CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN VOLYN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Abstract. The aim of the article is to explore the cultural, educational, and educational activities of Roman Catholic priests in Volhynia during the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, author objectivity, as well as the utilization of general scientific (analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, source-study, biographical) methods. During the processing of the archival materials, methods of historiographical analysis, criticism, and classification were applied. The scientific novelty lies in the exploration of the little-known archival sources and highlighting of the cultural and educational activities of the Roman Catholic clergy in Volhynia during the specified period, their role in the advancement of the national movement, and spiritual-religious revival. Conclusions. Previously unexamined archival documents indicate that the policy of the Russian autocracy in cultural life concerning Poles in Volhynia during the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries was based on chauvinistic principles. The Russian autocracy sought to suppress the formation of Polish education and russify the
educational process in the region. It has been established that, despite the restrictive policy of the Russian government and complex social, political, and religious circumstances, Roman Catholic priests in Volhynia actively engaged in cultural and educational activities. It is clarified that the Roman Catholic clergy organized clandestine educational institutions, promoted national culture, advocated for the revival and development of Polish education, opposed the dogmas of the Russian Orthodox Church and the policy of russification pursued by the autocracy in the country. Documents regulating the activities of Roman Catholic priests identified a number of tasks aimed at conducting charitable work. Sources attest to the extraordinary activity of Poles in the establishment of a network of national educational centers, particularly in the field of publishing activities.

**Keywords:** Volhynia, confession, cultural-educational activities, Polish education, Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholic clergy, Russian Orthodox Church.

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**КУЛЬТУРНО-ОСВІТНЯ ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РИМО-КАТОЛИЦЬКИХ СВЯЩЕННИКІВ НА ВОЛИНІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XIX – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОЛІТЬ**

**Анотація.** Мета статті – дослідити культурно-освітню, просвітницьку діяльність римо-католицьких священників на Волині в другій половині XIX – початку XX століть. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, авторської об’єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз і синтез, індукція й дедукція, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, джерелознавчий, біографічний) методів. Під час опрацювання архівних матеріалів застосовувались методи історіографічного аналізу, критики і класифікації. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі маловідомих архівних
джерел досліджено й висвітлено культурно-просвітницьку, освітню діяльність римо-католицького священства на Волині в другій половині ХІХ – початку ХХ століть, його роль у піднесені національного руху та духовно-релігійному відродженні. **Висновки.** Проаналізовані раніше невідомі архівні документи засвідчують, що політика російського самодержавства в культурному житті щодо поляків на Волині в другій половині ХІХ – початку ХХ століть ґрунтувалася на шовіністичних принципах. Російське самодержавство намагалося приборкати процес формування польської освіти, русифікувати навчальний процес у регіоні. Встановлено, що, незважаючи на обмежувальну політику російської влади, складні соціальні, політичні та релігійні обставини, римо-католицькі священники Волині активно займалися культурно-освітньою діяльністю. З'ясовано, що Римо-католицьке духовенство було організатором таємних навчальних закладів, пропагандистом національної культури, боролося за відродження й розвиток польської освіти, виступало проти догматів Російської православної церкви та політики русифікації, здійснюваної самодержавством в краї. У документах, що регулювали діяльність римо-католицьких священників, визначалася низка завдань, які були спрямовані на проведення благодійницької роботи. Джерела засвідчують надзвичайну активність поляків щодо розбудови мережі національних освітніх осередків, особливо у сфері видавничої діяльності.

**Ключові слова:** Волинь, віросповідання, культурно-освітня діяльність, польська освіта, Римо-католицька церква, римо-католицьке духовенство, Російська православна церква.

**The Problem Statement.** Cultural and educational problems occupy a prominent place among the pressing issues of the development of Ukrainian society. To solve them, it is expedient to use the experience of cultural and educational activities of Roman Catholic priests in Volyn in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Traditionally, the field of education was the field of activity of the clergy. Since there were no zemstvo schools in the region before the beginning of the 20th century, church primary schools played a leading role in spreading literacy, primarily among ordinary people. The outlined problems have a general historical significance. Without taking into account the peculiarities of the socio-political and cultural-educational activities of the Volyn clergy, it is difficult to research not only the history of the region, but also of Ukraine in general.

