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**PAGES OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF OLEKSANDR LOTOTSKIY
IN EMIGRATION DURING THE PERIOD OF 1926 – 1932
(ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS FROM THE BRANCH STATE ARCHIVE
OF THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OF UKRAINE)**

Abstract. *The aim of the research* is to analyze some circumstances of Oleksandr Lototskiy's participation in activity of émigré establishments on the territories of Central and Western Europe during the period of the 1920s – 1930s and to verify the continuance of his social and political activity. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historical methods, scientism, objectiveness; also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, systematization, typology) and special and historical (historic and comparative, problematic, problematic chronological) methods. Apart from it, the research is based on the principles of a biographical approach and theoretical methodological principles of "intellectual history", as the present research adds to the factual intellectual biography of O. Lototskiy. **The scientific novelty** consists in reconstructing the events of Oleksandr Lototskiy's life (1870 – 1939) as a social and political figure and historian during the emigration period while making use of open materials from branch state archives of the foreign intelligence service of Ukraine. There are given facts relevant to the figure's participation in activity of various establishments and organizations founded on the territories of Central-Western Europe during the period of the 1920s – 1930s. The main centers of O. Lototskiy's social and political activity in emigration were Prague and Warsaw. If the Prague period was characteristic of partaking in social and political organizations, the moving to Warsaw was connected with joining to the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) in exile under the leadership of A. Levytskyi. There is a plenty of information relevant to O. Lototskiy's cooperation with representatives of the Ukrainian emigration: participation in conferences, congresses, taking care of Ukrainian Church problems, coordination of the UPR Government's functioning. Apart from it, there are found documents proving O. Lototskiy's contribution to reorganizing of political circles of the Ukrainian emigration as well as establishing of multi-branch social activity.

The Conclusions. As a result of the present investigation, conclusions are made proving that the emigration period of O. Lotozkiy's life during the years of the 1920s – 1930s was filled not only with scientific and teaching work, but also with numerous events of social and political character. During the last decades of his life O. Lotozkiy dedicated his time not only to the history of Ukrainian Church, but also took leading positions in the work of the establishments founded by representatives of the Ukrainian emigration in Warsaw, Prague and Paris which shows the continuance of his social and political activity.

Key words: O. Lotozkiy, biography, emigration, social and political activity, Warsaw, Prague.

СТОРИНКИ ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОЛЕКСАНДРА ЛОТОЦЬКОГО В ЕМІГРАЦІЇ УПРОДОВЖ 1926 – 1932 рр. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ГАЛУЗЕВОГО ДЕРЖАВНОГО АРХІВУ СЛУЖБИ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ РОЗВІДКИ УКРАЇНИ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати умови участі Олександра Лотоцького в діяльності українських еміграційних установ та організацій на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи упродовж 1920 – 1930-х рр. і підтвердити тяглість його громадсько-політичної діяльності. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на базові принципи історизму, науковості, об'єктивності; загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, систематизація, типологізація) та спеціально-історичні (історико-порівняльний, проблемний, проблемно-хронологічний) методи. Крім того, дослідження ґрунтується на принципах біографічного підходу, а також теоретико-методологічних принципах “інтелектуальної історії”, адже розвідка розширює наявну інтелектуальну біографію О. Лотоцького. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі матеріалів Галузевого державного архіву Служби зовнішньої розвідки України доповнено події еміграційного етапу життєвого шляху українського громадсько-політичного діяча та історика Олександра Лотоцького (1870 – 1939). Подаються факти щодо його участі у діяльності різноманітних установ та організацій, що виникли на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи протягом 1920 – 1930-х рр. Головними осередками громадсько-політичної активності О. Лотоцького в еміграції стали Прага та Варшава. Якщо празький період ознаменувався участю у громадсько-політичних організаціях, то переїзд до Варшави був пов'язаний з входженням до лав Уряду Української Народної Республіки (УНР) в екзилі під головуванням А. Левицького. Маємо різноманітну інформацію щодо співпраці О. Лотоцького з представниками української еміграції: участь у конференціях, з'їздах, опікування проблемами Української церкви, робота в Уряді УНР. Крім того, наявні відомості, що засвідчують внесок О. Лотоцького у реорганізацію політичних кіл української еміграції та налагодження розгалуженої громадської діяльності. **Висновки.** У підсумку проведеного дослідження були зроблені висновки, що еміграційний період у житті О. Лотоцького (1920 – 1930-ті) був насичений не лише науково-викладацькою роботою, а й численними акціями громадсько-політичного характеру. Протягом двох останніх десятиліть свого життя О. Лотоцький не лише присвятив час студіюванню історії Української церкви, а й обійняв чільні посади в установах, започаткованих представниками української еміграції у Варшаві, Празі, Парижі, зберігши тяглість своєї громадсько-політичної діяльності.

