often, such attributes as “auxiliary” or “security” were not used in contemporary practice. Most designations referred exclusively to the territorial location of the units – district or municipal – while also emphasizing the “Ukrainian” affiliation of the police units. The designation “people’s” was also used quite frequently (Honcharenko, 2011, p. 392). Thus, even at the level of historical terminology, its lack of consistency can be observed.

The establishment of police formations in Ukraine occupied by the Wehrmacht began as early as the initial stages of the invasion. The actors involved in their establishment included representatives of the German military commandant’s offices, cells of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) “marching groups,” and initiative groups representing the local population. Quite often these three groups coordinated their respective organizational efforts, although the final decision was made by the German side. The military authorities were not consistent in their decisions and therefore frequently revised them.

Each of the actors involved in initiating the establishment of police formations pursued its own interests. The heads of military commandant’s offices needed to maintain public order, organize transportation and the operation of industrial and municipal infrastructure, register the population, control its movements, and perform other related tasks. Since they lacked sufficient resources of their own, military administrators initiated the establishment of the relevant law-enforcement structures (Honcharenko, 2006c).

Representatives of the OUN “marching groups” of both factions – the Bandera and Melnyk factions – pursued their own political interests, viewing local police formations as a foundation for the future armed forces of an independent Ukrainian state. Taking advantage of a period of relatively conflict-free coexistence with the German military authorities, they succeeded in establishing the relevant police formations (Honcharenko, 2006b). The establishment of these formations involved distinctive electoral procedures in which the local population also participated. However,

the personnel of the police formations had to be approved by higher-ranking bodies of both the German and local authorities (Honcharenko, 2008b).

The initiative to establish police formations could also originate from the local population, particularly during periods of a “power vacuum,” when Soviet authorities had withdrawn but the German military administration had not yet managed to consolidate its control. Such initiatives by the local population were prompted by the disorganization of the administrative system during the first months of the war, the withdrawal of Red Army units, and the deterioration of the security situation.

In the summer of 1941, there were also attempts to establish police authorities at the oblast level. The initiative came from oblast administrations (regional administrative bodies), which at the time were under a degree of control by OUN cells. However, the German military administration quickly suppressed these attempts, as it had no intention of strengthening the influence of the oblast administrations (Honcharenko, 2010b).

Both the military and German civil administrations sought to transfer security and guarding functions to the local population. This involved both the organization of crop protection and the monitoring of strategically important infrastructure, such as railway communications. Individuals formally enrolled in these formations were not police officers in the strict sense and were not armed; nevertheless, they were held strictly accountable for organizing the relevant forms of control.

Following the transfer of the respective territories to the jurisdiction of the civil administration of the RKU, the situation regarding local police structures changed fundamentally. First and foremost, these structures were removed from the influence of OUN cells and placed under the authority of German administrative bodies. At the same time, their organizational and legal status, principles of personnel recruitment, and arrangements for the performance of their duties were standardized.

Depending on the period and on whether the respective territories of Ukraine were under military or civil administration, approaches to recruiting personnel for local police structures also changed. The local population was, naturally, the key source of recruitment. However, during the first months of the Soviet-German war, recruitment from prisoner-of-war camps was widely practiced. Faced with the brutal conditions of captivity, many prisoners sought to escape the conditions of captivity and were therefore willing to enter service in the relevant police structures (Honcharenko, 2010a). Following the establishment of the RKU, personnel purges were carried out within local police structures. There were plans to reduce the overall number of local police personnel. Individuals suspected of having ties to OUN cells were dismissed. Restrictions were also introduced with regard to age and health status (Honcharenko, 2007).

The establishment of militia and order police at the beginning of the occupation is discussed in the work of Martin Dean. Initially, these institutions had a temporary status and were subsequently transformed into *Schutzmannschaft*, which was incorporated into the German *Gendarmerie*. At the same time, the researcher uses the term “local police” as a generalizing category. This allows him to encompass all local police formations that operated under German control. In another study, Martin Dean uses the term “Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft*.” Alexander Statiev employs the term “Ukrainian auxiliary police.” Referring to the *Schutzmannschaft*, Aviel Roshwald describes this structure as the “Ukrainian auxiliary police force.” Auxiliary police are also discussed in the collective volume edited by Wendy Lower and Ray Brandon. Canadian historian John-Paul Himka, in examining the history of Ukrainian nationalism, also addresses the establishment of auxiliary police formations.