In the domestic historical science, despite a significant number of publications, there is no comprehensive study of the cultural and educational
activities of Roman Catholic priests in Volyn in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Therefore, it is relevant to study the peculiarities of the cultural and educational activities of Roman Catholic priests in Volyn in the specified period. The chosen topic has an important scientific and humanitarian significance, which determines its social relevance under the modern conditions of Ukraine's development.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. In recent Ukrainian historiography, there are a number of studies in which the problems of charitable and cultural and educational activities of the Roman Catholic clergy in Volyn in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries were considered to some extent. Among the works of Ukrainian historians, I. Lisevych's monograph should be mentioned first, in which, on the basis of archival materials, the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the organization of Polish schools and cultural centers in Right Bank Ukraine, in particular in Volyn, are traced (Lisevych, 1997). In the work of P. Andrukhov, the cultural aspects of the life of the Roman Catholic Church in Volyn were investigated (Andrukhov, 1992). H. Stronskyi and L. Nizhynska highlighted the struggle of Roman Catholic priests against the forcible assimilation of the Polish population in Volyn, which was carried out by tsarism at the beginning of the 20th century (Stronsʹkyy&Nizhynsʹka, 1996).

Researcher Y. Bilousov in his work "Kyiv-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Diocese: Historical Sketch" focused attention not only on the political events that took place in Volyn, but also on the educational and cultural activities of the Roman Catholic clergy (Bilousov, 2000). N. Seyko's monograph reveals the main stages of benevolence of the Roman Catholic clergy, in particular in the field of education of the Kyiv educational district during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Seyko, 2007). O. Hryhorenko analyzed the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Podil and South-Eastern Volyn at the beginning of the 20th century, the directions of cultural and educational activities of its priests (Hryhorenko, 2009).

In modern Ukrainian historiography, O. Shchetinin's study "Inter-confessional relations in Right-Bank Ukraine under the rule of the Russian Empire in 1793-1917" is thorough, which analyzes the repressive religious policy of the Russian Empire in the region during the specified period (Shchetinin, 2021). The scientific investigation by N. Hromakova "The Struggle for Souls": Polish-Russian confrontation in the field of education in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries is also meaningful. The researcher concludes that in the absence of conditions for legal national-political work for Poles, it was educational activity that was the only available
channel for preserving their own national-cultural identity (Hromakova, 2019).

Such researchers as O. Bakovets'ka (Bakovets'ka, 2015) addressed the problem of inter-confessional processes in Volyn in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the peculiarities of the social-political and cultural-educational activities of the clergy of the region during the specified period in their writings; M. Haliv (Haliv, 2018), I. Storozhuk (Storozhuk, 2015); O. Buravskyi and M. Kozlovets (Buravskyi, 2004; 2009; Buravskyi & Kozlovets, 2021); I. Oprya (Oprya, 2019).

In Polish historiography, in particular in the works of L. Zasztowt, the cultural and educational activities of Roman Catholic priests, as well as the assimilation processes among Roman Catholics carried out by the Russian tsar after the uprising of 1863 in Right-Bank Ukraine, in particular in Volyn, were analyzed (Zasztowt, 1991; 1997).

The analysis of the historiographical material proves that the specified problem needs further scientific coverage.

The purpose of the article is to study the cultural and educational activities of Roman Catholic priests in Volyn in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Results of the Research. Presenting main material. The policy of the Russian Tsar in the cultural life of Roman Catholics in Volyn was based on chauvinistic principles. The Russian autocracy tried to curb the process of formation of Polish education in order to Russify the educational process in the region.