Ключові слова: О. Лотоцький, біографія, еміграція, громадсько-політична діяльність, Варшава, Прага.

The Problem Statement. The establishment of the Ukrainian State at the end of the XXth century and at the beginning of the XXIst century is accompanied with reviving a lot of pages from the history of Ukrainian territories. Living in the cages of the Russian Empire and the USSR led to forming a lot of lacunas which haven't been filled by historians yet. Under the circumstances of the war with Russia, which is going on in the East of our country, a special attention should be given to those episodes in our history that were accompanied with attempts of establishing our statehood. The fundamental study of those events, firstly, will give us new proofs of the Ukrainians' right to their own state and, secondly, will provide a possibility to describe and analyse mistakes made earlier. In this aspect, the events of national

and liberating attempts on the territories of Ukraine during the period of 1917 – 1920 and during the emigration period of the 1920s – 1930s are very meaningful.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. At the beginning of the XXth century on the Ukrainian territories in the field of social and political activity of Oleksandr Lototskiy (1870 – 1939) became an important figure who having started from an idea to broaden rights of the Ukrainians within the borders of the Russian Empire arrived at a deep conviction that our people should have a right not only to Autocephaly Orthodox Church independent of Moscow Patriarchy but also a right to an independent state. His social and political and literary activity was profoundly elucidated in various works at the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries. We have traditional biographic narratives of O. Lototskiy's *curricula vitae* (Ul'janovskiy, 1993; Shvydkiy, 2002; Dudko, 2005), researches on intellectual biography of the figure (Mychailenko, 2014), researches on particular aspects of his creative works or some particular period in the life of the scholar (Pas'ko, 1997; Mchytaran, 1995; Strelskiy, 2006). Numerous remembrances about O. Lototskiy are found in works which described current events at the time of the Ukrainian revolution in 1917 – 1920 (Nagaevskiy, 1994; Verstuk, Ostashko, 1998; Vedeneev, Goshulak, 1998 etc.). O. Lototskiy's activity in Poland as a director of Ukrainian Scientific Institute and a teacher of at Warsaw University was elucidated in various publications on the territories of Poland (Kozak, 1996; Potocki, 1998; Wiszka, 2004). Since a series of publications about O. Lototskiy represents particular pages from intellectual biography of the scholar, it is worth mentioning that researches on intellectual biography of Ukrainian figures are added, in particular we have new publications concerning intellectual biography of V. Petrov (Andryeyev, 2019; Andryeyev, 2019; Andryeyev, Kariaka, 2019).

However, O. Lototskiy's emigration period was mainly depicted making use of universities and organizations' reports, of chronicles of the Ukrainian emigration events, published in émigré periodical newspapers or from memoirs of representatives of the Ukrainian emigration. They contain to the most extent scientific and teaching aspects of the figure's activity in the 1920s – 1930s, thus, in publications in the preceding years it was emphasized that scientific and teaching activity took the first place in O. Lototskiy's professional life during the emigration period (Mychailenko, 2014, p. 134). The materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine make it possible to add to the above list of scientific and teaching activities.