Thus, in contemporary English-language historiographical discourse, the concept of “Ukrainian Auxiliary Police” has become relatively well established. This allows one to regard the concepts of *Schutzmannschaft* (“protection police”), *Hilfspolizei* (“auxiliary police”), *Ukrainische Polizei* (“Ukrainian police”), *Ordnungsdienst* (“order service”), and *Miliz* (“militia”) as non-identical and to distinguish their specific historical designations from the broader analytical category of “auxiliary police.”

German-language scholarship likewise employs a range of different terminological designations. Dieter Pohl, examining the functioning of local police formations in the District of Galicia – which was not part of the RKU but was incorporated into the General Government on September 1, 1941 – uses two related but non-identical categories: *einheimische Hilfspolizei* (“local auxiliary police”) and *Schutzmannschafts-Verbände* (“*Schutzmannschaft* formations”). Frank Grelka’s study suggests that police formations referred to as *Miliz* should not be equated with the later auxiliary police formations established by the German occupation authorities. The concept of “Ukrainian auxiliary police” (*ukrainische Hilfspolizei*) is also used in the work of Johannes Spohr. He treats this concept as a broader analytical category and does not equate it with the paramilitary *Schutzmannschaften* (Schuma) units.

Thus, an analysis of contemporary English- and German-language historiography demonstrates the absence of complete terminological consistency in the designation of local police structures established in the occupied territories. At the same time, these studies reveal a tendency to use the concept of “auxiliary police” (*auxiliary police*, *Hilfspolizei*) as a broader analytical category. By contrast, the concepts of *Miliz*, *Ordnungsdienst*, *Ukrainische Polizei*, and *Schutzmannschaft* should be treated as specific historical designations of police structures whose content,

organizational form, and chain of command changed depending on the period of occupation. This approach makes it possible to avoid conflating these terms and to trace more precisely the process of organizational transformation of local police within the system of the German occupation apparatus.

The service status of personnel serving in local police formations was auxiliary in nature, although this did not imply their “lack of rights” or restrictions on the performance of professionally prescribed duties. The term “auxiliary police” also requires further clarification. The use of the adjective “auxiliary” does not mean that these structures were secondary or subordinate in terms of their functional importance. Rather, it denoted their status as institutionally dependent structures operating under the authority of the German administration and the relevant police services.

The auxiliary nature of the local police was determined by its institutional dependence on and subordination to German police authorities and the occupation administration. Depending on the period and organizational form, local police formations operated under the authority of German military and civil occupation administrations and, following their institutional standardization, primarily within the sphere of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei*), the *Gendarmerie* and the *Sicherheitspolizei*. Thus, the adjective “auxiliary” characterizes the system of institutional and service subordination rather than the functional significance of local police formations.

At the same time, an analysis of the practical activities of the local police demonstrates that they performed a wide range of administrative, security, and repressive functions. They were responsible for maintaining public order, guarding important facilities, combating crime, monitoring the movements and conduct of the local population, participating in the fight against the partisan movement, and implementing certain aspects of the occupation policy. Thus, their auxiliary status did not imply a secondary role in the functioning of the occupation apparatus of power; rather, it defined their position within the system of German administrative control.

A defining element of the concept under examination is the adjective “local.” We consider its use more appropriate than the designation “Ukrainian.” The recruitment of personnel for the relevant structures was not determined by ethnicity. Rather, recruitment was carried out primarily through the involvement of the local population of the respective administrative-territorial units (Honcharenko, 2008a). Therefore, the concept of “local police” refers to the territorial principle underlying personnel recruitment rather than to the national composition of the personnel. This approach helps avoid the historical and political connotations associated with the use of the term “Ukrainian police” and more accurately reflects the actual mechanism through which these formations were organized.

