

ARTICLES

Diplomatic, Pedagogical and Scientific Activities of Stepan Smal-Stotsky in Czechoslovakia in 1918–1938

Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi / o.dobrozhanskyi@chnu.edu.ua

College of History, Political Science and International Relations, Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi, Ukraine

Lyudmyla Strilchuk / strilchuk.lyudmila@vnu.edu.ua

Faculty of History, Political Science and National Security, Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University, Lutsk, Ukraine

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The article analyzes the activities of famous Ukrainian scientist and public figure Stepan Smal-Stotsky during his emigration to Czechoslovakia in 1918–1938. It is noted that now S. Smal-Stotsky had become a diplomat for the first time as the ambassador of the Western Ukraine People's Republic in Prague. In cooperation with the Ukraine People's Republic (UPR) embassy, he managed to implement a number of events to promote Ukrainian aspirations. From 1921 to 1937, S. Smal-Stotsky taught the Ukrainian Language and Literature at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. There had been a lot of success in this field, he managed to educate an entire galaxy of eminent scientists in linguistics. The article notes that S. Smal-Stotsky was more concerned in scientific terms with the issues of the origin of the Ukrainian language, literary studies of the works of Taras Shevchenko at that time. He initiated a number of discussions on the issues of Ukrainian spelling, the ancient period of Ukrainian history. S. Smal-Stotsky out a great deal of organizational and social work at that time. He initiated two Ukrainian research and scientific congresses in Prague and headed the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine.

Key words: Smal-Stotsky; Czechoslovakia; Western Ukraine People's Republic; Ukrainian emigration; Ukrainian Free University

Introduction

Stepan Smal-Stotsky, a well-known Ukrainian scientist, politician, public and cultural figure, lived a long, eventful life. He was born on January 9, 1859 in Galicia. However, since the age of 19, he connected his life with Bukovyna, where he had studied and worked for more than 36 years and considered it his native land.

He did a lot to popularize the Ukrainian language, education, and culture. His scientific works are devoted to the issues of Ukrainian philology, the creative works of I. Kotliarevsky, Y. Fedkovych, I. Franko, T. Shevchenko. He was one of the generators of the introduction of phonetic spelling in the Ukrainian language and together with T. Gartner had become the creator of many terms of the Ukrainian language. He wrote one of the very first works on the history of Ukrainians in Bukovyna from the time of Kyivan Rus to the late 19th century, and in 1918, he became one of the 12 founding academicians of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

At the same time, S. Smal-Stotsky was an active politician, a member of the Austrian parliament and the Bukovyna Sejm, Deputy Regional Marszałek of Bukovyna. Dozens of Ukrainian cultural, educational, scientific, sports, and educational societies were founded in Bukovyna with his participation. He was rightly considered the leader of the Ukrainian national revival in Bukovina in the late 19th – early 20th century.

However, for the last twenty years of his life, S. Smal-Stotsky had been forced to live outside of his native Bukovyna, in Czechoslovakia. This article is dedicated to the mentioned period in the life of this outstanding figure.

It is worth noting that there is already a lot of works about the life and work of S. Smal-Stotsky¹. However, these works either did not mention anything at all

1 Botushanskyi V. (2010). *Stepan Smal-Stotskyy – vydatnyy diyach Bukovyny: shtrykhy do portreta (Stepan Smal-Stotsky – an Outstanding Figure of Bukovyna: Portrait Details)*. Chernivtsi: Yavorskyy.; Hutsulyak T. Prohnostychni pohlyady S. Smal-Stotskoho na ukrajinistyku v konteksti orhanizatsiyi ta zavdan slavistychnoyi nauky (S. Smal-Stotsky's Prognostic Views on Ukrainian Studies in the Context of the Organization and Tasks of Slavic Science). *Naukovyy visnyk Chernivetskoho universytetu (Slovenska filolohiya)*. 2010. CH. 496/497. s. 3–9; Danylenko V., Dobrzhanskyi O. (1996). Akademik Stepan Smal-Stotskyy: zhyttya i diyalnist (Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky: Life and Activities). Kyiv; Chernivtsi, 207 s.; Dobrzhanskyi O. Stepan Smal-Stotskyy i yoho «Bukovynska Rus» (Stepan Smal-Stotsky and His «Bukovyna Rus»). *Zelena Bukovina*. 1996. CH. 3/4. s. 154–159; 1997. CH. 1. s. 154–159; Dobrzhanskyi O. Deyaki aspekty vzayemyn I. Franka ta S. Smal-Stotskoho (Some Aspects of Relationships between I. Franko and S. Smal-Stotskyi). *Pytannya istoriyi Ukrayiny*. 2006. T. 9. s. 89–94; Kravchenyuk O. Stepan Smal-Stotskyy i Vatroslav Yagich (Stepan Smal-Stotsky and Vatroslav Yagich). *Zbirnyk prats i materialiv na poshanu Hryhoriya Luzhnytskoho (1903–1910)*. Lviv; Nyu-York; 1996. s. 324–326; Tkach L. Akademik Stepan Smal-Stotskyy: do 150-richchya vid dnya narodzhennya (Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky: Dedication the 150th Anniversary of

