

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL SELF-REFLECTION OF UKRAINIANS/RUSYNS OF THE CARPATHIAN REGION DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSE

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Abstract: *The Great War was the primary catalyst for the national identity of Ukrainians in the Carpathian region, which was the scene of fierce fighting. The First World War accelerated processes of national self-reflection among the politically inert and partially ethnically ambivalent local population. The authors analyse the works of contemporary Ukrainian scholars who have studied the Great War. Future research by Ukrainian historians into the impact of the Great War on the construction of the national identity of Ukrainians/Rusyns in the Carpathian region should include the study of regional, individual, and collective identity among the population of the Carpathian region, practices of national consciousness and self-awareness, national self-reflection, and the perception of others.*

Keywords: *national, regional identity, World War I, Ukrainians, Rusyns, contemporary, historiography, Carpathian region.*

Rezumat: *Problema autorefecției naționale a ucrainenilor/rusinilor din regiunea carpatică în timpul Primului Război Mondial în istoriografia ucraineană: discursul contemporan. Marele Război a fost principalul catalizator pentru identitatea națională a ucrainenilor din regiunea carpatică, care a fost pe atunci scena unor lupte acerbe. Primul Război Mondial a accelerat procesele de autorefecție națională în rândul populației*

locale, inactivă din punct de vedere politic și parțial ambivalentă din punct de vedere etnic. Autorii analizează lucrările cercetătorilor ucraineni contemporani care au studiat problematica Marelui Război. Cercetările viitoare ale istoricilor ucraineni privind impactul Marelui Război asupra construirii identității naționale a ucrainenilor/rusinilor din regiunea Carpaților ar trebui să includă studiul identității regionale, individuale și colective în rândul populației din regiunea Carpaților, practicile de conștiință națională și conștiința de sine, auto-reflecția națională și percepția celorlalți.

INTRODUCTION

The First World War played an essential role in shaping the national identity of the Ukrainian population of the Carpathians, marking a milestone in the transition from traditional ethnic existence to national identity. The events of the Great War accelerated changes in all areas of life in the Carpathian region. Significant changes were observed in the ethno-political sphere: a transition from cultural identification to a more explicitly political one, from ethnic to national. All of this was occurring against the backdrop of the strengthening of the idea of struggle for national history, memory, education, culture, values, and statehood. Each community in the Carpathian region had its own course and scenario for forming its national identity, its own way of understanding loyalty, solidarity, and the sense of duty to the state in which it lived, as well as for developing and articulating ideas of autonomy and sovereignty. The First World War marked a Rubicon between tradition and modernity in the worldview of the Ukrainian peasantry, a struggle between stability and innovation, a breakdown of entrenched, archaic thinking and the introduction of new values, primarily at the national and political levels.

The Carpathian region comprises the Ukrainian ethnic lands of Boykos, Hutsuls, and Lemkos, and is a borderland of cohabitation among ethnic communities (Ukrainians, Poles, Slovaks, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and Jews). This area was home to the Boykos and Hutsuls in the eastern Carpathians, and to the Lemkos and Hungarian Rusyns (Ugro-Rusyns) in the western Carpathians. The formation of Ukrainian national identity in these areas exhibited regional specificity and occurred with a corresponding delay relative to the main Ukrainian mother ethnic territory.

At the beginning of the First World War, there were three spectrums of ethno-political preferences among the Ukrainian population of the Carpathians. The first was Ukrainian, oriented toward the idea of a Ukrainian irredenta. The

second spectrum was the Rusyn one, which, given the socio-political existence of the highlanders, was characterised by inertia in all spheres of social and political life, and even more so in terms of ethnic/national orientation. The third spectrum included the Russophile with a distinct ethno-separatist orientation. It should be noted that the results of Ukrainian cultural and educational work in the early twentieth century also contributed to the national self-awareness of Ukrainians in the region.

Although the territory of Ukraine, particularly the Carpathian region, was the scene of military battles in 1914-1917, the First World War remains 'forgotten' in the research of Ukrainian historians. Representatives of Soviet historical scholarship defined the First World War as an imperialist war, and through dogmatic patterns and approaches, focused on revolutionary events and the Russian Civil War. After Ukraine gained independence, the techniques and methodology of Ukrainian historical scholarship changed.

The First World War is the subject of numerous studies by contemporary Ukrainian historians. The Great and Forgotten War has returned to the modern historical discourse in Ukraine. The catalysts for the study of the events of 1914-1918 were the 90th and 100th anniversary chronotopes, the digitalisation of foreign archives, which visualised Ukrainians and Ukrainian landscapes during the Great War in the public space, and 'reopened' the Eastern Front, not only for foreign researchers but also for Ukrainian society and scholars. Ukraine has hosted many academic conferences, roundtables, and discussions and published generalised scholarly works on the First World War. The Russian-Ukrainian war, the full-scale invasion of 24 February 2022, and Russian war crimes have contributed to the search for analogies in the experience of Russian occupations of the Great War.

The scientific works of contemporary Ukrainian researchers on the First World War cover many events of 1914-1918. An essential topic for study is the national consciousness of the Ukrainian population, the national identity of Ukrainians divided by imperial borders, who, during the First World War, faced not only the difficulties and trials typical of civilians and soldiers in wartime but also complex processes of national differentiation and awareness.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the problem of the national identity of Ukrainians/Rusyns in the Carpathian region during the First World War, as reflected in the works of contemporary Ukrainian historians from 2014 to 2024.

In foreign historiography, the impact of the First World War on the national identity of the Ukrainian population of the Carpathians is addressed only in a

fragmentary manner in their studies by Polish,¹ Slovak,² and Romanian³ researchers. The national self-awareness of the Ukrainian population is reflected in the works of Ukrainian diaspora historians A. Zayarniuk⁴ and S. Plokyh,⁵ as well as in the studies of American Ukrainologists M. von Hagen⁶ and P.-R. Magocsi.⁷

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AS A POLITICAL AND NATION-BUILDING CATALYST

The problem of national self-reflection of Ukrainians/Rusyns of the Carpathian region during the First World War is reflected through the following aspects: the impact of hostilities on the population, ethnopolitics, socio-economic

¹ Piotr Szlanta, *The Lemkos' Great War: Wartime Experiences of the Lemko People, 1914-18*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", Vol. 113, 2016, pp. 7-36, <https://doi.org/10.12775/APH.2016.113.01> (Accessed on 20 July 2024); Magdalena Semczyszyn, *Pierwsza wojna światowa w oczach mieszkańców Galicji* [The First World War through the eyes of the inhabitants of Galicia], in Agata Zawiszevska, Szymon Piotr Kubiak (Eds.), *Postscriptum. Wielka Wojna – ważne sprawy – zwykli ludzie* [Postscript. The Great War – important matters – ordinary people], Szczecin, 2015, pp. 63-70; Przemysław Mazur, *Łemkowie and Łemkowszczyzna in międzywojniu* [The Lemkos and Lemkovina in the interwar period], "Facta Simonidis", 2010, nr. 1 (3), pp. 167-188; Jerzy Z. Pająk, *Wojna a społeczeństwo. Galicja w latach 1914-1918* [War and society. Galicia in the years 1914-1918], Kielce, Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego, 2020, 326 p.

