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Civilization Boundaries Цивилизационни граници

A BULGARIAN STUDENT IN EARLY XX CENTURY UKRAINE: STUDY, LIFESTYLE AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract. The paper discusses the life of Konstantin Nikolov, a Bulgarian from the town of Gorna Oryahovitsa, during his study at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce (1909 – 1915). The very "insignificance" of this person allows for some wider generalizations, given the fact that precisely such people best reflect the society as a whole. For this reason, the study of ordinary people's biographies has become an important focus of modern historiography. Nikolov's student years illustrate some aspects of contemporary Bulgarian history and exemplify the experience of Bulgarian students in the Russian Empire before and during the World War I.

The present study is based on archive materials previously untapped by scholars. It also involves some documents relative to Svitozar Drahomanov, who was of Ukrainian origin but spent his childhood in Bulgaria and studied at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce along with Nikolov, as well as documents regarding a trip to Bulgaria by Czesław Madej, another student of the same institute.

The study demonstrates that archives of different Kyiv-based higher educational institutions should be explored for more valuable materials regarding Bulgarian-born students, which may help draw a fuller picture of Bulgarian-Ukrainian relations in the field of education and culture. This, in turn, will contribute to a deeper understanding of the history of Ukrainian higher education in the early 20th century. It will also provide a wider perspective on the phenomenon of Bulgarians studying abroad before and during the World War I, including the life situations of the students during this period which proved crucial for the whole European civilization.

Keywords: history of Bulgaria; Kyiv Institute of Commerce; micro-history; World War I; students

Introduction

Higher education is an important indicator of development of both state and society, and therefore deserves careful study. Of special interest in this respect is the period of the late 19th and early 20th century that became a watershed in the history of civilization.

At the turn of the 20th century, Bulgarian youth was striving for higher education. However, the country had only one university, and many young Bulgarians were forced to study abroad. Their preferred destination was the Russian-controlled Ukraine. This was due to Ukraine's geographical proximity to Bulgaria, the commonality of Orthodox faith, and an ancient tradition of cultural ties. In Odesa, a special Southern Slavic Boarding School was set up in the second half of the 19th century (Gamsa 2017).

This paper discusses the study of Bulgarian nationals in higher learning institutions of the Russian-controlled Ukraine drawing on the case of Konstantin Nikolayev Nikolov (Trufanov) who studied at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce in 1909 – 1915. This case is interesting not only because the subject of Bulgarians' enrollment in economic higher schools of the Russian Empire is still unexplored but also because Nikolov's stay in Ukraine coincided with a critical period in the history of Bulgaria and Europe as a whole. Given that Nikolov was an "ordinary person," the reconstruction of his life story may become a basis for some generalizations. It should be noted that this person has never drawn the attention of scholars exploring the phenomenon of Bulgarians studying abroad (Tanschev 1994).

The documents from Nikolov's personal file, that have been preserved in the Kyiv City Public Archives and have so far remained untapped by scholars, provide some valuable information about how the global developments of the early 20th century impacted the life of an ordinary Bulgarian. These documents became the basis for the present research.

Methods

The study employs general academic methods (objectivity, analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction etc.) as well as special methods (historical-genetic, historical-comparative, and prognostic) proper to history.

Theory

The early years of the 20th century were of critical importance in the history of all European countries, determining their later historical trajectory. Therefore, a thorough study of all aspects of this period will be of special interest as a means to explain its influence on the subsequent development of individual European countries and the European civilization as a whole.

At the turn of the 20th century, economics assumed ever greater importance in social life. This led to a more active development of economic education. The demand for such education grew steadily as ever wider strata of the population became involved in modern economy. That is why we focused our study on the students of the first Ukrainian higher learning institution in the field of economics – the Kyiv Institute of Commerce. Among some 30,000 personal

files of its students preserved in the collection of the Institute of Commerce in the Kyiv City Public Archives, we looked for those which might belong to the natives of Bulgaria. The personal files in the relevant collection are organized simply in alphabetical order, so the only feasible method was to look for Bulgarian-sounding surnames. After studying these files for some 10 years, we managed to identify only one student coming from Bulgaria. However, even the documents related to this single person shed some light on the situation of a Bulgarian national in the Russian-dominated Ukraine at the turn of the 20th century.

