Anna Yanenko

The museum space of the Kyiv Pechersk monastery in the 1930s Soviet imperial interventions and metamorphoses

In the modern world, museums are significant actors in memory politics and identity formation. As an infrastructure for managing cultural heritage, museum institutions are gaining in importance as elements of the national security system. At a first glance, the new roles played by museums at the same time update the research on the history of museums and the search for their traditions. The changes in politics, economics, science, and culture during the twentieth century were directly reflected by the museum environment, affecting not only the directions of the institutions' work but also the lives of the professional community and visitors. As a unique form of science organization, the concept of which initially included the function of interaction with the community (communication through exhibitions, educational programs, publications, etc.), a museum met socio-political demands and responded to changes in ideological attitudes. In this context, in Ukraine during the Soviet era, museum displays were used as an effective tool for shaping the public opinion, and under totalitarianism the intellectual product of exhibition activities lost their subjective, personal authorial content, yielding to the ideas of the correct implementation of the main party line and the tasks of the so-called construction of the socialist society. An example of the curtailment of the Ukrainization policy, the deployment of repression and ideologization of the humanities, the intensification of anti-religious propaganda, and the final restructuring of science and culture according to the 'Marxist-Leninist rails' that became total in the intellectual community of the Ukrainian SSR during the 1930s, are the transformations that took place in the museum space on the premises of the nationalized Kyiv Pechersk Monastery.

This Ukrainian Orthodox friary, founded in the 11th century, was the administrator of many buildings and objects of historical and artistic significance on the eve of the Bolshevik coup. In the first decades of

Soviet rule, Ukrainian intellectuals managed to preserve the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra's historical and cultural heritage and history through the museumification of the monastery's architectural complex (about one and a half hundred buildings), church and sacristy utensils (including the sacristy of the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery and the valuables of several different religious institutions in Kyiv and Kyiv region), works of secular and church art, etc. The Lavra Cults and Life Museum (Лаврський музей культів та побуту) was created in early 1922. In 1926 the State Historical and Cultural Preserve - All-Ukrainian Museum Town (Державний історико-культурний заповідник - Всеукраїнський музейний городок) was established, known among intellectuals of the time as the Lavra Preserve. Soviet systemic political interventions and experiments became manifest, foremost, by the exhibition activities of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town and the museum institutions located on its premises in the 1930s. This experience remains poorly researched and mostly unsystematized, as evidenced by the extremely small number of generalized studies on the history of Ukrainian museums in the interwar period¹ and the history of the National Preserve Kyiv Pechersk Lavra (Національний заповідник Києво-Печерська лавра) in particular.² Nevertheless, the analysis of exhibition activities in historical retrospect is important for the full functioning of the modern museum network.

The purpose of this research is to summarize, analyze, and systematically present information about the exposition and exhibition activities of the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town*, its structural units (departments/sections/funds/museums), as well as about the museum projects of the *All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences* (Всеукраїнська академія наук) and other institutions carried out on the territory of the Lavra Preserve during the 1930s. Museum expositions are considered in the context of the Russian Soviet colo-

nial policy of using museums as a 'weapon of the ideological front',³ 'socialist construction', the creation of a 'Soviet citizen', etc.

The Museum history of the interwar period on the premises of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra has long been neglected by scholars. The first attempts to systematize and summarize the activities of academic institutions, including the museums of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which were located on the Lavra Preserve premises in the 1930s, were made by Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko.⁴ In Munich in 1970 Petro Kurinnyi published a study on the development of Ukrainian archeology which briefly mentioned the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, the Archaeological Museum of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Археологічний музей Всеукраїнської академії наук), Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kyiv (Всеукраїнський історичний музей імені Тараса Шевченка у Києві) (since 1935 Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum in Kyiv, Центральний історичний музей імені Тараса Шевченка у Києві).⁵ Since the 1990s the history of the Lavra Cults and Life Museum, the All-Ukrainian Museum Town and its components has been the subject of studies by a large number of researchers. Serhii Bilokin, Anatolii Hryshyn, Roman Kachan, Yevhen Kabanets, Larysa Kovaleva, Iryna Masalova, Hryhorii Poliushko, Iryna Prelovska, Anastasiia Cherednychenko, and others have examined the institutional aspects of museum history in the 1920s and 1930s, the work of museum and academic institutions on the former monastery premises, the museum workers' fate, and so on. The so-called academic museum history of the 1920s and 1930s on the Lavra Preserve premises was partially covered by Lesia Ivashchuk, Oleksandr Bon, Anna Yanenko, Maryna Pryn, and Dmytro Baikienich.6 Research on the history of the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum/Central Historical Museum is well developed, especially the exposition of the museum's department of pre-civil society is described in detail.7 However, there are still no generalized, systematized factual statements or summaries about the design, functioning, and transformation of expositions by museum institutions of different subordination and temporary inter-institutional exhibition projects implemented during the 1930s on the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra premises against the background of Sovietization, Russian imperial genocidal policy towards Ukrainians, aggressive anti-religious campaigns, and the transformation of museums into 'ideological front weapons'.

The documents and materials stored at the Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України), the Scientific Archive of Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Science of Ukraine (Науковий архів Інституту археології Національної академії наук України), the Manuscript Institute of Volodymyr Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В. I. Вернадського) and several other places provide an opportunity to characterize the process of designing, implementing, and transforming permanent and temporary museum displays, to analyze the impact of state policy on the changes that took place with exhibition activities, to summarize the already known facts, and to introduce little-known sources on the history of Ukrainian museums from the 1930s into scientific use. The corpus of published sources, in particular publications by Nadiia Linka-Heppener, Hryhorii Denisov, Ivan Skulenko, Pavlo Karpenko, Mariia Shchepotieva, Yevheniia Rudynska and other museum staff of that time, as well as numerous reports on the pages of periodicals such as Bezvirnyk (Eesвірник/Atheist), Sovetskyi muzei (Советский музей/ Soviet Museum), Sotsialistychnyi Kyiv (Соціалістичний Київ/ Socialist Kyiv) and so on reflect the general trends of the transformation of museum life on the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra premises during the 1930s.

This article provides an examination of the museum changes and metamorphoses that took place during the second decade of Bolshevik rule on an institutional basis. First, the focus is on the Lavra Preserve's main museum displays and exhibitions and its successor, the *Central Antireligious Museum* (Центральний антирелігійний музей). Next, the public spaces, projects, and exhibitions of other museum institutions of various subordination will be reconstructed that were located on the premises of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery in the 1930s.

The main expositions of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town and the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum in Kyiv

The All-Ukrainian State Cultural and Historical Reserve All-Ukrainian Museum Town, established in the early 1930s according to a resolution by the workers' and peasants' government of the Ukrainian SSR, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Bceукраїнський центральний виконавчий комітет), and the Council of People's Commissars (Paga народних комісарів) of September 29, 1926, consisted of 74 buildings and 16 churches (with 32 altars), and its premises were traditionally divided into five parts: "the upper Lavra within the Mazepa walls", the Near Caves, the Far Caves, the so-called Inns, and the Berestove village.8 In 1930 the Lavra State Cultural and Historical Preserve consisted of 8 departments: Cults, Sewing and Textile, Writing and Printing, History of the Lavra with the Lavra Archive, Easel Painting, Numismatic, Ancient Ukrainian Architecture, and Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection - Museum of Ukraine (Музей України – збірка Павла Потоцького).

The public was offered a guided tour that covered the Lavra monuments under artistic, historical, cultural, and anti-religious perspectives, as well as three museum departments: Cults, Sewing and Textile, and Writing and Printing. Other departments were being organized. The Lavra Preserve was open for visitors: from October 1 to April 1 on Mondays, Thursdays, and Sundays from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., and from April 1 to October 1 every day except Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.⁹

In the late 1920s the Lavra Preserve structure, including the museum displays, reflected the positivist scientific paradigm; departments were formed taking into account the peculiarities and requirements for the preservation of various historical and cultural values; the main research and exhibition principle was to demonstrate and explain the artistic, historical, and cultural significance of movable and immovable heritage. However, in the early 1930s the 'Great Turning Point'¹⁰ proclaimed by Joseph Stalin in 1929 began to be aggressively implemented in the museum life of the Ukrainian SSR. A new Soviet museum had to highlight in its exhibitions the successes and short-comings of socialist construction (industry, agriculture, and culture). This triggered a struggle against the "old, traditional, idealistic" approach. The formalistic methods and "museum Latin" were condemned. Particular attention was paid to anti-religious propaganda, cultural patronage to spread the "new socialist culture", and the popularization of new factories and industries. Museums were involved in research on the productive forces and raw materials of the region, their rational utilization, and openly atheistic propaganda. Museum displays were rebuilt according to the Marxist social formations principle – the Soviet interpretation of Marx's concept was distinguished into five formations by the prevailing industrial relations and forms of ownership: prehistory, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and communism.¹¹

At the All-Ukrainian Museum Town these alterations became manifest by the gradual transformation of the institution into the All-Ukrainian (Lavra) anti-relicomplex (Всеукраїнський антирелігійний aious комбінат). A report in the Bezvirnyk magazine in 1929 stated: "The Museum Town in Kyiv [...] is increasingly squeezing out the old Lavra [...]. In general, the Lavra should be turned into a hotbed of irreligion".^{12*} In 1930 the museum staff developed and, on 9 April, approved at a meeting of the Museum Town's Research Board museum labelling (explanatory texts) for the Lavra, Cults, Sewing and Textile, Writing and Printing sections (departments) and the "anti-religious corner" which vividly illustrated the transition to the so-called new rails.13 During 1930-1931, new principles of the organization of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town were developed, approved, and implemented. In 1931, the Science Sector of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (Сектор науки HKO УСРР) approved a new regulation on the Lavra Museum Town. At the same time, a sectoral system of the Preserve's work was introduced (research, methodological and exhibition, mass communist education, administrative and economic sectors), the new Preserve's directorate was approved, projects for new museum structural units were prepared, a political council was formed, etc. In 1931, the All-Ukrainian Museum Town's Research Board considered and worked on the problems raised at the

*All quotations in the text were translated into English by Anna Yanenko.



Fig. 1 Visitors in front of the entrance to the *Museum of the History of Religion(s)* (Metropolitan House of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery), early 1930s

First Congress of Museum Workers of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR) which took place in Moscow on December 1, 1930.¹⁴ According to the new Lavra Preserve structure, the departments were reorganized into storages (funds). At the same time, the *Museum of the History of Religion(s)* (Myзей історії релігії) (fig. 1) and the *Museum of the Lavra History* (Myзей історії Лаври) (fig. 2) began their work in the research sector.¹⁵

The *Museum of Ukraine* remained open to visitors as a separate structural unit, as well as exhibitions by the funds (former departments) of architecture and metal. According to a brief report on the Preserve work, in 1931 the *Museum of the History of Religion(s)* prepared a project based on the so-called Marxist-Leninist methodical principles and exhibited new separate topics: the origin of religion, counterrevolutionary activities of the Church and its Metropolitan Antonii (Khrapovytskyi). The *Egyptian museum department* exhibited materials on the economy of ancient Egypt as the basis for the cult of the dead and a showcase titled "Exploitation through the Egyptian Cult of the Dead". The Museum staff worked on materials about the Oomoto religion in Japan, the origins of Judaism, and the topic "Judaism in the service of Tsarism". The Christianity museum department prepared the expositions "The Origin of Christ and His Class Essence", "The Origin of the Icon", "Saints' of Nicholas II", "Feudal Lords' Saints", "Church Trade", "Religion and Medicine", "Sectarianism", "Religion and Collectivization", and "Church Contributions". In one of the rooms on the first floor of Building No. 2 (Metropolitan House) the Museum organized a Cabinet of Socialist Construction (Кабінет соціаістичного будівництва) - an exhibition on the creation of a new Soviet socialist society. It primarily used diagrams and photos to illustrate the main reconstruction processes of the economy in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, including the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture, the reconstruction and growth of industry, the growth of the national income, cultural construction, and the nonreligious movement (fig. 3). A gallery



Fig. 2 Visitors in front of the entrance to the *Museum of Lavra History* (the Dormition Cathedral of Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery), early 1930s

of unbelievers (portraits of "great bourgeois and proletarian atheists" with quotes from their works) was organized, and new texts for the Museum to embody the "self-speaking" nature of the exhibition were produced.¹⁶

In 1931 the *Museum of the Lavra History* re-exhibited some topical groups according to a project developed in late 1930. These were the Lavra foundation, the Lavra of the feudal era (the struggle against the Union in the 17th century, the beginnings of the Lavra's connection with the Tsarist regime, the Lavra and the Hetmanate, the Lavra and serfdom), the capitalist Lavra (18th–19th centuries; printing house, iconography and enamel workshops, candle factory, the Lavra's trade), the Lavra political face in the 20th century (the Russian-Japanese War, the 1905 revolution, the First World War, the Lavra in 1917, the Lavra under Soviet rule), the monks' life, and the trade of relics. To increase the excursion and exhibition capacity of the Kyiv-Pechersk Cave Complexes, the museum staff conducted a study of cave ventilation, measured air movement in the labyrinths, carried out a microbiological analysis, conserved and disinfected relics, and developed a new museum labelling and texts.¹⁷

In 1931 the *Museum of Ukraine* prepared a topical exhibition dedicated to the Red Army. The Writing and Printing Fund showed the exhibition *History of Books in Ukraine*, the Architecture Fund an exposition on *Housing in Ukraine*, the Metal Fund an exhibition on *Kyiv Goldsmiths*, and the Numismatic Fund on *Coin in the Service of Religion*. The staff of the Sewing and Textile Fund held a re-exposition to show "manifestations of the class struggle in the use of textile" and also displayed materials on the development of the USSR's textile industry.¹⁸ (fig. 4)

The politicization of the activities of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town in the early 1930s is documented in the 1932 report.¹⁹ It demanded that "the main direction of the work of the Museum Town should be con-



Fig. 3 In the cabinet of socialist construction of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town (Metropolitan House), 1932[?]