² Gabriela Dudeková Kováčová. *The Silent Majority: Attitudes of non-prominent citizens at the beginning of the great War in the territory of today's Slovakia*, "Revue des études Slaves", vol. 88, 2017, fasc. 4, pp. 699-719; Peter Kónya (ed.), *Prvá svetová vojna v Karpatoch* [World War I in the Carpathians], Prešov, Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, 2020, 340 p.; Dušan Kováč, *Prvá svetová vojna v slovenských dejinách a v slovenskej historiografii* [The First World War in Slovak history and in Slovak historiography], in: Milan Podrimavský, Dušan Kováč (Eds.), *Slovensko na začiatku 20. storočia (Spoločnosť, štát a národ v súradniciach doby)*. Zborník štúdií, Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 1999, pp. 269-277.

³ Ștefan Purici. *Habsburg Bukovina at the Beginning of the Great War. Loyatism or Irredentism?* "Codrul Cosminului", Vol. 23, 2017, no. 1, pp. 85-106.

⁴ Andriy Zayarniuk. *Peasant Activists Reflect on World War I: War Poems by Ukrainian Peasant Soldiers from Habsburg Galicia*. "Canadian Slavonic Papers", Vol. 55, 2013, No. 1-2, pp. 71-97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00085006.2013.11092727>.

⁵ Serhii Plokyh. *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, New York, Basic Books, 2015, 460 p.

⁶ Mark von Hagen, *War in a European Borderland. Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914-1918*, Seattle, 2007, 122 p.

⁷ Paul Robert Magocsi. *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2015, 511 pp.

adaptation, mobilisation, national consciousness, stereotypes, and attitudes.

The Ukrainian historiography of the First World War is covered by such researchers as S. Adamovych,⁸ V. Velykochiy,⁹ M. Zerkal,¹⁰ L. Hutsalo.¹¹ In a scientific tandem, historians O. Reyent and B. Yanyshyn analysed the modern Ukrainian historiography of the Great War in 2004¹² and in 2014,¹³ comparing decades of work, the evolution of methods, and approaches. They identified several areas: orientation; economic, social, political, and military captivity; foreign policy; the history of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen Legion and the course of combat operations; refugees and civil society organisations; the Russian occupation of Galicia and Bukovina; regionalism; and the 'culture of war'.

The most popular topics among Ukrainian historians were studies of the attitude of Ukrainian political parties and figures to the First World War and the Ukrainian question in the plans of the warring parties. The national identity of Ukrainians/Rusyns in the Carpathian region remains poorly understood.

Ukrainian researcher V. Velykochyi, in the context of studying the problems of the policy and activities of the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Galicia in 1914-1918 in Ukrainian historiography, argues that "the opposition of 'Muscovites' to

⁸ Serhii Adamovych, *Ukrainska istoriografiia pro diialnist rosiiskoi okupatsiinoi vlady u Skhidnii Halychyni v 1914- 1917 rr.* [Ukrainian historiography about the activities of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia in 1914-1917], in *Oleksandr Karpenko – istoryk Ukrainiskoi revoliutsii: Do 100-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia: kolektyvna monografiia* [Oleksandr Karpenko – historian of the Ukrainian revolution: To the 100th anniversary of his birth: a collective monograph], Ivano-Frankivsk, 2022, pp. 228-234.

⁹ Volodymyr Velykochyi, *Avstro-Uhorska polityka v Halychyni periodu Pershoi svitovoi viiny: shtrykhy do analizu ukrainskoi istoriografii* [Austro-Hungarian policy in Galicia during the First World War: touches on the analysis of Ukrainian historiography], in "Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX - pochatku XX st.", 2010, No. 17, pp. 373-389.

¹⁰ Mykola Zerkal, *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina: istoriografiia problemy* [The First World War and Ukraine: historiography of the problem], "Istorychnyi arkhiv" [Historical archive], 2015, No. 14, pp. 158-166.

¹¹ Liudmyla Hutsalo, *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina u suchasni ukrainskii istoriografii* [The First World War and Ukraine in modern Ukrainian historiography], "Intermarum: istoriia, polityka, kultura", 2017, No. 4, pp. 119-131.

¹² Oleksandr Reient, Bohdan Yanyshyn, *Ukraina v period Pershoi svitovoi viiny: istoriografichniy analiz* [Ukraine during the First World War: a historiographical analysis], "Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal", 2004, No. 4, pp. 3-37.

¹³ Oleksandr Reient, Bohdan Yanyshyn, *Velyka viina 1914-1918 rr. u suchasni ukrainskii istoriografii* [The Great War of 1914-1918 in modern Ukrainian historiography] "Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal" [Ukrainian historical magazine], 2014, No. 3, pp. 4-21.

'Ukrainians' is conditional, and from the point of view of ethnonational identification, it is generally inappropriate, because both the former and the latter were Ukrainians"¹⁴ and it is worth distinguishing between 'Moscophiles', 'Ukrainophiles', 'Austrophiles', as well as politically unbiased peasants. According to V. Velykochyi, determining the impact of the First World War on the Ukrainian national movement should be the subject of a separate scientific study.

In his works, discussing the historical science's understanding of the problem of the unity of the Ukrainian nation, scholar V. Velykochyi argues that the Ukrainian elite became aware of their ethnicity and self-identification with the Ukrainian nation only in the early twentieth century.¹⁵ The author identified the different levels of Ukrainians' national consciousness as one of the factors that hindered Ukrainian statehood in the early twentieth century.¹⁶ V. Velykochyi noted that Ukrainians from different regions of Ukraine only talked about common roots, about unity, and mass contacts between them began during the First World War.¹⁷ In contemporary national historiographical discourse on the Ukrainian Revolution, V. Velykochyi and O. Reient include the Great War in their account of the Revolution's course.¹⁸ According to the researcher I. Monolatii, "during the war, ethnic decomposition took place, primarily in Austria-Hungary, whose Slavic peoples (Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians) were appealed to by the Russian Empire as 'Slavic brothers' whom it 'must' liberate."¹⁹

The authors of the collective volume *Civilizational Identity of Ukrainians: History and Modernity* prioritise national identity in shaping civilizational identity.²⁰ They consider the First World War an essential stage in Ukrainians' civilizational self-identification.²¹ This factor accelerated "genetic tendencies

¹⁴ Volodymyr Velykochyi, *Avstro-Uhorska polityka v Halychyni periodu Pershoi svitovoi viiny: shtrykhy do analizu ukrainskoi istoriohrafii* [Austro-Hungarian policy in Galicia during the First World War: touches on the analysis of Ukrainian historiography], "Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX – pochatku XX st.", 2010, No. 17, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Oleksandr Reient, Volodymyr Velykochyi, *Ukrainska revoliutsiia: suchasnyi vitchyzniani istoriohrafichniy dyskurs* [Ukrainian revolution: modern national historiographical discourse], Ivano-Frankivsk, 2024, 396 p.

