

**ВІЙСЬКОВІ ДІЇ 1914–1915 РР. ТА ЇХ ВПЛИВ ТА
ЕТНОПОЛІТИЧНЕ СТАНОВИЩЕ УКРАЇНЦІВ / РУСИНІВ
КАРПАТСЬКОГО РЕГІОНУ**

Петро КОСТЮЧОК,

кафедра етнології і археології ДВНЗ

“Прикарпатський національний університет імені В. Стефаника”,

Івано-Франківськ (Україна)

petro.kostyuchok@gmail.com

**MILITARY ACTIONS OF 1914–1915 AND THEIR
INFLUENCE AND ETHNOPOLITICAL SITUATION
OF UKRAINIANS / RUTHENIANS IN THE CARPATHIAN REGION**

Petro KOSTYUCHOK,

Department of Ethnology and Archeology,

V. Stefanyk Precarpathian National University,

Ivano-Frankivsk (Ukraine),

ORCID 0000-0001-8719-8723

Костючєк Петр. Военные действия 1914–1915 гг. И их влияние и этнополитическое положение украинцев / русинов Карпатского региона. Цель предлагаемой статьи заключается в исследовании влияния военных действий 1914–1915 гг. на этнополитическое положение украинцев/русинов Карпатского региона. Указанные трансформационные процессы видоизменяли первичную социальную, политическую, хозяйственную, культурную и этническую структуры, чему ранее не были посвящены отдельные научные изыскания, следовательно предложенное исследование содержит тематическую **новизну**. Первая мировая война для украинства стала переломным моментом на пути к коллективной политической мобилизации и определенной групповой этнической идентификации. **Источники и методология.** В статье на основе широкого круга источников комплексно, в сравнительном ключе, проанализированы этнополитическое положение украинцев / русинов Карпатского региона и охарактеризованы влияние военных действий 1914–1915 гг. на местное население края. **Выводы.** В публикации показана корреляция влияния фактора войны и соответствующих военных столкновений 1914–1915 гг. в Карпатском регионе на разного рода дискриминации карпатских горцев, как на социально-экономическом, так и на политическом уровнях. В то же время констатируем, что обе воюющие стороны прибегли к преследованиям украинцев / русинов края по политическим и этническим мотивам.

Ключевые слова: влияние фактора войны, Первая мировая война, Карпатский регион, корреляция этнического принципа “свой-чужой”, политическая идентификация, этническая идентификация.

Introduction. The First World War in Ukrainian national history played an extremely important historical role in the final formation of national political ideologies and prospects for the development of the people of Central and Eastern Europe and in the national chronotope of our neighbours as well. It has been changing the ethno-political map of the Carpathian region but also became a catalyst for accelerated national awareness of the population of peripheral territories. One such area has become the Carpathian region, which, in addition to Ukrainians / Ruthenians, was inhabited by Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Romanians, Jews and Germans.

It should be noted that the war has always led to complex or partial changes in various spheres of life of certain states, societies, ethnic communities. Usually, these transformational processes modified the primary social, political, economic, cultural and ethnic structures. Moreover, in the last quarter of the XIX – early XX century. The wars caused significant

radical changes in the national and political sphere, prompted the delineation of permanent ethno-political interests in the warring environment, and the aggravation of interethnic relations, opposition at the state level. The First World War was no exception. In our opinion, the war for Ukrainians was a turning point on the way to collective political mobilization and a certain group ethnic identification. In this regard, the German historian Mark von Hagen noted that the First World War intensified the Ukrainian question to an unprecedented level and led to a strong rise of the national movement¹.

Historiographical basis. In modern historiography, a significant number of works are devoted to the events of the First World War, its causes, preconditions, and consequences. However, in the context of a comprehensive study of individual vectors of national and political transformation of Ukrainians, most scholars prefer to bypass this area of research interest. A certain exception is the work of Ukrainian researchers I. Baran², V. Haiseniuk³, V. Zapolovskiy⁴,

¹Hagen M. fon “U viynakh tvoryat'sya natsiyi” : natsiotvorennia v Ukrayini pid chas Pershoyi svitovoyi viyny [“Nations are created in wars”: nation-building in Ukraine during the First World War], *Ukrayina. Protsesty natsiotvorennia [Ukraine. Nation-building processes]*, Kyiv, K.I.S., 2011, P. 271–272 [in Ukrainian].

²Baran I. “Horlyts'ka operatsiya: vidstup rosiys'kykh viys'k z Halychyny (kviten' – cherven' 1915 r.)” [Gorlitskaya operation: retreat of Russian troops from Galicia (April – June 1915)], *Viys'kova istoriya Halychyny ta Zakarpattya : zb. nauk. prats' Vseukrayins'koyi naukovoyi viys'kovo-istorichnoyi konferentsiyi* [Military history of Galicia and Transcarpathia: collection. Science. Proceedings of the All-Ukrainian Scientific Military-Historical Conference], 15 kvitnya 2010 r., L'viv, Kyiv, 2010, P. 148–152 [in Ukrainian].

³Haysenyuk V. Pochatok kintsya. Moskvofily u Velykiy viyni (1914–1918) [The beginning of the end. Moscowphiles in the Great War (1914–1918)], Chernivtsi, Druk Art, 2017, 304 p. [in Ukrainian].