Fig. 4 At the exposition of the Sewing and Textile Depart ment of the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town* (the An nunciation Church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monaste ry), early 1930s

sidered a decisive and profound revision of all its research products of the past years in the light of Stalin's letter to the editor of the *Proletarian Revolution* magazine".²⁰ The Lavra Preserve battle slogan in the struggle on the anti-religious front was defined as "building a classless society" and "destroying the remnants of capitalism not only in the economy but also in the consciousness of mankind". In 1932, the processes of "eradicating the remnants of idealistic concepts in the museum expositions" and of "deepening the Marxist-Leninist methodology in research museum work" became systematic, accompanied by public meetings and "methodological assaults". The first attempts to introduce the Marxist-Leninist methodology in museum exhibitions were critically rethought (most exhibitions were opened to visitors after the re-expositions in May 1931).²¹

The restructuring of the *Museum of the History of Religion(s)* by socioeconomic formations was postponed until 1933, and the topic of Orthodoxy and its negative significance in the development of society was chosen for the exhibition of 1932. The large premise of the Holy Virgin Annunciation Church, that had already accommodated materials from the Sewing and Textile Fund, was allocated for the new exposition under the general title *The Class Role of Orthodoxy in Russia.*²² The exposition was opened to



Fig. 5 A fragment of "The Class Role of Orthodoxy in Russia" museum display (the Annunciation Church of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra). 1932–1933[?]

visitors in May 1932. The main topical groups were "the origin of Orthodoxy", "the deification of the feudal lords by the Orthodox Church", "the class role of the monasteries", "the Orthodox Church in the imperialist era", "the Orthodox Church in the struggle against the revolutionary movement", "Orthodoxy and militarism", "Orthodoxy and the Tsarist regime", "the class role of sectarianism", and "the autocephalous Church and its class role" (fig. 5). Quotes from the classics of Marxism-Leninism were widely used for the labels. Museum items from the Sewing and Textile, Metal, Numismatics, Writing and Printing Funds were used for the exhibition to "make religious things speak against religion, against the cult". The Cabinet of Socialist Construction, organized in 1931, was replenished with new materials and opened to the public.23

In early 1932 a new project for the *Museum of the Lavra History* was approved, based on the principle of socioeconomic formations. In addition to the previous exposition, several topics were developed: "The Era of Early Feudalism at the Monastery Founding", "The Monastery in the 17th c", "The Lavra in the Imperialist War Era", and "The Lavra in the October Revolution". For the summer season of 1932 the museum opened a new site, the Our Savior Church in Berestove, and fitted it out with museum texts and lecture notes.²⁴

In 1932 the *Museum of Ukraine (Pavlo Potot-skyi's Collection)* re-exhibited the museum display "The Participation of the Red Army in the Civil War" (fig. 6) and an exhibition on the iconography of the Ukrainian city. For the Turkish government delegation that visited the All-Ukrainian Museum Town the *Museum of Ukraine* prepared documents and images about the historical and cultural ties between Turkey and Ukraine.²⁵

In the same year the Painting (Iconography) Fund was closed to the public, but the collection's materials, in addition to those on display at the *Museum* of the History of Religion(s) and the *Museum of the Lavra History*, were used for studies conducted by Lavra Preserve researchers and scholars to create



Fig. 6 In the Museum of Ukraine (Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection), "The Red Army's Participation in the Civil War" exhibition (Building No. 6), 1932

topical anti-religious exhibitions, such as "Orthodoxy and Militarism", "Anti-Semitism in Orthodox Icons", etc. The Fund (Museum) of Architecture built a model of the Dnipro Hydroelectric Station and of New Zaporizhzhia for the exhibition "From the Hut to the Socialist City", and they prepared material for a museum display on the "Genesis of a Cultural Building".²⁶

In the following year the All-Ukrainian Museum Town was open to visitors every day, except for weekends (one per six-day week), for 5 ½ hours. In addition to the *Museum of the History of Religion(s),* the *Museum of the Lavra History,* and the *Museum of Ukraine (Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection),* visitors could also see other sights of the *Museum of the Lavra History,* such as the Lavra Bell Tower, the Our Savior Church on Berestove, and the Far Caves.²⁷

A brigade of the *Central Committee of the CP(b)U* (ЦК КП(б)У) and the *Kyiv City Party Committee* (Київський міський партійний комітет), after inspecting the Kyiv museums in 1932, stated that "the Lavra Anti-Religious Museum has done a great job of turn-

ing the former religious shrine into a center of antireligious propaganda". In particular, religious life at the monastery was finally eliminated²⁸. At the same time the brigade found many shortcomings in the Lavra Preserve work, among other things the lack of proper coverage of socialist construction and the atheist movement in museum exhibitions, as well as the dominance of "an unhealthy formalistic method of work".²⁹

A similarly critical assessment of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town's restructuring and its exhibition activities was echoed by Муkhailo Horvat, head of the *Okhtyrka Museum* (Охтирський музей), in his article "Intensify the anti-religious work of museums". According to him, the Lavra Preserve offered the visitor the outdated, apolitical "era and art" museum displays, and the Lavra Museum direction restructured the institution on the historical class formations principle only by formally renaming the departments into "depository funds". Having made "such a reform", the Lavra Museum calmly issued passes and sold tickets



Fig. 7 The exposition of the *Museum of the History of Religion(s) of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town*, section "Catholicism is the most adapted religion to the needs of modern imperialism and international counterrevolution", early 1930s

to see such exclusively closed "depository funds" where it was possible to not adhere to ideologically consistent explanations and class guidelines in the arrangement of materials.³⁰

Purges and Repressions of 1933: Museum Consequences of Political Decisions

In the history of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town the year 1933 was marked by further restructuring and repressions against employees who, in the opinion of the totalitarian authorities, were engaged in "toothless scientific work, 'studying' and collecting things of cults or simply things that had neither museum nor artistic and historical significance".³¹ In the spring of 1933, Petro Kurinnyi was dismissed from the post of Lavra Preserve director and arrested (he was released from custody on May 12, 1933), and Vasyl Kasii was appointed acting director of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town.³² In the report on the state and work of the Lavra Preserve for the period from April 24 to June 5, 1933, Vasyl Kasii noted that the research sector of the institution was "not actively" directing the institution's

activities according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism: "some exhibitions have been shown to the working masses for more than a year or even more than two or three, being imbued with hostile and harmful content, mechanism and idealism, e.g. 'Buddhism', 'Lamaism', and 'Shintoism' were presented according to the scheme of the Kyiv Theological Academy". The Museum of the History of Religion(s) was characterized as "not built on Marxism-Leninism principles, but a mechanically connected collection of ideologically unstable and harmful exhibition groups that do not help with differentiating the enemy" (fig. 7). The Museum of the Lavra History displayed "anti-Monastic expositions, presenting them in eclectic ways" (fig. 8). At the same time, Vasyl Kasii formed a commission of representatives of the party, the trade union, atheistic organizations, and the Section of Scientific Workers (Секція науковий робітників) to urgently "ideologically" check the Lavra museum exhibitions. At the same time, in the spring of 1933, a new site, the Trinity Gate Church, was opened to visitors.33



Fig. 8 In the Museum of Lavra History (Dormition Cathedral), early 1930s

However, there were probably no changes made in the exposition of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town under Vasyl Kasii's leadership, as he was removed from office in August 1933. Nazarii Bahrii, who was appointed the Lavra Preserve director, emphasized in an article in the *Bezvirnyk* magazine in 1934 that "all the harmful elements that hindered the restructuring of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town work were purged", and the so-called purification commission gave directives to replace the "hostile" exposition with a new one. Instead of being "objectivistic and toothless", based on titles of religions, the departments, such as "Orthodoxy", "Judaism", "Shamanism", etc., a single anti-religious museum, systematized by socioeconomic formation, was to be created. He reported that the exposition of the Museum of the History of Religion(s) had been dismantled, and the "deaf, apolitical, object label" had been removed. In the former department of "Orthodoxy", a new exposition "Religion in the service of exploitative feudal lords" had been organized.³⁴ It was opened for the 'October holidays' in 1934. The exposition was divided in several

parts: "The Pope is always with the feudal lords", "Putiaha baptized Novgorod with the sword and Dobrynia with fire", "The cult of the feudal lords' deification", "Lavra is a cruel serf", "Saints' of Ukrainian hetmans and landlords", "The Church against revolutionary peasant uprisings" (fig. 9-10).³⁵

In 1934, an exhibition of mummification was mounted in the Church of the Holy Cross Exaltation in the Near Caves which displayed "samples of artificial and natural mummification of not only humans but also of various animals", including a mummified crocodile, bat, calf, etc. (fig. 11).36 The 'four prison cells with chaining rings' in St.Antony's (Near) Caves became a new exhibition site of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town.³⁷ The *Reference Materials* (guide) for the Museum Town stated that "the excursion route to the Near Caves is as follows: we go down to the church, then through the corridor near the relics we get to the prison cell. Then there is another corridor with relics and a church, followed by a prison cell and another church. Then two prison cells and we enter the church again".38 In 1934 another part of the Far



Fig. 9 At the "Religion in the Service of Exploitative Feu dal Lords" exposition at the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town* (Annunciation Church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery), mid-1930s



Fig. 10 At the "Religion in the Service of Exploitative Feu dal Lords" exposition at the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town* (Annunciation Church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery), mid-1930s



Fig. 11 The exhibition on mummification at the *All-Ukraini* an *Museum Town* in the Exaltation of Holy Cross Church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery. 1934[?]