¹⁹ Ivan Monolatii, *Pershyy dosvid rashyzmu v okremo vziatomu misti* [The first experience of russism in a single city], in S. Spund, *Zhakhittia skoieni rosiianamy v Stanislavovi* [The horrors committed by the Russians in Stanislaviv], Ivano-Frankivsk, 2023, pp. 4-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²¹ *Tsyvilizatsiina identychnist ukrainstva: istoriia i suchasnist* [Civilisational identity of

towards national unity and civilizational identification of Ukrainians.” It gave impetus to a new wave of growth in the Ukrainian national liberation and unification movement, which became a powerful force in the revolution and state-building processes of 1917-1921. The monograph proves that “the war contributed to the politicisation of society, the growth of the revolutionary situation, the rise of the national consciousness of Ukrainians of both empires and the formation of identity.”²² Based on the testimony of the English journalist and writer A. Ransom, who travelled through Galicia alongside the Eastern Front, the authors highlight the importance of the religious identity of the local population, who, when asked about their identity, did not identify with any of the warring nations, but indicated that they were ‘Orthodox’ and ‘local.’²³

The Ukrainian historian Y. Hrytsak believes that “if nations had passports, the Ukrainian one would have ‘1914’ under the date of birth.”²⁴ He does not deny the existence of the Ukrainian nation before 1914. He is a modernist, and, in his view, the Ukrainian nation existed in the imagination of a limited number of residents of Ukrainian territory who considered themselves Ukrainians.²⁵ In his opinion, before 1914, Ukraine “existed as a scenario of the future in the minds of tens of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals and educated peasants. And the First World War made this project a firm reality.”²⁶

The First World War, acting as a typical excellent time accelerator, accelerated Ukrainian nation-building, the transformation of peasants into a nation.²⁷ The peasants, who constituted the majority of the Ukrainian population, experienced a massive invasion of their traditional way of life by modernity during the Great War. Hrytsak emphasises the acceleration of historical processes, the possibility of the impossible during the war, and the importance of the Ukrainian peasantry's national awareness.

The concept of the First World War as a factor in accelerating the state- and nation-building processes of Ukrainians is reflected in O. Dutko's research. Dutko, who is convinced that “the First World War, which began as a confrontation

Ukrainians: history and modernity], Kyiv, 2022, p. 465.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 80-81.

²⁴ Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Podolaty mynule: hlobalna istoriia Ukrainy* [Overcoming the past: a global history of Ukraine], Kyiv, 2015, p. 209.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

²⁶ Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Dovha tin Velykoi viiny* [The long shadow of the Great War], in “Lokalna istoriia” [Local history], 2022, no. 8-9, p. 5.

²⁷ Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Podolaty mynule...*

between empires, not only catalysed their collapse, but also created conditions for the manifestation of various national, ethnic and local identities.”²⁸ Historians V. Shandra and O. Arkusha agree with the vital role of the events of the Great War in the intellectual and organisational consolidation of the Ukrainian movement. The war broke down the barriers to national identity, and the Ukrainian nation became sufficiently self-aware to rethink its mission.²⁹

Many scientific studies by Ukrainian historians (I. Ilnytskyi,³⁰ I. Pater,³¹ I. Kuchera,³² T. Panfilova³³) are devoted to Russian occupation policy during the First World War. They focus on the objectives, content, tools, and results of the Russian Empire's national policy in the occupied territories of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. The historian O. Sarnatsky highlighted the ethno-political aspects of the tsarist repressive measures during the First World War against activists and

²⁸ Oksana Dudko, *Mizh istoriografiieiu i dydaktykoii: Persha svitova viina u shkilnykh pidruchnykakh z istorii Ukrainy* [Between historiography and didactics: The First World War in school textbooks on the history of Ukraine], in Georgiy Kasianov, Aleksandra Gaidai (Eds.), *Istoriia, pamiat, polityka. Zbirnyk statey* [History, Memory, Politics. Collection of articles], Kyiv, 2016, p. 110.

²⁹ Valentyna Shandra, Olena Arkusha, *Ukraina v XIX stolitti: liudnist ta imperii* [Ukraine in the 19th century: humanity and empires], Kyiv, 2022, p. 413.

³⁰ Ihor Ilnytskyi, *Normatyvni ta ideino-kontseptualni osnovy orhanizatsii upravlinnia zakhidnoukrainskymymy zemliamy u period Pershoi rosiiskoi okupatsii* (serpen 1914 – cherven 1915 rr.) [Normative and ideological and conceptual foundations of the organisation of management of Western Ukrainian lands during the period of the First Russian occupation (August 1914 – June 1915)], “Problemy istorii Ukrainy XIX – pochatku XX st.” [Problems of the history of Ukraine in the 19th and early 20th centuries], 2013, no. 21, pp. 361-378.

³¹ Ivan Pater, *Polityka inkorporatsii Halychyny i Bukovyny v derzhavnu systemu Rosiiskoi imperii u roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [The policy of incorporation of Galicia and Bukovina into the state system of the Russian Empire during the First World War], in Mykola Lytvyn (Ed.), *Russia-Ukraine: zrazy, soiuzy, viiny* [Russia-Ukraine: betrayals, alliances, wars], Lviv, 2022, p. 238.

³² Iryna Kuchera, *Polityka rosiiskoi okupatsiinoi administratsii v Skhidnii Halychyni v 1914-1917 rr.* [The policy of the Russian occupation administration in the Eastern Galicia in 1914-1917], “Visnyk Prykarpatskoho universytetu. History” [Bulletin of the Precarpathian University. History], 2013, no. 23-24, pp. 194-201.