⁴Zapolovskyy V. Bukovyna v ostannyi viyni Avstro-Uhorshchyny 1914–1918 [Bukovyna in the last war of Austria-Hungary 1914–1918], Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 2003, 284 p. [in Ukrainian].

O. Mazur and O. Sukhyi⁵, M. Markanych⁶, I. Monolatii⁷, S. Popyk⁸, O. Reyent⁹ and scientists abroad P. Konyi¹⁰, P. Schwortz¹¹ i N. Yurchishinova¹². A special place in the historiographical review of this study problems is occupied by rather extreme reactionary and subjectively politicized investigations of Russian researchers V. Vavrik¹³, Yu. Dronova¹⁴ and S. Susliak¹⁵.

The purpose of the article is an attempt to highlight the ethnopolitical situation of Ukrainians / Ruthenians in the Carpathians and to analyse the impact of the military events of 1914–1915. In this context, is focused attention on the analysis of ethnic, social and political levels of local citizen. It is noticed in this publication the main emphasis on the influence of ethnopolitics of the Austrian military movement and Russian occupation administrations on Ukrainians / Ruthenians (Lemkos, Boyks, Hutsuls) territory. So the task of this study is to correlate the unconditional influence of the war factor and the corresponding military clashes of 1914–1915 in the Carpathian region on the socio-political situation of the local population.

Main body of the article. During the First World War, the territory of the Ukrainian Carpathians became the scene of some of the fiercest military confrontations on the Eastern Front. According to the Austrian researcher A. Rand, the war “had one of the bloodiest episodes in the Hutsul region”¹⁶. During the years of military confrontation, the front passed through the territory of the region four times.

On the territory of the Carpathian region, fighting has occurred from the first Russian occupation (October 1914) to the second Austro-Hungarian counter-offensive (July 1917) with the appropriate military establishment dividing lines in the region at the status quo. From September 1914 to mid-

1915, Russian troops launched a massive offensive in the direction of the Carpathians. His goal was to master the mountain passes to ensure a strategic advantage in their further advance to the Pannonian Plain and the mastery of the middle Dunay basin. As a result of such military maneuvers, Russian units reached the settlements of western Lemkivshchyna, northern Pryashivshchyna, Zakarpattia, Boykivshchyna and Bukovyna, Hutsulshchyna. At the same time, under pressure of the Russians, the Austro-Hungarian units were forced to move to the defense and consistently retreated, losing their territories.

During September-October 1914 Russians occupied Boykivshchyna and reached Svalyava quickly. They also occupied the eastern Lemkivshchyna, almost entirely Hutsulshchyna and continued the movement of armies to the western part of Lemkovyna and to Maramoroshchyna.

At the end of September 1914 four Russian armies crossed the central Carpathians, and at the turn of 1914–1915 entered the valleys of the Uzh, Latoritsa, Rika and Tisa rivers. Panic reigned in Uzhhorod, what is situated 10-15 km away from the front. The same situation was in Pryashev and Mukachevo. It was even worse in Khust, Tyachev, because Russian troops occupied Yasinya, Rakhiv, Velykyi Bychkiv, Maramorosh-Siget¹⁷.

The Russian army crossed the western Carpathians in the direction of the Prešov region (now northeastern Slovakia) in November 1914. In October-November 1914 a massive Russian offensive took place through the Uzhotsky, Duklyansky, and Lupkivsky passes. Until November 23 Snina and Humenne were occupied, and on November 30 has been taken Bardeyev as well. However, the Austro-Hungarian army counterattacked and recaptured the lost territories¹⁸.

⁶Mazur O., Sukhyi O. “Ukrayins’ke naseleння Halychyny na pochatku Pershoyi svitovoyi viyny: represyvni aktsiyi avstriys’koyi vлады” [Ukrainian population of Galicia at the beginning of the First World War: repressive actions of the Austrian authorities], *Visnyk Natsional'noho universytetu “Lviv’ska politekhnika”* [Bulletin of the National University “Lviv Polytechnic”], 2000, N 408, *Derzhava ta armiya* [State and army], P. 73–78 [in Ukrainian].

⁷Markanych M. Zakarpattya v roky Pershoyi svitovoyi viyny [Transcarpathia during the First World War], *Prvá svetová vojna v Karpatoch Első világhaború a Kárpátokban* [The First World War in the Carpathians], Prešov, 2016, P. 44–51 [in Ukrainian].

Monolatii I. S. “Zakhidnoukrayins’kyy region yak pohranychchya “svoyikh” i “chuzhykh”: dylemy vzayemodiyi” [Western Ukrainian region as a border of “own” and “foreign”: dilemmas of interaction], *Karpat’skyy kray* [Carpathian region], 2018, N 1–2, P. 5–17, URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/kkr_2018_1-2_3 [in Ukrainian].

⁸Popyk S. Ukrayintsi v Avstriyi. 1914–1918: Avstriys’ka polityka v ukrayins’komu pytannu periodu Velykoyi viyny [Ukrainians in Austria. 1914–1918: Austrian policy on the Ukrainian question during the Great War], Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 1999 [in Ukrainian].

