

## **Forming the Network of Ukrainian Emigrant Organizations in Bulgaria (First Half of the 1920s)**

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*Abstract:* The article reconstructs the process of forming a network of Ukrainian emigrant organizations in Bulgaria during the first half of the 1920s. Thanks to the efforts of Ukrainian diplomacy, and in particular the activities of the Head of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission in Romania, K. Matsyevych, the Bulgarian government took a generally favorable position towards the UPR State Center in 1921. Part of the Bulgarian politicians consistently supported the Ukrainians and their political aspirations, which made it possible to establish the Ukrainian-Bulgarian Society and the “Ukrainian House” shelter for refugees, the sick and the disabled. At the same time, another part of Bulgarian politicians did not distinguish between Ukrainians and Russians, which was the result of significant influence exerted by Russian emigration centers on the Bulgarian government. Under their pressure, Ukrainian organizations were forced to cease their legal existence (1925). At the same time, it did not mean their self-liquidation – moreover, at that time the Ukrainian emigration environment was divided according to political preferences, which led to the formation of two groups – national-democratic (supporters of the UPR government in exile) and conservative-hetmanist (Ukrainian monarchists). The UPR environment significantly prevailed in terms of quantity, it included the Ukrainian Community and its branches and groups in the regions, the Cultural and Educational Circle, the “Sich” Society, and the Circle named after M. Drahomanov. The organizational rallying of the ‘hetmantsy’ and the group of “free Cossacks” took place within the unit of the Ukrainian National Cossack Society. Despite rather limited opportunities to advance their political aspirations in Bulgaria, Ukrainian emigrants managed to adapt to the conditions of their temporary living and became part of the Bulgarian society (without mixing with it).

*Keywords:* Ukrainian political emigration, national community, circle, cultural and educational activities, Bulgaria.

### **Introduction**

The current full-scale military aggression of a neighboring state against Ukraine has resulted in a multi-million stream of refugees, spreading in large and small numbers across many European countries. A lot of refugees got to

Bulgaria as well. Ukraine faced a similar social crisis over 100 years ago, when Bolsheviks seized the power in the country following the defeat of the 1917–1921 Ukrainian Revolution. Their military and political opponents, as well as ordinary runaways witnessing chaos, economic disaster, horrors of the “military communism policy” were forced to leave their Motherland. At that time, in contrast to the current situation – where the majority of refugees are women and children – most people were men who emigrated mainly within parts of military formations – the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, the white armies of Denikin and Wrangel, and insurgent units. They made their way for foreign lands in different means – by land to Poland and Romania and by sea to Constantinople and from there to the Balkan states or directly to Romania, Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and other countries. Bulgaria then hosted tens of thousands refugees from the territory of the former Russian Empire. At the same time, the reverse process was taking place, when former Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies, who had been captured at the Western and Thessaloniki fronts, returned home through the Balkans (via the Danube or by sea from Varna). Some of them, due to various circumstances, could not or did not want to return home, adding to the ranks of emigrants.

### **Historiography**

In Ukraine, the research of Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria began in mid-1990s, when V. Pavlenko’s monograph on Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations in the interwar period was published, one of the sections of which dealt with problems of Ukrainian emigration. It informed about emigrant organizations and the contribution made by emigrants to the development of Bulgarian culture, education and science, and the initial stage of the forming of a network of Ukrainian organizations was briefly mentioned.<sup>1</sup> At the intersection of XX–XXI centuries, certain aspects of emergence and residence of the Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria, in particular of the captured and interned Ukrainian soldiers, were covered in the papers by I. Sribnyak, which concerned both Central and South-Eastern Europe in general, and the Balkans in particular.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ПАВЛЕНКО, В. Українсько-болгарські взаємини 1918–1939 рр. Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 1995, рр. 166–202.

<sup>2</sup> СРІБНЯК, І. Українці на чужині. Полонені та інтерновані вояки-українці в країнах Центральної та Південно-Східної Європи (1919–1924 рр.): становище, організація, культурно-просвітницька діяльність. Київ, 2000, рр 190–195; СРІБНЯК, І. Початки

Many aspects of Ukrainian political emigration in Bulgaria are disclosed in the works of V. Vlasenko, in particular regarding the waves of emigration,<sup>3</sup> the development of emigrant organizations in 1921–22<sup>4</sup> and the 1930s of the XX century,<sup>5</sup> the relationship of Bulgarian authorities with emigration,<sup>6</sup> the interaction of Polish diplomacy with Ukrainian emigration in the Balkans,<sup>7</sup> the political emigrant surroundings,<sup>8</sup> the emigrant

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української військової еміграції на Балканах (1921–1923 рр.). – Військово-історичний альманах, 2006, no. 2, pp. 45–55.

<sup>3</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Перша хвиля міжвоєнної української політичної еміграції до Болгарії. – Българска украинистика: альманах, 2013, no. 3, pp. 172–184; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Третя хвиля міжвоєнної української еміграції до Болгарії. – In: Дриновський збірник. Харків-Софія, 2014, vol. 8, pp. 184–195.

<sup>4</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. До громадсько-політичної діяльності Василя Филоновича у Болгарії у 1921–1922 рр. – Київська старовина, 2010, no. 6, pp. 97–115. ЖВАНКО, Л. Лист Василя Филоновича 1921 року як джерело з історії вивчення української еміграції в Болгарії. – In: Дриновський збірник. Харків-Софія, 2014, vol. 7, pp. 350–356; ЯКИМОВА, А. М. Діяльність Українського гуртка імені Драгоманова в Болгарії. – In: Суспільно-політичні процеси на українських землях: історія, проблеми, перспективи: зб. матер. III Всеукр. наук.-практ. конф. (Суми, 17 квітня 2015 р.): у 2 ч. Суми, 2015, part 1, pp. 31–34.

<sup>5</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Українська громада в Болгарії (за матеріалами паризького тижневика «Тризуб»). – Сумська старовина, 2011, no. XXV, pp. 14–27; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Філія Українського національного козацького товариства у Болгарії (1923–1936) за матеріалами болгарського і чеського архівів. – In: Дриновський збірник. Харків-Софія, 2012, vol. 5, pp. 428–443; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Українське культурне об'єднання в Болгарії. – In: Дриновський збірник. Харків-Софія, 2014, vol. 7, pp. 87–97.

<sup>6</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Болгарія й українська політична еміграція в міжвоєнний період: форми взаємодії. – In: Україна і Болгарія в історії Європи = Україна и България в историята на Европа: збірник наук. праць. Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 2019, pp. 327–345.