³³ Tetiana Panfilova, *Struktury ukrayinskoho hromadianskoho suspilstva Skhidnoi Halychyny na prykintsevom etapi Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [Structures of Ukrainian civil society in Eastern Galicia at the final stage of the First World War], “Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist” [Ukraine: cultural heritage, national consciousness, statehood], 2013, No. 23, p. 379.

supporters of Ukrainian parties, as well as hostages from Galicia.³⁴ The official policy of Tsarism in the western Ukrainian lands occupied by the Russian army was of a great-power orientation, and the relevant ethnopolitical aspects of it were clearly traced in the repressive actions of Tsarism against those who led and supported the Ukrainian national liberation movement at that time.³⁵

Describing the ethnopolitics of the first and second Russian occupation administrations in Ternopil during the First World War, historian M. Lazarovych believes that, having occupied the western Ukrainian lands for the second time, the Russian authorities realized the futility of hopes not only for their accession to the Russian Empire, but also for the introduction of effective Russification of the region.³⁶ Nevertheless, the Russian administration continued to persecute Ukrainians and carry out robbery requisitions, but the scale of repression decreased.

Describing the daily life of the population of Bukovina during the three Russian occupations, historian O. Dobrzhanskyi points out that the local population noted the multinational composition of Russian military formations, the presence of Ukrainians who spoke Ukrainian, wanted to read Kobzar and Ukrainians who spoke Russian, and the true intentions of Muscovites became obvious.³⁷

For the first time in Ukrainian historiography, historian S. Oliynyk has studied the life and professional fate of the Galician teacher Ivan Fylypchak, who became an example of how the imperial authorities used loyal Galicians to implement the policy of Russification of the educational sector in Eastern

³⁴ Oleksandr Sarnatskyi, *Etnopolitychni aspekty v represyivnykh diiach tsaryzmu pid chas pershoi svitovoi viiny shchodo diiachiv i prykhylnykiv ukrainskykh politychnykh partii ta zaruchnykiv iz Halychyny* [Ethnopolitical aspects in the repressive actions of tsarism during the First World War against activists and supporters of Ukrainian political parties and hostages from Galicia], "Problemy politychnoi istorii Ukrainy" [Problems of political history of Ukraine], 2013, no. 8, pp. 109-117.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³⁶ Mykola Lazarovych, *Natsionalni aspekty rosiiskoi okupatsii Ternopillia u 1914-1915 rokakh* [National aspects of the Russian occupation of Ternopil in 1914-1915], in *Ternopil' i Ternopillya v istoriyi ta kul'turi Ukrainy i svitu (vid naydavnishykh chasiv do s'ohodennya): materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktycheskoi konferentsii* [Ternopil and Ternopil region in the history and culture of Ukraine and the world (from ancient times to the present): materials of the International Scientific and Practical Conference], U 2 ch., Ch. 1., Ternopil, 2012, pp. 146-152.

³⁷ Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi, *Deiaki aspekty povsiakdennoho zhyttia ukraintsiv Bukovyny v umovakh Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [Some aspects of the daily life of Bukovina Ukrainians during the First World War], "Pytannia istorii Ukrainy" [Issues of the history of Ukraine], 2014, No. 17, pp. 170, 171.

Galicia,³⁸ I. Fylypchak went to a Russian language teacher training course in Petrograd in 1915. According to Fylypchak's recollections, he "had long wanted to know Russia, and to see on the spot where the truth was - whether there were two Russian peoples, or one Russian and the other Ukrainian".³⁹ The example of this teacher illustrates the essence of Russia's long-term great-power policy on education in the occupied western Ukrainian lands, which was aimed at splitting the local teaching intelligentsia, based on de-Ukrainization and depriving Galicians, following the example of Naddnyprianshchyna, of the prospect of having their own developed national school and patriotic intelligentsia.⁴⁰

Propaganda, the creation of an image of the enemy during the Great War, contributes to the study of stereotypes, mechanisms of influence, and perceptions among the local population. According to scholar K. Bila, a peculiar feature of the Russian Empire's war propaganda in Ukraine was the careful use of terminology when describing the captured Ukrainian territories, the use of correct ethnonyms that demonstrated the closeness of the local population to the new government, and justified the 'liberation mission' of the Romanov Empire.⁴¹ Researcher O. Mosienko claims that Austro-Hungarian propaganda emphasised the role of Muscovites in the 'temporary failures' of Austro-Hungarian troops.⁴²

According to N. Baranovska, the First World War "created objective prerequisites for the growth of Ukrainian national consciousness, crystallized national slogans and contributed to the unfolding of the Ukrainian Revolution".⁴³

³⁸ Serhii Oliinyk, "Velykoruska" funktsiia halychanyina Ivana Fylypchaka v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny [The "Great Russian" function of Ivan Filipchak from Galicia during the First World War], "Naukovi pratsi Kamianets-Podilskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Ohienka: istorychni nauky" [Scientific works of Kamianets-Podilskyi National University named after Ivan Ohienko: historical sciences], vol. 33, 2021, pp. 178-186.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴¹ Kateryna Bila, *Voienna propahanda imperii: Persha svitova viina ta yii suchasnyi vidhomin: Za materialamy naukovooho povidomlennia na zasidanni Prezydii NAN Ukrainy 27 hrudnia 2023 roku* [War propaganda of the empire: World War I and its modern echo: According to the materials of the scientific report at the meeting of the Praesidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine on 27 December 2023], "Visnyk NAN Ukrainy" [Bulletin of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], 2024, No. 2, pp. 106-107.

⁴² Oleksandr Mosiienko, "Aziatskyi voroh": obraz Rosiiskoi imperii v avstro-uhorskii propahandi Pershoi svitovoi viiny ["The Asian enemy": the image of the Russian Empire in the Austro-Hungarian propaganda of the First World War], "Intermarum: istoriia polityky, kultura" [Intermarum: history, politics, culture], 2023, No. 13, pp. 109-132.