⁹Velyka viyna 1914–1918 rr. i Ukrayina. U 2-kh knykhakh [The Great War of 1914–1918 and Ukraine], Kn. 1: Istorychni narysy, Uporyadn. O. Reyent, Red. kol. V. Smoliy (holova), NAN Ukrayiny, Instytut istoriyi Ukrayiny, Kyiv, TOV “Vydavnytstvo KLIIO”, 2014, 784 p. [in Ukrainian].

¹⁰Kónya P. Ruská okupácia v Šariši a Zemplíne r. 1914–1915 [Russian occupation in Saris and Zemplin r. 1914–1915], *Prvá svetová vojna v Karpatoch Első világhaború a Kárpátokban* [The First World War in the Carpathians Első világhaború and Kárpátokban], Peter Kónya ed., Prešov, 2016, P. 75–85 [in Slovak].

¹¹Švorc P. “Z periférie do centra. Rusínsky roľník Jurko Lažo pred vstupom do veľkej politiky (1867–1918)” [From the periphery to the center. Ruthenian farmer Jurko Lažo before entering major politics (1867–1918)], *Dejiny [the History]*, 2017, N 2, P. 84–128 [in Slovak].

¹²Jurčišinová N. “Život obyvateľov severovýchodného Slovenska začiatkom Prvej svetovej vojny (1914 – 1915)” [Life of the inhabitants of northeastern Slovakia at the beginning of the First World War (1914 - 1915)], *Dejiny [the History]*, 2006, N 1, P. 48–61 [in Slovak].

¹³Vavrik V. Genotsid karpato-ruskikh moskvofilov – namerenno zamolchannaya tragediya XX veka [The genocide of Carpatho-Russian Muscovites is a deliberately silenced tragedy of the twentieth century], Moskva, Izd. Konservativnogo kluba, 2007, 144 p. [in Slovak].

¹⁴Dronov M. K voprosu o vliyanií Pervoy mirovoy vojny na stanovleniye etnonatsional'noy identichnosti yuzhnokarpatskikh rusinov. Narody Gabsburgskoy monarkhii v 1914–1920 gg.: ot natsional'nykh dvizheniy k sozdaniyu natsional'nykh gosudarstv [To the question of the influence of the First World War on the formation of the ethno-national identity of the South Carpathian Rusyns. The peoples of the Habsburg monarchy in 1914–1920: from national movements to the creation of national states], T. I, Moskva, Kvadriga, 2012, P. 239–248 [in Russian].

¹⁵Sulyak S. “Talerhof I Terezín: the forgotten genocide” [Talerhof I Terezín: the forgotten genocide], *Rusin* [The Rusin], 2008, N 3–4 (13–14), P. 69–75 [in Russian].

¹⁶Randa A. Die Bucowina im Weltkrieg, op. cit., P.17.

¹⁷Markanych M. “Zakarpattya v roky Pershoyi svitovoyi viyny” [Transcarpathia during the First World War], *Prvá svetová vojna v Karpatoch Első világhaború a Kárpátokban Persha svitova viyna v Karpatakh* [The First World War in the Carpathians Első világhaború and Kárpátokban The First World War in the Carpathians], Prešov, 2016, P. 47 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁸Kováč D. “Boje v Karpatoch (1914–1915) Prvá svetová vojna – boje v Karpatoch” [Fighting in the Carpathians (1914–1915) The First World War - fighting in the Carpathians], *Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie Humenné* [Proceedings of the international conference Humenné], 6. decembra 2007, P. 9 [in Slovak].

Thus, the 8th Army of General A. Brusylov crossed the valley of the Tsirokh River through the Lupkivsky Pass and occupied the town of Humenne. The Austro-Hungarian troops drove them out of the city forward. The Russians captured Bardeiv to the west, near the Dukla Pass. However, they were displaced from there in early December 1914. In general, fighting continued during the winter of 1914–1915 in the mountains of the region in the Western Carpathians¹⁹.

During October–November 1914, the Russians occupied almost the entire Lemkivshchyna region. Russian troops advanced to the ethnographic frontier of the western Lemkivshchyna region in early December 1914, namely to the “Mushynsk outskirts”.

At the end of the autumn of 1914, Russian troops captured Bukovina and in February–March 1915 the eastern Carpathian ridge as well. As a result of this operation, Galicia and Bukovina came under the control of the Russian occupation authorities.

All the Carpathian passes of Baran came under the control of the Russian army at the beginning of 1915. In mid-January 1915 have started another offensive, as a result of which Mezhyloborts and Stropkiv were again occupied in addition to the previous territories. After a long siege on March 22, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian garrison capitulated of the fortress of Przemyśl. The Russians launched a new offensive in the Carpathians in the direction of the Ondava and Topli valleys, besieging Bardeiv and Stropkiv. The Austro-Hungarian army faced a real prospect of Russian movement to Budapest and through the Moravian Gate to the Czech Republic²⁰.

There were hostilities in the Carpathians, what continued till January–April 1915. They ended in May 1915 as a result of a lightning-fast breakthrough by the Austro-Hungarian troops in Gorlice and a subsequent counteroffensive east of the Carpathian Range. Moreover, the Russians lost strategic initiative both in the region and on the Eastern Front in general, because of the Battle of Horlyk²¹.