<sup>7</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Міжвоєнна польська дипломатія й українська політична еміграція на Балканах (Болгарія, Румунія, Югославія). – In: Ukraińcy i ich sąsiedzi na przestrzeni wieków: polityka, gospodarka, religia, kultura i życie codzienne, 2021, vol. 2, pp. 157–174.

<sup>8</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Консервативно-гетьманське середовище міжвоєнної української еміграції в країнах Південно-Східної Європи (1918–1939 рр.). – Сумський історико-архівний журнал, 2015, no. XXV, pp. 56–67; ВЛАСЕНКО, В., В. ГУЗУН. Національно-демократичне середовище міжвоєнної української еміграції в країнах Південно-Східної Європи. – Сумська старовина, 2016, no. XLVIII, pp. 25–49; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Радикально-націоналістичне середовище міжвоєнної української еміграції в Південно-Східній Європі. – Сумська старовина, 2016, no. XLIX, pp. 23–42.

press,<sup>9</sup> the naturalization of emigrants<sup>10</sup> and the cultural activities of emigrants.<sup>11</sup>

I. Matyash, a researcher of the history of international relations, focused her attention on the activities of Ukrainian diplomatic representation in Bulgaria, due to whose efforts the process of building the foundations of Ukrainian-Bulgarian interstate relations gained significant dynamism, and they themselves were built on the principles of mutual recognition and respect.<sup>12</sup> Ukrainian diplomat A. Tertychna studied the methods of Ukrainian emigration in formation of cultural diplomacy instruments in Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations in the interwar period.<sup>13</sup> Most of publications on Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria deals with the second half of the 1920s and 1930s of the XX century, when a network of Ukrainian public organizations was formed and functioned, being under the influence of various political surroundings, meanwhile there is a lack of information (only fragmentary data) concerning Ukrainian emigrants in the first half of the 1920s of the XX century.

In Russian historiography, Ukrainian emigration to Bulgaria is not separated from the whole mass of emigration from the former Russian Empire, considering it an integral part. Only in a few works, attention is paid to the existence of the so-called “Ukrainian question” in the midst of Russian emigration in the Balkans.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Українська емігрантська преса міжвоєнного періоду в Болгарії. – Сумська старовина, 2017, no. LI, pp. 35–47.

<sup>10</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Натуралізація української еміграції в Болгарії в міжвоєнний період. – Анамнеза. Софія, 2015, no. 1, pp. 18–33.

<sup>11</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Шевченковские дни украинской политической эмиграции в Болгарии в межвоенный период (по материалам парижского еженедельника «Тризуб»). – Известия на Института за исторически изследвания, 2014, vol. XXXI, no. 1, pp. 106–114; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Культурна діяльність міжвоєнної української еміграції в Болгарії (музика, танці, театр). – Сумська старовина, 2018, no. LII, pp. 38–50.

<sup>12</sup> MATIASH, I. The First Ukrainian Diplomatic Representation in Bulgaria: till the Beginning of the Institutional History of Ukrainian-Bulgarian Relations. – Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d’Histoire. Sofia, 2020, vol. 48, no. 3–4, pp. 237–257.

<sup>13</sup> ТЕРТИЧНА, А. Роль об’єднань української еміграції у формуванні інструментів культурної дипломатії в українсько-болгарських взаєминах (1920–1940 pp.). – In: МАТЯШ, І., ТЕРТИЧНА А., МАНАСІЄВА, І. Українсько-болгарські відносини: офіційна і культурна дипломатія (1918–1944). Київ-Софія: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 2021, pp. 213–244.

<sup>14</sup> КОСИК, В. И. Украинский вопрос и проблема «балканизации» России в среде русских эмигрантов в 1930-е годы: в связи с выходом в свет сборника документов «Чему свидетели мы были». – Славяноведение, 1999, no. 4, pp. 64–70; ШНИРЕЛЬМАН,

In the works by Bulgarian authors dealing with Russian emigration, Ukrainian organizations are also mentioned as its constituent parts.<sup>15</sup> And the leader of Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria, Mykhailo Parashchuk, who was an opponent of the Russian emigration, is considered to be a Russian artist.<sup>16</sup> It is worth noting that in her monograph on Russian emigration, Ts. Kyoseva drew attention to the national separation of Ukrainians from Russian emigration in the interwar period,<sup>17</sup> and P. Peykovska mentioned that ethnic structure of immigrants and refugees from the former Russian Empire to Bulgaria in 1920 included Ukrainians.<sup>18</sup>

L. Revyakina, emphasizing the “politicization” of the term “Ukrainian” by Ukrainian authors, recognized the existence of a network of Ukrainian emigrant organizations, their associations, the Ukrainian-Bulgarian society, and the Ukrainian emigrant press in interwar Bulgaria<sup>19</sup>. P. Mangachev’s book<sup>20</sup> was the only monographic work devoted to Ukrainian emigration to Bulgaria in the interwar period. However, it is more of a journalistic rather than scientific character, although it contains important factual material.

### **Theoretical remarks**

This article does not deal with the whole scope of Ukrainian emigration, but only the political emigration. In the documentation of the time (the end of the 1910s – beginning of the 1920s), both Ukrainian emigrants and diplomats themselves, as well as government officials of Bulgarian state institutions, in-

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В. А. Русские, нерусские и евразийский федерализм: евразийцы и их оппоненты в 1920-е годы. – Славяноведение, 2002, no. 4, pp. 3–20.

<sup>15</sup> ДАСКАЛОВ, Д. Бялата емиграция в България. София: Университетско изд-во «Св. Климент Охридски», 1997, pp. 161–166.

<sup>16</sup> КЪОСЕВА, Ц. Русские художники эмигранты в Болгарии. – Славяноведение, 1996, no. 4, p. 21, 23.

<sup>17</sup> КЕЅЕВА, Ц. Болгария и русская эмиграция: 1920–1950-е годы. Москва: Библиотека-фонд «Русское Зарубежье»; Русский путь, 2008, pp. 13–14, 190.

<sup>18</sup> PEYKOVSKA, P. Bulgaria on the move. Migration, Refugees, Integration, and Urbanisation in the 1910s–1930s. Sofia: Institute for Historical studies Bulgarian academy of sciences, 2022, p. 72, 74, 79.