⁴³ Nadiia Baranovska, *Vplyv Pershoi svitovoi viiny na zrostannia ukrainskoi natsional'noi*

The reality of the war hardships "contributed to the awakening of the peasantry from centuries of lethargy, the growth of its national consciousness."⁴⁴ The author is convinced that new forms of anti-war protests spread, such as fraternisation, and that the military refused to shoot, and there are known facts of mutual support among Ukrainian soldiers from enemy armies.⁴⁵

The repressive measures of the Austrian authorities against the Ukrainian population are reflected in the works of I. Berest, O. Sukhyi, O. Mazur.⁴⁶ The article by the historian I. Berest reflects the problem of Ukrainian betrayal, repressions of the Austrian authorities against Ukrainians accused of Moscovism. The author argues that preventive measures to combat Moscovism turned into uncontrolled terror against the entire Ukrainian population of Austria through the fault of both the central Austrian government and the administration of Galicia, and the massive nature of the persecution led to outright abuses by military and gendarmerie units.⁴⁷

The activities of Moscovism during the war became the subject of a study by V. Hayseniuk, who considers Moscovism to be the last phase of Russophilism, along with Polonophilism, "one of the ways Western Ukrainians sought their own identity in the absence of Ukrainian statehood at the time."⁴⁸ As historian V. Fisanov noted, "the behaviour of Russian soldiers in the occupied territories made many Russophiles psychologically 'sober up'."⁴⁹ The Austrians

svidomosti ta revoliutsiini protsesy v Ukraini (1917-1918 gg.) [The impact of the First World War on the growth of Ukrainian national consciousness and revolutionary processes in Ukraine (1917-1918)], "Viiskovo-naukovy visnyk" [Military-scientific bulletin], 2014. No. 22, p. 90.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Oleksii Sukhyi, Oleh Mazur, *Ukrainske naseleння Halychyny na pochatku Pershoi svitovoi viiny: represyivni aktsii avstriiskoi vlady* [Ukrainian population of Galicia at the beginning of the First World War: repressive actions of the Austrian authorities], "Visnyk Natsionalnoho universytetu 'Lvivska politekhnika'. 'Derzhava ta armii'" [Bulletin of the Lviv Polytechnic National University. "The State and the Army"], 2000, no. 408, pp. 73-78.

⁴⁷ Ihor Berest, *Represyivni aktsii shchodo naseleння Skhidnoi Halychyny v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [Repressive actions against the population of Eastern Galicia in the years of the First World War], "Visnyk Natsionalnoho universytetu 'Lvivska politekhnika'. 'Derzhava ta armii'" [Bulletin of the National University "Lviv Polytechnic". The state and the army], 2007, No. 584, pp. 54.

⁴⁸ Vitalii Haiseniuk. *Pochatok kintsia. Moskvofily u Velykii viini (1914-1918)* [Beginning of the End. Moscoviles in the Great War (1914-1918)], Chernivtsi, 2017, p. 45.

⁴⁹ *Velyka viina 1914-1918 rr: vytoky, kharakter, naslidky* [The Great War of 1914-1918: origins, nature, consequences], Kyiv, 2018, p. 157.

themselves noted the cold shower effect of the second Russian occupation, as the Russians “did not make any distinction between nationalities and religions, between mine and yours”, the result was that “90% of the new Russophiles in the county became good Austrian citizens.”⁵⁰

The situation of Ukrainians in Transcarpathia during the First World War is reflected in the works of scholars S. Vidniansky,⁵¹ T. Horban⁵² through the prism of the policy of Magyarization, the struggle of the Hungarian authorities against Ukrainian identity, and the stay of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen in the region.⁵³

Among the military topics of the First World War in contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the most widely studied is the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, a Ukrainian volunteer military formation within the Austro-Hungarian army. While exploring the history of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen as a national military and political formation, M. Lazarovych focused on the unity-building motives of the riflemen's actions.⁵⁴ The Ukrainian Sich Riflemen have repeatedly demonstrated their commitment to the idea of Ukraine's unity: they have a friendly attitude towards the political organisation of eastern Ukrainians, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, and towards Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army.⁵⁵ The historian argues that the Riflemen's desire to unite an independent Ukraine is evidenced by their use of two coats of arms: the Galician lion and the Kyiv archangel Michael.⁵⁶

I. Monolatii called the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, in terms of its

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Stepan Vidnians'kyj, *Karpats'ka Ukraina iak etap ukrains'koho derzhavotvorennia* [Carpathian Ukraine as a stage of Ukrainian state building], “Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal” [Ukrainian historical journal], 2019, No. 2, pp. 67-93.

⁵² Tetiana Horban, *Ukrainci Zakarpattia v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny: etnopolitychni aspekty* [Ukrainians of Transcarpathia during the First World War: ethno-political aspects] “Naukovi zapysky” [Proceedings], 2006, No. 29, pp. 55-67.

⁵³ Tetiana Horban, *Istoriia v dokumenti: "Memorandum hreko-katolytskoho sviashchenyka S. Bilky" yak iliustratsiia etnopolitychnoi sytuatsii na Zakarpatti na pochatku Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [History in the document: "Memorandum of the Greek-Catholic priest S. Bilka" as an illustration of the ethno-political situation in Transcarpathia at the beginning of the First World War], “Vcheni zapysky Tavriiskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni V. I. Vernadskoho. Serii: Istorychni nauky” [Scholarly notes of V. I. Vernadsky Tavri National University. Series: Historical sciences], t. 32, 2021, No. 3, pp. 45-50.

⁵⁴ Mykola Lazarovych, *Narys istorii Ukrainskykh sichovykh striltsiv* [Essay on the history of the Ukrainian Sich riflemen], Ivano-Frankivsk, 2024, p. 98-99.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

personnel and the level of consciousness of the soldiers, “an elite formation conscious of the duty to defend Ukraine, a model of extraordinary heroism and patriotism.”⁵⁷

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AS AN ACCELERATOR OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

In contemporary Ukrainian historiography, we observe an increase in studies of military history that reflect the social aspects of the military (everyday experience, combat, captivity). Yurii Fatula's trilogy examines the under-studied topic of Transcarpathians' participation in the First World War. Based on numerous sources, the scholar not only reconstructed the combat path of military units of the Austro-Hungarian army formed in Transcarpathia, but also determined their national composition. In particular, in the 65th Infantry Regiment of Archduke Ludwig Victor, 17% of the soldiers were Rusyn-Ukrainians in 1914. By religion: 24.5 per cent of Greek Catholics,⁵⁸ in the 85th Maramoros-Ugočany Infantry Regiment, the majority of soldiers were Rusyns-Ukrainians (35 per cent).⁵⁹ According to Y. Fatula, the national composition of the 85th Regiment determined its combat path to the west, to the Italian front, as “the Austro-Hungarian political and military leadership rightly feared the strengthening of undesirable national and ideological influence on soldiers in case of their stay in Ukraine”.⁶⁰

Scholarly works on the everyday practices of the military during the First World War also outline the problem of national identity. Y. Stetsiv, through the prism of studying the role of Ukrainian artillery officers of the Austro-Hungarian army on the fronts of the First World War, the number of Ukrainians among the rank and file of the armed forces of Austria-Hungary, investigated the biographical trajectories of Galician gunners, which indicate specific differences in their environment: some of them became active participants in the events of the Ukrainian revolution.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Ivan Monolatii. *USS. Ideia i chyn* [USS. Idea and act], Ivano-Frankivsk, 2024, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Yurii Fatula, “*Nesy mamtsi zhalist moi...*” *Zakarpattsi u Pershii svitovii viini* [“Bring my pity to my mother...” Transcarpathians in the First World War], Uzhhorod, 2018, p. 36.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶⁰ Yurii Fatula, *Polehlykh my tak i ne pokhovaly... Boiovyi shliakh 85-ho Maramorosko-Uho-chanskoho pikhotnoho polka avstro-uhorskoï armii. 1914-1918* [We never buried the fallen... The battle route of the 85th Maramoros-Ugochan infantry regiment of the Austro-Hungarian army. 1914-1918], Uzhhorod, 2019, p. 200.