The ethnic and political coordinates changed quite rapidly, leading to the emergence of a new political space dependent on either the Austro-Hungarian or Russian occupation administrations, coming along with such rapid movements of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies in the Carpathians in 1914–1915. In fact, such changes have laid a deep foundation for the transformation of national self-reflections and relevant political sentiments among the local population of the region. That is why we would like to emphasize once again that the military actions of both armies in the Carpathian region undoubtedly influenced the social and political situation of local Ukrainians / Ruthenians and their further ethnic / national positioning in the vortex of the military situation.

The beginning of the war was met by the local population of the Carpathian region quite ambiguously. Its perception correlated with full support for the Russian offensive (most of the Lemkos and Ruthenians of Presov) to the expression of full loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy (most of the Boyks, Hutsuls, Ruthenians of Transcarpathia). At the same time, each side

with certain political expectations perceived the arrival and departure of military opponents. A paradoxical situation has developed among Ukrainians / Ruthenians in the Carpathians. In their mass at the beginning of the war, they were ambivalent, had a fairly low level of political activity and at the same time ethnic / national consciousness, ethnic / national self-identification has become in its infancy. In fact, the Russians skillfully took advantage of this fact. Thus, under the influence of systematic propaganda, it was carried out by the Russians in the region before the war, so, the local population believed and expected the “liberation” of the *Russian brothers* from the Habsburgs. At the same time, the rest of the Ukrainians / Ruthenians who took part in the national and political life of Ukrainians in the Danube monarchy (voting in elections, solidarity with the Ukrainian political leadership, participation in cultural and educational events) showed full political support to the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

However, both vectors of perceptions of war and military opponents underwent a significant evolution when it actually affected Carpathian Ukrainians / Ruthenians. Expectations from both sides were overshadowed by the relevant ethnopolitical realities regarding Ukrainians that plagued both empires. In fact, these realities were the ethnopolitics of Russia and Austria-Hungary towards the local population (“Russian betrayal”, “Mazepynism”) and the corresponding changes in the perception of local Ukrainians / Ruthenians of “their-foreigner” during 1914–1915 in political, cultural and educational life in the region. According to Ukrainian scientist I. Stryapko, it was the First World War that became the catalyst that accelerated the process of consolidation of nations, the growth of their national consciousness. Generally, the impact was marked by strengthening the sense of difference to representatives of other nations, who fought side by side or were enemies²².

Lemkivshchyna was a last straw in confrontation between the two ethnopolitical vectors “one's own and another's”. In the last days before the Russian occupation, the Austro-Hungarian military administrations resorted to unprecedented repression by sympathizers of Russophilia / Moscowophilia. In August–September 1914 Lemkos Orthodox activists were executed by military courts-martial. This way it was made possible future “Lemkos genocide”. The Russian military offensive in the Lemkivshchyna region and the subsequent occupation of the region by Lemko-Russophiles were perceived as the arrival of the liberators. Thus, delegations from local Lemko communities were sent to pardon and take themselves under the Russian forces care in the Mushyn district. So, the Russian soldiers “were very flattered by our Lemkos peasants, unable to communicate with them, but not knowing what kind of people they were, either Slovaks, or Poles, or Russians”. However, in real, the Russians have been “robbers, who take what fell into their hands”²³.

“Hungarian Russia”, as D. Doroshenko noted, “appeared as military rear” with the beginning of the war for the Austrian and German troops and bore the entire burden of the terrible,

¹⁹Kirsenko M. V. “Slovats'ka polityka v Pershiy svitoviy viyni” [Slovak policy in the First World War], *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Istorychni nauky* [Scientific notes of NaUKMA. Historical sciences], 2016, T. 182, P.79 [in Ukrainian].

²⁰Kirsenko M. V. *Slovats'ka polityka v Pershiy svitoviy viyni*, op. cit., P. 79.

²¹Baran I. “Horlyts'ka operatsiya: vidstup rosiys'kykh viys'k z Halychyny (kviten' – cherven' 1915 r.)” [Gorlitskaya operation: retreat of Russian troops from Galicia (April - June 1915)], *Viys'kova istoriya Halychyny ta Zakarpattya : zb. nauk. prats' Vseukrayins'koyi naukovoyi viys'kovo-istorychnoyi konferentsiyi* [Military history of Galicia and Transcarpathia: collection. Science. Proceedings of the All-Ukrainian Scientific Military-Historical Conference], 15 kvitnya 2010 r. m. L'viv, Kyiv, 2010, P. 150 [in Ukrainian].

²²Stryapko I. *Tovarystvo “Prosvita” v hromads'ko-politychnomu ta kul'turnomu zhytti Zakarpattya (1920–1939): monohrafiya* [Society “Education” in the socio-political and cultural life of Transcarpathia (1920–1939): monograph], Uzhhorod: Vseukrayins'ke derzhavne vydavnytstvo “Karpaty”, 2012, P.194 [in Ukrainian].

²³Moskalyi na Lemkakh [Muscovites in Lemko], *Dilo* [The business], 1915, 6 marta, P. 9 [in Ukrainian].

bloody struggle of millions of armies. The Austrian military authorities, especially the Hungarian ones, were ready to see someone's "betrayal" as the cause of all their military failures; they forever suspected the Ukrainian population of spying for Russia, of sympathizing with the Russian army and many hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian peasants paid with their lives for one side to Russian forces and, at the other hand, for Hungarian executioners: this was done equally on the Hungarian and Galician sides of the Carpathians²⁴. According to reports from the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, it is known, that the population of Hungarian Russia provided the Russian army with information on the movement of Austro-Hungarian troops on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, in addition to material assistance in here²⁵.