<sup>19</sup> РЕВЯКИНА, Л. Украинската емиграция в България. 1920-те години на ХХ в. – началото на ХХ в. – In: Україна і Болгарія в історії Європи = Украина и България в историята на Европа: збірник наук. праць. Київ : Інститут історії України НАН України, 2019, pp. 385–404.

<sup>20</sup> МАНГАЧЕВ, П. Украинската емиграция в България през периода между двете световни войни (1918 г. – 1944 г.). София: Колбис, 2011. 321 pages.

ternational, Bulgarian and Russian charitable (e.g., the Red Cross Society) organizations applied different criteria to the concept of “a Ukrainian”. Even in the documents of Ukrainian diplomatic representations and the General Headquarters of the UPR Army, the number of Ukrainians in the Balkans in general and in Bulgaria in particular ranged from a few thousand to tens of thousands people. Certain discrepancies regarding the definition of the nationality of emigrants from the former Russian Empire can be also found in modern scientific literature. Most often, Ukrainians are singled out (were singled out) basing on **territorial and geographical indications**, i.e. place of birth or residence. For example, the majority of Wrangel’s army consisted of mobilized young people mainly from Ekaterinoslav region, Poltava region, Kharkiv region, Kherson region, less – from Kyiv region and Chernihiv region, very few – from Volyn and Podillya.<sup>21</sup> According to this indicator, the proportion of Ukrainians among the entire scope of emigrants from the former empire was determined by Ukrainian government officials at 70% and even 80%.<sup>22</sup> However not all those born in Ukrainian provinces considered themselves Ukrainians, just as some of the Kuban Cossacks, residents of the Russian part of Slobozhanshchyna or Zeleny Klyn (the southern part of the Far East area of the Russian Empire) identified themselves more with the Ukrainian ethnic group than with the Russian one (“Russian”).

Under conditions of emigration, and this situation is extreme, uncertain, difficult, the division of emigrants from the former empire, in particular from Ukrainian provinces, into Ukrainians and Russians was rather relative and changeable. It often depended on a specific situation, the need to obtain legal protection, material support, medical assistance, overnight accommodation, etc. Since international charitable organizations provided support to emigrants mainly through Russian emigrant organizations or the diplomatic mission of White Russia in Bulgaria, the requirement for receiving such assistance was the provision of documents issued only by the Russian diplomatic mission in Sofia. Food and lodging for the night were denied even for those who emigrated because of evacuation from Crimea (officers of Wrangel’s army, Ukrainian

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<sup>21</sup> Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВО України), ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 308, арк. 107.

<sup>22</sup> Центральний державний архів громадських об’єднань України (ЦДАГО України), ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 282, арк. 212.

rebels held by Wrangel's government, and civilians), who received passports at the Ukrainian embassies in Constantinople and Sofia.<sup>23</sup>

Emigrants are also distinguished according to their **legal status**, i.e. their affiliation (citizenship) to a certain state. Like, all those who left the territory of the former Russian Empire are Russian subjects, that is, actually Russians. This principle was followed by the High Commission for Refugees (established in 1921 by the League of Nations), and its successor, the Nansen International Office for Refugees (since 1930). Both institutions initially recognized only two nationalities for subjects of the former Russian Empire – Russians and Armenians (since 1924), which was reflected in the so-called “Nansen” passports, and later – other nationalities that were not subjects of the Russian Empire. But the legal system of the Russian Empire became invalid with the disappearance of this state itself. In the course of 1917–1921 revolutionary events, new states emerged, in particular on the territory of Ukraine – the Ukrainian People's Republic (the period of the Central Rada), the Ukrainian State (Hetmanate of P. Skoropadskyi), the Ukrainian People's Republic (the Directory period), the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which adopted their laws on citizenship. Relevant passports were also issued by Ukrainian embassies and diplomatic missions. Thus, according to the data of the control commission of the Russian Red Cross Society mission in Bulgaria on the situation and political moods of the Russian emigration of August 1, 1923, there were about 10.000 Ukrainians in Bulgaria, of which 5.000 people were registered at the UPR Embassy and, accordingly, were supporters of S. Petliura. Another part of Ukrainians consisted of those persons who, although they were under the influence of Russian emigrant organizations (“in the units of the Wrangel army”), but did so only because of material benefits.<sup>24</sup> Uncertain legal situation, financial hardship, need for food, lodging, medicines, etc. in many cases forced the emigrant to turn to Russian charitable organizations, which provided such assistance on condition of acquiring a Russian passport (document).

Situations of changing the position regarding Ukrainianness were not unique. Thus, former professors of the Novorossiysk (Odesa) University V. Zavyalov and M. Popruzhenko were initially sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause in Bulgaria, in 1922 they were members of the Temporary Committee of the

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<sup>23</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 308, арк. 103; спр. 360, арк. 20зв. – 21.

<sup>24</sup> Русская военная эмиграция 20-40-х годов. Документы и материалы. Т. 3: Возвращение... 1921–1924 гг. Москва: Триада-ф, 2002, р. 396.

Ukrainian Red Cross, but later became its critics and enemies.<sup>25</sup> In contrast to it, in 1923, several students of the Russian gymnasium in the Bulgarian capital appealed to the board of the Ukrainian community in Sofia with a request to accept them into the organization in order to have the opportunity to “wait for the hour when we will all stand under the yellow and blue flag”.<sup>26</sup>

Ukrainians were also distinguished according to **the level of national consciousness** (self-awareness). Just at the beginning of emigration, one of the leaders of Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria, Lieutenant-Colonel Vasyl Fy-lonovych, singled out among the refugees/emigrants conscious, unconscious, and renegades or “little Russians” (those Ukrainians who recognized their ‘separateness’ (difference) in culture and language, but did not separate themselves from Russia and Russian emigration). At the beginning of the 1920s, in Bulgaria almost all of them were among the Russian emigrant surroundings, under the influence of Russian officers and numerous Russian intelligentsia. In addition, emigrants were also influenced by the Russophilia of Bulgarian authorities, which attracted representatives of intelligentsia from the former Russian Empire to public service and teaching.<sup>27</sup>

Even while getting to emigration and already in emigration, when it became clear that the return to the Motherland was delayed, Ukrainian political emigration was formed in the emigrant environment, that is, that part of it that was politically motivated, ideologically determined, organizationally structured and professed the idea of restoration Ukrainian independent statehood in any of its forms. It concerns those Ukrainians who belonged to various political groups or were their supporters, professed certain ideology (conservatism, monarchism, republicanism, nationalism, etc.), belonged to public organizations or sporadically participated in their activities, advocated for independent Ukraine and publicly (consciously) recognized themselves as Ukrainians.