about the period of his life in Czechoslovakia, or only minor comments were made, mainly related to individual scientific publications. While in emigration, S. Smal-Stotsky did a lot both as a scientist and as an educationist. Also, during that period, he became a diplomat for the first time, representing the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in Prague. Actually, S. Smal-Stotsky's arrival in the capital of Czechoslovakia was connected with diplomatic work.

At the Diplomatic Service

1918 was a turning point for many European countries. At this time, a number of independent states were formed on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On October 28, 1918, Czechoslovakia emerged. In November 1918, the formation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was organizationally completed, which declared sovereignty over the Ukrainian ethnic lands of the former Austria-Hungary.

It was very important for the newly established Ukrainian state of former under-Austrian Ukrainians to receive the support of other states that emerged after the collapse of Austria-Hungary empire. Among them, perhaps the most important had high hopes for Czechoslovakia in the fight against Poland, given the difficult relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland on the issue of Teschen's affiliation. In December 1918, Ye. Petrushevych, ZUNR President, visited Prague where he met with Czechoslovak President T. Masaryk. It was decided at that meeting to open a diplomatic mission of the ZUNR in Prague. On December 19, S. Smal-Stotsky² was appointed head of the mission as an authoritative and well-known person to Czech politicians, especially former members of the Austrian parliament.

Although S. Smal-Stotsky had never been engaged in diplomatic work before, he accepted the new appointment with great enthusiasm. The first thing that the newly-made ambassador drew attention to was establishing friendly relations with political and public figures in Czechoslovakia and spreading information about Ukraine and the struggle of Ukrainians for their statehood.

It is worth noting that in late January 1919, the embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic consisting of 6 people was also opened in Prague. Later, the

His Birth). *Dyvoslovo*. 2009. № 1. s. 33–39; Fedun M. Postat Stepana Smal-Stotskoho na tli ukrayins'koho zhyttya pershoyi polovyny KHKH st. (The Figure of Stepan Smal-Stotsky against the Background of Ukrainian Life in the Early 20th Century). *Dyvoslovo*. 2013. № 7/8. s. 66–70; *Miejsce Stefana Smal-Stockiego w slawistyce europejskiej* (2012) / pod redakcją Wiktorii Hojsak, Agaty Skurzewskiej. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

2 Smal-Stotskyy S. Deshcho pro sebe samoho (Something about Myself). *Tsentralnyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny u L'vovi* (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv) (CSHAU in Lviv). Fond 348. Opys 1. Sprava 779. Arkush 85.

embassy expanded. Information and Press bureaux consisting of 4 people and 6 people, respectively, were also established³. Despite the fact that on January 22, 1919, the ZUNR and UPR were united into a single state, both embassies continued to operate independently. ZUNR ambassador S. Smal-Stotsky and UPR Ambassador M. Slavynskyi developed friendly relations and both embassies acted together representing the interests of Ukraine.

On August 19, 1919, the Ukrainian club was opened in Prague with the assistance of both embassies, headed by S. Smal-Stotsky and Deputy Attaché of the UPR mission V. Koroliv⁴. Under the leadership of S. Smal-Stotsky, the Ukrainian club organized Czech language courses for Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language for Czechs, as well as lectures, literary and art parties, and anniversary meetings were organized.

S. Smal-Stotsky worked closely with the Information Bureau of the UPR Embassy. Together they started publishing a series of books under the general title *Know Ukraine*. S. Smal-Stotsky published the pamphlets *Lviv Is the Heart of Western Ukraine*⁵ and *Prospects for Real Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and Ukraine* in Czech and French in this series.⁶ He raised the issue of the struggle between Poles and Ukrainians for Lviv in the first pamphlet and noted that Ukrainians could not give up this city because it was the most important centre of Western Ukraine, without which the existence of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was impossible. The second booklet was dedicated to the prospects of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Ukraine. S. Smal-Stotsky convincingly proved that both states had many common interests and this would contribute to the development of relations between both states in cultural, educational, economic and political spheres.

A favorable for Ukraine newspaper campaign was launched with the assistance of S. Smal-Stotsky and employees of the Information Bureau.

It is worth noting that Ukrainian emigration was growing rapidly in Czechoslovakia that time. As of 1921, it numbered about twenty thousand people. S. Smal-Stotsky, as the ZUNR ambassador, kept this issue in sight trying to provide the most favorable conditions for arrivals as much as possible and organized various assistance activities. To provide material and moral assistance to Ukrainian emigrants a charitable women's association was organized at the Ukrainian club, which held its events together with the Czech intelligentsia.