A similar situation was observed in the Presov region or the western part of Hungarian Russia. The Russian military intervention struck the northern districts of the Sharisky and Zemplinsky counties and their populations in 1914–1915 twice. After the declaration of war, the population of northeastern Slovakia did not show any military sentiment. The exceptions were the so-called Hungarians who wanted to show their allegiance to the throne and serve the governments²⁶.

The first Russian intervention lasted from November 20 to December 14, 1914. Russian troops captured one city and 125 villages in three administrative districts on the territory of the Sharis Committee. The Russian army were in power in several dozen villages in the Humensky and Sninsky districts of the Zemplín Committee.

The second Russian occupation of the Presov region lasted from December 29, 1914 to May 5, 1915. On the territory of the Sharis Committee, Russian troops occupied 83 villages in the Svydnytsky, Bardiyivsky, and Giraltoivsky districts. In the northern parts of Zemplín Committee, Russian troops occupied 79 villages in three districts at the time. The Russian army have plundered, robbed and abused the population in the occupied territories. Cattle, pigs, poultry, but also furniture, clothing, bedding and other personal property of the inhabitants became the prey of Russian soldiers²⁷.

According to military reporters, it is known, that a huge area was covered with scattered items of furniture, clothing, blankets, plates, etc. during the liberation of Humenne at the end of the city, what were not enough to transport the fleeing Cossacks. The violence of Russian soldiers turned especially against the Jews.

Articles were written about the killings and brutal rapes of Jewish girls and women, among others in occupied Humenni²⁸.

The locals were sympathetic to the Russians, find them as possible liberators from Hungarian oppression. Most Russian soldiers behaved correctly. It is known, that Russian Cossacks visited Zboriv. They contact inhabitants using Russian language and this foreigners and local people "spoke a language that Zborov residents understood well"²⁹. At the beginning, there were only a few cases of looting or robbing. In some villages,

local Ruthenians helped Russian troops. In most cases, this assistance was based on information about the deployment of Hungarian troops. Thus, the peasants in Roztoky and Stakchynsky, Roztoky informed the Russians about the movement of Hungarian troops. However, later, according to the chronicle of the village of Venice, "the population greeted them with joy, but not for a long time". Instead loyalty it began mass thefts and abuses by the Russian side there³⁰.

As a result of military operations, there were entire villages of Bardiyivsky, Svydnytsky, Mezhylibiretsky and Snynsky districts, were destroyed or severely damaged some roads and bridges. According to the noticed information by the Slovak researcher P. Konya 19 villages were completely devastated in the Sharysa Committee and 57 partially destroyed. In the Zemplín Committee 23 villages were completely destroyed as a result of hostilities and robbery and 115 villages were more or less damaged. A total of 2,321 houses and 79 public buildings were destroyed in Sharish, 1,276 houses were destroyed in the Zemplín County, and 6,174 people were injured there. The total amount of losses in the Zemplín County was estimated at 11,280,961 kroons³¹.

Separate issue in such fighting could be also quite frequent revisions. It was noticed, that they were characteristic of both warring parties. Forced requisitions, carried out either by official local authorities or by Russian forces, caused outrage during the war Coranič. Thus, in the chronicle of the Dovhi Luky and Bardiev districts; it is fixed that "the Austro-Hungarian army came, the Russian army came and took from the population everything that could be taken: grain, cattle, pigs and most importantly chickens and geese"³².

After the withdrawal of Russian troops, the Hungarian authorities began repression against anyone suspected of sympathizing with the idea of Slavic reciprocity and Russophilia. The pastor of Beherov M. Artim was accused and imprisoned, as well as some peasants from Lviv, Grabsky, Maltsov³³. In January 1915 all the inhabitants of the village of Havayi were deported to Hungary, where they worked on the manors. A total quantity of villages were 36, where locals have been evacuated from Sharis County. There are only two elders left in Gabur. Instead, the village of N. Polyanka was burned in front of its inhabitants. Zboriv, V. Olshava, Smilno and Komarnyk were also destroyed, Gabura and Chabalovtsi were almost completely burned³⁴.

In this situation, the Hungarian authorities were forced to hold a demonstration to rebuild the destroyed villages. However, its implementation was only sporadic. Thus, 42 houses were built in N. Polyanka, 21 in Prikriy, 13 in Chabalovtsy, and 7 in Havayi.

Another social and political situation was noticed in Boykivshchyna and Hutsulshchyna, which found themselves in the rear of the Russian army after the occupation in September-October 1914. Quite often the military did not understand or perceive the local population. That is why Russian officers

²⁴ Doroshenko D. Uhors'ka Ukrayina [Hungarian Ukraine], Uzhhorod, 1992, P. 26 [in Ukrainian].

²⁵ Vanat. I. Narysy novitn'oyi istoriyi ukrayintsiv Skhidnoyi Slovachchyny (1918–1938): monohrafiya [Essays on the recent history of Ukrainians in Eastern Slovakia (1918–1938): monograph], Pryshev, Slovats'ke ped. vyd-vo, 1990, P. 38 [in Ukrainian].