Caves, the "Workshop of the Relics", was opened to visitors (fig. 12). On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the Great October Revolution (1935) the Lavra Preserve planned to open a new exhibition titled *Religion in the Service of Capitalism.* As of 1934, more than 800 exhibits had been prepared for the new exposition.³⁹

In that same year, 1934, the All-Ukrainian Museum Town formally lost one of its expositions, the Museum of Ukraine (Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection). On April 28, 1926, the People's Commissariat of Education had signed and, on May 24, 1926, approved an Agreement with Pavlo Pototsky on his private historical and artistic collection that became museum property of Ukraine. By order of the People's Commissar of Education (Volodymyr Zatonskyi) of January 21, 1934, the agreement was characterized as being anti-Soviet, and thus the approvement was canceled. The Museum of Ukraine was transferred to the Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kyiv⁴⁰. However, given that in 1935 the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum collections were moved to the Lavra Preserve premises and the Historical Museum temporarily had no exhibitions, the Museum of Ukraine continued to work and receive visitors until 1937. On June 19, 1937, the Central Historical Museum issued an order according to which it was allowed to visit the Museum of Ukraine only with passes issued by the scientific secretary of the institution.⁴¹ As a single exhibition site, Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection ceased to exist.42

In 1935 the Trinity Gate Church, the Dormition Cathedral (the Great Pechersk Church; *Museum of the Lavra History),* the "Religion in the Service of Exploitative Feudal Lords" exposition, St Antony's (Near) and St Theodosy's (Far) Caves of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and the Great Bell Tower were opened to visitors to the All-Ukrainian Museum Town.⁴³

During and after the Great Terror (1937-1938)

The fragmentary nature of the sources allows us to only partially reconstruct further events and changes that took place in the history of the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town/Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum in Kyiv* and, in particular, its exhibition activities. After the establishment of the *Ukrainian Art Department*

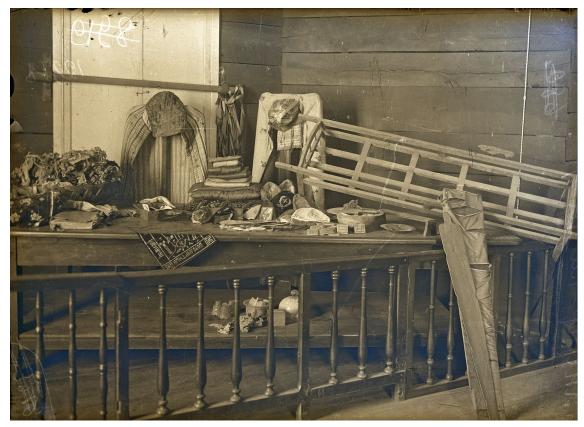


Fig. 12 At the "Relic Workshop" exposition of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, after 1934

under the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (Українське управління у справах мистецтв при РНК УСРР) in February 1936, according to the resolution "On Art Institutions Subordinate to the Ukrainian Art Department under the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR" of March 25, 1937, the Ukrainian Museum Town in Kyiv was subordinated to this structure. Between June 1937 and March 1939 the Ukrainian Museum Town was reorganized into the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum. According to the resolution by the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR "On the Ukrainian Historical and Cultural Preserve 'Museum Town' in Kyiv" of July 11, 1939, the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum was again removed from the system of the Ukrainian Art Department under the Council of People's Commissars and was subordinated to the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR as an independent institution. The Central Antireligious Museum was assigned the buildings of the Museum Town (Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery)

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 29, 48, 48a, 24, 28, 30, the Trinity Gate Church, the Dormition Cathedral, the All Saints Church, the Great Lavra Bell Tower, the churches on the Far Caves area, the Far and Near Caves complexes.⁴⁴

Newspaper and magazine reports by Yurii Lesnevskyi and Nadiia Heppener, both Lavra museum employees, suggest that the planned section "Religion in the Service of Capitalism" was established and, together with the "Religion in the Service of Exploitative Feudal Lords" exhibition, existed until the beginning of 1937 mid-1937.45 In his article What the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra Was and Became, published in 1937, Yurii Lesnevskyi noted that the former Metropolitan House and monastery buildings housed the central museums of Ukraine - the Antireligious, Historical, Theater, Revolutionary Museum, and others. The Lavra Preserve had an antireligious department called "History of the Lavra", which used specific historical documents and items to "expose the class reactionary role of the Lavra in the service of the ruling

exploiting classes in the era of feudal and capitalist society".46 At the same time, in the report On the Museum Town Work (May 1937), the museum staff emphasized that, by order of the museum sector of the Ukrainian Art Department under the Council of People's Commissars, two Antireligious Museum displays ("The Church at the Service of Feudal Lords" and "The Church of the Age of Capitalism") on the Lavra Preserve territory were liquidated. Instead of the liquidated exhibitions, the Ukrainian Art Department decided to organize a new museum of "the Lavra History". However, according to Yurii Lesnevskyi and Nadiia Heppener, the funds allocated for the new exhibition organization were used inappropriately, since neither the profile nor the targeted direction of the museum was clearly defined.47

In October 1937 the newspaper *Communist* (Комуніст) criticized the exhibition activities on the *Museum Town* territory, too:

"All museum displays and museum labels were arranged in a deliberately hostile and harmful manner. The 'The Church in the Service of Feudalism' department was destroyed; valuable sculptures and paintings were broken, and half a million rubles were thrown away. 'The Antireligious Department' was built in an openly counterrevolutionary manner. An enemy's hand removed posters with quotes from Marxist classics about religion. 'The Department of Lavra History' was arranged in such a way as to obscure the reactionary role of religion and to hinder the development of antireligious propaganda. The role of religion as a servant of reaction, Tsarism, and the White Guard was obscured in the museum displays. The enemies destroyed the mummification department [in the Holy Cross Exaltation Church, A.Y.] which had exposed the falsity and fabrication of 'relics' on which the clergy had been speculating all along".48

It is likely that the next transformation of the expositions was directly related to changes in the administration, since in 1936 director Nazarii Bahrii was first expelled from the CP(b)U, and in 1937 he was dismissed from his museum po sition (June 12, 1937 arrested; November 27, 1937 - shot).49 Earlier, on 3 March 1937, the newspaper article Chaos in Museums noted that the only museum opened to visitors at that time on the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra premises, an Antireligious Museum, had not had a director or a deputy for research work since August 1936. On August 8, Andrii Khvylia, head of the Ukrainian Art Department under the Council of People's Commissars, appointed Komsomol member Znoiko as director of the Antireligious Museum for "several months". The museum was characterized as being dilapidated, the closure of the "Religion in the Service of Feudal Exploiters" department was stated, and "rapid" activity to build a museum of "the Lavra History" was ascertained.50

In her memoirs, Nadiia Heppener reported that in March-April 1937 she was offered to develop and build a large exposition on the Lavra history: "Director Verner appeared [...]. Znoiko, a young man who had just graduated from the Faculty of History, was appointed a deputy director for the research part [...]. He earnestly undertook with me the preparation and development of materials for the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery History department". Materials from libraries, archives, metal, sewing, painting, writing and printing museum collections were used to build the exposition, and three young artists were involved in the work, not only writing labels and quotes but also for painting pictures. For example, The Clergy Meet Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and the Cossack Elders at St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv was used as an illustration of the thesis that the Church always and everywhere supported only the ruling classes. The department was "completed, approved, and accepted by the commission" in December 1937.51

According to an advertisement published in the *List of Kyiv City Telephone Network Subscribers* for 1938, the Trinity Gate Church, the Dormition Cathedral, "Religion in the Service of Capitalism" department, the Near and Far Caves, and the Great Lavra Bell Tower were accessible for visitors of the Lavra Museum Town.⁵²

In the 1940 guidebook *Excursions in Kyiv*, visitors were offered to get acquainted with such departments/exhibitions of the *Ukrainian Central Antireli*-



Fig. 13 At the "Taras Shevchenko's Revolutionary Atheism" exhibition by the *Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum*, late 1930s – early 1940s

gious Museum as "Religion and Atheism in the Era of the Great Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction", "Religion and Atheism in the Era of Capitalism and Imperialism", "Stalin's Constitution", and to see architectural monuments from the 12th c – the Trinity Gate Church, the Dormition Cathedral, Near and Far Caves⁵³. At that time, the museum displays were housed in Buildings No. 1 and No. 2 of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery.⁵⁴

A detailed description of *the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum* is given in the 1940 *Brief Guide Book.* According to the guide, the museum considered its task to be "to expose the counterrevolutionary, bloody role of the Church and clergy of all directions, the reactionary exploitative role of religion". *The Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum* consisted of two departments: monuments and exhibitions on the history of religion and atheism. The Museum was open to visitors daily from 10 to 18, and from May to October from 10 to 20. The department of the former Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery monuments included the Trinity Gate Church, the Dormition Cathedral, the Great Lavra Bell Tower, the Near and Far Caves. The Far Caves continued to have a "Workshop of Relics" where "monks dried and dressed the 'relics' and made new ones".⁵⁵

The Department of Expositions (Building no. 2, Metropolitan House) was divided in sub-departments. Thus, "History of the Lavra" was dedicated to the monastery's history from the 10th to the 18th centuries and was intended to show "the Lavra reactionary activities in the service of feudalism, the exploitation of peasants enslaved by Lavra monks in numerous feudal monastic estates". The part of the permanent exhibition "Taras Shevchenko's Revolutionary Atheism" presented "Shevchenko as a revolutionary poet, a fighter against the Tsar and serfdom, as an atheist, an implacable enemy of religion and clergy of all directions" (fig. 13). Among the "Atheism and Religion in the Age of Capitalism" materials and items on display there counted "about the counterrevolutionary role of the Church and clergy during the Russo-



Fig. 14 At the "Stalin's Constitution and the Overcoming of Religion" exposition by the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum, 1940–1941[?]

Japanese War and the 1905–1907 revolution, Stolypin's reaction, the revolutionary upsurge, the imperialist war, the February Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, the development of atheism in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working peasantry under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party; Lenin's and Stalin's instructions on the struggle against religion and the Church during this period". The "Atheism and Religion in the Era of the Socialist Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" again "highlighted the great path of the heroic struggle of the working class in alliance with the peasantry under the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin Party against the people's enemies, foreign invaders, against the counterrevolutionary role of the Church during the October Socialist Revolution, the civil war and the struggle for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture". The exposition on "Stalin's Constitution and the Overcoming of Religion" showed "the victories of socialism in the USSR; clearly exposed the hostile counterrevolutionary activities of spies, saboteurs, clergymen, as well as the harmfulness of religious superstition; highlighted the decision of the XVIII Congress of the CPSU(b) on the communist education of the masses and the elimination of the vestiges of capitalism as a crucial task of a new developmental path in the transition from socialism to communism". Furthermore, some exhibits illustrated 124 Art. of Stalin's Constitution "on freedom of conscience in the USSR" (fig. 14).⁵⁶

The Conclusions and Proposals in Connection with the Survey of the Work of the Central Antireligious Museum of the Ukrainian SSR provide somewhat different evidence regarding the Department of Exposition *s*.⁵⁷ On October 20–31, 1940, the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum was inspected by researchers from the Moscow Central Antireligious Museum, M. Kuznietsov and L. Lazarovych. They concluded that the so-called exposition department consisted of such sections as atheism and religion in the era of feudalism, atheism and religion in the era of capitalism and imperialism, atheism and religion in the

era of the Great October Revolution and socialist construction, Stalin's Constitution and antireligious propaganda. According to the commission members, the exposition was "one-sidedly anti-Church and exclusively anti-Orthodox". It did not reveal the roots of religion, did not explain its origins, and did not provide sufficient criticism of the reactionary nature of religious ideology. They observed that the entire exposition lacked material that would expose the Christian dogma (except for one The Last Judgment icon), everything boiled down to "how the Lavra at different times deceived and, together with the ruling class, oppressed the people". The "Atheism and Religion in the Feudalism Age" section was criticized as being "limited to showing the Lavra history from the 11th to the end of the 18th century". The exposition, according to them, did not reflect the development of the Ukrainian culture, atheism, or sectarianism, and had an "extremely sad appearance" because it consisted almost entirely of flat material (photos, drawings, diagrams, tables), museum texts were not unified, there was no explanatory information, etc. The exposition by the "Stalin's Constitution and Antireligious Propaganda" department, despite its highquality external design, was characterized as being uninteresting and unrelated to other museum displays and being isolated geographically (Building No. 1).58 Particular emphasis was placed on the "insufficient research development of the antireligious exposition of the caves", and the "Relic Workshop" exposition was recognized because of being unsatisfactory and weak.59

At the same time, the newspapers of the Ukrainian SSR continued to criticize the *Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum*, and the museum's work was recognized as being unsatisfactory. The Journal *Soviet Ukraine* (Радянська Україна) reported in February 1940 that "continuous director's leapfrogging", inept staff selection and lack of proper leadership from the governing body led to "extremely weak organizational management" in museums.⁶⁰

In early 1940 the Board of the *People's Commis*sariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR proposed that the Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum's directorate organized an exhibition of museum collections by May 1, 1940, but in May 1941 the temporary exhibition was not yet prepared. Rakhil Krasinko (a head of the collections) and Uliana Bezkorovaina (a senior research fellow) were found guilty of this inaction, as they "did not lift a finger to do so". During 1940–1941, research fellow Rakhil Livshyts prepared plans for museum displays: "Religion and the Church in the Service of Lithuanian-Polish and Ukrainian Feudal Lords in the 14th, 15th, and First Half of the 16th Century" and "The Church and the Reforms of Peter the Great", which were also subject to devastating criticism in the press.⁶¹

The analysis of the transformations, changes, and experiments with the exhibition spaces of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town/Central Antireligious Museum during the 1930s make it possible to identify trends in the so-called museum construction in Ukraine at that time. Museum institutions became infrastructural elements of propaganda and the ideological processing of the population, primarily as an instrument of antireligious agitation. As a result of this political adaptation and mimicry, religious life on the premises of the nationalized Kyiv Pechersk Monastery not only ceased but the museum space itself became a way to devalue spirituality and an 'evidence base' for identifying and exposing the enemies of the people - 'clergy of all directions'. Under these conditions, the preservation and study of historical and cultural heritage not only lost its relevance but also acquired the qualities of non-violent resistance and moral protest. Ukrainian intellectuals who could not or did not want to become 'fighters on the ideological museum front' were eliminated (fired, repressed, murdered) by the Soviet totalitarian government and replaced by 'new Marxist-Leninist cadres'.