The French scientist D. Beauvois concluded that the main actors in the Russification of the educational process were local governors-general (Hromakova, 2019, p. 272), who consistently implemented chauvinist principles in Right-Bank Ukraine, in particular in Volyn. Thus, in his order dated February 21, 1861, the governor-general of Kyiv, Podilsk and Volyn noted that the Roman Catholic clergy allowed persons of the Orthodox faith to study and taught them subjects (for example, the Polish language – note of the authors), which were not allowed by the government. The Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Diocese should issue an order to prevent children of the Orthodox faith from attending schools at parish churches. Schools opened outside of churches should be closed (SAZR, f. 178, d. 52, c. 14, p. 34).

On May 1, 1863, the Governor-General of the South-Western Region imposed a ban on the education of peasant children in Catholic parish churches. Subsequently, the distribution of Polish-language publications that could contain information about the history and geography of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was banned. On the other hand, local
administrators took an active part in building a network of Russian educational institutions, in particular by encouraging local Russian-speaking residents to open private institutions, etc.

In 1864, the "Regulations on Primary Schools" was approved, which introduced a unified system of primary education. Education was to be conducted exclusively in Russian. General management and control over the educational process was entrusted to school councils, consisting of officials and clergy. Local priests supervised the religious and moral education of students and the beneficence of teachers. All schools were subordinated to the Ministry of Public Education or the Synod, and the educational process was guided by the programs prepared by these departments. According to the circulars of the Ministry of Public Education, existing Polish schools in the western provinces of the empire were to be closed. As a result, all Catholic parish schools were liquidated in Right Bank Ukraine (Hromakova, 2019, pp. 272–273).

On October 17, 1864, the Governor-General of Kyiv, Podilsk, and Volyn informed the Kyiv gendarmerie staff officer that the government order on the teaching of the Roman Catholic Law of God in Russian in educational institutions had been accepted everywhere after a persistent demand from the Governor-General (SARF, f. 109, 1st expedition, d. 40, c. 40, h. 8, p. 36).

However, ignoring the above orders, the Roman Catholic clergy continued to establish secret educational centers. In the period preceding the beginning of the January Uprising of 1863 and after its defeat, the main initiator of the organization of Polish schools, as noted by the Polish historian Leszek Zasztowt, was the Roman Catholic clergy (Zasztowt, 1991, p. 88).

After 1863, the Roman Catholic parish schools where children were taught elementary literacy were closed in the Volyn province. In particular, in Zhytomyr region, such schools were liquidated in Ivnytsia, Kodna, Korostyshev, Krasnopol, Lyschyna, Pavlynov, Stetsk, Chudnov, Janushpol, Dubniv region - Berestechka and Mizochna, Kremenets region - Shumsk, Novohrad-Volyn region - Polonn, Ostroh region - Annopoli, Starokostyantyniv district - Kupeli and other localities of the province (Zasztowt, 1997, pp. 337–338).

The efforts of the Polish community to nurture its own national and cultural identity became the basis for the formation of a secret network of Polish educational institutions in the absence of legal opportunities. Russian tsarism failed to completely eradicate the long-standing traditions of Polish schooling. In contrast to state Russian schools, unofficial (secret) Polish schools and private boarding schools began to appear in the region in Lutsk, Starokostiantyniv and other settlements in Volyn, which, as a rule, were
maintained at the expense of the Polish nobility, the monks. Children of Polish landowners, nobles, wealthy burghers and even peasants studied with them. In contrast to state Russian schools, unofficial (secret) Polish schools and private boarding schools began to appear in the region in Lutsk, Starokostiantyniv and other settlements in Volyn, which, as a rule, were maintained at the expense of the Polish nobility, the monks. Children of Polish landowners, nobles, wealthy burghers and even peasants studied with them. In 1892, a decree was issued punishing persons for involvement in the opening and operation of secret schools in the western provinces of the empire (Hromakova, 2019, p. 273).

The Russian official M. Barsov, while traveling in Volyn, stated: "Schools at churches and monasteries are not founded by just one priest or abbot and are not maintained exclusively at the expense of the monastery or church, but by whole charitable patriotic societies of Poles, which have spread in recent times and have communication with Warsaw, Krakow and Paris; therefore, it is impossible to close these schools with violent measures; closed in one place, they will appear in another and continue their business..." (Seyko, 2007, pp. 134–135).