Therefore, when studying Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria in the inter-war period in general and in the first half of the 1920s in particular, it is quite appropriate to use the third feature (criterion), when people, despite certain material, financial and other advantages of the owner of documents issued by Russian institutions or organizations, publicly recognized themselves as Ukrai-

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<sup>25</sup> Централен държавен архив на Република България (ЦДАРБ), ф. 1717К, оп. 1, а.е. 415, л. 1–2.

<sup>26</sup> Українська еміграція в Болгарії. – Трибуна України. Варшава, 1923, по. 2–3, pp. 114–115.

<sup>27</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 282, арк. 212.

nians and actively participated in the life of Ukrainian emigration. According to V. Vlasenko's calculations, in early 1920s, out of 35.000–36.000 emigrants from Ukraine and Russia in Bulgaria, about 50% were native Ukrainians or former residents of Ukraine. A large part of them consisted of “little Russians”. There were about 9.000 to 11.000 people who recognized themselves as Ukrainians, including some Kubans, and lived “their national life”; those professing the idea of independent Ukraine made up 7–8 thousand; “organized” Ukrainians, that is, united in emigrant public organizations made up 1.5–2 thousand and “conscious” (intelligent) Ukrainians – about 200 people.<sup>28</sup> The last two mentioned categories can be considered political emigration. During the interwar period, as a result of repatriation (return to the homeland), reemigration (secondary emigration, moving to other countries), naturalization (acquisition of citizenship of the host country), assimilation (loss of contact with the Ukrainian emigrant environment) and natural factors (aging and death), the tendency towards decrease of the number of political emigrants could be observed.

It should be noted that during the interwar period, political centers of the Ukrainian emigration were formed in Europe (Austria, Germany, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia), where large numbers of emigrants lived, the leaders of the emigration (S. Petliura, P. Skoropadskyi, Ye. Konovalts, and others) were based, governmental structures operated (the UPR Government in exile, the State Center of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Government of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, etc.), as well as traditional and newly established Ukrainian political parties and organizations, and public-political periodicals were published. In other countries of the continent, peripheral centers of the Ukrainian political emigration existed. Among them were Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (KSCS, Yugoslavia), where the number of Ukrainians was relatively small. There were even fewer nationally conscious individuals among them (those who clearly identified themselves as Ukrainians). Ukrainians arrived in these two countries mainly as parts of the White armies of Denikin and Wrangel. A certain obstacle to the development of Ukrainian political emigration in the KSCS and Bulgaria, to a greater or lesser extent, was the Russophilism of the local authorities. Romania served as an intermediate link between the political centers and the peripheral communities, where the Ukrainian emigration was less numerous than in politi-

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<sup>28</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Третя хвиля міжвоєнної української еміграції до Болгарії. – *Ін: Дриновський збірник*, 2014, vol. 8, p. 189.

cal centers but more cohesive than in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The core of the political emigration in Romania consisted of soldiers of the UPR Army and insurgent units who appeared in this country while retreating across the Dniester. The local authorities viewed the Ukrainian political emigrants more favorably, regarding them as potential allies in a possible confrontation with the USSR.

Within the Ukrainian political émigré community in Europe, several socio-political milieus also emerged: the national-democratic (republicans, Petliurists, supporters of the UNR), the conservative-Hetmanite (monarchists, Hetmanites), the radical-nationalist (nationalists, fascists), the populist-socialist (Ukrainian socialists), and the national-communist (Ukrainian Bolsheviks). In the various recipient countries, one or another milieu predominated (either constantly or periodically), or several of them coexisted simultaneously. The milieus that dominated at the beginning of the interwar political emigration gradually gave way – especially at the turn of the 1920s–1930s – to new ones. In each country where the emigration resided, both internal and external factors influenced on the process of forming these political milieus.

**The purpose** of this article is to reconstruct the process of forming a network of Ukrainian public and combatant organizations in Bulgaria in the first half of the 1920s of the XX century.

In Bulgaria, assistance to newly arrived was provided, firstly, by international organizations (the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Nations High Commission for Refugees, the International Labour Office, etc.); secondly, by state institutions (ministries and local authorities), the church (Holy Synod of the BOC) and public organizations of Bulgaria (the Slavic Society, Bulgarian Red Cross, the Russian-Bulgarian Cultural and Charitable Committee, as well as the Russian Committee for Support headed by Bishop Stefan, which included representatives of Bulgarian and Russian organizations); thirdly, the UPR diplomatic representation in Bulgaria. But with the loss of territory, the financial support of the embassies themselves by the UPR Government was minimal, and ultimately impossible (“state without a territory”), so the assistance did not concern financial sphere.

During its existence (1918–23), the Ukrainian Embassy in Bulgaria was headed by Oleksandr Shulgin (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary), Fedir Shulga (Embassy affairs manager) and Vasyl Dragomyretskyi (Embassy affairs manager, diplomatic agent). The employees of the Embassy were Ioanykiy Dodul, Mykola Lavryk, Yulian Nalysnyk, Petro Sikora, Dmytro She-

ludko, Yulian Vilchynsky dealt with military recruiting, and General Borys Bobrovsky (1868–1933) was a military agent (attaché).<sup>29</sup>

Compared to other Ukrainian diplomatic representations, for example, the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission (EDM) in Romania, which became the founder of a number of central organizations of Ukrainian emigration, the Embassy in Bulgaria did not act as a locomotive to unite Ukrainians. In January 1921, the acting secretary of the UPR Embassy in Bulgaria V. Dragomyretskyi, reporting to the UPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, explained it by the lack of money not only for helping refugees, but also for maintenance of the Embassy itself. It could only support them morally, i.e. issue documents and free tickets to leave the country, recommend them for work, arrange barracks for the militaries to spend the night, etc. At that time, there was no Ukrainian organization in Bulgaria and there were no proactive and nationally conscious Ukrainians. According to V. Dragomyretskyi, the diplomatic representation could not establish a public organization due to its official status<sup>30</sup>.