3 Tsentralnyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchych orhaniv vldy Ukrayiny (TSDAVOU) (Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power of Ukraine (CSASBPU). F. 3696. Op. 2. Spr. 395. ark. 23.

4 TSDAVOU. F. 3696. Op. 2. Spr. 203. 51 ark.

5 Smal-Stočkyj Š. (1919). *Lvov, srdce západní Ukrajiny*. Kyjiv-Praha: Čas.

6 Smal-Stočkyj Š. (1919) *Vyhliďky pravé vzájemnosti Československa a Ukrajiny*. Kyjiv-Praha: Čas.

S. Smal-Stotsky reacted favorably to the Ukrainian student societies that emerged in Prague at that time. The episode with the organization of the 7th International Sokil Holiday in the capital of Czechoslovakia was indicative in this regard. A delegation from Lviv was unable to attend this meeting. Then S. Smal-Stotsky, at the suggestion of Galicians, organized a representative office of the Ukrainian Sokil [Falcon] Society in Prague and took an active part in the holiday himself⁷.

The ambassador did a lot to promote Ukrainian literature in Czechoslovakia. He contributed to the publication of T. Shevchenko's poem *Ivan Gus* (Heretic) in 1919 in Czech translation by František Rut Tichý, and wrote the introduction to it. The following year, Taras Shevchenko's works *Hamalia*, *Tarasova Nich* (Taras's Night), *Topolia* (Poplar), *Perebendya* were published in Prague, and S. Smal-Stotsky included a biography of Kobzar in that publication⁸. The same year, N. Kovalevska-Koroleva published the Czech-Ukrainian dictionary under the general editorship of S. Smal-Stotsky.

S. Smal-Stotsky headed the diplomatic mission of the ZUNR until September 9, 1921⁹, and after that he handed over his powers to a representative of the UPR, and for some time he worked as an adviser on a voluntary basis.

Teaching and Social Activities

While still ambassador of the ZUNR in April 1921, S. Smal-Stotsky actively supported the idea of a number of Ukrainian scientists to transfer the Ukrainian Free University (UFU) from Vienna to Prague. The leadership of the Czechoslovak Republic approved of this, the grand opening of the UFU in Prague with the participation of numerous representatives of the Czechoslovakia government, scientific societies and universities of Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian emigration and foreign guests took place on October 23, 1921¹⁰. As noted in the message of its leadership, "all the Ukrainian lands of Greater Ukraine, Prydniprianska Ukraine, Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, Kuban, our fellow countrymen from the United States of America and Canada responded to this significant event... The huge participation of all circles of Czech society – the authorities, parliament, universities and citizenship – was the largest demonstration of the Czech-Ukrainian brotherhood of

7 Narizhnyy S. (1942). *Ukrayinska emihratsiya mizh dvoma svitovymy viynamy* (Ukrainian Emigration Between Two World Wars). Praha. s. 273.

8 Smal-Stotskyy S. T. Shevchenko (zhyttyepys) (T. Shevchenko (Biography)). *Shevchenko T. Hamaliya. Tarasova nich. Topolya, Perebendya*. Praha, 1920. s. 3–4.

9 Smal-Stotskyy S. *Deshcho pro sebe samoho* (Something about Myself). *Tsentralnyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny u Lvovi*. Fond 348, Opys 1, sprava 779. Arkush 85.

10 TSDAVOU, f. 3859 Ukrayinskyy vilnyy universytet u Prazi, op. 1, spr. 139. ark. 42. op. 2. spr. 1. ark. 1–5.

historical significance to date”¹¹. So, a hundred years ago, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian public and with the support of the top leadership of Czechoslovakia, the most famous higher educational institution of Ukrainian emigration of the interwar period was opened in Prague.

The Academic Senate of Charles University in Prague allocated lecture halls for UFU in the premises of the Karolinum, Clementinum and the Natural History Institute.

S. Smal-Stotsky took an active part in its work from the very beginning of the Ukrainian university in the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic. He became a member of the University’s highest governing body, the Academic Senate. During the 1922–1923 academic year, he was dean, and the following year – pro-dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. For some time, he had also headed the commission on the preparation of university collections of research papers, the Society for assistance to Ukrainian scientists who found themselves in a difficult financial situation, and so on.

The objectives of the Ukrainian Free University were to teach Ukrainian youth the subjects from a wide range of knowledge in their native language, but with a special emphasis on Ukrainian Studies. It was supposed to train new scientific staff for higher educational institutions. 702 students enrolled at the university in the 1921–1922 academic year. It is interesting, among them were natives of Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia and the former sub-Russian Ukraine.