The Purpose of Publication is to reveal key moments of O. Lototskiy's partaking in activity of Ukrainian émigré organizations and establishments on the territories of Central-Western Europe during the period of 1917 – 1930 and to prove the continuance of his social and political activity: social activity in Ukrainian circles in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the XXth century – participation in the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle in 1917 – 1920 – partaking in reorganization of Ukrainian emigration in 1920 – 1930.

The Main Material Statement. O. Lototskiy's views as for political destiny of Ukrainian territories were substantially radicalized as a result of his political activity during the period of 1917 – 1920, and outside Ukraine he did not give up attempts of other emigration representatives to gain support from European countries in solving the Ukrainian issue on the international scale of Europe. In the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine there are remembrances relevant to his partaking in activity of various Ukrainian émigré establishments during the period of 1926 – 1932. Thus, we have got a report of the Minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) A. Levitskiy from 5.03.1926 concerning the organization and activity of the Ukrainian emigration in Czechoslovakia Republic. It deals

with key decisions that provided organized in the best way political and cultural activity. Among some affiliated groups the Ukrainian republican Club is also mentioned under the readership of O. Lotozkiy, F. Scherbina and A. Jakovlev (Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine), Case 6, a, p. 138).

One of the tasks which was put before the Ukrainian emigration and solving of which Oleksandr Lotozkiy attempted at was to unite politically divided Ukrainian communities in foreign parts. At the end of 1926 following this aim O. Lotozkiy together with D. Doroshenko, M. Slavinskiy, K. Mazievich and O. Shulgin became a co-founder of Committee of united national parties. The Committee uniting a row of political groups and broadening its activity on the territories of Romania, Poland, France, Germany and southern-slavish lands aimed at preparations for returning to Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, b, p. 190). This attempt to unite politically conscious Ukrainian emigrants was described in A. Levitskiy's letter to I. Tokarzhevskiy who resided in Paris at the time (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, c, pp. 250–250 P.T.O.).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy was also mentioned in 1926 among the leaders of League of Ukrainian Statehood, which was considered as a factual centre of "Petlurahood" and which numbered up to 100 people in Prague and about 50 in Paris (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, d, p. 376). In the list of the Ukrainian emigrants living in Czechoslovakia which include short biographical notes there is a characteristic of O. Lotozkiy's figure describing him as a gentle but at the same time very cunning person (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, a, p. 250).

Murdering of S. Petliura in 1926 as well as promoting A. Levitskiy to his place in the government of the UPR was of a great resonance among the Ukrainian emigrants, which was reflected in a report of the head of State Political Administration of the USSR V. Balitskiy to General Secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine L. Kaganovich (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 16, e, pp. 516–517).

In report from the following years there were numerous mentions of not only enforced reorganizing of politically conscious groups of Ukrainian emigration but also those of some measures aimed at commemorating S. Petliura, in particular on activity of Foundation after S. Petliura, among participants of which O. Lotozkiy was also mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, a, p. 213). Apart from that, during the year of 1927 it was reported on joining by O. Lotozkiy Ukrainian Club in Warsaw, which should be accompanied with a series of speeches at public meetings, lectures (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, b, p. 46) and on negotiating with O. Shul'gin about starting up a new periodical edition which would be an official organ of Ukrainian radical and democratic party (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, c, p. 112).

In reports from August of 1927 Oleksandr Lotozkiy was presented as the Minister of Internal Affairs of the UPR under the leadership of A. Levitskiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 14, d, p. 266); at the Congress of the UPR Government in June of 1928, which, as it was reported, had been summoned at the request of French Government, the staff was finally confirmed in which O. Lotozkiy occupied the abovementioned position (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, a, p. 200). Later mentions of the figure showed substantial increase in his social and political activity: participation in the Congress of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague in July of 1928 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, b, p. 204); mentions of organizing a row of consultations in the rank of the Minister for Internal Affairs in July – August of 1928 with former administrators at the time of the UPR in Prague (the aim: to elucidate former experience and to develop a system of government for future, which showed the necessity of renewing the system which had worked during the last period of Central Council, but with adding military reinforcements) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, c, p. 217); participation in

the Congress of “Petliura’s men” in Paris at the beginning of July of 1928, the aim of which was to discuss foreign policy of the UPR, in particular confirming expediency of enlisting England and France on the side of Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, d, p. 332).