Exhibition Projects of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and Other Institutions on the Premises of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town / Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra Preserve during the 1930s

The activities of academic institutions during the 1930s were closely intertwined with the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, both institutionally and personally. In the early 1930s the Ukrainian academic community jointly implemented several projects aimed at popularizing the achievements of national

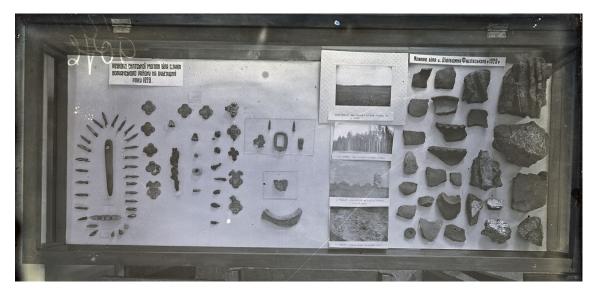


Fig. 15 The showcase with archeological materials from the 1928 *Lubny Museum* excavations, led by Ivan Pleskach near Luky village (Poltava region), and from the 1929 excavations by the Taras Shevchenko *All-Ukrainian Historical Museum* in Kyiv, led by Valeriia Kozlovska in the "Khutir Mlynok" tract near Didivshchyna village. "Exhibition of Achievements of Ukrainian Archaeology for 10 Years of Soviet Power". 1931



Fig. 16 The showcase with archaeological materials from the 1929 excavations of the *Sumy Museum*, led by Mykola Makarenko near Pishchane village. "Exhibition of Achievements of Ukrainian Archaeology for 10 Years of Soviet Power". 1931



Fig. 17 The part of the Exposition of the Museum (Fund) of Architecture dedicated to the "Masonry architecture of Ukraine in the feudal period of the 11th and 12th centuries. Architectural forms. Construction methods. Building Materials", early 1930s

humanities and at the same time attempted to create permanent and temporary ways of research organization. As early as 1928 the idea of celebrating the 10th anniversary of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was born,62 and a special anniversary commission was initiated to organize all events, including a series of reporting exhibitions on the Academy's research work and its main results. In 1929 work began on the preparation of the Exhibition of Achievements of Ukrainian Archaeology for 10 Years of Soviet Power (Виставки досягнень української археології за 10 років радянської влади) that was to be held on the Lavra Museum Town premises (Building No. 7). In early 1930, letters were sent to museum institutions and researchers with a request to provide materials for the exhibition based on the research of the previous decade. Only some months later the installation of materials - stitching on tablets and placing artifacts in showcases - submitted by Kyiv scholars to the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee (hereinafter - AUAC; Всеукраїнський археологічний комітет) was completed. At the same time, employees of academic institutions prepared archaeological maps of cultural areas, etc. The Restoration Workshops of the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town* carried out work on the conservation of artifacts for further display, for example, materials from excavations in the vicinity of Kadiivtsi village.⁶³

The archaeological exhibition was originally planned to open on April 16, 1930, and later in December of that same year. However, due to some circumstances, primarily the fact that not all museums and researchers provided material on time, the final design and organization of the museum display was completed only in July 1931. The museums of Berdychiv (Petro Kurinnyi's and Todos Movchanivskyi' research materials), Bila Tserkva (Valeriia Kozlovska), Zaporizhzhia (Sylvestr Mahura), Zvenyhorodka (Mykola Makarenko), Zynoviivsk (Petro Kurinnyi), Zhytomyr (Ivan Levytskyi, Serhii Hamchenko), Izium (Mykola

Sibilov), Korosten (Fedir Kozubovskyi), Lubny (Ivan Pleskach), Mariupol (Mykola Makarenko), Oster (Anatol Rozanov), Pershotravensk (Pavlo Kharlampovych), Sumy (Mykola Makarenko), Tulchyn (Serhii Hamchenko), Uman (Petro Kurinnyi, Borys Bezvenhlinskyi) provided artifacts for the exhibition, as well as the All-Ukrainian Museum Town (Petro Kurinnyi), the AUAC, and the Commission for the DniproHES (The Dnipro Hydroelectric Station) research (fig. 15-16). The exhibition lasted until October 1, 1931, and it was successful and popular, as the AUAC requested the training of special guides. The exposition project aroused considerable interest among the research community, as it contained new original finds and discoveries about the ancient history of Ukraine: Valeriia Kozlovska, Neonila Kordysh, Anatolii Yakobson, Mykhailo Boltenko, and Alfred Salmony applied for permission to photograph and sketch the materials.⁶⁴ It is likely that at the same time, in the summer of 1931, an exhibition dedicated to the achievements of art historians was mounted on the premises of the Architecture Museum (Fund) of the Lavra Preserve.⁶⁵ (fig. 17)

Archaeological Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

After the archaeological exhibition was closed, the Archaeological Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Археологічний музей Всеукраїнської академії наук) was organized in Building No. 7. The newly created Archaeological Museum collection consisted of several parts. In particular, many artifacts from the Exhibition of Achievements of Ukrainian Archaeology were included in its funds. As of May 1931, more than 40,000 exhibits had been transferred to the museum from the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum. At the same time, in 1931, the collections of the Archaeological Museum of the Institute of Public Education (Інститут народної освіти), which were already being stored on the premises of the Lavra Preserve, as well as partially materials from the excavations of the AUAC, were added to the academic Archaeological Museum. By the 1931 order of the People's Commissariat of Education the Archaeological Museum had the task "of presenting the development of pre-feudal society by way of museum material". In 1931 the museum staff began developing

the concept and practical implementation of the exposition of the pre-class society department. However, the work progressed slowly. In January 1933 it was planned to complete the installation of Rooms No. 1-2 (entrusted to Kyrylo Korshak) and No. 4 (Valeriia Kozlovska) of the museum display of the "Pre-Class Society Department", as well as to begin preparations for the "Slave Society" exposition. In 1933 the Archaeological Museum had to arrange the "Disintegration of Tribal Society" exposition section, make labels, select relevant artifacts for the "Slave Society" section, and so on. In the spring of 1933 it became part of the newly formed Section of the History of Material Culture of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Секція історії матеріальної культури Всеукраїнської академії наук), which ordered the preliminary exposition of the "Pre-class Society Department" of the museum to be opened on May 1, 1933. However, soon after, due to a "critical assessment" of this exposition, the museum was closed to visitors. According to the resolution by the Presidium of the Second Department of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on June 9, 1933, the Archaeological Museum was renamed the Museum of Pre-Capitalist Social and Economic Formations. In 1934 its collections became part of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Інститут історії матеріальної культури Всеукраїнської академії наук). By order of the Ukrainian Art Department under the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of June 1, 1936, a commission was formed to transfer materials of the former Archaeological Museum to the Central Historical Museum.66

In October 1933, the Archaeological Museum of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences took part in a cultural campaign under the slogan Museum to the working masses. The idea for this exhibition campaign belonged to Fedir Kozubovskyi. At a meeting of museum workers and employees of the Section of the History of Material Culture on November 22, 1933, this attempt to "bring museum values closer to workers" was regarded as a "positive phenomenon in museum work". This project involved the Kyiv Antireligious Museum (Volodymyr branch of the Lavra Preserve), the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum, and

the Geological Museum of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. At the meeting, ethnologist Leonila Zahlada stated that "the exhibition of the historical museum was of interest to the masses, but the museum texts were not enough, especially for modern Kyiv", and archaeologist Kyrylo Korshak noted that "the current exposition did not give any idea of feudal Kyiv", due to the lack of labeling and the unsuccessful placement of items on the boards. It was criticized that "the Geological Museum exposition was not properly displayed and did not attract the viewer's attention, despite the very interesting material". The critique positively highlighted that "the display of the Antireligious Museum aroused interest, things were well presented without leftist twists". The resolution stated the need to expand the exposition of antireligious materials, "covering the basics of Marxist-Leninist science on the origin, development, and disappearance of religion, on the social class roots of religion, on religion in the service of the counterrevolution and world imperialism, etc." because "the Lavra Museum Town exposition instructions during the October holidays were, although appropriate, too narrow and topically limited".67

The Theater Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

During the 1930s the All-Ukrainian Museum Town was also home to the *Theater Museum of the All-Ukrainian* Academy of Sciences (Театральний музей Всеукраїнської академії наук) which opened to the public in Kyiv in 1927, "on the 10th anniversary of October". The museum received premises in Building No. 24 of the Lavra Reserve.68 In 1930, from noon to 4 pm on Sundays, Mondays, and Fridays, the following departments were open for viewing: "Ukrainian Folk Theater" (Vertep - theatrical nativity scene or Bethlehem), "Ukrainian Household Theater" (Marko Kropyvnytskyi's Theater, Ivan Karpenko-Karyi's Theater, Mykhailo Starytskyi's , etc.), "Theater of the Revolutionary Era" (State National Theater, Shevchenko Theater, Young Theater, "Berezil" Theater, Hnat Mykhailychenko's Theater, Franko Theater and the beginning of a new Ukrainian opera).69

The re-exposition of the Theater Museum, which began in the fall of 1929, was completed within just

two years and opened to the public in May 1932. The new museum display was intended to illustrate the development process of Ukrainian theater and the fundamental differences between bourgeois and proletarian theater. The museum director, Petro Rulin, noted that significant difficulties arose during the construction of the first section of the new exposition, dedicated to the Ukrainian school theater of the feudal era (17th - 18th centuries). The main materials in this section were nativity scenes - such as the Sokyryntsi (Galagan's) Vertep⁷⁰ (1770) and the Volyn Vertep (1895, copy of the original from 1850) - as well as photos and material on the use of puppet theater for the needs of theater practice. The section devoted to the era of the collapse of noble-feudal relations in Ukraine was presented in the entrance room, mostly by help of visual material. "The Flowering of the Ukrainian Bourgeois Theater" section contained exhibits related to theater founders, coryphaei of Ukrainian household theater, writers, playwrights and actors, such as Marko Kropyvnytskyi, Mariia Zankovetska, Mykola Sadovskyi, Hanna Zatyrkevych-Karpynska, Panas Saksahanskyi, and others. Since the museum did not find any way to reflect the socioeconomic background of the theater in this department, a quote by Lenin was placed above the entrance: "All over the world, the era of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism is associated with the national movement". The main category of items for this section was photographs, supplemented by zincographs, reviews, programs, etc. on particular plays and theater performances. The "Ukrainian Theater in the Age of Imperialism" (after 1905) section contained a chart with the number of authorized and banned Ukrainian plays, as well as materials about the activities of Mykola Sadovskyi's Theater in Kyiv. According to Petro Rulin, to emphasize the "dead end in which the Ukrainian theater found itself in Tsarist Russia", a narrow passage room was used to show "posters characterizing the unprincipled, anti-artistic work of Little Russian hacks". The first exhibition room on the Theatre Museum's second floor was dedicated to the so called revolutionary era. In its first part the theaters that emerged in Ukraine after the February Revolution (for example, the State Drama Theater, established under the Hetmanate of

Skoropadskyi) were represented. It was followed by "October in Ukrainian Theater", which began with a quote from the resolution of the 12th Congress on the prospects opened up for national construction by the Bolshevik Coup, followed by items representing "pioneers of theatrical October" work ("Art of Action" and "Berezil" theaters). The next room illustrated the work of other theaters that "developed in closer contact with the audience, fulfilling important political tasks". Statistical materials (infographics) in this room characterized the growth of the proletarian audience and exhibited artifacts about the activities of provincial theater centers. In eight halls, a lobby, and a corridor, the museum narrative united 60–70 topics.⁷¹

Yet, the Theater Museum's display was recognized as insufficiently reflecting the "class content of theatrical trends".⁷² Petro Rulin pointed out:

"The current Theater Museum exposition, made in 1930-1931, cannot fully satisfy the requirements that the proletarian public puts before the museum; this museum display largely reflects the past 'gathering' stage of Soviet museum work. However, it differs from traditional museum work mainly in two ways: 1) an exhibit was selected for display only when it helped to identify the class equivalent of a certain moment in the theatrical process; 2) the museum items were tied together to provide a system of thought about the class essence of the theatrical process in Ukraine, to emphasize its complete difference under the conditions of colonialism under the Tsarist regime and under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism in the USSR [...]".73