However the situation changed after the arrival in March 1921 of Kost Matsiyevich, the Head of the EDM of the UPR in Romania, who was then appointed by the UPR Government to head the UPR Embassy in Bulgaria. Meetings were held with Aleksander Stamboliyski, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria (also the Minister of Foreign Affairs), the MFA affairs manager Simeon Radev and the Chairman of the National Assembly Aleksandr Botev. K. Matsiyevich's visit resulted in the intensification of the Embassy's activities. A number of measures were taken to provide assistance to refugees and unite them in public organizations. Assistance was provided through the newly created Temporary Committee of the Ukrainian Red Cross, which included V. Dragomyretskyi (Head), Volodymyr Leontovych, prof. Luchev, later M. Parashchuk, V. Fylonovych, professors Vasyl Zavyalov and Mykhailo Popruzhenko (members) joined. K. Matsiyevich allocated 3.000 Bulgarian levs for establishment of a shelter for 100–120 people and the purchase of building materials for its repair. The local authorities allowed the conversion of the former military hut into the “Ukrainian House” shelter for refugees, the sick and the disabled. K. Matsiyevich proposed creating a committee to help refugees, which would

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<sup>29</sup> НАЛИСНИК, Ю. Перше посольство Української Держави в Болгарії (спогад з-перед 20-ти років). – In: Історичний календар-альманах «Червоної калини» на 1939 рік. Львів, 1938, pp. 164–168.

<sup>30</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 308, арк. 68–69.

open similar committees in the regions, register refugees, help them find job places, organize labor workshops and artels, and provide money loans on the basis of a credit cooperative.<sup>31</sup> In early May 1923, the Ukrainian Embassy in Bulgaria ceased to exist.

The creation of public organizations was initiated by the Ukrainian refugees/emigrants themselves. At the beginning of 1921, a group of emigrants led by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the UPR Army V. Fylonovych, with whom K. Matsiyevich met during his visit to Bulgaria, founded the Ukrainian community there. Later, in a letter to his former commander Arkhyp Kmeta, the Lieutenant-Colonel mentioned the events of December 1920 – January 1921 as follows: “When I came from Tsargorod to Bulgaria with a group of Ukrainians and saw complete disorganization, I submitted a project of forming a Ukr[ainian] organization. [Mr.] Dragomyretskyi rejected this project and was generally against such an organization. However, I gathered about 30 people, including both [Mr.] Khrapko and [Mr.] Krupytskyi, and this is how the first Ukr[ainian] organization was founded on the territory of Bulgaria”.<sup>32</sup>

Since Ukrainian foremen and Cossacks were wandering through Russian institutions all the time and lived in Russian shelters, being persecuted for revealing their Ukrainian identity, the problem of the community’s own premises became relevant. With the assistance of the Temporary Committee of the Ukrainian Red Cross, the Bulgarian Red Cross and the military quartermaster of the Bulgarian army, Colonel G. Kratunkov (Karatunkov), members of the Community with their forces repaired the former military hut in “Grobarska” street (a hut without number), where the “Ukrainian House”<sup>33</sup> was founded (now it is the “Draz Mahala” quarter of Sofia near the “Lavov Most” square, modern “Kozloduy” street).<sup>34</sup> Representations of Ukrainian organizations were located there, there was a library-reading room decorated with a portrait of Mykhailo Drahomanov, a stage for performances, a kitchen-dining room and a shoe repair workshop were equipped, performances, concerts, social parties, etc. took place there.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 308, арк. 56 зв. – 57.

<sup>32</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 261, арк. 41.

<sup>33</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 277, арк. 97зв.

<sup>34</sup> МАТЯШ, І., ТЕРТИЧНА А., МАНАСІЄВА, І. Українсько-болгарські відносини: офіційна і культурна дипломатія (1918–1944). Київ-Софія, 2021, р. 215, 352.

<sup>35</sup> ХВИЛЯ, В. Болгарія – Нова Україна. Прага, 1923, part 6, pp. 174–175.

Shortly after its foundation, the Ukrainian community already had about 300 members.<sup>36</sup> Its board included the commander of the Sumy Kuren of the 4<sup>th</sup> regiment of Ukrainian Sich riflemen V. Fylonovych (Head), captain Hryhoriy Krupytskyi (deputy), sergeant Mykola Khrapko, sergeants of the Katerynoslav Ukrainian insurgent camp Mykhailo Pukhalskyi, Nikanor Palaguta (members) and Vsevolod Zhyvodar (scribe).<sup>37</sup>

The main tasks of the Ukrainian community were to unite all Ukrainians living in Bulgaria in general and Sofia in particular, to provide them with material assistance, and to carry out cultural and educational work among them. Thanks to the efforts of V. Fylonovych, 12 Ukrainian communities (independent organizations or branches of the Ukrainian community in Bulgaria) and clubs were founded in 1921–22, which operated according to the Community charter approved in September 1922 by the Ministry of Public Education of Bulgaria.<sup>38</sup> In fact, at that time, the Ukrainian community acted as a headquarters for provincial groups and communities.

After getting its own premises, within Ukrainian community in Sofia in spring 1921, new public organizations were distinguished. First, it was the “Sich” military (combatant) society. Its management team included V. Fylonovych (Otaman), Khmara (essaul), H. Krupytskyi and M. Khrapko (council members). Among the members there were rebels of the Katerynoslav Ukrainian insurgent kosh (detachment), Cossacks of the Ukrainian Sich rifle regiment and Zaporizhzhya kosh, soldiers of the blue-jacketed and gray-jacketed divisions. The task of the organization was to educate foremen and Cossacks in the “national-military spirit”, fight for the liberation of Ukrainian lands, and prepare them to return to Ukraine in the ranks of the regular army or insurgent units. Despite the lack of military literature and military statutes in Ukrainian, there were isolated classes on military training, reading lectures (from memory) on field service, topography and other military disciplines.

Secondly, the general assembly of the Community decided to create a Cultural and Educational Circle. In July 1921, it had 75 members. The head of

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<sup>36</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. До громадсько-політичної діяльності Василя Филоновича у Болгарії у 1921–1922 рр. – Київська старовина, 2010, no. 6, p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 277, арк. 98; ЦДАБ, ф. 1717К, оп. 1, а.е. 415, л. 2.