In the context of the functioning of police structures under the occupation regime, it is important to clarify the meaning of the terms “unit” and “formation.” A unit is characterized by its incorporation into a specific organizational structure, the existence of a standardized staffing structure, and a unified approach to personnel recruitment. In reality, however, the situation in this sphere prior to the autumn of 1941, when the structures of the RKU began to take shape, was fundamentally different. The local auxiliary police was established exclusively at the local level; its organizational structure and personnel strength varied considerably, and it underwent continuous reorganization and integration into the system of the German occupation administration. Consequently, we can speak of local police formations rather than specific police units. The use of this term is therefore more appropriate for the period from the summer through the autumn of 1941. After the transfer of administrative authority to the RKU administration, however, the situation changed, as police structures transformed into a unified system increasingly acquired the more clearly defined characteristics of “units.”

Police formations established at the beginning of the occupation were subordinate to local authorities (Honcharenko, 2010c). Thus, in Lutsk, the Order Service was subordinate to the local administration. At the same time, the establishment of a “Ukrainian auxiliary police” began in the city (Honcharenko, 2011a, pp. 142–143). Naturally, strengthening local administrative bodies was not part of the plans of the German occupation authorities (Honcharenko, 2006b). Accordingly, in most regions of Ukraine, local police structures were subordinate to the military gendarmerie (Honcharenko, 2006a). Following the establishment of the RKU structures, they operated in accordance with the instructions of the heads of the gendarmerie, which had been established at the level of the *Gebietsskommissariate* (Honcharenko, 2011a, p. 144).

4. The Categories of “Local Auxiliary Police” and “Local Security Police”

By late autumn 1941, the status of the local police had changed. Pursuant to Joint Order No. 257/41 II of the Commander-in-Chief of the Occupation Forces in Ukraine, dated December 19, 1941, and Order No. 5/41 of the Higher SS and Police Leader in the RKU and Commander of the German Order Police, dated November 20, 1941, a new formation designated as the “Auxiliary Security Police” (*Hilfsschutzmannschaft*) was established (Honcharenko, 2010d).

Despite the official reorganization of local police formations and their acquisition of the status of “security police,” this change had little effect on the service status of the respective structures or on their official designations. In practice, the previous names of local police formations continued to be used. Thus, within the General District of Kyiv (a structural component

of the RKU), the local police in Uzyn was designated the “Ukrainian People’s Police”; in Boryspil, the “Boryspil District Police”; in Baryshivka, the “Ukrainian Police of the Baryshivka District in the Kyiv Region”; in Cherkasy, the “Cherkasy District People’s Police”; and in Chyhyryn, the “Chyhyryn District Order Service.” One exception was Kyiv where the Ukrainian Security Police (*Schutzmannschaft*) was established (Honcharenko, 2011a).

Accordingly, the concept of “local auxiliary police” should be regarded as a historiographical category encompassing the totality of local police formations that operated within the German occupation apparatus, regardless of their official designation, organizational form, or period of establishment. In this sense, *Hilfsschutzmannschaft* should not be regarded as a synonym for local auxiliary police, but rather as a specific type of local auxiliary police that emerged as a result of its legal and organizational standardization by the civil administration of the RKU.

The work of Thomas Sandkühler is particularly important for refining the conceptual framework. In his study of the involvement of non-German police personnel in implementing the Nazi policy of extermination of the Jews of Lviv, he uses the terms “Ukrainian auxiliary policemen” (*ukrainische Hilfspolizisten*) and “auxiliary police units” (*Hilfspolizeieinheiten*). At the same time, he does not equate them with the *Schutzmannschaften*, which he treats as a separate category of militarized police formations. This approach demonstrates that contemporary German-language historiography uses the concept of *Hilfspolizei* as a broader analytical category.