In the materials from 1928 there increased a number of reports concerning O. Lotozkiy’s relations with the Polish circles: supporting persons who belonged to the UPR after their moving to Poland (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, e, p. 175), and receiving a permission from the Polish to found the Ukrainian gymnasium in Volyn region; 4 visits to Warsaw within 3 months, co-operation with Polish Consul (which caused a displeasure among some representatives of Ukrainian emigration in Prague actually, for example S. Sheluchin) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, b, p. 68; Case 17, f, p. 413), and receiving money from Poland for Prague emigrants (the part of it O. Lotozkiy sent to France with the purpose of publishing “Trident” (“Tryzub”) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, g, p. 422). The note from 11 May 1928 contains the list of teachers of Ukrainian University in Prague with short characteristics among which Oleksandr Lotozkiy is also mentioned as a member of A. Levizkiy’s Government and as a representative of Poland’s Government in Prague with a mission to control the Ukrainians (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, c, pp. 61–61 P.T.O.) In the report from 18 July 1928 concerning the Ukrainian issue in Poland and Czechoslovakia we have detailed information: O. Lotozkiy wins perfect confidence in Poland’s Government and is regarded as “a friend” at the Polish Embassy in Prague; the Ukrainians who wanted to gain a visa to Poland had to get an agreement with O. Lotozkiy first, as the Embassy gave visas only after the recommendations were received (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, d, p. 76).

Apart from it, beginning from September of 1928, in reports there were mentioned O. Lotozkiy’s preparations for moving first to Warsaw, then, perhaps, Lviv where it was planned to open University (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 17, h, p. 422 P.T.O.); the direct moving to Warsaw, performances in his honor in Podebradach by I. Myrny’s wife, delegating his authority of the Head of Republican-democratic Club (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 4, a, pp. 13–13 P.T.O.) and even a farewell party with O. Lotozkiy in Prague at “Graff” hotel on 29 October 1928 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 5, e, p. 206).

The most part of the Ukrainian emigration greeted O. Lotozkiy’s moving to Warsaw. In particular, K. Mazievich in his letter to Oleksandr Lotozkiy from 5 December 1928 says that the Republican-democratic Club and Prague’s circles on the whole felt O. Lotozkiy’s absence, although they quite understood his moving, as he could do more in Warsaw for the common Ukrainian deed (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, a, p. 7). Ye. Lukasevich in his letter to K. Mazievich in the spring of 1929 was glad that there gathered a lot of honorable people in Warsaw including O. Lotozkiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, b, p. 82).

The first years in Warsaw were the time of increased social and political activity, which was evident from the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine. Already in 1929 O. Lotozkiy was amid the leaders and active participants of All-Ukrainian emigrant’s centre which had the objective of preparing the Ukrainians for the Ukrainian issue in the League of Nations (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 4, b, p. 138 P.T.O.). In the materials from July of 1929 there are found reports concerning the meetings of A. Levitskiy and O. Lotozkiy with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy Dino Grandi as for organizing of Anti-Bolsheviks actions and founding of an body aimed at counteracting the Bolsheviks, where of financial support from Italian side was not mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, c, p. 112). I. Tokarzhevskiy writes on the expediency of co-operation with the USA in his letter to O. Lotozkiy. In particular, he notes that in financial circles in Paris

they spoke about the interests of America's capitals in economic renaissance of Ukraine, so it would be very useful if O. Lotozkiy met with a representative of American financial groups Deve (there is no more detailed information about Deve in the source. – The author) and presented him a statistical survey of economic situation in Ukraine before the war and at the current time (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, d, p. 172).