Some of the Roman Catholics in Volyn used the services of state educational institutions, which at the end of the 19th century (1891) had 2,972 Roman Catholic students (2,327 men and 645 women), which was 4.34% of the total number of students in the province and 1.4% of the entire population of their religion (SAZR, f. 67, d. 1 (add.), c. 313, p. 25).

Archival documents testify that at the end of the 19th century, local authorities actively involved Roman Catholic priests in teaching activities in secondary educational institutions of the Volyn province. For example, on January 20, 1884, the trustee of the Kyiv educational district informed the bishop of the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Diocese, Kozlovsky, that he had given his consent to the appointment of the vicar of the Lityn parish, priest Mashevsky, to the post of legal teacher of the Ostroz pro-gymnasium (SAZR, f. 178, d. 11, c. 25, p. 1).

By order of the Minister of Public Education dated January 28, 1891, the vicar of the Lutsk Cathedral Church, Reverend Golyshevskyi (Lutsk 2-class city school) was appointed to the post of legislator (SAZR, f. 178, d. 13, c. 511, p. 1).

Bishop Kozlovsky of the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Diocese participated in the distribution of the bequeathed capital of Ivan Lernet, doctor of medicine. At the Zhytomyr Boys' Gymnasium, Count Felix Chatsky and Bishop Kozlovsky determined a stipend of 300 krh per year for four students, which was approved by the pedagogical council of the Zhytomyr Boys'
Gymnasium. Scholarships were used by children of poor parents, natives of the Volyn province, regardless of religion and origin. By agreement with the guardians of Ivan Lernet's capital, Count Felix Chatsky and Bishop Kozlovsky, interest from the capital was received for the opening of a male high school in the city of Lutsk (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 329–330, 364).

At the end of the 19th century, in the Volyn province, the Roman Catholic clergy participated in the people's labor societies that were introduced in the empire. On October 2, 1884, the Zaslav District Committee of the Society was founded. With his help, craft schools were organized in the county: in 1886 in the village of Mikhnovka for training in locksmith, blacksmith and carpentry trades, in the Ternovsky and Zaslavsky folk schools (SAZR, f. 178, d. 30, c. 433, pp. 9, 17 -23).

Active activity in the revival of Polish education in Volyn at the beginning of the 20th century belonged to the Roman Catholic clergy.

The revolutionary events of 1905-1907 caused a certain liberalization of the educational policy of tsarism. Under the pressure of circumstances, the authorities were forced to recognize the national and cultural harassment of the Poles and make concessions by granting permission to open private educational institutions. Sources attest to the extraordinary activity of Poles in building a network of national educational centers. The 83rd issue of the newspaper "Dziennik Kijowski" for 1907 contains information about the speech of Dr. Maryan Stempowski, editor of "Przewodnikaoświatowego", dedicated to the development of extracurricular education. In particular, it is emphasized that education is an important part of social activity. He called on local Poles to financially support this activity, seeing it as a step towards the revival of Poland.

In the years of reaction that followed the defeat of the revolution of 1905–1907, the tsarist authorities renewed their attack on the national and cultural rights of Poles in Volyn, trying to assert their control in the field of education. The report of the Volyn governor for 1911 emphasized: "...the school must necessarily be a government school... and the school must provide not only a completed education, but certainly practical life knowledge that contributes to the successful struggle with the surrounding foreigners who... will forever be hostile to Russian statehood and nationhood..." (Hromakova, 2019, pp. 273–274). The implementation of this strategy on the ground meant a return to traditional punitive and repressive means of combating the Polish Enlightenment. In response, the Poles resorted to creating a network of secret Polish schools, mostly in rural areas, away from the close control of the tsarist administration. Any attempts by the Poles to obtain the right to learn the Polish language by legal means met with strong
resistance from the local tsarist government officials. This is evidenced in particular by the petition of members of the Kovel City Duma in 1908 to grant permission for teaching. The petition was initially rejected by the Trustee of the Kyiv educational district, and later a repeated appeal to the Volyn governor was also not satisfied. The refusal is justified by the fact that the Polish community of the Kovel district and the city of Kovel "cannot be recognized not only as superior to other residents, but also more or less significant" in relation to Polonism (Hromakova, 2019, pp. 273–274).