Quite naturally, the most important part of the story are the circumstances of the Bulgarian's study in Kyiv and the impact that the World War I had on his destiny. After more archive materials of the same kind are identified, they may be used to analyze the developments in the Bulgarian society during this crucial period, taking us from the level of micro-history to that of macro-history.

Results and discussion

1.1. The personal file of the Bulgarian Konstantin Nikolov, found in the collection of documents of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce in the Kyiv City Public Archives, throws some light on his origins and childhood. According to his certificate of baptism, Nikolov was born on April 1, 1884, in an Orthodox family in Gorna Oryakhovitsa¹⁾. The town is located in Northern Bulgaria in the present-day Veliko Tarnovo province and has an interesting history. Since the beginning of the 19th century, it had its own educational institutions, and at the end of the century it entered the path of rapid economic development. A railway was laid to the town, and in the early 20th century, a sugar mill was built there, the largest one on the Balkans. This could be one of the factors that prompted Nikolov to seek education in economics.

Nikolov completed his primary education in a three-year school in his native town of Gorna Oryakhovitsa.² In 1903, he began his studies at the Volhynian theological seminary in Zhytomyr. He studied there until 1909, completing a full course with "excellent conduct" and grades from "3" to "4"³⁾. His move to Ukraine must have occurred sometime before 1903.

The very fact that he completed his secondary education in the Russian Empire means that he had mastered the Russian language, which, obviously, helped him to enter the Kyiv Institute of Commerce and to pursue his higher studies. The same factor played a positive role in the case of other Bulgarian nationals who studied at the universities of the Russian Empire. Just like today, language skills had great influence on the study results of those pursuing higher education abroad.

1.2. The personal file also contains information about Nikolov's study at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce in 1909 – 1915. These years of his life were

marked, first of all, by financial difficulties and attempts to avoid military conscription.

On July 29, 1909, still residing in Zhytomyr, Nikolov wrote a letter to the Kyiv Institute of Commerce, asking for enrollment as a regular student⁴⁾. This means that he entered the institute right after he graduated from the Volhynian seminary.

Almost immediately after enrollment Nikolov applied to the director of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce for a certificate to attest that he was a regular student. According to the practice that was typical for the period, he planned to send the certificate to the Bulgarian minister of war in order to get a military draft deferment⁵⁾. Similar applications can be found in personal files of other students as well. The archive collection of the Institute of Commerce includes a whole file with documents regarding student draft deferments⁶⁾.

Nikolov's enrollment in a private commercial institute was quite understandable not only in view of the growing importance of business in social life, but also given the fact that during enrollment in public universities candidates faced numerous restrictions which were absent in the case of private educational institutions. This fact, which had to be taken into consideration by Bulgarians studying in the Russian Empire, has already been noted by Bulgarian historians (Kozhukharov&Najmuchin 2011, 37).

The first period of Nikolov's study in the Kyiv Institute of Commerce was rather short and ended on February 1, 1910. That is, he studied little more than one semester. Other documents in the file demonstrate that the principal reason for a break in his studies were financial difficulties.

On September 19, 1911 Nikolov wrote a letter to Mitrofan Dovnar-Zapolskiy, the director of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce. He informed that he was in Bulgaria (the letter had been sent from his native town of Gorna Oryakhovitsa) and that he had managed to "obtain a scholarship from the Bulgarian government". However, to finalize the matter with the scholarship he needed a certificate of enrollment, which he asked Dovnar-Zapolskiy to provide him. At the end of the letter, Nikolov mentioned that in 1910 Dovnar-Zapolskiy "wanted to entrust me a business to settle with your niece in Sofia." This short phrase reminds of the fact that Dovnar-Zapolskiy himself spent a part of his childhood in Bulgaria (in 1886) with the family of his elder brother who was an official in the Bulgarian government (Lebedeva 2017, 8) and that some of his relatives still lived in that country. This is yet another piece in the mosaic of early 20th century Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations.