⁶¹ Yaroslav Stetsiv, *Uchast ukrainskykh ofitseriv-artillerystiv avstro-uhorskoï armii v Pershii*

Tracing the everyday life of soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies on Ukrainian territory during the First World War, researchers focus on the growth of the national consciousness of Ukrainians who fought in the imperial armies due to the increased intensity of intercultural interaction,⁶² highlighting patriotic sentiments among Hutsuls.⁶³ Researcher I. Homeniuk argues that the war fostered national self-awareness among ordinary soldiers. Military events accelerated transformational perturbations: "Pre-war identification as Rusyns (Ruthenians) in Galicia or Little Russians in Central and Eastern Ukraine was gradually replaced by an understanding of belonging to a single Ukrainian nation on the territory from the Syan to the Don."⁶⁴

Scholar A. Tarasov argues that the issues of national identity and identification are complex in the study of military captivity during the First World War.⁶⁵ The researcher analysed the change in attitudes towards their 'imperial' and 'Austrian' identities of some Ukrainian prisoners of war during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917. A. Tarasov demonstrates various combinations of regional, imperial, and dual identities, making captivity an essential factor in influencing the self-identification of prisoners. The author is convinced that during the First World War and the Ukrainian liberation struggle, the problem of national identity became a topical issue: "If in the pre-war period the issue of nationality might not have arisen at all for a certain category of the population (mainly peasants), then during the war and

svitovii viini [The participation of Ukrainian artillery officers of the Austro-Hungarian army in the First World War], "Viiskovo- naukovyi visnyk" [Military-scientific bulletin], 2022, no. 38, pp. 103-120.

⁶² Ivan Stychynskyi, *Povsiakdenne zhyttia voiakiv avstro-uhorskoi ta rosiiskoi armii na ukrainskykh terenakh v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [Everyday life of soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies on Ukrainian territory during the First World War]. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Historical Sciences. Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, 2020, p. 175.

⁶³ Petro Siredzhuk, *Halytska Hutsulshchyna u Velykii viini 1914 - 1918 rr.* [Galician Hutsul region in the Great War of 1914-1918], Kosiv, 2016.

⁶⁴ Ivan Homeniuk, *Murashnyk. Notatky na manzhetakh istorii Halychyny, Bukovyny ta Zakarpattia* [Anthill. Notes on the history of Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia], Kyiv, 2023, p. 199.

⁶⁵ Andrii Tarasov, *Viiskovopoloneni-ukraintsi avstro-uhorskoy armii v dobu Ukrainskoy Tsentralnoi Rady (berezen 1917 – pochatok 1918)* [Ukrainian prisoners of war of the Austro-Hungarian army during the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada (March 1917 – early 1918)], "Viiskovo-istorichniy meridian" [Military-historical meridian], 2019, Vypusk 4, pp. 63-73.

captivity it sometimes came to the fore. The instructions issued by the Russian troops identified as one of the primary tasks the identification of the nationality of a captured soldier.”⁶⁶

For the first time in Ukrainian historiography, Tynchenko's monograph comprehensively examines the problem of Ukrainian regiments in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1801-1918, calling the language issue,⁶⁷ which rested on the ignorance of the Ruthenians, the most difficult matter in the Austrian army.

The problem of national identity among the Ukrainian population of the Carpathian region is examined through the lens of the social dimension of the Great War, namely, refugeeism. The researchers describe the interpretation of Galician refugees by contemporary sources as ‘younger brothers’,⁶⁸ examined the criteria of identity, analysed the questions used to register those who arrived in Kyiv, and pointed out that this was the mechanism for Kyivans to perceive refugees and for Galicians to understand their essence in a different environment.⁶⁹ O. Betliy emphasises the limited amount of data available to understand the national consciousness of refugees and those who recorded them.⁷⁰ The author suggests that “the overwhelming number of references to ‘Rusyn/Orthodox’ may indicate the refugees’ desire to assimilate into the Orthodox Russian population of the city, or even indicate Russophile sympathies of the newcomers”.⁷¹

Ethnologist O. Kosmina's research on the exhibition of embroidery by Ukrainian refugees in Vienna on 14 December 1915, “Aid to War: Art, Business, and Industry in the Service of Military Relief,” tells about the “Cultural Education

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶⁷ Yaroslav Tynchenko, *Slavni rutentsi. Ukrainski polky avstro-uhorskoj armii, 1801-1918 rr.* [Glorious Ruthenians. Ukrainian regiments of the Austro-Hungarian army, 1801-1918], Kyiv, 2024, p.30.

⁶⁸ Liubov Zhvanko, *Bizhentsi Pershoi svitovoi viiny: ukrainskyi vymir (1914-1918 rr.)* [Refugees of the First World War: the Ukrainian dimension (1914-1918)], Kharkiv, 2012, p. 42.

⁶⁹ Olena Betlii: “*Pro identychnist hovoriat, koly maiut klopit iz neiu*” [“They talk about identity when they have trouble with it”], <https://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/intervyu/2727-olena-betlij-pro-identychnist-govoryat-koli-mayut-klopit-iz-neyu>

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Olena Betlii, *Bizhentsi u Kyievi u roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny: identychnist, dosvid, osobysti istorii (za materialamy kyivskoho perepysu bizhentsiv 1916 g.)* [Refugees in Kyiv during the First World War: identity, experience, personal stories (based on the materials of the Kyiv refugee census of 1916)], “Scientific notes of NaUKMA. Istorychni nauky” [Scientific notes of NaUKMA. Historical sciences], 2019, vol. 2, p. 114.

Program” in refugee camps.⁷² Embroidery samples from different localities demonstrated the diversity of Galicia's cultural heritage and symbolised its national identity.