²⁶ Jurčišinová N. Život obyvateľov severovýchodného Slovenska..., op. cit., P. 49.

²⁷ Kónya P. Ruská okupácia v Šariši a Zemplíne r. 1914 – 1915, op. cit., P. 80.

²⁸ Ibidem, P. 81.

²⁹ Jurčišinová N. Život obyvateľov severovýchodného Slovenska..., op. cit., P. 51.

³⁰ Ibidem, P. 52.

³¹ Kónya P. Ruská okupácia v Šariši a Zemplíne r. 1914 – 1915, op. cit., P. 82.

³² Jurčišinová N. Život obyvateľov severovýchodného Slovenska..., op. cit., P. 52.

³³ Ibidem, P. 53, 55.

³⁴ Ibidem, P. 55.

called the local population in the Old Sambir region not “Russian” but “Russins”³⁵. The Russian occupative administration began arresting Ukrainians / Ruthenians in Boykivshchyna and Hutsulshchyna villages. Moreover, all cultural and educational societies, business unions, educational institutions and most of the Greek Catholic churches were closed. So, in Boykivshchyna all members of “Prosvita” and “Sich” were scribbled, some of them were taken to Siberia³⁶.

At the same time, Boykivshchyna and Hutsulshchyna had a much higher level of state loyalty to Austria-Hungary, in contrast to Lemkivshchyna. In our opinion, that was a consequence of the initial politicization and ethnicization of the local population in the pre-war years. In fact, the activities of political and party cells, the opening of societies, schools and the celebration of anniversaries have had a significant impact on the correlation of the ethnic / national consciousness of the local people. It is fixed also that, “not a single traitor was found there, but disgustingly dozens voted for leaders, patrols for our people, delivered them food, hid military patrols, exposing themselves and their relatives to the greatest danger, fed our prisoners and wounded. They did all that only in the consciousness that they are «Ukrainians»”, – information was taken in Perehinsk, Dolyna district³⁷.

A separate aspect of showing loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy was the mass participation of Hutsuls and Boyks in the general military mobilization. They deliberately tried to fulfill their duty to their homeland. An important aspect of their patriotism was their participation in the Ukrainian Sich Rifles and other military formations, including the “Hutsul Kurin”. Sich Rifles, most of whom were Carpathian mountaineers, showed a high level of state and national patriotism during the war. Thus, in the battles in Boykivshchyna, in particular for Makivka on April 29 - May 2, 1915, they were distinguished by heroism and intransigence. On this occasion, the commander of the Austrian 55th Division, General Fleischmann, addressed the Sich Rifles in his order: “Ukrainians! ... everyone should be proud to belong to your corps”³⁸. At the same time, the local population of Boykivshchyna supported Sich Rifles in every possible way. One of eyewitness mentioned Boyko villages, where “we are understood, and we are gladly hovering among ourselves”³⁹.

At the same time, the Russian occupation put a negative effect on the population of Eastern Boykivshchyna. According to the report of the Russian non-commissioned officer Furman, all the Jews were moved out during a detour of the front on April 14, 1915 in the area “from Bogorodchany and villages located near the positions, the military evicted all Jews without exception”, also evicted from Liszt Jewish men to Halych and Ternopil. In the Staro-Lysets village was hanged by the Austrians (by the Rusyn I. Zavidna) for the fact that there were 25 Austrian hussars

in the hut, and he set it on fire and all burned down. And in the village Rusivna (Rozsilna) was hanged, before that his property was burned out⁴⁰.

A similar situation was ascertained in the Western Boykivshchyna. Thus, a non-commissioned officer of the gendarmerie in Sambir County Khmysh on March 9, 1915 noted, that in the Old Sambir region Hungarians hung and cut people only because they are Russians⁴¹.

In the Hutsul region, were actively carried out mass executions during 1914 and early 1915. It is notorious to apply an order to the Hungarian army to “imprison 40 Ruthenians”, of whom 20 were released and 20 were hanged. As S. Pap mentions, “it didn't matter who was hanged in public”⁴². Thus, a special role was played by the military court of the 52nd Division of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the deployment of mass executions in the Transcarpathian Hutsulia region. Thus, in October 1914, 150 peasants were arrested in one week in Yasin, of which 65 were executed. During the same period, five people were executed in Verkhnyaya Apsa and Velykyi Bychkiv⁴³.

A similar situation was observed in Bukovyna and Halych Hutsulia regions. An eyewitness of the events T. Galip mentioned in his memoirs the large crowd of Hutsuls, who were escorted by Honveds (Hungarian soldiers)... all of them were “traitors” who were sent to the tribunal. Among those arrested were mostly old people, women and children⁴⁴. An Austrian court-martial sentenced two Ukrainians to death in January 1915, in Vyzhnytsia. In Vyzhnechchyna, watchman Lakinger murdered 41 peasants, justifying that all Ukrainian peasants were traitors⁴⁵.