Probably with some changes, the exhibition opened in 1932 was shown for several years. In 1935 the Theater Museum's collections were moved to Building No. 6, the museum was mothballed, and closed to visitors in 1937.⁷⁴ The new exposition of the *Ukrainian Theater Museum* (Український театральний музей), dedicated to the life of Ukrainian theaters in Soviet times (the pre-revolutionary theater department was planned to open later), was opened in Building No. 6 as late as in 1940. The pages of the Literary Newspaper (Літературна газета) informed that the museum display was based "not on the history of the development of any particular, albeit very prominent, but rather on the main stages of theater theater" development. The museum illustrated the transition of Soviet theater from constructivism to socialist realism (1930–1934) in a more complete way by the example of the Kharkiv Shevchenko Theater. The Mariia Zankovetska Theater, the Odesa Revolution Theater, the Kyiv Opera and Ballet Theater, and the Kyiv Jewish Theater were also represented. The last section of the new exposition was a synthesis of the achievements of the national theaters "not only of Ukraine but of the entire Soviet Union". However, this museum display was also characterized as being "rather a temporary exhibition (and far from complete) of theatrical items" and the museum staff was asked to "think over their main exposition once again and correct its flaws".75

Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

On November 16, 1929, the Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Музей українських діячів науки та мистецтва Всеукраїнської академії наук)⁷⁶ moved to a new building, No. 24, on the premises of the Lavra Preserve. Until 1929 the museum had been located at 23 Zhertv Revoliutsii (Trysviatytelska) Street. The visitors had been able to see two projects there. On April 3, 1927, an exhibition dedicated to Mykola Lysenko had been opened on the occasion of the composer's 85th birthday, and on December 9, 1928, on the 10th anniversary of his death, an exhibition in memory of the writer Ivan Levytskyi-Nechui.77 At the end of 1929 preparations began for the exhibition All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at the Present Stage, which was to meet the actual ideological requirements.78 The renovated museum display was opened on June 5, 1932.79 The 1928-1932 report of the Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art stated:

"Entering the second five-year plan with great achievements, the [Ukrainian, A.Y.] museums



Fig. 18 A variant of the exposition by the scientists' department of the *Museum of Science and Art Workers of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences* (Building No. 24), early 1930s

have already made a significant step forward in their search for ways to rearm themselves methodologically. The museums have already left behind them the era of chaotic gathering caused by the circumstances of the civil warand the indiscriminate accumulation of materials, continuing the harmful tradition of the great lords and bourgeois collectors who tried to snatch the most valuable and rare items for themselves. The museums have also largely moved away from formal systematization. They have come closer to their main task: mobilizing the broad masses of the proletariat and collective farmers to actively participate in socialist construction, in the creation of a new classless socialist society. The Museum of Workers of Science and Art of Ukraine of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences went through all the stages of transformation from a bourgeois institution into a new Soviet museum unit, both in its topics and in its exposition".80

In 1932 Yevheniia Rudynska characterized the work of the institution:

"The Museum of Workers of Science and Art of Ukraine, together with the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, embarked on the complete methodological restructuring path and decisively rejected with its previous instructions the honoring and perpetuate the highlighting of 'Ukrainian' figures (mostly bourgeois). The Museum took as its core problem the study of the proletarian scientific and artistic movement in its most distinctive, typical representatives. Each such scientist or artist is of interest to the museum as a certain element of a classdifferentiated society, as a clot of social relations in the process of class struggle. In the new Soviet Academy the Museum of Workers turned from a small organization into an institution with up to 25,000 items, its premises being adapted for museum purposes, where



Fig. 19 A general view of the scientists' department of the "The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at the Present Stage" exhibition by the *Museum of Science and Art Workers*, after June 1932

part of its collections is now exhibited for the working class. The Museum focuses on the activities of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The history of the Academy, the classstruggle within its walls, is an example of the whole history of social development, a kind of manifestation of the world-class struggle".^{e1} (fig. 18-19)

However, even "a complete methodological restructuring" did not save the *Museum of Workers of Science and Art of Ukraine* from liquidation. In 1934 the museum was closed and the museum's collections were moved to Building No. 7 (the premises of the *Archaeological Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*). On June 13, 1934, there were "exhibits of the former Museum of Science and Art Workers – books, written materials, binders in folders, glass, sculptures, which were partially piled up, partially scattered on cabinets and tables, and partially lying on the floor". By the decision of the Government Commission on the transfer of the capital of Ukraine to Kyiv these materials were again moved "without quantification" to one of the rooms of the *Museum of Ukraine (Pavlo Pototskyi's Collection)* in Building No. 6. Subsequently, these collections "dissolved" in the *All-Ukrainian Historical Museum/Central Historical Museum*).⁸²

The Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum in Kyiv

On September 11, 1935, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR adopted a resolution to create a new nationwide cultural and educational institution based on the Kyiv Pechersk area. Thus, the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum* was founded. For that reason, parts of the already existing *Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kyiv* were moved to the Lavra Preserve premises and supplemented by funds of the *Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR*, the *Ethnographic Museum*, the *Museum of Science and Art Workers*, the *All-Ukrainian Museum Town* (partly), items from the *Western Art Museum*, and materials from excavations in Olbia in 1935–1936, etc.⁸³ Almost immediately after that the staff of the new museum began to create a museum display. It opened in 1937–1938 and covered the historical period from the Paleolithic to the 20th century.⁸⁴

In 1941 the Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum offered visitors the departments of "Preclass Society" (Building No. 2, Hall 1), "Scythia and Greek Colonies of the Northern Black Sea Region" (Building No. 2, Hall 2); "Kyivan Rus" (Building No. 6), "History of Ukraine in the 15th - 18th centuries" (Building No. 8, Floor 2, Hall 1), "History of Ukraine in the 19th century" (Building No. 8, Floor 2, Halls 2-3), "History of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction" with "Stalin's Constitution" section (Building No. 8, Floor 2, Hall 4), the "History of Weapons" permanent exhibition (Building No. 8, Floor 1), the "History of Coins" (Building 6, Floor 1) and "Ancient Egypt monuments" exhibitions (Building 8, Floor 2, Hall 4)85 (fig. 20). The "History of Weapons", "Kyivan Rus" and "History of Coins" exhibitions were opened to the public in 1937, and the "Scythia and Greek Colonies of the Northern Black Sea Region" department was inaugurated on May 2, 1938. The opening of the prehistoric period exhibition was originally scheduled for November 1, 1937, but later postponed to July 1, 1938.86

The "Pre-Class Society" museum display consisted of several sections. It started with "Savagery", which was divided into three parts: lower (before the invention of fire), middle (from the invention of fire to bow and arrow), and higher (from the invention of the bow to the appearance of pottery) degrees of savagery. The "Barbarism" section exhibited the lower (from the appearance of pottery to the development of motive agriculture and cattle breeding) and middle (the period of agriculture and cattle breeding, the development of metals) degrees.⁸⁷

The "Scythia and Greek Colonies of the Northern Black Sea Region" department included the following sections: Scythian-Sarmatians; Greek cities; burial fields; tribes and peoples of the Northern Black Sea region in the 3rd – 4th centuries AD.



Fig. 20 The exterior of the *Taras Shevchenko Central His torical Museum* in Kyiv (Building No. 8), late 1930s – early 1940s

The "Kyivan Rus" department in Building No. 6 was exhibited by 9 sections. The section "Ancient Slavs of the 8th – 10th centuries" (Hall 1) told about the territory and the oldest written data about the Slavs from Byzantine and Eastern sources and the chronicle of the 11th century, featured hoes, sickles, axes, a model of slash-and-burn agriculture and household items, pottery, animal bones, artifacts of bone and metal, textile fragments discovered during archaeological excavations in Kyiv City and the Kharkiv, and Chernihiv regions, jewelry, and more. The "Neighbors of the Ancient Slavs" section (Hall 2) presented "sites of the Khazars and Bulgars", such as artifacts of the Saltiv archaeological culture, Arab coins, etc. The "Kyivan State of the 10th –11th Centuries" section (Halls 2–3) covered the process of the emergence of the Kyiv Princely State and its history by help of weapons of the Rus vigilantes, jewelry, sickles, plowshares, tongs, locks, keys, stone, copper, and silver crosses, icons, building materials, fragments of frescoes, mosaics, etc. The "Kyiv in the 11th-13th centuries" section covered the history of the city's growth and the development of individual crafts centers on Mount Kyselivka and near the Tithe Church; a collection of stone molds for casting jewelry, crucibles, products from the coppersmith workshops, and a stove with a set of items from the 12th-13th centuries, discovered on the premises of St. Michael's Monastery territory in 1938 were exhibited here. The "Development of Feudal Relations in Kyivan Rus in the 11th-13th Centuries" section contained a map of feudal lands, princes'

hanging seals, and weapons of the Rus warriors' and nomads'. The museum sections No. 6, 7, and 8 used archaeological and illustrative material to tell the histories of the Principalities (Galicia-Volhynia, Rostov-Suzdal, and Novgorod). The section "Tatar-Mongol invasion" closed the "Kyivan Rus" department and showed Tatar weapons and household items as well as illustrative material.

The following "Ukraine in the 15th-18th Centuries" museum department was also divided into several sections. The "Ukraine in the 14th-16th Centuries" section displayed Russian and Lithuanian weapons, royal and princely charters of the early 16th century, Russian and Polish coins, paintings like Peasants' Uprising in Galicia Led by Mukha and Martyn Hashtold at the Gates of Kyiv in 1471 by Ivan Yizhakevych, a model of a 16th-century church-fortress in Sutkivtsi village in the Volyn region, etc. "The Defeat of the Polish Intervention in the Early 18th Century" section exhibited portraits of historical figures such as Fedir Ivanovych, Vasyl Shuiskyi, Lzhedmytrii I and Maryna Mnishek, Orthodox liturgical books such as Minea of 1600, the Trebnik of Patriarch Filaret of 1624, samples of Russian, Polish, and Swedish weapons, Russian and Polish coins, and a miniature, showing Mikhail Romanov's election to the throne. The museum display of the "The Liberation War of 1648-1654 and Ukraine's Accession to Russia" section included Ukrainian peasants' and Cossacks' weapons from the 17th century, portraits of prominent figures of Ukraine, household items, chests, cups, belts, lead, clay, glass, and silver utensils, old prints of Lviv and Kyiv publishing houses, and a bust of Maksym Kryvonis. The "Ukraine in the first quarter of the 18th century" section demonstrated the historical Tsar charter of Peter I, Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi, and portraits of Samoilovych, Kochubei, Mazepa, Skoropadskyi, Polubotko, and others. The painting Peter the Great at the Battle of Poltava by Shebuiev Vasyl (1777-1855) was shown as well as samples of Cossack, Russian and Swedish weapons, silverware, precious textile, a carpet of Mykhailo Myloradovych, a carpet of Danylo Apostol's and his wife, a Cossack regimental flag, books, hammers and anvils from a copper mine in Right-Bank Ukraine, etc. (fig. 21).



Fig. 21 A fragment of the "Ukraine in the 14th–16th cen turies" section at the "Ukraine in the 15th–18th centuries" department of the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum* in Kyiv, late 1930s – early 1940s

The "Ukraine of the 19th Century" department had four exhibition sections. The section "Alexander I and the Patriotic War" exhibited the engravings Crossing the Neman (probably by Ignaz Sebastian Klauber, 1753-1817), Crossing the Berezyna (probably by Francois Joseph Dupressoir, 1800–1859), the 19th-century paintings Rayevskyi's Battery and The Shooting of Peasants by the French, furthermore certificates, paintings and proclamations, government manifestos, and samples of Russian and French weapons. The section "The Economy of the First Half of the 19th Century in Ukraine and the Decembrist Uprising" displayed a tchoomaks' cart,88 a wooden plow, a harrow, original documents on the sale of serfs, portraits of the Decembrists, items from Masonic lodges, as well as diagrams made for the exhibition. The "Ukraine during the Autocracy of Nicholas I and the Beginning of the Revolutionary Democratic Movement" section showed two paintings, The Battle Varna by Hryhorii Shukaiev and The Battle of Kulevcha by Vasyl Maksymov, Nicholas I's decree on the exile of Polish rebels, Kobzar (Kodsap, is a book of poems by Ukrainian poet and painter Taras Shevchenko, first published in 1840) of 1869, Caucasian, Turkish, Persian weapons, etc. The last section of the "Ukraine in the 19th Century" department was "The Crimean Campaign of 1853-1856 and the Reform of 1861" (fig. 22).