On 25–27 July Oleksandr Lotozkiy took part in the conference of the Ukrainian emigrants in Prague (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, e, p. 165). In the report from 15 August 1929 there was given an extended list of participants of the emigrants' conference and information concerning the number of Ukrainian emigrants' organizations presented during the conference (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, f, p. 182). According to the report from 26 October 1929 there is information concerning the plans to organize Ukrainian University in Lutsk with the help of Polish Ministry, among the authors of the project O. Lotozkiy is mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, g, p. 321). The issues of activity in Volyn region were also discussed at the congress of "Petliura's men" in Warsaw in December of 1929 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, h, p. 287).

Taking into account the heterogeneousness of the Ukrainian emigration and its ideological diversity even among representatives of a certain political movement, it is not surprising that time from time in reports there appeared information about conflicting situations and misunderstandings. For example, a part of the Ukrainian emigration, who was the followers of the UPR and represented military circles, looked with precaution at the figure of the leader of UPR's Government A. Levytskiy as well as at Minister of Internal Affairs Oleksandr Lotozkiy. In particular, such attitude was traced in the letter of a representative of Military Ministry of the UPR A. Kmet towards Military Minister V. Salskiy. The roots of this attitude are interpreted as an old "cold" attitude from the side of the military men to representatives of civil sphere ("circles") and the attitude of O. Lotozkiy towards the issue of granting entry visas to Poland for military men (alas, the details of this case are not explained) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, i, p. 17). Sometimes it came to intercepting letters; in particular, O. Lotozkiy reported that General V. Salskiy intercepted his letter from the Soviet Ukraine and refused to give it back according to the address; he also did not let him know the content (due to O. Lotozkiy's suppositions it concerned the Ukrainians' attitude to coup d'état in Ukraine in the aspect not favorable for V. Salskiy) (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, b, p. 92). However, the co-operation went on, in particular, in the summer O. Lotozkiy and E. Chikalenko visited Prague to coordinate civil representatives of the UPR's partaking in military gatherings which were going to take place on 29 July in Kalysh under the name of "The Congress of the UPR Army's Invalids" (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, a, p. 413).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy himself supported A. Levitskiy as a leader of the UPR's Government; in particular, in the confrontation of the latter with Military Minister V. Salskiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, c, pp. 91–92; BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 15, a, p. 274), however, at the same time he propagated an idea of reviving the Directory instead of A. Levytskiy alone. At the same time, against both O. Lotozkiy and A. Levitskiy in Prague M. Slavinskiy rendered agitation supposedly (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 2, j, p. 270 P.T.O.). The confrontation between A. Levytskiy and V. Salskiy resulted in a meeting of the Council of the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) on 8 July 1930 (O. Lotozkiy also took part in it), on which the majority of the present argued the impossibility of splits at the current time in the Ukrainian emigration. As a result, the Council of the UCC made a decision not to change anything in the leadership as well as in the UPR (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, d, p. 94). Moreover, the achievements at the beginning of the 1930s required really uniting but not quarrel. Positive changes in the Ukrainian community of the so-called "Petliura's men" were noted even in

some reports. In particular, it was supposed that during the period of 1922 – 1924 the Ukrainians in emigration were morally corrupted and ran off organizationally, instead during the year of 1930 they became a united community under the leadership of Warsaw's centre. As the outer factor, which helped regenerating the UPR, the increased Polish financial support was noted after killing of S. Petliura. The inner factor – the activity of the UPR's members. Among the figures, who played a special role in the renovation of the UPR in exile, O. Lotozkiy was mentioned who together with his colleagues was very active in organizing the Ukrainian communities in Central and Western Europe (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 3, a, pp. 99–99 P.T.O.).

At the same time, information about a possible split among the followers of the UPR continued to appear. The reasons which caused quarrels, first of all, were the increase of the Polish influence in Western Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, b, p. 20) and expediency of removing the emigration centre to Prague or Paris (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, c, p. 407). According to the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine, on 15 April 1931 members of the UPR's Government (O. Lotozkiy among them) visited Prague to make a deal with the Czechs about moving as well as holding a council with Paris governmental group of the UPR (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, d, p. 306). In case of the UPR's moving it was planned that some person-members should stay on in Warsaw among whom, of course, O. Lotozkiy was also mentioned (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, e, p. 217).