It have been considered arrests, trials, and executions of persons who were marked as pro-Russian in September-October 1914, they were also carried out in the Galician Hutsul region. For example, Judge Gulu was arrested in Kosiv on charges of Russophilism and several Hutsuls were arrested in Kryvyi Rih for espionage⁴⁶. The number of accusations of anti-state activities of Ukrainian peasants by the Austro-Hungarian military authorities increased significantly with the approach of Russian troops. The search for Russophiles and spies turned into mass executions and mockery of Hutsuls. M. Matviyiv-Melnyk, a native of Utoropiv, mentioned such memories “the howling of dogs, the roar of cattle and the cries of tortured people” and “thirteen hangers on hornbeams and willows along the Kosiv road”⁴⁷. Based on the memories of his parents, P. Bilenchuk said that “during the retreat, the Austrian troops began to accuse the inhabitants of Utoropy of Muscoviteism, he was hanged... Ilko Koshevka, the other 10 people were taken by the Austrians and hanged in the village of Pistina, near the forest”⁴⁸. After the return of Austro-Hungarian troops in 1915,

³⁵ Staryy Sambir pid rosiys'kym panuvannyam Moskovs'ka okupatsiya Halychyny 1914–1917 rr. u svidchennyakh ochevydtsiv [Old Sambir under Russian rule Moscow occupation of Galicia 1914–1917 in eyewitness accounts], L'viv, 2018, P. 491 [in Ukrainian].

³⁶ Ibidem, P. 492.

³⁷ Ukrayins'ke selo v chasyi viyny [Ukrainian village during the war], Dilo [The business], 1915, 20 zhovtnya, P. 3 [in Ukrainian].

³⁸ Baran I. Horlyts'ka operatsiya: vidstup rosiys'kykh viys'k z Halychyny..., op. cit., P. 150.

³⁹ Ukrayins'ke selo v chasyi viyny..., op. cit., P. 3.

⁴⁰ Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv u m. Kyievi (TSDIAUK) [Central State Historical Archive in Kyiv], f. 365, op.1, spr. 186, ark.7–8 [in Ukrainian].

⁴¹ TSDIAUK, f. 365, op. 2, spr. 102, ark. 128 [in Ukrainian].

⁴² Pap S. Istoriya Zakarpattya [History of Transcarpathia], Ivano-Frankivs'k, Nova Zorya, 2003, T. III, P. 605 [in Ukrainian].

⁴³ Derzharkhiv Zakarpat-s'koyi oblasti [State Archives of the Transcarpathian region], f. 63, op. 2, spr.308, ark. 34, 43 [in Ukrainian].

⁴⁴ Halip T. “Z moyikh spomyniv” [From my memories], *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* [Bukovynian magazine], 1994, Ch. 1-2, P. 178–179 [in Ukrainian].

⁴⁵ Derzharkhiv Chernivets'koyi oblasti [State Archives of Chernivtsi region], f. 283, op. 1, spr. 5, ark. 10–11 [in Ukrainian].

⁴⁶ “Z zhyttya Hutsul'shchyny” [The life of the Hutsul region], *Dilo* [The business], 1915, 15 maya [in Old Ukrainian]; “Rosiy's'ka hospodarka na Hutsul'shchyni” [Russian economy on Hutsul'shchyna], *Dilo* [The business], 1915, 24 ts'vitnya [in Old Ukrainian].

⁴⁷ Hrabovets'kyi V. Utoropy: storinky istoriyi. Do 630-richchya pys'movoyi z-hadky [Utoropy: pages of history. To the 630th anniversary of the written mention], Ivano-Frankivs'k, Nova Zorya, 1997, P. 93 [in Old Ukrainian].

⁴⁸ Ibidem, P. 92.

the Utopians suffered again. The Austrians burned 180 houses with all the outbuildings in this village, and also hanged 10 civilians for the fact that they, being Ruthenians, had contact with Russian troops and all the property of the inhabitants was looted as well⁴⁹.

The Austrian military intelligence conducted a study on the attitude of the Hutsuls to the state power of the Hutsul village of Tatarova and the suburbs of Pidlesniów, Nadvirna County in May 1915. It was found, that during the war, Hutsuls were always loyal to the Austrian government⁵⁰.

Another military confrontation in the Carpathian region began in 1916. In June of the same year, Russian troops launched a new offensive and in a few weeks re-occupied Bukovina and most of Galicia, including Eastern territories, under the command of General O. Brusilov. To stabilize the situation the Austro-German command was forced to transfer significant military forces to the zone of military conflict. The front line was stabilized in August 1916. This demarcation lasted until July 1917, when the Austro-German army returned the lost lands along the entire front line, as a result of a general counteroffensive.

Conclusions. Thus, the First World War became a rubicon between tradition and modernity in the worldview of the Ukrainian peasantry. The struggle for stability and innovation in its consciousness, the break of ingrained archaic thinking and the introduction of new values, especially national and political levels matches First World War in national worldview with a bright color of renovation. In fact, as noted by the Ukrainian historian J. Hrytsak, the First World War accelerated the process “from peasants to nation”, in any way. Most of the peasants, mobilized to the front, did not have a clear idea of what kind of homeland they had to lay down their lives for. Most often, they did not identify themselves with a particular nation, but with the region instead, in which they lived before the mobilization. The war has “nationalized” them at the very end⁵¹.

With the beginning of the war in the Carpathian region began to “indicate” the level of loyalty of the local population to the Austro-Hungarian authorities, to search and detect “unreliable elements”, so, this processes resulting in mass repression and military massacres of civilians. According to the verdicts of the Austro-Hungarian army field courts, or even without them, Ukrainians were accused of treason and executed. Throughout the front on both sides of the executions were large-scale.