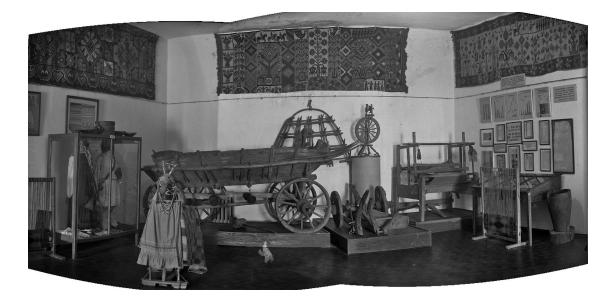


Fig. 22 The "The Economy of the First Half of the 19th Century in Ukraine and the Decembrist Uprising" section at the "Ukraine of the 19th century" department of the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum* in Kyiv. Late 1930s – early 1940s



Fig. 23 At the "Stalin's Constitution" department of the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum* in Kyiv, late 1930s – early 1940s



Fig. 24 At the "History of Weapons" department of the Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum in Kyiv, late 1930s – early 1940s

The department "Stalin's Constitution" began with a section on the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin doctrine of the proletariat dictatorship and the socialist state. It was followed by the section "The History of the Soviet Constitution" which covered the legislative documents of the Soviet government. The "The USSR as a country of Socialism" section described the VII All-Union Congress of Soviets which adopted a resolution amending the USSR Constitution. The development of the national economy and culture of the Union republics was narrated in the section "The USSR as a country of the Great Commonwealth of Nations", and the section "Stalin's Constitution is the most democratic in the world" referred to "true democracy based on the universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot proclaimed by the Stalin's Constitution".⁸⁹ The "The Defense of the Socialist Homeland" section highlighted the military equipping of the Red Army, the achievements of Soviet aviation, and the 'ardent love' of the Soviet people for the Red Army (fig. 23).

The "History of Weapons" department had 13 exhibition sections: "Labor tools are weapons", "Separation of tools of war from tools of labor", "Weapons of low-cultured and economically backward peoples: African, Australian, Polynesian – mid-19th century", "Military equipment of the ancient world", "Weapons of the Kyivan Rus of the 10th – 12th centuries. Arms of knights and Rus soldiers of the Ice Battle (1242)", "Weapons of the Middle Ages", "Introduction of gunpowder and firearms", "Widespread use of firearms, the invention of the musket", "Introduction of the flintlock rifle", "Cold and flintlock firearms in Russia and Ukraine in the 17th century", "Weapons at the time of Peter the Great", "Russian weapons of the 18th and early 19th centuries", "Weapons of the 19th century" (fig. 24-25).

The "History of Coins" department began with "Pre-Monetary Means of Exchange", where various types of goods that served for exchange were exhibited on five boards and in a flat showcase. Then, according to the chronological principle, numismatic material was presented in the sections "Coins in Greece and Rome", "Coins in Russia until the 14th century", "Coins of feudal principalities and the Moscow State", "Coins in the Russian Empire" and "Banknotes and coins of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Civil War and social construction".

The *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum in Kyiv* also created the "Ancient Egypt Monuments" exhibition, featuring one of the largest collections of ancient artifacts in the Ukrainian USSR.⁹⁰ It displayed the shabtis (ushebtis or shawabtis) of the "commander of the troops of Anu" ("Occupations of the Ancient Egyptians" section), bronze statuettes of the pharaohs of Upper and Lower Egypt ("Formation of the State" section), illustrative copied material, extracts from the Leiden papyrus ("State System and the Uprising of 1750 BC" section), images of gods, amulets, scarabs, ushabtis, canopic jars, masks, mummies, coffins ("Egyptian conquests" and "Religion" sections), copies of papyri, samples of sculptural images ("Culture of Ancient Egypt" section).⁹¹

In the late 1930s the *Taras Shevchenko Central History Museum in Kyiv* became one of the largest exhibition spaces not only on the premises of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery but in the city as a whole. The expositions reflected the current demands of the totalitarian authorities for ideological propaganda institutions and provided the visitor with a tendentious, 'single and correct presentation' of Soviet history.

Further exhibition initiatives

In 1934 the *Revolution Museum* (Музей революції) was transferred to the Lavra Preserve premises. For a long time the museum had been mothballed, and its exhibitions had not been accessible to visitors.⁹² A Kyiv guidebook of the second half of the 1930s already reflected the transfer, by noting that the *Revolution Museum* was located at Museum Town, Building No. 30. The 1940 guidebook *Excursions in Kyiv* reported that the museum presented material on the history of the revolutionary and class struggle of the Bolshevik Party during the preparation and conduct of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia (1917-1918), the October uprising of 1917, and the January 1918 uprising in Kyiv.⁹³

In May 1930 the *Department of Research Institutions of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR* planned to establish the *Ukrainian Architectural Museum* (Український архітектурний

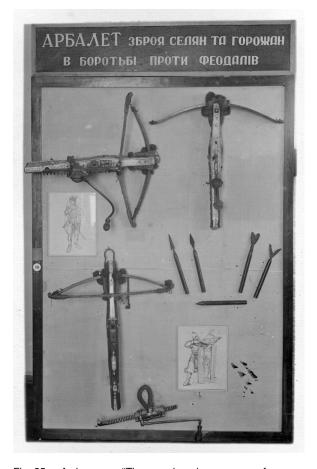


Fig. 25 A showcase "The crossbow is a weapon of pea sants and townspeople in the fight against feudal lords" at the "History of Weapons" department of the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum* in Kyiv, late 1930s – early 1940s

Музей) as part of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town. The governing bodies approved the general outline for the museum's concept, submitted by Stefan Taranushenko, and proposed that the Lavra Preserve administration and Ipolyt Morhilevskyi and Stefan Taranushenko as appointed managers of the museum finalized the museum's scheme and began its actual implementation by January 1, 1930.⁹⁴

Also the *All-Ukrainian Artistic, Restoration, and Reproduction Workshops* (Всеукраїнські художньореставраційні та репродукційні майстерні), which were located at the Lavra Preserve and gained final independence from the All-Ukrainian Museum Town in 1932, carried out exhibition activities. In particular, the workshops' staff prepared small expositions on the results of restoration work and achievements in the field of conservation. The workshop also made copies and models of museum items, shelves for anti-religious exhibitions, etc.⁹⁵

Finally, a permanent exhibition of the *Administration of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the USSR* (Експортна виставка Управи Наркомвнішторгу СРСР при уряді УСРР) under the government of the Ukrainian SSR dedicated to the presentation of export activities also functioned on the Lavra Preserve premises in the first half of the 1930s.⁹⁶

The changes in the academic museum network and the relocation of many museum collections to the premises of the Kivo-Pechersk Monastery in the 1930s are correlated with the political decisions and ideological trends that prevailed in Ukraine under Soviet rule. The Soviet government's genocidal policy against Ukrainians, especially the Holodomor, centralization (including the transfer of the capital from Kharkiv to Kyiv), purges and repression, and the Great Terror, affected museum life in the form of the actual destruction of academic museums and their staff, the simplification and unification of museum displays and narratives, the devaluation of original museum objects, and so on.

Conclusion

A comprehensive study and systematization of information on the exhibition activities of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, its structural units (departments/sections/ funds/museums), as well as the exhibition projects of museums of various subordinations and other institutions that operated on the Lavra Preserve premises during the 1930s allow for asserting that the ideological changes and political processes of the 1930s had a direct and mostly negative impact on Ukrainian museums. Significant changes in the structure and exhibition activities of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town/Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum, the Historical Museum, and academic and other museums of that time are fully consistent with the waves of purges and repressions executed by totalitarian authorities, the intensification of the Sovietization of museums, and the final transformation of museum institutions into "weapons of the ideological front". The 1930s can rightly be considered a decade of criticism and harassment, including concerning the All-Ukrainian Museum Town/Ukrainian Central Antireligious Museum, its departments/museums and branches, and museum institutions (of various subordinations) that operated and implemented their projects on the former Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery premises. Museum displays were condemned for not sufficiently reflecting the social and economic structure class approach to covering historical processes. The struggle against 'gathering', 'formalism', 'eclecticism', 'materiality studies' ('rechoznavstvo', focusing on the study of certain categories of materials and items and ignoring generalized socio-historical constructions), 'technicalism', 'national democracy/nationalism' ('natsdemivshchyna'), 'idealization of priests' ('popivshchyna'), etc. in the expositions led to unification and simplification of the displays and narratives, to the dominance of copies and flat material, and to ideological uniformity. Typical phenomena of the 1930s were the cultural patronage institute and the establishment of practices of celebrating Soviet holidays through the preparation of stationary and traveling exhibitions in the context of cultural campaigns, etc. The transition of museums along 'new Marxist-Leninist rails of research activities', which began with the struggle against the 'old methods of bourgeois prerevolutionary work' and their carriers, and the transformation of museums into 'auxiliary tools of the revolution', determined the change of the Kyiv museum network, the museum staff composition, the content and direction of museum exhibitions during the 1930s. Thus, the example of the nationalized Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery can be used to trace how the total Sovietization of the physical and spiritual space of the Ukrainian territories took place during the 1930s.

Endnotes

- P. В. Маньковська, Музейництво в Україні [R. V. Man'kovs'ka, Museology in Ukraine], Kyiv 2000. P. В. Маньковська, Музеї України в суспільно-історичних викликах XX – початку XXI століть [R. V. Man'kovs'ka, Museums of Ukraine in the Social and Historical Challenges of the Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries], L'viv 2016.
- А. Д. Гришин та іннші, Очерки истории Киево-Печерской лавры и заповедника [А. D. Hryshyn et al., Sketches of the History of the Kievo-Pechersk Lavra and the Reserve], Kyiv 1992.
- For a discussion of the history of Ukraine under Soviet totalitarianism through the lens of imperial studies, see: Timothy Snyder, *The War in Ukraine Is a Colonial War*, in: The New Yorker, April 28, 2022

(https://www.newyorker.com/news/essay/the-war-in-ukraine-isa-colonial-war). Л. В. Гриневич, *Чи був Радянський Союз імперією, а Радянська Україна – колонією: контури сучасних наукових підходів* [L. V. Hrynevych, Was the Soviet Union an Empire and Soviet Ukraine a Colony: Contours of Modern Scientific Approaches], in: Сторінки історії [History Pages], vol. 49, 2019, pp. 190-204. Serhii Plokhy, *The Last Empire. The Final Days of the Soviet Union*, New York 2014. Л. Масенко, *Конфлікт мов та ідентичностей у пострадянській Україні* [L. Masenko, The conflict of languages and identities in post-Soviet Ukraine], Kyiv, 2020.

- Н. Полонська-Василенко, Українська Академія наук. Нарис історії. 1918–1930 [N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. An Outline of History. 1918-1930], Munich 1955 (Досліди і матеріяли, Інститут для вивчення історії та культури СССР/Studies and Materials, Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR, series 1, part 21). Н. Полонська-Василенко, Українська Академія наук. Нарис історії. 1931–1941 [N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. An Outline of History. 1931-1941], Munich 1958 (Досліди і матеріяли, Інститут для вивчення історії та культури СССР/Studies and Materials, Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR, series 1, part 43).
- П. Курінний, *Історія археологічного знання про Україну* [Р. Kurinnyj, History of Archaeological Knowledge about Ukraine], Munich 1970 (Український вільний університет/Ukrainian Free University, series: scripts, part 37).
- 6. Л. А. Іващук, Архівні фонди музейних установ гуманітарного циклу Всеукраїнської академії наук (1918–1934 pp.) [L. А. Ivashchuk, Archival Collections of Museum Institutions of the Humanitarian Cycle of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1918-1934)], Kyiv 2012. О. І. Бонь, Академік Олекса Петрович Новицький: наукова та громадська діяльність [О. І. Bon' Academician Oleksa Petrovych Novytskyi: Scientific and Public Activities], Kyiv 2004. Археологічний музей Всеукраїнської академії наук: дослідження і матеріали [Archaeological Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: Research and Materials], compiled by Анна Яненко [Anna Yanenko], Kyiv 2017. М. О. Принь, Виставка досягнень археологічної науки України за 1918–1928 рр. в рамках святкування ювілею ВУАН [M. O. Pryn', Exhibition of the Achievements of Archaeological Science of Ukraine in 1918-1928 as Part of the Celebration of the VUAN Anniversary], in: Шості Зарембівські читання [The Sixth Zaremba Readings] (Kyiv, April 18, 2017), 2017, pp. 159-164. Д. В. Байкєніч, Організація святкування першого ювілею ВУАН у світлі звітної документації академічних установ [D. V. Bajkyenich, Organisation of the Celebration of the First Anniversary of the VUAN in the Light of the Reporting Focumentation of Academic Institutions], in: Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України [Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine], vol. 22, 2018, pp. 3-23.
- Н. Г. Ковтанюк, Г. М. Шовкопляс, Скарбниця історичної пам'яті України [N. Н. Кочтапуцк, Н. М. Shovkoplyas, Treasury of Historical Memory of Ukraine], in: Київська старовина [Куіv antiquities], no. 4, 1999, pp. 63-80. Н. Г. Ковтанюк, Г. М. Шовкопляс, Сторінки історії музею (20–50 ті роки XX ст.) [N. Н. Kovtanyuk, Н. М. Shovkoplyas, Pages of the Museum's History (1920-1950s)], in: Національний музей історії України: його фундатори та колекції [National Museum of History of Ukraine: Its Founders and Collections], Куіv 1999, pp. 3-24. М. Оксенич, Шляхи формування збірки Національного музею історії України: колекції меценатів і внески приватних осіб