According to the postmark, Nikolov's letter, dated September 19, 1911, arrived to the Kyiv Institute of Commerce on October 5. This is indicative of the speed of mail between Bulgaria and Kyiv at the beginning of the 20th century.

In response to his request, Nikolov received a certificate stating that he had been enrolled as a regular student of the Institute from September 1909 till February 1, 1910, "when he was dismissed for non-payment of tuition fees," and that after the settlement of his debts he might be reinstated⁹⁾.

Two months later, in November 1911, Nikolov asked the board of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce to reinstate him as a student. He committed himself to pay off 100 rubles as a part of the debt that led to his dismissal and asked for rescheduling of the remaining 85 rubles. The board agreed to reinstate him on the terms he offered¹⁰⁾. The size of Nikolov's debt indicated that he had not paid in full even the first semester of his studies, so his dismissal was inevitable. In fact, it was quite a common story for the students of the Institute of Commerce, who were, in general, rather poor. This is evidenced by many similar cases involving other students of the institute. For example, Svitozar Drahomanov, whose case will be discussed below, during his study at the same institute had to apply repeatedly for tuition fee waivers¹¹⁾. Analyzing the proportion of personal files of students who completed the full course of studies and of those who were dismissed (mostly for failing to pay the fees), one can see that the latter are much more numerous and comprise four inventories of the institute's archive collection, while the former make up only two considerably smaller inventories.

Dire material situation of students in the early 20th century Kyiv led to the emergence of numerous student fraternities whose main task was to help out their members. In the Kyiv Institute of Commerce, a special student organization existed focused on providing financial support to its members – The Society for Assistance to Students in Need (1910, Report of the Society...). Therefore, Nikolov's plight was quite typical. At the time, a large part of university students in the Russian Empire faced severe financial difficulties, as emphasized by many scholars studying the history of higher education (Iwanov 1999, 2002; Krugliak 2011, 2015; Posokhov 2013).

The same follows from the contemporary statistics. According to a questionnaire distributed in 1913 among the Kyiv students, 72% of the respondents declared a monthly income of less than 30 rubles. Based on the personal files of students of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce, it can be concluded that the average monthly rent paid by students for their housing in Kyiv varied between 6 and 12 rubles Besides housing, students had to pay some 5-15 rubles a month for food 14.

This means that students from beyond Kyiv had to spend 11 - 27 rubles a month for housing and food. Given a typical monthly budget of less than 30 rubles, they had almost no money left for anything else. When something extraordinary happened like a theft of their property or an illness, they ended up in a very dramatic situation. This was the case, above all, with students from beyond Kyiv. The further from Kyiv was their place of origin, the more difficult it was for them to get any assistance. So, obviously, the number of Bulgarian

students in Kyiv universities and institutes could not be high. Quite understandable are also the dire conditions in which Nikolov found himself. Even if he received any funds from his relatives in Bulgaria, a considerable percentage was eaten up by money transfer costs.

1.3. The documents from Nikolov's personal file that have to do with his second period of study in the Kyiv Institute of Commerce (in 1912-1915) show the ways in which his destiny was influenced by the two Balkan Wars and the World War I. Considering that he was an "average" Bulgarian, some conclusions regarding his life can well be applied to the Bulgarian society as a whole.

On January 12 and June 11, 1912, Nikolov requested the board of the Institute to issue him a regular student's certificate. He needed it in order to send it to the Bulgarian Ministry of War and to "obtain a military draft deferment." But as soon as June 14, 1912, he requested "a certificate stating that the Institute has no objections against my departure abroad," ¹⁶ which he received the very next day¹⁷).