On August 25, 1907, the Volyn governor informed local officials that in the province, Polish schools existed without proper permission in Starokostyantyniv, Krasylov, in Zapadyntsykh of Starokostyatyniv District, in Shumsk of Kremenetsky District, in Butovtsyakh of Zaslavsky district, in Pcholy of Ovrutskyi district, in Mizochi of Dubnivskyidistrict, Lutsk and the village Lavrov of the Lutsk District, and suggested that the officials of the said counties make an order to close these schools, and to prosecute the persons who opened such schools (SAZR, f 70, d. 2, c. 24, p. 41).

It should be noted that the Orthodox Church helped the tsarist administration in identifying Polish schools. In particular, on December 17, 1905, the priest of Kroshnya, Zhytomyr District, I. Nikolaev, sent a report to the Bishop of Volyn and Zhytomyr Anthony, in which he reported that a school for teaching Polish literacy had been opened in the parish entrusted to him without proper permission. He further warned the church authorities that such a school is dangerous precisely because the children of Orthodox parents will study there. The issue of closing the school was resolved in June 1906. At the request of the bishop, the Volyn governor sent an order to the county registrar to close the Polish school, and a judicial investigation was initiated against the persons who opened it (SAZR, f 70, d. 2, c. 24, p. 41).

In 1911, in Zhytomyr, the associations "Osvyata" and "Dvignya" continued to exist, despite the ban of the authorities. These illegal organizations maintained relations with the Warsaw secret society "OsvyataLudova". The "Teachers' Union" also operated in the city, collecting donations and organizing literary evenings. His soul was monk Skalskyi (SARF, f. 102, d. 241, c. 149, part. 15, lit. B, pp. 28–28 call).

The following fact was given in the report of the actual state adviser Zayonchkovsky: the abbot of the Kamin-Kashir parish, Father Jan Maceiskyi, in a letter addressed to Bishop K. Nedzialkovskyi dated October 28, 1910, reported that he had been keeping the teacher for the second year and was very satisfied with the results of his work. But due to increased police surveillance, it is difficult for him to hide it in the future. Therefore, among the measures outlined in Zayonchkowski's report, in view of the case
regarding the revision of the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese of October 30, 1911, the need to strengthen police supervision of secret Polish schools was indicated (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 861, c. 218, pp. 1-28).

The main contingent of school pupils was Roman Catholic children. However, in some of them there were students of Orthodox parents, for example, in the village of Torchyn in Lutsk County, in the village of Klytny in Ovrutskyi County, etc. (Lisevych, 1997, pp. 34–35).

From a report in the newspaper "Volyn" (1912), we learn that the local police discovered a secret Polish school in the town of Monastyryshche near the church. According to the order of the Governor-General of the South-Western Territory, a fine of 300 krb was imposed on its organizers and priest Grzomail, with a substitute in case of non-payment by arrest for 2 months, and on the teacher of the Gurdak school - 100 krb or arrest for 1 month (Volyn', 1912, p 4).

It is worth noting that the Roman Catholic clergy, despite the bans, carried out significant cultural, educational and public work in Volyn. It became significantly more active in April 1905 after, under the pressure of the revolutionary events of 1905, the tsar slightly liberalized his attitude towards Catholicism. Priests were especially purposeful against drunkenness, they organized sobriety circles, distributed newspapers and magazines, and opened libraries (Strons'kyy&Nizhyns'ka, 1996, p. 96).

An example of the cultural and educational activity of Roman Catholic priests in Volyn at the beginning of the 20th century was their publishing activity. Thus, in Zhytomyr (1911), the Polish-language collection "Wolyniak" was published under the editorship of priest Bonchkovsky. He also wrote the tragedy "Boleslav the Brave" (SARF, f. 102, op. 241, file 149, part 15, letter B, sheet 6).