The women's experience of the national cause during the war was studied by scholars O. Bezhuk and M. Baidak. O. Bezhuk analysed the life and work of the soldier Sofia Halechko, who openly revealed her national identity. O. Bezhuk believes that “with the outbreak of the First World War, the process of crystallisation of Ukrainian society from an ethnic mass into a modern political nation began: young people were ready not only to fight for the idea of statehood, but also to die for it voluntarily.”⁷³

For the first time in Ukrainian history, historian M. Baidak, drawing on a large body of sources (periodicals, correspondence, memoirs, and unpublished materials), highlighted women's experiences during the First World War, presenting the war as both a challenge and an opportunity. The author reinterprets the Great War through the stories of housewives, mothers, wives, widows, civil society activists, and soldiers. She argues that “the Great War was perhaps the best opportunity for women's personal, social, and political emancipation.”⁷⁴ According to M. Baidak, the war made the issue of identity and national choice more pronounced for Galician women. The war “made it possible to understand and feel Ukrainian (not Russian or Polish) and thus contributed to the spread of the idea of a Greater Ukraine. Ukrainian women in both empires felt like ‘their own’ because of a shared goal; they exchanged plans, held similar beliefs, and followed broadly similar lines of behaviour. In both empires, Ukrainian women created public organisations, held anniversary evenings dedicated to the memory of famous Ukrainians, etc.”⁷⁵ The difference in the identity of Galicians and Naddniprians was that “in gaining independence, the former relied on preserving a regional identity

⁷² Oksana Kosmina, *Vyshyvka ukrainskykh bizhentsiv na vystavtsi u Vidni 1915 roku* [Embroidery of Ukrainian refugees at the exhibition in Vienna in 1915], <https://localhistory.org.ua/rubrics/strii/vishivka-ukrayinskikh-bizhentsiv-na-vistavtsi-u-vidni-1915-roku/>

⁷³ Olha Bezhuk, *Vyklyky Velykoi viiny v epistoliarii khorunzhoi Sofii Halechko* [Challenges of the Great War in the epistolary of Coroner Sofia Galechko], “Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist” [Ukraine: cultural heritage, national consciousness, statehood], 2017, No. 30, pp. 44-52.

⁷⁴ Mariana Bajdak, *Vijna iak vyklyk i mozhlyvist': ukrainky v roky Pershoi svitovoi vijny* [War as a challenge and an opportunity: Ukrainian women during the First World War], L'viv, 2021, p. 262.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

that would pave the way for the Great Motherland. At the same time, the latter focused their efforts on the external struggle against the enemy, which determined the fate of Ukrainians for many years.”⁷⁶

The historian O. Pavlyshyn believes that the emancipation of peasant women in Eastern Galicia during the First World War had its own specifics, and that their social role increased, but “it cannot be argued that during the four years of the World War the worldview of peasant women changed dramatically, and their national consciousness crystallised.”⁷⁷ The national dimension of women's mass protests during the war was their Ukrainian identity.⁷⁸ O. Pavlyshyn assessed the process of national awareness of Galician peasants fighting in the Austrian army as one that was not quick and not without difficulties.⁷⁹

The research of O. Kuzmenko⁸⁰ and R. Holyk⁸¹ on the reflection of the First World War in the Ukrainian folklore tradition contributes to the understanding of the emotional experiences of the local population in the crucible of the events of 1914-1918.

We can observe the interest of contemporary Ukrainian researchers in the social problems of 1914-1918. Historians I. Ilnytskyi and M. Hlibishchuk have published documents from the State Archives of the Chernivtsi region, petitions of

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁷⁷ Oleh Pavlyshyn, *Emansypatsiia zhinky-selianky v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny. "Babska revoliutsiia" 1918 r. u Skhidnii Halychyni* [Emancipation of a peasant woman during the First World War. "Bab Revolution" of 1918 in Eastern Galicia], "Ukraina moderna" [Modern Ukraine], 2016, No. 23, p. 166.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷⁹ Oleh Pawłyszyn, *Wież ukraińska Galicji Wschodniej w latach I wojny światowej: strategie przetrwania, modernizacja społeczna i tożsamość narodowa* [The Ukrainian countryside of Eastern Galicia during World War I: survival strategies, social modernization, and national identity], in Włodzimierz Mędrzecki (Red.), *Metamorfozy Społeczne*, Vol. 12, *Studia nad historią społeczną ziem polskich 1914–1918* [Social Metamorphoses, Vol. 12, Studies on the social history of the Polish lands, 1914–1918], Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2018, pp. 117-160, http://rcin.org.pl/ihpan/Content/141202/PDF/WA303_174515_II9357-12_Pavlisin.pdf

⁸⁰ Oksana Kuzmenko, *Persha svitova viina v ukrainskikh folklornii tradytsii* [The First World War in the Ukrainian folklore tradition], "Ukraina moderna" [Modern Ukraine], 2016, No. 23, pp. 111-151.

⁸¹ Roman Holyk, *Slozy y kosti: Persha svitova viina u tekstakh ta uiavlenniakh halytskykh selian* [Tears and bones: The First World War in the texts and ideas of Galician peasants], "Narodoznavchi zoshyty. Seriia filolohichna" [Ethnological notebooks. Philological series], 2014, no. 3, pp. 494-501.

residents (in particular from Sniatyn and Vyzhnytsia districts) to the Russian administration to return their relatives exiled to the Russian homeland.⁸² On the basis of these archival sources, historians draw conclusions about the socio-political attitudes of Bukovina's peasants, and argue that there was a traditional society in this region, characterized by a different way of thinking.⁸³

Scholar B. Lazorak first introduced into scientific circulation documents about the Russian invasion of Drohobych region in 1916-1917 from the archive of the Basilians at the Church of the Holy Trinity, which highlight the extent of damage to the church parishes of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Drohobych district, as well as the assistance of the Greek Catholic clergy to the population and orphans.⁸⁴ B. Lazorak published 36 original documents from the secret folder of the head of the Drohobych district, Captain Oleksiy Till, during the Russian occupation of Drohobych (October 1914 – April 1915), which contain interrogations, reports, messages, and orders concerning the Uniate clergy and the Polish and Jewish intelligentsia of Drohobych. It was found that the orders of the head of the Drohobych district and the governor of the Lviv province were openly Ukrainianophobic, as evidenced by the facts of the deportation of Uniate priests to Siberia and, conversely, the artificial appointment of Orthodox clergy in their place. The documents contain valuable information on the history of the unknown period of the Drohobych magistrate's activity and on a rare order concerning the defence of the occupied territories against the Austrian army's offensive.⁸⁵

⁸² Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Mykola Hlibishchuk, *Suspilno-politychni nastroi bukovynskykh selian u roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny (za dokumentamy derzhavnoho arkhivu Chernivetskoï oblasti)* [Socio-political Attitudes of Bukovina Peasants During the First World War (According to the Documents of the State Archive of the Chernivtsi Region)], "Aktualni pytannia humanitarnykh nauk" [Current issues of humanitarian sciences], Vol. 44, 2021, No. 1, pp. 13-18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁴ Bohdan Lazorak, *Tserkovni dzherela pro naslidky rosiys'koyi okupatsiyi v parafiyakh drohobyts'koho dekanatu (1916–1917 rr.): zahroza ruyiny, problema voyennykh syrit ta sproby vidrodzhennya* [Church sources on the consequences of the Russian occupation in the parishes of the Drohobych deanery (1916–1917): the threat of ruin, the problem of war orphans and attempts at revival], "Aktualni pytannia humanitarnykh nauk" [Current issues of humanitarian sciences], Vol. 12, 2015, pp. 32-54.