On September 24, 1913, Nikolov sent to the board of the Institute a request "to enroll me again as a regular student." He explained the abandonment of studies in 1912 by the difficult situation of his native country: "In consequence of the events in the Balkans, I as the native of Bulgaria had to [...] depart to my homeland where I enlisted in the army and served until the end of this past August" The available lists of Bulgarian army officers suggest that Nikolov did not receive an officer rank (Tanschev 2013, 111). Therefore, he must have fought in the war as an ordinary volunteer, especially given the fact that he had no military training.

According to the documents at hand, he served in the Bulgarian army from the middle of 1912 till the summer of 1913. This period corresponds to the two Balkan wars that lasted, respectively, from October 1912 till May 1913 and from June till July of 1913 (Yarovyi 1996, 31 – 36). It is well known that it is the youth that spearheads all social and political processes, and Nikolov's patriotic attitude may help us understand why Bulgaria, despite its defeat in the Second Balkan War and World War I, survived and preserved its territorial integrity. For Nikolov as an "ordinary" person reflected the widespread sentiments of the younger generation of Bulgarians.

In October 1913, by the decision of the board of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce, Nikolov was reinstated as the student²⁰⁾. In December 1913, he again requested the institute's administrative office to issue him a student certificate which he wanted to send to the Bulgarian Ministry of War²¹⁾. He was motivated, most probably, by his desire to complete the studies, which he did not want to interrupt with military service, and by the planned changes in his personal life. In July 1914 he married.

On July 28, 1914, the day when World War I began, Nikolov asked the director of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce to send his birth certificate "to the church

of the village of Sviatoshyn, because it is necessary for my marriage"²²⁾. His request was granted²³⁾.

On February 5, 1915, Nikolov asked the administrative office of the institute to plead with the Kyiv governor that his permit of residence in the Russian Empire be prolonged, for it was due to expire "in the first part of February"²⁴). As soon as February 10, 1915, the institute sent a corresponding request to the chancery of the Kyiv governor²⁵).

However, on June 15, 1915, Nikolov requested that the director of the institute Dovnar-Zapolskiy "returns me my national (Bulgarian) passport [...] in view of my intention to return to my home country."²⁶⁾ This request must have been due to the increasingly difficult living conditions in Kyiv caused by the growing social and economic crisis (2014, The Great War: 378 – 406). One may also suppose that by the time, it was patently clear that Bulgaria would side with the Central Powers in the war against the Russian Empire. Therefore, Nikolov wanted to make it to Bulgaria in time to avoid possible repressions as enemy alien. The probability of repressions was quite real, as demonstrated by the fate of German and Austrian-Hungarian subjects caught by the war within the borders of Russia. These repressions included both centralized legislative measures against enemy aliens (1914. Laws and regulations based...) and public harassment of naturalized immigrants from enemy countries, especially among university professors. For example, in the autumn of 1914 a bullying campaign was organized against Friedrich Knauer, a German and a native of the German Empire who was a professor at St. Volodymyr University in Kyiv, as well as against other university professors of German origin (Korotkyi & Ulyanovskyi 2000, 650 – 670). Similar events took place in other higher education institutions of Kyiv. Sometimes they were initiated by jingoes from among the faculty. For example, in the Kyiv Institute of Commerce one of the officials filed a report suggesting that the librarian N.L. Ernst should be fired solely on the basis of his being a German.²⁷⁾ The extraordinary laws adopted for the duration of the war emergency demanded the dismissal of all university students who were natives of enemy countries (1914. Laws and regulations based...). For example, the Kyiv Institute of Commerce had to dismiss 14 students who were subjects of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires²⁸).

All in all, there is no doubt that the beginning of the war and especially Bulgaria's accession to the coalition opposing Russia (on October 11, 1915) boded no good for Nikolov.