<sup>38</sup> ЦДАБ, ф. 1717К, оп. 1, д. 373, л. 1–2; Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne (WBH), Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (CAW), Zespół Akt «Sprzymierzona Armia Ukraińska» (SAU), sygn. I.380.1.50.

its council was M. Khrapko, its members were Glushko, N. Palahuta, Anton Tymofiyuk, Avram Viit and A. Zayets. The purpose of creating the Circle was to raise the cultural level of its members through self-education and self-upbringing, to represent the spiritual treasures of the Ukrainian people and to acquaint the Bulgarian public with the tasks of Ukrainians in the struggle for their own state. For its implementation, the Circle organized joint readings of Ukrainian literature, musical and literary parties, lectures, etc. It had its own orchestra and choir. The educational component of the Circle's activity consisted in organizing an elementary school for the illiterate and Ukrainian studies courses according to the secondary school program. Grammar, history of literature, geography, history, ethnography of Ukraine were taught at the courses. The group had a library of 150 books, a reading room and an auditorium for classes. Subsequently, it set itself the goal of organizing tours for its members around Sofia, giving public lectures to the Bulgarian public and publishing an information leaflet.<sup>39</sup>

And this goal was realized. In the premises of the "Ukrainian House" the editorial office of the "Ukrainian Community" ("Ukrainska Hromada") newsletter was located and in 1922 the mentioned newsletter was published in a circulation of 1,000 copies and distributed among the members of the Ukrainian Community in Sofia and its Ukrainian branches in the regions. The publisher was the Council of the Ukrainian Community, the editor was V. Khvylya. In one of the central state Ukrainian archives, three issues of information leaflet have been kept. Its pages provided information about events in Ukraine, the relationship between Russian and Ukrainian Bolsheviks, the "zminovikhovstvo" ("changeable movement"), Ukrainian studentship in Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainian community and the Ukrainian Student Union in Bulgaria, etc.<sup>40</sup> In spring 1924, public lectures on the history and culture of Ukraine were given to the Bulgarian public in Sofia, Burgas, Ruse and other cities. Among the lecturers there were V. Dragomyretskyi, artist and professor M. Parashchuk, writers Stiliyan Chilingirov and Dimitr Shyshmanov and actor Nikola Balabanov.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 1, спр. 207, арк. 1–5 зв.

<sup>40</sup> Софіянець. Українці в Болгарії (Допис із Софії). – Літопис політики, письменства і мистецтва, зшиток 19/20, кн. II, 1924, р. 304; ЦДАВО України, ф. 4465, оп. 1, спр. 157, арк. 77; ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 36.

<sup>41</sup> Становище українського студентства. – In: ХАКОВА, Е., МОСКАЛЕНКО, В. Проф. Михайло Іванович Парашчук українски скулптор и виден обществен деец (1878–1963). – In: Сборник документи, снимки и публикации. София: Парадигма, 2016, р. 240.

Thirdly, since among the emigrants there were many young people, some of whom had a full secondary or incomplete higher education, they created the organization “Ukrainian Studentship” (another name – “Ukrainian Student Union”) under the Circle, the purpose of which was to get the opportunity to obtain higher education in Sofia or Berlin, Vienna or Prague. The organization had 14 members. It was headed by M. Khrapko (Head of the board), V. Pylypchenko and D. Kopanytsya. Members of the organization participated in various events of Cultural and Educational Circle and the Ukrainian Community.<sup>42</sup>

The Temporary committee of the Ukrainian Red Cross helped Ukrainian organizations, provided financial assistance to emigrants, in particular, organized dinners on holidays, allocated funds for the purchase of medicines, shoe repair, etc. Emigrants were also cared for by the Committee of Assistance to Ukrainian Refugees in Bulgaria (another name is the Ukrainian Public Committee) headed by V. Dragomyretskyi. It was created at the insistence and support of K. Matsiyevich<sup>43</sup>. But as the committee received means for its activities mainly from holding charity events, concerts, performances, parties, etc.,<sup>44</sup> the help to emigrants was small. The committee operated until 1924.

In 1921, V. Fylonovych, purposing to improve the activities of Ukrainian organizations and widen their network, repeatedly appealed to the Chief Oatman of the UPR troops and the Chairman of the UPR Directorate Symon Petliura for support.<sup>45</sup> He was called to Tarnow (Poland), where he arrived in late August of the same year. Meetings were held with Ukrainian political and military authorities, in particular with S. Petliura. He was supposed to head a group of Ukrainian soldiers from Bulgaria to participate in the Second Winter Campaign of the UPR Army. But due to the publication of certain information in the press, the transportation of this group to Romania was cancelled. On January 8 of the following year, having received certain orders from the General Staff of the UPR Army, he left for Bulgaria through Romania.<sup>46</sup> According to the letter of the Chief of the General Staff dated January 26, 1922, Cor-

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<sup>42</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 308, арк. 57; ХВИЛЯ, В. Болгарія. – Нова Україна. 1923, ч. 6, р. 174.

<sup>43</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 1, спр. 107, арк. 13–14; оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 26, 44.

<sup>44</sup> ЦДАРБ, ф. 1717К, оп. 1, а.е. 8, л. 2; а.е. 373, л. 1–2 зв; а.е. 372, л. 1–2; Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne (WBH), Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (CAW), Zespół Akt «Sprzymierzona Armia Ukraińska» (SAU), sygn. I.380.1.50.

<sup>45</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 355, арк. 35.

<sup>46</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 129, арк. 1–1 зв.

net-General Vsevolod Petriv, V. Fylonovych acquired the status of a military agent in Bulgaria. He was responsible for reporting monthly on the situation of Russian and Ukrainian emigration (number, political groups, political leaders, public organizations, moods, etc.), and fortnightly reporting on the activities of Russian political organizations (Bolshevik, monarchical, B. Savinkov, etc.) in the Balkans and Turkey. V. Fylonovych received instructions regarding these activities from the Head of the military section of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission (EDM) in Romania, Cornet-General Serhiy Delvig.<sup>47</sup>

V. Fylonovych returned to Bulgaria as an instructor in cooperation (public activity). According to the Regulations on Instructors of Ukrainian Workers' and Cooperative Organizations Abroad, his main task was to rally scattered Ukrainian emigrants in Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Turkey, who supported the UPR State Center (SC), and to dismantle Wrangel's army. In fact, he was engaged in registering all emigrants fit for military service, uniting them under the guise of worker' cooperatives into a single strong organization on a military basis and discipline and subordinating it to the UPR SC. Among the members of workers' cooperatives, it was planned to carry out national educational activities, to inform about the essence of Ukrainian statehood, to prevent hostile propaganda and provocations. The instructor was subordinate to the Secretary of War through the Chief of the General Staff of the UPR Army.<sup>48</sup>

To implement this program in Bulgaria, the UPR Government allocated a one-time large amount of funds in the national currency from the State Treasury, and as the process developed, it was expected to allocate monthly several thousand Bulgarian levs. It was reasoned by the need of material support for emigrants, the creation of cooperatives, workers' artels, church brotherhoods, schools for the elimination of illiteracy, etc.<sup>49</sup>

The activities of V. Fylonovych yielded positive results. In 1921–1922, numerical quantity of the Ukrainian Community in Bulgaria increased from 30 to almost 1.500 people. It was joined by the members of the Ukrainian Circle and the Society named after Hetman Ivan Mazepa, newly arrived in late 1922 from Egypt. A number of public organizations and circles of Ukrainian

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<sup>47</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 129, арк. 1 – 1 зв.