[M. Oksenych, Ways of Forming the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine: Collections of Patrons and Contributions of Individuals], in: Скарбниця української культури [Treasury of Ukrainian Culture], vol. 8, Chernihiv 2007, рр. 165-173. С. Сорокіна, Т. Радієвська, О. Завальна, Експозиція відділу докласового суспільства Центрального історичного музею ім. Т. Г. Шевченка в Києві (1938–1941 рр.) [S. Sorokina, T. Radiyevs'ka, O. Zaval'na, Exposition of the Department of Pre-Class Society of the Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum in Kyiv (1938-1941)], in: Археологія & Фортифікація України: Збірник матеріалів VI Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції [Archaeology and Fortification of Ukraine: Proceedings of the VI International Scientific and Practical Conference], Kam'yanec'-Podil's'kyj 2016, pp. 320 329. Т. Радієвська, С. Сорокіна, О. Завальна, З історії формування археологічної колекції НМІУ в 1930 ті роки: колекції, документи [T. Radiyevs'ka, S. Sorokina, O. Zaval'na, From the History of the Formation of the Archaeological Collection of the NMIU in the 1930s: Collections, Documents], in: Археологія & Фортифікація України : Збірник матеріалів IV Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції [Archaeology and Fortification of Ukraine: Proceedings of the IV All-Ukrainian Scientific and Practical Conference], Kam'yanec'-Podil's'kyj 2014, pp. 325-332. Т. Радієвська, С. Сорокіна, О. Завальна, Мандри археологічних колекцій Національного музею історії України в 1930-ті роки [T. Radiyevs'ka, S. Sorokina, O. Zaval'na, Travels of the Archaeological Collections of the National Museum of History of Ukraine in the 1930s], in: Праці Центру пам'яткознавства [Works of the Centre for Monument Studies], vol. 29, 2016, pp. 183-200.

- Всеукраїнський державний культурно-історичний заповідник «Всеукраїнський музейний городок» [All-Ukrainian State Cultural and Historical Preserve All-Ukrainian Museum Town], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit 10, file 27/4, p. 1.
- 9. *Музеі* [Museums], іп: Київ: довідна книга з планом міста [Kyiv. Reference Book with City Map], Kyiv 1930, pp. 41-42.
- 10. The 'Great Break' or 'Great Turn' (Великий перелом') was the radical transition of the Soviet government, starting in 1929, to forced socio-economic transformations in the USSR, primarily consisting of the acceleration of collectivization and industrialization and also a cultural revolution. The term came from the title of Joseph Stalin's article: *Год великого перелома* [Year of the Great Turn] published on November 7, 1929, in the Pravda newspaper. See: Kulchytsky, Stanislav, *The Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine: An Anatomy of the Holodomor*, Edmonton Toronto 2018, pp. 20-37.
- Итоги XVII партконференции и задачи музейной работы [Results of the XVII Party Conference and tasks of museum work], in: Советский музей [Soviet Museum], no. 2, 1932, pp. 3-7
- I. Лин, В Колишній Києво-Печерській лаврі [I. L-yn, In the former Kyiv Pechersk Lavra], in: Безвірник [The Non-Believer], no. 16, 1929, p. 56.
- Протоколи засідань наукової колегії Всеукраїнського музейного городка (колишня Києво-Печерська лавра) та матеріали до них. 11 травня 1930 – 1 жовтня 1931 р. [Records of the meetings of the Scientific Board of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town (former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra) and materials to them. May 11, 1930 – October 1, 1931], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 9, file 1455, pp. 16-18.
- 14. Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музею) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, p. 61.
- 15. lbidem, pp. 51-54, 102-103.

- 16. Ibidem, pp. 61-62.
- Робота Надії Геппенер у Ближніх і Дальніх печерах Києво-Печерської лаври 1931 р. [Nadiia Heppener's work in the Near and Far Caves of the Kyiv Pechersk Monastery in 1931], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit 10, file 11, pp. 1–2.
- 18. Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музею) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, pp. 13, 63-64.
- Below are all quotations from: Науково-операційний звіт Всеукраїнського музейного городка – державного культурно-історичного заповідника за 1932 рік [Research and Operational Report of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town - State Cultural and Historical Preserve for 1932], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, pp. 8-47).
- On the impact of Stalins letter, published in 1931, on the intellectual environment of the Ukrainian SSR see: В. В. Ткаченко, Вплив листа Й.В. Сталіна «Про деякі питання icropii більшовизму» до редакції журналу «Пролетарська революція» на наукове життя в Україні (30 і роки XX ст.) [V. V. Tkachenko, The Impact of J.V. Stalin's Letter 'On Some Issues of the History of Bolshevism' to the Editorial Board of the Journal 'Proletarian Revolution' on Scientific Life in Ukraine (30s and 30s of the XX Century)], in: Гілея [Gilea], vol. 21, 2009, pp. 75-84.
- 21. Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музею) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, pp. 8-10.
- 22. The Sewing and Textile Fund was open to the public until April 1, 1932.
- Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музеко) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, pp. 13-15. Hryshyn et al. 1992 (as note 2), pp. 119-120.
 24. Hryshyn et al. 1992 (as note 2), p. 121.
- 25. Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музею) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, p. 19.
- 26. Ibidem, pp. 25-27.
- 27. Ibidem, p. 35.
- The decision "On the closure of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the eviction of its monks" was adopted on November 18, 1929.
- 29. On that report see: А. Яненко, Обстеження наукової та експозиційної роботи музеїв м. Києва 29 листопада 1932 р. в контексті історії вітчизняного музейництва [А. Yanenko, Survey of the Scientific and Exhibition Work of Kyiv Museums on 29 November 1932 in the Context of the History of National Museums], in: Від України до УРСР: Матеріали Всеукраїнської наукової конференції до 80-річчя перенесення столиці радянської України до міста Києва [From Ukraine to the Ukrainian SSR: Proceedings of the All-Ukrainian Scientific Conference on the 80th Anniversary of the Transfer of the Capital

of Soviet Ukraine to Kyiv] (Kyiv, December 12, 2014), Kyiv 2016, pp. 237-265.

- М. Горват, Активізувати антирелігійну роботу музеїв [М. Horvat, Intensify the Anti-religious Work of Museums], in: Безвірник [The Non-Believer], no. 15-16, 1932, p. 27.
- Н. Багрій, Всеукраїнський музейний городок (Колишня Києво-печерська лавра) [N. Bahrij, All-Ukrainian Museum Town (Former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra)], in: Берзвірник [The Non-Believer], no. 10, 1934, р. 32.
- С. І. Білокінь, Музей України (Збірка П. Потоцького): Дослідження, матеріали [S. I. Bilokin', Museum of Ukraine (The P. Potocki's Collection): Research, Materials], Kyiv 2006, p. 202.
- 33. Матеріали про роботу Всеукраїнського музейного городка державного культурно-історичного заповідника (звіти, плани, відомості, схема музею) [Materials on the work of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town, a state cultural and historical preserve (reports, plans, information, and a museum scheme)], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 571, pp. 160-163.
- 34. Bahrij 1934 (as note 31), pp. 34-35.
- 35. І. М. Преловська, Ідеологічні засади створення експозиції давньоруського періоду Музею історії лаври державного історико-культурного заповідника «Всеукраїнський музейний городок» 1920–1930 років [І. М. Prelovs'ka, Ideological Foundations for the Creation of the Exposition of the Old Russian Period of the Museum of the History of the Lavra of the State Historical and Cultural Reserve 'All-Ukrainian Museum Town' in 1920-1930], in: Могилянські читання [Mohyla readings] 2003. Куіv 2004, р. 307.
- Колишня Києво-Печерська лавра на службі експлуататорів, Довідкові матеріали по музейному городку [The Former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in the Service of the Exploiters, Reference Materials on the Museum Campus], compiled by Д. Ф. Красицький [D. F. Krasyc'kyj], Kyiv 1935, p. 10.
- 37. Bahrij 1934 (as note 31), pp. 34-35.
- 38. The Former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra 1935 (as note 36), p. 28.
- The Former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra 1935 (as note 36), pp. 11, 20-21, 35.
- 40. Інформації, листи, доповідні записки, телеграми обласних комітетів партії, органів культури, їхніх уповноважених щодо стану могили Тараса Шевченка в Каневі, Київського обласного музею Революції, будівництва музею Володимира Леніна в Києві, дару Павла Потоцького Українському уряду науково-художного зібрання предметів історичного значення, тощо [Information, letters, memos, and telegrams from regional party committees, cultural authorities, and their authorized representatives regarding the state of Taras Shevchenko's grave in Kaniv, the Kyiv Regional Museum of the Revolution, the construction of the Vladimir Lenin Museum in Kyiv, Pavlo Potockii's gift to the Ukrainian government of a scientific and artistic collection of objects of historical significance, etc.], Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань та україніки [Central State Archives of Public Organizations and Ukrainica], unit 1, inventory 20, file 7130, p. 67.
- 41. According to the resolution by the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of September 11, 1935, the *All-Ukrainian History Museum* was reorganized into the *Taras Shevchenko Central Historical Museum*.
- 42. М. І. Савчук, Акти передачі збірки П. П. Потоцького як джерело облікової інформації [М. І. Savchuk, Documents of Transfer of the P.P. Potocki's Collection as a Source of Accounting Information], іп: Тематичний збірник наукових праць [Thematic Collection of Scientific Papers], Kyiv 2010, pp. 293-294.
- 43. The Former Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra 1935 (as note 36).
- Культурне будівництво в Українській РСР. Найважливіші рішення комуністичної партії і радянського уряду 1917–1959 pp.(7. 1: 1917 – червень 1941 p.)[Cultural Construction in the Ukrainian SSR. The Most Important Decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in 1917-1959 (vol. 1: 1917 – June 1941)], Kyiv 1960, pp. 669, 718, 762, 770.
- National Preserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra" collection, inventory No. КПЛ-А-1316.
- Ю. Лісневський, *Чим була і чим стала Києво-Печерська* лавра [Yu. Lisnevs'kyj, What Was and What Has Become the

Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra], in: Соціалістичний Київ [Socialist Kyiv], no. 11, 1937, pp. 34-38.

- Ю. Лісневський, Н. Геппнер, Про роботу Музейного містечка [Yu. Lisnevs'kyj, N. Heppner, About the Work of the Museums Town], in: Пролетарська правда [Proletarian Truth], May 16, 1937.
- Ш. Вядро, П. Близнюк, *Буржуазно-націоналістичне кубло в музеях Києва* [Sh. Vyadro, P. Blyznyuk, Bourgeois Nationalist gang up in Kyiv museums], in: Комуніст [Communist], October 2, 1937.
- I. М. Преловська, Діяльність Назара Олексійовича Багрія (1895–1937) як директора Всеукраїнського музейного городка у 1930 ті pp [I. M. Prelovs'ka, Activities of Nazar Oleksijovych Bahrij (1895-1937) as Director of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town in the 1930s], in: Могилянські читання [Mohyla readings] 2005, Kyiv 2006, pp. 432-442.
- 50. А. Вескер, *Хаос в музеях* [A. Vesker, Chaos in Museums], in: Комуніст [Communist], March 3, 1937.
- Н. В. Геппенер-Лінка, Спогади про Всеукраїнське музейне містечко 1929–1939 рр. [N. V. Heppener-Linka, Memories of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town of 1929-1939], in: Лаврський альманах [The Lavra Almanac], vol. 11, 2003, pp. 166-167.
- Список абонентів Київської міської телефонної сітки АТС за станом на 1/IX 1938 р. [List of subscribers of the Kyiv City Telephone Exchange as of 1/IX 1938], Kyiv 1938.
- 53. Экскурсии по Киеву [Excursions in Kyiv], ed. by Г. Хумыш [G. Humysh], Kyiv 1940, p. 37.
- 54. Огляд стану музеїв системи НКО УРСР, план видань по Управлінню музеями на 1941 р. та доповідна записка про скликання наради-семінару музейних робітників західних областей України. 28 листопада – 3 грудня 1940 р. [Review of the state of museums in the system of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, plan of museum publications for 1941, and a briefing on convening a meeting-seminar of museum workers in the western regions of Ukraine. November 28 – December 3, 1940], Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 11, file 466, p. 7.
- Короткий довідник (НКО УРСР; Український центральний антирелігійний музей, колишня Києво-Печерська лавра) [Brief Reference Book (NKO USSR; Ukrainian Central Anti-Religious Museum, former Kyiv Pechersk Lavra], Kyiv 1940.
- 56. Ibidem.
- 57. Выводы и предложения в связи с обследованием состояния работы Центрального антирелигиозного музея УССР. передмова та підготовка до друку Романа Качана [Conclusions and Suggestions in Connection with the Survey of the State of Work of the Central Anti-Religious Museum of the Ukrainian SSR, preface and preparation of the document for printing by Roman Kachan], in: Лаврський альманах [The Lavra Almanac], vol. 11, 2003, pp. 183-191. Висновки та пропозиції наукових співробітників Центрального антирелігійного музею СРСР М. Кузнєцова і Л. Лазаровича щодо роботи Центрального антирелігійного музею УРСР у Києві, Київ, після 31 жовтня 1940 р. [Conclusions and Proposals of M. Kuznetsov and L. Lazarovych, Researchers of the Central Anti-Religious Museum of the USSR, on the Work of the Central Anti-Religious Museum of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, Kyiv, after 31 October 1940]. in: Києво-Печерського Лавра у часи Другої світової війни: Дослідження. Документи [Kyiv Pechersk Lavra during the Second World War: A Study, Documents], Kyiv 2016, pp. 146 156.
- 58. National Preserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra" collection (as note 45), Тексти лекцій-екскурсій по Заповіднику наступних співробітників: Вакуленко, Кубанської, Іванової, Дундича, Рислік, Шевченка, Михайлової [Texts of Lectures-Excursions in the Reserve by the Following Employees: Vakulenko, Kubanska, Ivanova, Dundych, Ryslik, Shevchenko, Mykhailova], 1946–1947, pp. 51, 99.
- Conclusions and Suggestions 2003 (as note 57). Conclusions and Proposals 2016 (as note 57).
- 60. Мих. Бабат, *Дела музейные* [Michail Babat, Museum Affairs], in: Советская Украина [Soviet Ukraine], February 10, 1940.
- Й. Михайлов, Про Центральний антирелігійний музей [J. Mihajlov, About the Central Museum of Anti-Religion], in: Комуніст [Communist], May 31, 1941.