As early as September 19, 1914, Nikolov filed with the administrative office of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce a request that "on the basis of my national passport, my last name in all my documents should be supplemented with 'Trufeshev,' for my residence under the name of 'Nikolov' may lead to misunderstandings." ²⁹⁾ Considering the fact that by the autumn of 1914, Bulgaria had not yet entered the war, this request must have been a reaction to the surge of chauvinism in the Russian Empire and the resulting widespread hostile sentiments against foreign nationals. For this reason, Nikolov wanted to "Russify" his last name. At the time, this was typical for foreign students studying in Russia as well as for representatives of ethnic groups that faced discrimination in the Russian Empire. For example, the grandfather of Vladimir Vysotsky, a famous Russian actor, who studied at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce around the same time as Nikolov, requested that his first name and patronymic be changed from "Volf Shliomovich" to "Vladimir Semionovich"³⁰⁾.

The documents from Nikolov's personal file indicate that he continued his studies through the first half of 1915. The last documents in the file date from the summer of 1915, shortly before Bulgaria entered the war on the side of Russia's enemies. The file itself is located in the inventory comprising personal files of students who failed to complete their studies. Therefore, it is quite possible that Nikolov was dismissed from the institute under the war-time laws against enemy aliens. According to Bulgarian scholars, 1915 was the last year of studies for most Bulgarians who pursued their education in the Russian Empire (Kozhukharov 2009, 32). The same must have happened to Nikolov. It is to be noted that for Nikolov there was a different way out, which he discarded. At the beginning of the war some students of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce, who were of Slavic origin but came from countries now hostile to Russia, applied for naturalization in the Russian Empire. For example, in August 1914 such an application was filed by Artur-Kazimierz Chroszczewski, a Pole and the son of an Austrian national, who began his studies at the institute in 1911.³¹⁾ The same step was made by Zygmunt-Marjan Grześkowiak, another Polish student and a German national.³²⁾ These examples indicate that Polish youth did not view the Austrian-Hungarian or the German Empire as their fatherland, while Bulgarian students identified strongly with Bulgaria.

1.4. After extensive research, we found in the archive collection of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce two more pieces of information related to Bulgaria.

Firstly, a resident of Bulgaria was Svitozar Drahomanov who completed the full course of studies at the Kyiv Institute of Commerce in 1909 – 1915. In the Ukrainian context, he was an interesting figure. The son of Mykhailo Drahomanov, a prominent Ukrainian historian and one of the first professors of the Sofia University (Iakimova 2019), he was also active in the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the early 20th century. The personal file of Svitozar Drahomanov contains a copy of his birth certificate stating that he was baptized in September 1884 in Sofia³³). This points to the previously unknown fact of Mykhailo Drahomanov's stay in Bulgaria as early as 1884, long before he moved there permanently in 1889.

It should be noted that Svitozar Drahomanov entered the Kyiv Institute of Commerce at the same time as Nikolov, in July 1909³⁴⁾. This means that they could well meet and communicate.

It is also interesting that in his curriculum vitae, written on August 31, 1916, Svitozar Drahomanov did not mention his previous stay in Bulgaria³⁵⁾. This can be interpreted as an attempt to avoid negative consequences that a mention of his connections with the now hostile country could entail. And this is an indirect proof that amid the psychosis and spy hysteria that swept the Russian Empire after the beginning of the world war, a person could face harassment even in such cases of quite innocent foreign connections.

The second interesting fact is that Bulgaria was among the countries where the students of the Kyiv Institute of Commerce went to gain practical work experience. This means that in the early 20th century economic ties between the Ukrainian regions of the Russian Empire and Bulgaria were considerably strong. One of the students of the institute who were directed for practical training to Bulgaria was Czesław Madej, an active member of the Polish national movement in Kyiv. It is quite interesting that Madej planned his business trip to Bulgaria (and also to Romania, Italy, and France) in May 1915, in the heat of the war. Probably, he was driven by the understanding that the war would end and the struggle for foreign markets will begin again, so it would be advisable to study the prospective markets even under such extreme circumstances.