Parallel to it, in a row of reports (May – June of 1931) they spoke about organizing meetings of the Polish Government and members of the UPR's Government (with O. Lotozkiy's partaking) and achieving agreements on opening of Ukrainian University in Warsaw and the professorate's moving from Prague (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, f, pp. 326, 370). In the report from June of 1931 they spoke about, according to A. Jakovlev's words, Poland's setting up new requirements to the UPR which even A. Levytskiy and O. Lotozkiy (being supporters of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation) regarded as unacceptable (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, g, p. 426).

On a background of reports about a possible split among emigrants-supporters of the UPR in the summer of 1931 there appeared reports about O. Lotozkiy's leaving the Ministry. Among the reasons for such decision they mentioned his wish after his wife's death to leave politics and to concentrate himself on Church activity as well as on the Polish-Ukrainian contradictions which became aggravated in 1931 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, h, pp. 327, 367). O. Lotozkiy himself supposedly explained his leaving the Government by the fact that the UPR began to lose independence lately, yielding to the Polish Government influence (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, I, p. 456). In his letter to V. Murskiy he noted that because of his personal catastrophe he did not feel enough strength to take up work which requires a lot of energy and initiative (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, j, p. 522). In September of 1931 there appeared a report according to which O. Lotozkiy was planning to leave the UPR in order to accept a bishopric for Volyn Eparchy from Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Poland Dionysii (Valedynskyi) or to localize an autocephaly movement there (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 8, a, p. 1). However, it remained only as possible plans or rumors.

The leaving of the UPR's Government did not mean a full stop in a social activity of Oleksandr Lotozkiy, in particular, he was a participant of the second Ukrainian scientific congress which took place in Prague as well as a row of secret councils of the UPR's leaders during the first half of 1932 (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 7, a, p. 400). On 16 – 17 July 1932 the congress of Ukrainian organizations took place in France. O. Lotozkiy was present there among representatives of the Central Council of Ukrainian organizations (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 6, a, p. 46). In September of 1932 the conference of Ukrainian emigration took place in Prague at

which O. Lotozkiy was present too (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 6, b, p. 321). He also made a report at the October conference of the UPR where the issues of political situation in the world and the demands to unite all Ukrainian forces were discussed (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 6, c, p. 337).

A great deal of the work concerning both social and political, scientific and educational activities of the Ukrainian emigration in Poland during the period of 1920 – 1930 was connected with functioning of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (USI) in Warsaw under the leadership of Oleksandr Lotozkiy. Some reports in the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine are relevant to the above Institute in particular. For example, in a report from February of 1931 there is information about holding public lectures in the Polish language at the recently opened Institute, which though were not popular yet (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, k, p. 13). There is information already from March about opened at the USI seminar in law which was aimed at studying the Soviet Legislation and that necessary corrections should be made at the beginning in case of returning to Ukraine (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, l, p. 167). They spoke about readiness for O. Lotozkiy's moving to Ukraine in the next future at the meeting of Lawyer Society (BSA FIS Ukraine, Case 9, m, p. 168). They also spoke about a possible upheaval in Ukraine in the spring of 1931 in the report from May as well as about a meeting of D. Gerodot and O. Lotozkiy (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, n, p. 340). Dated from May of 1931 there is a more informative report about the USI's activity in Warsaw: the USI had 4 departments (economical, historical philological and engineering); at the head – the board under the leadership of O. Lotozkiy; the objective of administrative-law department – educating a staff for the future government of Ukraine; the Institute was also engaged in publishing activity (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, o, p. 324).