In this context, the research of Christian Schmittwilken is also relevant. He examined the structures of the Commanders of the Security Police and SD at the level of the General Districts of the RKU (*Kommandeure der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD*, KdS). These bodies had under their authority the so-called *Schutzmannschaften der Sicherheitspolizei* (“Security Police auxiliary formations”) and *Kriminalpolizei aus Einheimischen* (“Criminal Police recruited from the local population”). This demonstrates the complexity of the organizational structure of local police formations and the need to distinguish formations subordinate to the *Ordnungspolizei* from auxiliary structures operating within the sphere of competence of the *Sicherheitspolizei und SD*. Consequently, the use of the concepts *Hilfspolizei* and *Schutzmannschaft* requires consideration not only of their designation but also of the specific chain of command of the respective police formations.

Christian Schmittwilken distinguishes between *Schutzmannschaften der Sicherheitspolizei* (“Security Police auxiliary formations”) and *Schutzmannschaften der Ordnungspolizei* (“Order Police auxiliary formations”). The battalions of the *Schutzmannschaften der Sicherheitspolizei* primarily guarded labor education

camps (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) and KdS facilities, and were also involved in combating Soviet partisans and in punitive operations. They were militarized formations, and their personnel were housed in barracks. By contrast, the *Schutzmannschaften der Ordnungspolizei* comprised territorial police formations whose functions corresponded more closely to those of the local auxiliary police defined in this study.

Thus, the work of contemporary German scholars allows the conceptual framework to serve as an analytical tool to characterize local police structures in the occupied territories. The concept of *Hilfspolizei* should be regarded as a broader analytical category, whereas the term *Schutzmannschaft* requires mandatory consideration of the institutional affiliation of the specific formation. In particular, a clear distinction should be made between the *Schutzmannschaften der Ordnungspolizei* and the *Schutzmannschaften der Sicherheitspolizei* which belonged to different branches of the German police apparatus and differed in their chain of command and the functions they performed. Such a distinction helps avoid mechanically equating all local police formations with auxiliary police and allows their place within the occupation police apparatus to be determined more precisely.

Accordingly, the local auxiliary police of the RKU may be understood as a contemporary historiographical category denoting a body of police formations composed predominantly of members of the local population, institutionally and operationally subordinated to the German police authorities, and entrusted with maintaining public order, performing administrative, security, and repressive functions, and carrying out tasks assigned by the German military and civil administrations of the Nazi occupation regime.

The proposed definition integrates the historical characteristics of the functioning of local police formations with contemporary historiographical concepts. It takes into account the dynamics of organizational change, official designations, and institutional subordination. It also avoids identifying particular types of local police with the broader historiographical concept.

5. Conclusions

The results of the study demonstrate that the concept of “local auxiliary police” did not form part of the official legal and regulatory terminology of the German occupation regime but was developed in contemporary historiography as a generalizing scholarly category. The use of this concept provides a common conceptual framework for integrating the various local police formations established by the Provisional Military Administration and the relevant administrative structures.

The conceptual reconstruction presented here was based on a comprehensive consideration of the organizational, legal, and personnel aspects involved in the

establishment, regulatory framework, and functioning of local police formations. This approach makes it possible to overcome discrepancies between the historical concepts used in the original documents of the occupation authorities and contemporary historiographical terminology.

The adjectives “local” and “auxiliary” characterize the territorial principle of personnel recruitment and the institutional dependence of local police formations but do not determine either their national affiliation or the scope of their powers. The designation *Schutzmannschaft* is not synonymous with the concept of “local auxiliary police” but represents one of its organizational forms that emerged through the legal and

organizational standardization of the police system. The formations subordinate to the *Schutzmannschaften der Sicherheitspolizei* should not be included within the category of local auxiliary police. Within the proposed analytical framework, local auxiliary police structures are understood primarily as formations operating within the sphere of the *Ordnungspolizei* and subordinate to its corresponding structures.

Thus, the use of the unified historiographical concept of “local auxiliary police” turns the conceptual framework into an analytical tool for studying the Nazi occupation regime and provides a more comprehensive understanding of the place and role of local police formations within the occupation apparatus of the RKU.

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