On May 16, 1915, Madej asked the director of the institute to grant him the permission to visit the aforementioned countries "in order to explore the conditions for, and to promote export of sugar beets from Russia."³⁶⁾ It has to be kept in mind that in the Russian Empire sugar beets were harvested predominantly in its Ukrainian regions (Balabushevych 2011, 629; Rakovsky 1995). Therefore, the tasks that Madej hoped to accomplish during his trip to Bulgaria matched the interests of local Ukrainian companies. This is confirmed by Madej's statement that for his Bulgarian trip he "has an assignment from a solid company that sells sugar-beet seeds"³⁷⁾. Based on the available statistics, Madej estimated Bulgaria's demand for sugar-beets at 20,000 poods (330 tons)³⁸⁾. As a tribute to the contemporary rhetoric, Madej stressed the need "to get rid of the humiliating German dominance" in sugar-beet trade³⁹⁾.

Soon Madej was granted the requested permission to travel to Bulgaria⁴⁰⁾. In June 1915, he requested that the institute provide some funding for the trip, because, according to the information he had received "from some acquaintances of mine who returned from abroad due to the war, travel expenses as well as the visa costs to be paid in transit countries increased considerably." This is yet another indication of how the war influenced the life of society, but also a proof that foreign business trips continued even during the World War I. Anyway, Madej's travel plans were thwarted by escalation of fighting and Bulgaria's entry in war against Russia.

Conclusions

Archive documents that have been discovered so far demonstrate that the history of Bulgarians studying abroad at the beginning of the 20th century is still insufficiently studied, and more research is necessary in this direction. Only by reconstructing a comprehensive list of countries and educational institutions where Bulgarians headed to study, one may hope to understand their career priorities as well as the real state of Bulgaria's international relations in this crucial period.

One individual biography discussed above shows that the life of the early 20th century Bulgarian students abroad was marked by severe hardships. Due to the dire financial situation, Nikolov even had to interrupt his studies. However, in those times such experience was typical for students in general, irrespective of their nationality. This was one of the factors that drove students to the forefront of social and political life, for young people always seek a swift change to uncomfortable living conditions. The actions of the contemporary students only confirmed this observation.

As we have seen from documents under study, the Balkan Wars forced Nikolov to return home where he volunteered to the Bulgarian army. This demonstrates the widespread national patriotism of the Bulgarian youth of the time. Another proof of such patriotic feelings is Nikolov's decision not to plea for naturalization in Russia after the world war began, even though it was his only chance to complete his studies, and many other foreign students studying in the Russian Empire chose this option.

The beginning of the World War I had adverse impact on the fate of Konstantin Nikolov. He had to interrupt his studies in Kyiv due to the surge of chauvinist sentiments fomented by the Russian Imperial government.

NOTES

- 1. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 11.
- 2. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 10.
- 3. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 10.
- 4. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 9.
- 5. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 37, 38.
- 6. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 314.
- 7. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 28.
- 8. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 28.
- 9. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 31.
- 10. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 20.
- 11. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 2, c. 74, p. 16 18.

- 12. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 9, v. II, c. 66, p. 20.
- 13. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 1166, p. 9, State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c 1742, p. 101; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1742, p. 15, 104; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1358, p. 34, 52; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 5, c. 2422, p. 8; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1410, p. 39; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1451, p. 107; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 5, c. 1888, p. 22.
- State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1410, p. 39; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1451, p. 107; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 5, c. 1888, p. 22; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 1742, p. 104; State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c 1166, p. 9.
- 15. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 32, 29.
- 16. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 35.
- 17. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 36.
- 18. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 16.
- 19. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 16.
- 20. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 18.
- 21. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 22.
- 22. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 24.
- 23. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 26.
- 24. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 7.
- 25. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 8.
- 26. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 2.
- 27. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 837, p. 163.
- 28. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 823, p. 58.
- 29. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 906, p. 39.
- 30. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 7, c. 357, p. 4.
- 31. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 1410, p. 48.
- 32. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 6, c. 352, p. 18.
- 33. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 2, c. 74, p. 5.
- 34. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 2, c. 74, p. 1.
- 35. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 2, c. 74, p. 42.
- 36. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 1.
- 37. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 2.
- 38. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 2.
- 39. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 2.
- 40. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 3.
- 41. State archive of Kyiv. f. 153, d. 8, c. 1164, p. 5.

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