In the field of social and political activity Oleksandr Lotozkiy was still busy in Church issues. Judging by the figure's publications dated from the 1920s – 1930s we can see a profound study of the Ukrainian Church conducted by O. Lotozkiy; the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine show that the scientist continued to be engaged in acknowledgement of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. For example, V. Prokopovich in his letter to O. Lotozkiy from 15 June 1930 informed that during his meeting with the Patriarch he reminded the latter of the importance of solving the Church issue in Ukraine and that in reply he was given a promise that the issue would be solved and that Patriarch passed blessing to the Ukrainian emigration (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, e, p. 22). In the report from 27 August 1930 it was noted that on V. Prokopovich's arriving from Turkey an important meeting of the UPR's Government members was held in Warsaw, but what was being discussed about was not exactly ascertained (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 1, f, p. 177 P.T.O.). At V. Kedrovskiy's request O. Lotozkiy turned to a representative of the UPR in Turkey V. Murskiy concerning the matters of American part of the Ukrainian Autocephaly Church which sought for mutual understanding with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople while asking V. Murskiy about mediation (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 15, c, p. 154).

Oleksandr Lotozkiy planned an election of Metropolitan Boris (most likely – Razumov. – The author) as an extraordinary member of the UPR about which he consulted with V. Murskiy. The latter helped O. Lotozkiy in the search of official books which were to be translated in Ukrainian by the Commission organized at the UPR for the purpose of translating Holy Scripture and divine service books (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 8, b, p. 154).

In other letters O. Lotozkiy told V. Murskiy that as a representative of the Patriarch in Warsaw Bishop Alexander Zotos had been invited and that he had a “decent” attitude to the Ukrainian deed; that in June of 1932 a group of 3 representatives was going to visit the Aphon

to take part in a preparatory cathedral gathering aimed at summoning the Eight Ecumenical Council; in the letter he also asked to pass congratulations to Metropolitan Boris on his behalf and promised to send new volumes of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute works in Warsaw (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 7, b, p. 334). In particular, in the summer of 1931 he sent some exemplars of his work “Ukrainian Sources of Church Law” for V. Murskiy and Metropolitan Boris and on returning from Paris, where he stayed at his children, he planned to send 2 more exemplars for the Patriarch and Patriarch’s library (BSA FIS of Ukraine, Case 9, p, p. 522).

The leaving of active social and political work made possible for O. Lototskiy to be plunged in teaching work at Warsaw University, to concentrate himself on scientific work and dedicate his time to remembrances. So, in 1935 and in 1938 2 volume work “Autocephaly” was published. The work was dedicated to elucidating general foundations of Church Autocephaly and history of some Orthodox churches (Lototskiy, 1935; Lototskiy, 1938). During the years of 1932 – 1934 emigrant society could be acquainted with 3 volume memoirs “Pages of the Past” by O. Lototskiy (Lototskiy, 1932; Lototskiy, 1934), and in 1939 – with a separate volume of memoirs dedicated to his stay in Turkey (Lototskiy, 1939).

The Conclusions. During the period of the 1920s – 1930s O. Lototskiy’s activity took place on the territories of Central-Western Europe. Taking into account both his concentrated practice of social and political work in the previous years and professionalism in the matters of researching the Church history, it should be noted that functioning of a lot of emigrants’ establishments and organizations was possible due to his partaking. Previous researches in O. Lototskiy’s intellectual biography have shown the continuance of his interests in the history of Church on the whole and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in particular. At the same time, the materials from the Branch State Archives of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine provided a basis for making an addition to the emigration period of O. Lototskiy’s life with facts of intense social and political activity. Already at the beginning of 1926 while staying in Prague he was a participant of the Ukrainian Republican Club, the Committee of Ukrainian National Parties Unity, the League of political activity, as he took the position of Minister for Internal Affairs of the UPR’s Government in exile under of leadership of A. Levytskiy. Hereafter, we have reports on his partaking in various conferences, congresses, councils the aim of which was to reorganize the Ukrainian emigration, to unite it and prepare conditions for an Anti-Bolsheviks upheaval (coup d’etat) in Ukraine. The moving to Warsaw opened new possibilities: under the leadership of Oleksandr Lototskiy the Ukrainian Scientific Institute was established in Warsaw. Tragic circumstances of his private life and the refusal to avow a failure in independency of the UPR Government activity led to O. Lototskiy’s exit from the membership of the UPR Government in exile. However, it made possible for him to dedicate more time to his teaching activity at Warsaw University and be plunged to full extent in scientific work.

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