⁸⁵ Bohdan Lazorak, *Sekretna papka nachalnyka drohobytskoho povitu kapitana Oleksiia Tilla yak arhument rosiiskoi ukrainofobii v Halychyni (1914-1915)* [The secret folder of the head of the Drohobych district, Captain Oleksiy Till, as an argument for Russian Ukrainophobia in Galicia (1914-1915)], "Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist" [Ukraine: cultural heritage, national consciousness, statehood], 2015, no. 26, pp. 339-364.

Contemporary Ukrainian historians, drawing on the experience and approaches of foreign historiography, are expanding the scope of their research, moving beyond traditional military and political topics. The objects of study and analysis are primarily urban spaces, in particular, according to I. Lozynska's study of Lviv in the context of the church policy of the Russian occupation authorities, on the eve of the war, "there was no sense of Catholic solidarity between Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics in the city. Formally, they belonged to the same Universal Church, but there was a national gap between them. Members of both denominations were integral to their national movements. This indicated that national identity was finally gaining ground relative to religious and confessional identities."⁸⁶ According to the author, "Russian attempts to impose the Orthodox religion in Eastern Galicia and the oppression of the Greek Catholic Church were in line with the official policy of fighting the Ukrainian national movement and contributed to the incorporation of the region into the Russian Empire."⁸⁷

The anthropological dimension of the First World War in the Carpathian region opens up prospects for further understanding of the national self-reflections of Ukrainians/Rusyns, including the study of interethnic mutual aid, communication, survival practices, as well as collaboration, patriotism, espionage, prostitution, historical memory of the Great War, and commemorative practices. The experience of civic solidarity of the Ukrainian population during the war testifies to new forms of "civic engagement of Ukrainian society and the elimination of isolation in relations between Ukrainians on both banks of the Zbruch River."⁸⁸

During Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, collective works of Ukrainian historians appeared to comprehend the current realities of the Russian-Ukrainian war, to search for historical causes, geopolitical analogies of Russia's wars against Ukraine, and to present scientific research to a wide range of readers, in particular, the volumes: *For Identity and Independence. Russia's War Against Ukraine: Historical Background, Geopolitical Parallels*,⁸⁹ *The Turning Point:*

⁸⁶ Iryna Lozynska, *Tserkovna polityka rosiiskoi okupatsiinoi vlady v Halychyni v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny* [Church policy of the Russian occupation authorities in Galicia during the First World War], "Drohobyt'skyi kraieznavchyi zbirnyk" [Drohobyt'sk local history collection], 2014, No. 17-18, pp. 266-274.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸⁸ Ivan Khoma, *Halytsko-Bukovyn'skyi komitet dopomohy zhertvam Pershoi svitovoi viiny: stvorennia ta osnovni zasady diialnosti* [Galicia-Bukovina Committee for Aid to Victims of the First World War: creation and basic principles of activity], "Visnyk Natsionalnoho universytetu 'Lvivska politekhnika'. 'Derzhava ta armii'" [Bulletin of the Lviv Polytechnic National University. 'The state and the army'], 2014, No. 809, pp. 53-56.

⁸⁹ *Za Identychnist i Nezalezhnist. Viina Rosii proty Ukrainy: istorychni peredumovy*,

Russia's War Against Ukraine in the Time Layers and Spaces of the Past. Dialogues with Historians,⁹⁰ *Russia-Ukraine: Betrayals, Alliances, Wars*.⁹¹

The authors of the collective work *For Identity and Independence. Russia's War against Ukraine: Historical Preconditions, Geopolitical Parallels* are convinced that "the war accelerated the maturation of nation-building processes,"⁹² "broke down the border walls, and the Ukrainian nation became self-aware to the extent that it rethought its task," began the struggle for its own statehood,⁹³ "intensified the process of formation of the Ukrainian modern nation, which turned from an object of international politics into its direct subject," "gave a new impetus to the development of the national idea."⁹⁴ The historian O. Reient noted that the Great War "swept away the artificial borders that divided the Ukrainian people and gave impetus to social unification tendencies,"⁹⁵ "in the crucible of the Great War of 1914-1918, Ukrainians not only did not disappear, but also made a leap forward to a practical attempt to implement the idea of a united Ukrainian state."⁹⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary Ukrainian historians agree that the First World War accelerated the formation of national identity among Ukrainians who lacked their own state, were divided by imperial borders, and found themselves in enemy armies. However, most scholarly research is limited to stating this fact and to general statements about the importance of communication for the perception of belonging in wartime. Studies on the military, prisoners of war, internees, and refugees focus on the issues of national self-reflection of Ukrainians. However, the problems of regional identity, local affiliation, sense of duty, patriotism, and loyalty among the population of the Carpathian region, which became the battlefield on the

heopolitychni paraleli [For Identity and Independence. Russia's War Against Ukraine: Historical Background, Geopolitical Parallels], U 2-kh kn., Kn. 1, Kyiv, 2022.

⁹⁰ *Perelom. Viina Rosii proty Ukrainy u chasovykh plastakh i prostorakh mynuvshyny. Di-alohy z istorykamy* [Fracture. Russia's war against Ukraine across the temporal layers and spatial scales of the past. Dialogues with historians], U 2-kh kn., Kyiv, 2022.

⁹¹ *Rosiia-Ukraina: zrazy, soiuzy, viiny* [Russia-Ukraine: betrayals, alliances, wars], Lviv, 2022, 798 p.

⁹² *Za Identychnist i Nezalezhnist...*, Kn. 1, Kyiv, 2022, p. 577.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 587.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

Eastern Front, the theatre of advance of the imperial armies, and the site of the establishment of occupation administrations, remain unexplored. Changes on the front line, the region's geographical features, experience, and the population's survival practices influenced these feelings. Sporadic reconstructions of personal experiences of constructing national identity during the First World War are enabled by expanding the source base and by identifying and analysing ego documents (diaries, letters), among others. The correlation between the confessional and national identities of Ukrainians/Rusyns in the Carpathian region, the use and spread of ethnonyms during the Great War, requires further research.

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