KsendzTokarzhevskyi and Sokalskyi were members of the literary committee in Zhytomyr, distributed among the local parishioners the newspaper "Dziennik Kijowski" (SAZR, f. 178, d. 13, c. 1418a, pp. 1–2).

The tsarist authorities banned the operation of libraries in the region that functioned without the appropriate permission, i.e. illegally. In particular, the head of the Volyn Gendarmerie Department reported to the Governor-General of Kyiv, Podilsk, and Volyn that on December 30, 1910, he received secret information that among Zhytomyr secondary schools there were groups of "Polish Socialist Youth" that had a secret Polish library (SSHAUK , f. 442, d. 861, c. 24, pp. 1-1call, 14).

The Roman Catholic bishop of Lutsk and Zhytomyr in 1901-1911, Karol Nedzialkovsky left a number of works of theological and polemical nature, in particular "You are not going there, dear ladies" and others, which
reflected the conservative nature of the worldview of the Roman Catholic clergy of the time in the region, which pushed him to cooperation with the government (Shchetinin, 2021, p. 50).

At the beginning of the 20th century, in Volyn, Roman Catholic priests of the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese worked as law teachers in educational institutions. For example, Father H. Yalovitskyi worked as a teacher in the city of Lutsk, and Father V. Artemyev from 1904 - a teacher at the Lutsk Gymnasium (SAVR, f. 4, d. 1, c. 48, pp. 5–6).

In the second half of the 19th and early 19th centuries, Catholic and Uniate priests were the undisputed leaders in the field of education in Volyn. Priests of various faiths achieved significant success in this area. Thanks to the petitions of the hierarchs of these faiths, Volyn was covered by a network of Catholic and Uniate educational institutions. Thanks to their efforts and activities, a network of primary schools was formed in Volyn, in which representatives of all strata of the population studied literacy. As a result of the repressions of the tsarist government, Latin education goes underground. At the beginning of the 20th century, the revival of the Polish educational system began, in which the Catholic clergy played an important role.

**Conclusions.** The policy of the Russian Tsar in the cultural life of Roman Catholics in Volyn was based on chauvinistic principles. The Russian autocracy tried in every possible way to curb the process of formation of Polish education, to Russify the educational process in the region. Contrary to this, the Roman Catholic priests of Volyn were actively engaged in cultural and educational activities in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Educational institutions that operated in the region functioned mainly at the expense of funds from the Roman Catholic Church or private individuals. The Roman Catholic clergy in the specified period was the organizer of secret educational institutions, propagandist of national culture. Catholic publications were a reflection not only of the religious, but also of the social opinion of the Polish population in the region. The Roman Catholic clergy consistently fought against the dogmas of the Russian Orthodox Church and the policy of Russification carried out by the autocracy in Volyn, advocated the revival and development of Polish education, a decisive factor in resisting assimilation processes and preserving Polish national identity.

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9. Держархів Волинської обл., ф. 3, оп. 1, спр. 18, 444 арк.

10. Державний архів Житомирської області (Держархів Житомирської обл.), ф. 178, оп. 52, спр. 14, 101 арк.

11. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 67, оп. 1 (дод.), спр. 313, 73 арк.

12. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 178, оп. 11, спр. 25, 12 арк.

13. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 178, оп. 13, спр. 511, 3 арк.


15. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 178, оп. 2, спр. 24, 307 арк.

16. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 178, оп. 33, спр. 2650, 6 арк.

17. Держархів Житомирської обл., ф. 178, оп. 13, спр. 1418 а, 2 арк.

18. Державний архів Російської Федерації (ДАРФ), ф. 102, оп. 241, спр. 149, ч. 15, літ. Б, 30 арк.

19. ДАРФ, ф. 109, 1-а експедиція, оп. 40, спр. 40, ч. 8, 39 арк.


24. Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (ЦДІАК України), ф. 442, оп. 861, спр. 218, 28 арк.