- 62. The Ukrainian academic research center of the European standard was created by the law "On the Establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv", adopted by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi on November 14, 1918. On November 27, 1918, the constituent General Meeting of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was held, where the prominent geologist and geochemist Volodymyr Vernadskyi was elected the first president of the institution. The name of the Academy was changed four times. From 1918–1921 it was the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, from 1921 to 1936 - the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, from 1936 to 1991 - the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, from 1991 to 1993 - the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and since 1994 - the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. In the first year of its activity the Academy consisted of three scientific departments - Historical and Philological Physical and Mathematical, and Social Sciences, which included 3 institutes, 15 commissions, and a National Library.
- 63. Звіт Всеукраїнського археологічного комітету за 1929 р. [Report of the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee for 1929], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit BYAK [All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee], file 309.
- 64. Про святкування 10-літнього ювілею ВУАН. 7 грудня 1928 р. – 8 серпня 1931 р. [On the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. December 7, 1928 – August 8, 1931], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit BYAK [All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee], file 193.
- 65. Ibidem.
- Археологічний музей Всеукраїнської академії наук: дослідження і матеріали [Archaeological Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: Research and Materials], compiled by Анна Яненко [Anna Yanenko], Kyiv 2017.
- 67. Протокол наради музейних робітників та співробітників Секції історії матеріальної культури від 22 листопада 1933 р. [Records of the meeting of museum workers and staff of the Section of the History of Material Culture, November 22, 1933], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit BYAK [All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee], file 448, pp. 52-55зв.
- П. І. Рулін, *Театральний музей та драмгуртки* [Р. І. Rulin, Theatre Museum and Drama Groups], in: Радянське мистецтво [Soviet Art], no 7, 1928, p. 12.
- 69. Museums 1930 (as note 9), p. 41.
- 70. https://www.tmf-museum.com/sokirinskij-vertep, (last access: 12.03.2024).
- П. Рулин, *Театральный музей Всеукраинской Академии наук* [P. Rulin, Theatre Museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences], in: Советский музей [Soviet Museum], no 5, 1932, pp. 109-116.
- Всі музеї на службу соцбудівництву [All Museums to Serve Social Construction], in: За Радянську академію! [To the Soviet Academy!], no 6–7 (20–21), 1932, p. 2.
- 73. П. Рулин, Театральний музей ВУАН відкриває свою нову експозицію [P. Rulin, VUAN Theatre Museum Opens Its New Exhibition], in: П. Курінний, Всеукраїнський державний культурно-історичний заповідник "Всеукраїнський музейний городок": провідник [P. Kurinnyj, All-Ukrainian State Cultural and Historical Reserve 'All-Ukrainian Museum Town': Guide], Kyiv 2020, pp. 404-407.
- 74. Vesker 1937 (as note 50).
- Є. Кротевич, Український театральний музей [Ye. Krotevych, Ukrainian Theatre Museum], in: Літературна газета [Literary newspaper], December 13, 1940.
- 76. Ibidem.
- 77. The Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art originates from the memorial collections of the Museum of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv, where a separate department of Ukrainian figures was established in 1919. In 1921, after the Ukrainian Scientific Society had joined the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the department was transformed into a separate academic Museum of Ukrainian Figures. On June 28, 1926, the institution was renamed the Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art, better reflecting its collections' composition. In

1924–1925 the museum's collection consisted of 2.5 thousand memorabilia, and in the late 1920s it included about 15 thousand items: iconographic material (painted portraits, photographs, engravings), archives, manuscripts, printed works, periodicals, posters, artworks, materials about the honoring of figures during their lifetime and after their death, etc. In the late 1920s the most valuable were the memorial collections of the Alchevskyi, the Hrinchenko, Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykola Biliashivskyi, Porfyrii Demutskyi, Panteleimon Kulish, Heorhii Narbut, and others. See: Л. Д. Федорова, *Музей українських діячів науки та мистецтва* [L. D. Fedorova, Museum of Ukrainian Scientists and Artists], in: Енциклопедія історії України [Encyclopaedia of the History of Ukraine], vol. 7: Mi-O, Kyiv 2010, http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Muzej_diiachiv (last access: 10.09.2024).

- 78. Музей українських діячів науки та мистецтва УАН. Запрошення на відкриття виставок [Museum of Ukrainian Workers of Science and Art of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Invitations to the opening of exhibitions], Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського [Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine], unit 285, No. 1604, pp. 1-2.
- 79. Bon' 2004 (as note 6), p. 118.
- 80. Запрошення на виставку «ВУАН на сучасному етапі» Музею діячів науки та мистецтва України [An invitation to the exhibition All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at the present stage of the Museum of Workers of Science and Art of Ukraine], Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України [Scientific Archives of the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine], unit BYAK [All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee], file 439, p. 27.
- Музей діячів науки та мистецтва ВУАН. Звіт про роботу за 1928–1932 рр. [The Museum of Workers of Science and Art of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, report on the work for 1928–1932], Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського [Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine], unit X, No. 30886, pp. 1-2.
- Є. Рудинська, *Цілим колективом ВУАН творімо Музей діячів* [Ye. Rudins'ka, The Whole Team of VUAN Is Creating the Museum of Figures], in: Kurinnyj 2020 (as note 73), pp. 409-411.
- 83. Акт про опечатування кімнати, в якій знаходяться експонати колишнього Музею діячів науки та мистецтв, від 13 червня 1934 р. [Act on sealing the room containing exhibits of the former Museum of Workers of Science and Arts, June 13, 1934], Apxiв Національного музею історії України [Archive of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine], unit. P 1260, inventory 1-доп., file 14, pp. 399, 402, 404.
- 84. Bilokin' 2006 (as note 32), p. 169.
- S. Sorokina, T. Radiyevs'ka, O. Zaval'na 2016, Exposition (as note 7), p. 320.
- Корткий довідник (НКО УРСР ; Центральний історичний музей ім. Т. Г. Шевченка в м. Київі) [Brief Reference Book (NKO USSR; Ukrainian Central Anti-Religious Museum, former Kyiv Pechersk Lavra], Kyiv 1941.
- 87. S. Sorokina, T. Radiyevs'ka, O. Zaval'na 2016, Exposition (as note 7), pp. 320-329.
- 88. Ibidem, p. 320-329.
- Tchoomak (chumak) is a historical Ukrainian name for a salt trader; Ukrainian oxcart driver.
- 90. Brief Reference Book 1941 (as note 86), p. 37.
- For more information about the history of collections of Ancient Egyptian items in Ukraine see: O. Romanova, H. Stanytsina, Ancient Egypt in Kyiv Mirrored on Glass (Collection of Glass Photonegatives from the Scholarly Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of NASU), Kyiv 2021.
- 92. Brief Reference Book 1941 (as note 86).
- 93. Vesker 1937 (as note 50).
- 94. Довідник по Києву [A Guide to Kyiv], Kyiv 1937, р. 33.
- 95. Экскурсии по Киеву [Excursions Around Kyiv], ed. by Г. Хумыш [G. Humysh], Kyiv 1940.
- 96. A. Yanenko, *The Museum of Architecture of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town*, in: Матеріали і дослідження з археології Прикарпаття і Волині [Materials and Research on the Archaeology of Prykarpattia and Volyn], vol. 27, in print. See also the project *Photos tell stories*, https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=0gEprFBb8QE&t=4s, (last access: 12.03.2024).

- 97. Т. Тимченко, Київська школа реставрації станкового малярства (1920–1930 рр.) [Т. Тутсhenko, Куіv School of Easel Painting Restoration (1920-1930)], in: Пам'ятки України: історія та культура [Sights of Ukraine: history and culture], no. 4, 2001, рр. 48-71. Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України [Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine], unit 166, inventory 10, file 543.
- 98. Розпорядження президії ВУАН по плануванню та звітах, листування історичного циклу з установами та приватними особами, що стосуються видавничої та науково-дослідної роботи, про підготовку святкування Жовтневого свята, організацію виставок та з інших питань. Травень 1933 р. – січень 1934 р. [Resolutions of the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on planning and reports, correspondence of the historical cycle with institutions and individuals concerning publishing and research work, preparation for the celebration of the October holiday, organization of exhibitions, and other issues. May 1933 - January 1934], Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського [Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine], unit X, no. 2681.

Picture Credits

Fig. 1 Collection of the National Preserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra" (hereafter: CNPKPL), inventory no. КПЛ-H-3967 Fig. 2 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-Ф-10674 Fig. 3 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2517 Fig. 4 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2503 Fig. 5 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2935 Fig. 6 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2487 Fig. 7 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3050 Fig. 8 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-Ф-2893 Fig. 9 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2952 Fig. 10 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3363 Fig. 11 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3351 Fig. 12 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2964 Fig. 13 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3414 Fig. 14 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3077 Fig. 15 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2536 Fig. 16 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-1442 Fig. 17 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-2500 Fig. 18 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-1441 Fig. 19 Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, unit X, no. 30886 Fig. 20 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-1099 Fig. 21 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-1451 Fig. 22 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-1431, КПЛ-H-1455 Fig. 23 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-H-3560 Fig. 24 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-Ф-9223 Fig. 25 CNPKPL, inventory no. КПЛ-Ф-9274

Abstract

The article deals with the exposition and exhibition activities of the All-Ukrainian Museum Town - one of the largest museum institutions in Kyiv (Ukraine) in 1920-1930, its structural units (departments/sections/ funds/museums), as well as covers the museum projects of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and other institutions carried out on the territory of the Lavra Preserve during the 1930s. The article examines the design, functioning, and transformation of museum displays, and analyzes the exposition and exhibition work in the context of the changes that took place in the museum life of the Ukrainian SSR in the 1930s - extreme politicization (Sovietization) from the beginning of the decade, aggressive anti-religious campaigns, and the transformation of museums into a 'weapon of the ideological front', etc.

Author

Anna Yanenko is Deputy Head of the Research Department of the History of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and Museums for the National Preserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra". She holds a PhD in Archaeology from the Institute of Archaeology of National Academy of Science of Ukraine. Her research interests include the history of humanities, with a particular focus on the history of Ukrainian museums and the history of Ukrainian archaeology in the 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, she interested in the visual museum history, museum iconography, museums and museum narratives as a tool of Soviet ideology and propaganda. She is a board member of the Ukrainian Association of Archaeologists, the ICOM Ukraine and the International Federation of Public History.

Title

Anna Yanenko, *The museum space of the Kyiv Pechersk monastery in the 1930s. Soviet imperial interventions and metamorphoses*, in: kunsttexte.de, no. 3, 2024, section ostblick, thematic issue: *Appropriation and blind spots. Ukraine cultural heritage in conflict*, ed. by Katja Bernhardt (34 pages), https://doi.org/10.48633/ksttx.2024.3.106995.