<sup>48</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 1075, оп. 2, спр. 827, арк. 109; ф. 3696, оп. 2, спр. 500, арк. 168–169.

<sup>49</sup> СРІБНЯК, І. Початки української військової еміграції на Балканах (1921–1923 рр.). – Військово-історичний альманах. Київ, 2006, no. 2, p. 49.

emigrants were created in the regions.<sup>50</sup> To coordinate activities of these organizations, their leaders joined the United Council of Ukrainian Organizations in Sofia.<sup>51</sup>

The activities of V. Fylonovych in Bulgaria worried the Russian emigration and the Bolsheviks, who put pressure on Bulgarian authorities aiming to expel the Lieutenant-Colonel from the state. On December 15, 1922, by order of the Mayor of Sofia, he was forced to leave Bulgaria.<sup>52</sup> He moved to Czechoslovakia, where he later entered the Higher Technical School. In mid-December 1922, because of the departure of almost entire board of the Ukrainian Community in Bulgaria to Czechoslovakia (to study at the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Podebrady), elections were held for a new board: H. Krupytskyi (Head), Skoryk, Nagirnyi, Andriyenko and Semen Davydenko (members).<sup>53</sup>

It should be mentioned that in 1921–22, the Ukrainian Community, Cultural and Educational Circle, and “Sich” included Ukrainian emigrants from various political surroundings – republicans (“Petliurians”) and monarchists (“Hetmantsy”). Their division into separate groups has not yet taken on certain forms, as everyone still hoped for a quick return to Ukraine. But after the Second Winter Campaign of the UPR Army was defeated at the end of 1921, it became clear that the return would be postponed for some uncertain time. Therefore, the process of differentiation within the political environment of emigration intensified.

In contrast to Germany, Poland and Romania, where supporters of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi created a network of political and public organizations, for example, branches of the Ukrainian Union of State Farmers, in Bulgaria few “Hetmantsy” did not create either a party unit or a public organization, although some attempts were made.<sup>54</sup> In 1924–25, supporters of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi were fighting for their influence in the Ukrainian Community. On

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<sup>50</sup> Українська еміграція в Болгарії. – Трибуна України. Варшава, 1923, part 2–3, p. 114.

<sup>51</sup> Листи громадських діячів, представників української науки, культури і церкви до Івана Огієнка (митрополита Іларіона). Київ, 2011, p. 232.

<sup>52</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 277, арк. 98; ВЛАСЕНКО, В. До історії міжвоєнної української політичної еміграції на Балканах. – In: Пам’ятки: археографічний щорічник. Київ, 2011, vol. 12, p. 132.

<sup>53</sup> ХВИЛЯ, В. Лист з Болгарії. – В: Український сурмач. Щипйорно–Каліш, 1923, part 44, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 34 зв.

the eve of its liquidation, when the Community consisted of only a few people, most of them were “Hetmantsy”.<sup>55</sup>

But the monarchist movement spread in Bulgaria in a different form. In 1920, the “Ukrainian Free Cossacks” organization abroad was created in Berlin and in 1921 also in Vienna (another name for this paramilitary organization is “Free Cossacks”), who did not demonstrate much activity. In late 1922, the Ukrainian National Cossack Society (UNCS or UNACOSO) was established and the charter of which was approved in January 1923. Ivan Poltavets-Ostryanytsya, the former adjutant of P. Skoropadskyi, was the initiator of its creation and its chieftain (Otaman). The goal of the organization was the restoration of independent Ukraine in the form of a “National Dictatorship based on the national Cossack Army”, the priority of the interests of the state over the interests of the individual, party and class.<sup>56</sup> In the Ukrainian émigré press, the program of the organization was called a “fascist” one.<sup>57</sup> In 1923, a branch of UNACOSO was founded in Bulgaria. It was headed by a former captain of the UPR Army, Kosh Otaman of the UNACOSO 3<sup>rd</sup> Cossack kosh General *Bunchuzhny* Demyd Gulay,<sup>58</sup> General Fedir Zherebko, Ivan Orlov, Volodymyr Kolesnychenko and Feodosii Poltavtsiv. The maximum number of members the branch had at the end of the 1920s was up to 50 people<sup>59</sup>.

In 1921–22, the “free Cossacks” were part of the Ukrainian Community in Bulgaria. The next 2–3 years were characterized by the struggle of “Petliurians” and “free Cossacks” for influence not only in the governing body of the Society, but also in the Ukrainian emigrant environment in the country in general. The positions of S. Petliura’s supporters weakened after V. Fylovych, the leader of the local “Petliurians”, and the most active members of the Community had left for Czechoslovakia. In addition, the lack of organizational forces, internal disputes and quarrels, change in the attitude towards Ukrainian emigrants on the part of Bulgarian authorities after the 1923 coup (coming to power Aleksandar Tsankov’s government<sup>60</sup>), the corrupting activi-

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<sup>55</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 299, арк. 41.

<sup>56</sup> Národní archiv České republiky, f. «Ukrajinske muzeum v Praze» (NAČR), kart. 18, inv. № 439, arch. 2.

<sup>57</sup> ЛОБОДАЄВ, В. М. Революційна стихія. Вільнокозацький рух в Україні 1917–1918 рр. Київ, 2010, р. 279.

<sup>58</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 27.

<sup>59</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3543, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 5.

<sup>60</sup> ЦДАРБ, ф. 1717К, оп. 1, а.е. 415, л. 2.

ties of the Russian emigration and Bolshevik agents, and their slander of the “free Cossacks” (to the Bulgarian legal bodies) eventually led to decline and termination of the Ukrainian Community’s activities in 1925.<sup>61</sup> Under such circumstances, provincial Ukrainian organizations and groups also collapsed.