The hostilities of 1914–1915 prompted the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies to discriminate significantly at both the socioeconomic and political levels. At the same time, both warring parties persecuted Ukrainians / Ruthenians in the sphere of the political and ethnic reasons. The result was came into mass arrests, physical executions, unjustified killings and deportations. It should be noted, that the Ukrainians / Ruthenians of the Carpathians were followed by the groundlessness of persecution and executions by both warring parties, as they used their own ethnic and political motives, what were in practice often unproven. Cultural and educational life was minimized in the region as a result of hostilities and there was severe pressure on the religious sphere.

Mass requisitions (in some cases simply thefts of property) have been carried out by both (the Russian and Austro-Hungarian) militaries. Finally, it was dispelled the myths about their role of the Ukrainians / Ruthenians of the Carpathians as

liberators and defenders. This opinion influenced the changes in the consciousness of the local population, regarding the coordinates of the perception of the warring parties on the principle of “own-foreigner” in the coming years. The population became essentially disoriented, what led later to a rapid search for their own selves and participation in the national-political transformations, that engulfed the region at the end of the war and next times.

Костючок Петро. Військові дії 1914–1915 рр. та їх вплив та етнополітичне становище українців / русинів Карпатського регіону. Перша світова війна стала каталізатором пришвидшеного національного усвідомлення населення периферійних територій. Одним із таких теренів став Карпатський регіон, в якому окрім українців / русинів, мешкали поляки, словаки, угорці, румуни, євреї, німці. Оскільки війна завжди призводила до комплексних чи часткових змін у різних сферах життєдіяльності тих чи інших держав, соціумів, етнічних спільнот, **мета пропонованої статті** полягає у дослідженні впливу військових дій 1914–1915 рр. на етнополітичне становище українців / русинів Карпатського регіону. Вказані трансформаційні процеси видозмінювали первинну соціальну, політичну, господарську, культурну і етнічну структури, що раніше не було предметом окремої студії та складає **новизну дослідження**. Перша світова війна для українства стала переломним моментом на шляху до колективної політичної мобілізації і визначеної групової етнічної ідентифікації. **Джерельна база і методологія.** У статті на основі широкого кола джерел комплексно, у порівняльному ключі, проаналізовано етнополітичне становище українців/русинів Карпатського регіону та охарактеризовано вплив військових дій 1914–1915 рр. на місцеве населення краю. Значна увага у публікації зосереджена на аналізі етносоціального і політичного рівнів життєдіяльності місцевого населення регіону в часи військового протистояння між Російською імперією та Австро-Угорською монархією. Основний акцент у розвідці зроблений на впливах етнополітики австрійської військової та російської окупаційної адміністрацій на українців/русинів (лемків, бойків, гуцулів) Карпат у вказаний період. **Висновки.** У публікації показана кореляція впливу фактору війни та відповідних військових зіткнень 1914–1915 рр. у Карпатському регіоні на різного гатунку дискримінації карпатських горян як на соціально-економічному, так і політичному рівнях. Водночас констатуємо, що обидві воюючі сторони вдалися до переслідувань українців/русинів краю за політичними та етнічними мотивами. Такі дії військових антагоністів остаточно розвіяли міфи в українців/русинів Карпат про роль визволителів і захисників, ворогів і союзників, своїх і чужих. Це вагомо вплинуло на зміни, які відбулися у сфері свідомісних саморефлексій. Так, у свідомості місцевого населення розпочалися трансформації щодо координат сприйняття воюючих сторін за принципом «свій-чужий» у наступні роки.

Ключові слова: вплив фактора війни, Перша світова війна, Карпатський регіон, кореляція етнічного принципу «свій-чужий», політична ідентифікація, етнічна ідентифікація.

Костючок Петро – к.і.н., доцент кафедри етнології і археології ДВНЗ «Прикарпатський національний університет імені В. Стефаника». Коло наукових інтересів: проблеми української національної ідентичності, етнополітичної історії Карпатського регіону, етнопсихології карпатських етнографічних груп. Є автором близько 60 статей, наукових розвідок та доповідей.

Kostyuchok Petro – Ph.D., Associate Professor of Ethnology and Archeology Dpt., V. Stefanyk Precarpathian National University. Research interests: problems of Ukrainian national identity, ethno-political history of the Carpathian region, ethnopsychology of Carpathian ethnographic groups. He is the author of about 60 articles, scientific investigations and reports.

Received: 26.05.2021

Advance Access Published: June, 2021

© P. Kostyuchok, 2021

⁴⁹ TSDIAUK, f. 365 op. 1 spr. 235 ark. 8 [in Ukrainian].

⁵⁰ Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrainy u m. L'vovi [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv], f. 146, op. 8, spr. 1894, ark. 1–7 [in Ukrainian].

⁵¹ Hrytsak Ya. Ukrainy'ska revolyutsiya 1914–1923: novi interpretatsiyi [Ukrainian Revolution, 1914–1923: new interpretations], URL: <http://prima.lnu.edu.ua/Subdivisions/um/um2-3/ProblemyIstoriografiji/2-HRYTSAK%20Yaroslav.htm> [in Ukrainian].