When the internal disorder in the Ukrainian community began, a large part of its members – supporters of S. Petliura and the UPR Government in exile – left the organization and founded the Circle named after M. Drahomanov. Initially, it was active in Sofia, but due to fears of dispersal and the relocation of some Ukrainians to work at the Balabanov sawmill (tartak), moved to the village of Kocheryново, where since 1921 there were many Ukrainians. The Circle even had its branches at the coal mine in Pernik and Sofia. The Circle was legalized on January 24, 1924.<sup>62</sup> Its purpose was stated in the statute as follows: unification of Ukrainians who were in Bulgaria; establishing relations with national organizations and institutions; settings for systematic receipt of information about events in Ukraine and the world; implementation of cultural and educational work; care for the welfare of members and protection of their interests; opening of branches.<sup>63</sup> However in May 1925, following the slander of the UNACOSO branch in Bulgaria, the Political Department of the Public Security Service banned the activities of any Ukrainian organization, citing the fact that the Circle representatives corresponded with V. Fylonovych, and the latter corresponded with the leader of the foreign bureau of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party Mykyta Shapoval, and the latter – with the Russian socialist-revolutionary Volodymyr Lebedev, who had connections with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU), and the latter – with local communists.<sup>64</sup> At the time of liquidation, the Circle together with branches had about 100 people.<sup>65</sup>

But the members of the Circle temporarily united into a workers’ artel, which continued to exist without changing the content and direction of the Circle’s (Ukrainian Community) activities. There were several attempts to legalize the Circle and the amateur music group under it, but in vain. The management of the factory was against the creation by its workers of any public

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<sup>61</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 49 зв.; спр. 277, арк. 98 зв.

<sup>62</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2., спр. 267, арк. 46.

<sup>63</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 260, арк. 28.

<sup>64</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 65.

<sup>65</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 267, арк. 89.

organizations with signs of a political nature.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, as it follows from archival documents, the Circle named after M. Drahomanov continued to exist de facto.<sup>67</sup> All that time, V. Fylonovych, who later (at the beginning of 1927) became the representative of the UPR Minister of War in the Balkans and Turkey,<sup>68</sup> kept in touch with the Circle and the artel.

### Conclusions

The interaction of Ukrainian emigrants with the Bulgarian authorities, individual state and public figures, and the local population, had a diverse nature, which depended on internal and external economic factors, the political situation in Bulgaria and the world. At the interstate level, such interaction remained at the end of the 1910s – the beginning of the 1920s of the XX century, when diplomatic relations were established after signing of the Brest Peace Treaty, but after the Paris Peace Conference and the loss of the UPR territory relations were uncertain. They revived after K. Matsiyevich's visit to Bulgaria in spring of 1921, after which A. Stamboliyskyi already had a favorable attitude towards the UPR, promising to recognize the Ukrainian People's Republic de jure if the political situation changed. During the political tension of 1922, due to the plans of the Bulgarian government to disband P. Wrangel's army, the UPR Embassy and Ukrainian emigrants distanced themselves from the actions of the Russians.

After the coup d'état in June 1923, the centre-right "Democratic Agreement" party came to power, the attitude towards Russian emigration improved, but Ukrainians were not distinguished from Russians and were not allowed to mark the nationality "Ukrainian" in their Nansen passports. At the level of interaction with Bulgarian statesmen, there were some cases of a positive attitude towards the wishes of Ukrainians, as, for example, the assistance of the Bulgarian military quartermaster in the opening of the "Ukrainian House". In the mid-1920s, when Ukrainians tried to legalize the Ukrainian Community, such statesmen as G. Vasilev, V. Mollov, I. Vilkov were positive about this mat-

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<sup>66</sup> ЯКИМОВА, А. М. Діяльність Українського гуртка імені Драгоманова в Болгарії. – In: Суспільно-політичні процеси на українських землях: історія, проблеми, перспективи: зб. матер. III Всеукр. наук.-практ. конф. (Суми, 17 квітня 2015 р.): у 2 ч. Суми, 2015, part 1, pp. 31–32.

<sup>67</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 1, спр. 391, арк. 122; спр. 388, арк. 12; ЦДАВО України, ф. 4185, оп. 1, спр. 1, арк. 1–2; спр. 2, арк. 4.

<sup>68</sup> ЦДАГО України, ф. 269, оп. 2, спр. 277, арк. 98 – 98 зв.

ter, while the negative attitude was demonstrated by I. Rusev, Zubov, Karagyozov. Cooperation between emigrants and Bulgarian public figures was more intense. It is evidenced by the creation of the Ukrainian-Bulgarian Society in March 1920 and the participation of Bulgarian writers and artists in cultural events of Ukrainian public organizations.

The level of interrelations between the local population and Ukrainian emigrants ranged from friendly and neutral to tense, as the rivalry between these two communities took place in the labor market, in social security, etc. The most fruitful and mutually beneficial interaction was in the cultural and educational sphere. Bulgarians always participated in the cultural events of the emigration, and the Bulgarian organizations “Slavyanska beseda” and “Mladezhno slavsko druzstvo” invited representatives of public organizations of the Slavic peoples, including Ukrainians, to their meetings.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, the first stage of the forming of the network of Ukrainian public and combatant organizations, which covered the first half of the 1920s of the XX century, was characterized by its intensive development in 1921–1922, its gradual decline in 1923–1924, and the termination of the legal existence of such organizations in 1925. During the entire period, to a greater or lesser extent, the emigrant environment was divided according to political preferences, which led to the forming of two groups – national-democratic (supporters of the UPR Government, republicans, “Petliurians”) and conservative-hetman (monarchists, supporters of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi or I. Poltavets-Ostryanytsya).

The Ukrainian Community and its branches and groups in the regions, the Cultural and Educational Circle, the “Sich” Society, the Circle named after M. Drahomanov can be included into the first group, the second group consisted of a few “hetmansy” and a group of “free Cossacks”, which turned into a branch of the Ukrainian National Cossack Society. The populist-socialist environment of Ukrainian emigration in Bulgaria was never formed, the few supporters of the ideas of socialism either repatriated or re-emigrated.

The following stage of the forming of public organizations network will begin in 1926, when a number of organizations are legalized, and will end at the beginning of the Second World War and will be characterized by their

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<sup>69</sup> ВЛАСЕНКО, В. Болгарія й українська політична еміграція в міжвоєнний період: форми взаємодії. – In: Україна і Болгарія в історії Європи = Украина и България в истории на Европа: зб. наук. праць. Київ, 2019, pp. 327–345.

more accurate distinction according to political orientation, the creation of a union (unification) of organizations and the emergence of a new political environment – a radical-nationalist one (a unit of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

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