During his first year at the UFU, S. Smal-Stotsky taught the following courses: Ukrainian Language in the Family of Slavic Languages, History of Ukrainian Literature and Culture of the 16th–17th Centuries, and a workshop on Reading the Works of I. Franko and O. Kobylanska¹². Although the number of students at the university has been steadily decreasing in the 1920–1930s, financial conditions were not easy, and in terms of the teaching staff composition, the presence of scholars, it was undoubtedly the most authoritative and influential educational institution among such kind of Ukrainian institutions in emigration.

S. Smal-Stotsky, despite his respectable age, worked at the UFU until 1937. He was elected an Emeritus Professor of this university.

His lectures at the UFU were very popular. L. Lutsiv, who took his courses during 1921–1925, testified that although almost all students of philology of the UFU studied at the Czech Charles University at the same time, where they passed mandatory exams and doctorates, they still considered it necessary to constantly attend lectures of S. Smal-Stotsky. Emphasizing the erudition and high lecturing

11 Vidnyanskyy S. (1994). *Kulturno-osvitnya i naukova diyalnist ukrayinskoyi emihratsiyi v Chekho-Slovachchyni: Ukrayinsky vilnyy universytet (1921–1945 rr.)*. (Cultural, Educational and Scientific Activities of Ukrainian Emigration in Czechoslovakia: Ukrainian Free University (1921–1945)). Kyiv, s. 23.

12 TSDAVOU. F. 3859. op. 1. spr. 139. ark. 65.

skills of the professor, he recalled that he had not read his remarks from worn-out cards written earlier and re-read several times, but gave fresh, new views on the basis of new scientific works and did not hide his satisfaction that scientists of other countries came in some controversial problems of Slavic studies to the very point that he justified in his scientific grammar¹³.

In addition to L. Lutsiv, we can also speak about K. Chekhovych, G. Luzhnytsky, M. Gnatyshak, K. Vagylevych, and O. Olzhych as some of the famous students of S. Smal-Stotsky of the Prague period. Ulas Samchuk recalled, "...our Mighty monumental rustic Prince at the Department of Prague University Stepan Smal-Stotsky is in his own way a poet, linguist, scientist, ambassador and Professor, my good fatherly friend, teacher and a benefactor..."¹⁴.

In addition to the UFU, S. Smal-Stotsky had taught Ukrainian for several years at the Czech High School of Trade (*Vysoká škola obchodní*)¹⁵ popularizing Ukrainian culture.

Being a socially active person, S. Smal-Stotsky took an active part in the work of many Ukrainian public organizations in Czechoslovakia. In particular, he was elected a full member of the Ukrainian History and Philology Society in Prague in 1923, the following year he became a founding member of the Ukrainian National Academic Committee, he was elected an honorary member of the Prosvita Society in Lviv in 1925, and in 1929, he became a full member of the respected Czech Scientific Institution – the Slavic Institute in Prague.

In the mid-1920s. S. Smal-Stotsky became one of those who initiated the convocation of the 1st Ukrainian Scientific Congress in Prague. At this Congress, which was held in 1926, he headed the linguistic section, spoke a lot, and took a lively part in discussions. In 1931, the Academic Committee decided to hold the 2nd Ukrainian Congress. S. Smal-Stotsky was elected a Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Congress¹⁶. A lot of preparatory work was carried out under his leadership. The forum's charter, rules of procedure and program of meetings were drawn up and printed, invitations were sent out to individuals and institutions, funding issues were resolved, reports on Congress issues and the progress of preparations were published. A total of 14 meetings of the Organizational Committee were held during 1931 – early 1932.

13 Lutsiv L. Spohady pro akademika S. Smal-Stotskoho (Memoirs about Academician S. Smal-Stotsky). *Zapysky Naukovoh tovarystva im. T. Shevchenka*. 1960. T. 172. s. 20.

14 Samchuk U. Na bilomu koni (On a White Horse). *Dnipro*. 1993. № 2–3. s. 99.

15 Smal-Stotsky S. Deshcho pro sebe samoho (Something about Myself). *Tsentrálny derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny u Lvovi* (TSDIAU u Lvovi) Fond 348. Opys 1. sprava 779. Arkush 86.

16 *Druhyy Ukrayinskyy naukovyy zyzhd u Prazi*. (1934) Praha, s. 4.

On March 20, 1932, the grand opening of the Congress took place, which was attended by more than 100 scientists from Berlin, Warsaw, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Krakow, Halle and other cities. This representative forum summed up the results of ten years of scientific work of the Ukrainian emigration and showed how much had been done, especially in the field of Ukrainian Studies. S. Smal-Stotsky, as chairman of the Congress Presidium, said at its closing, "In the sweet feelings of a good deed done, we can now calmly, with the greatest satisfaction, disperse and rejoice that each of us was a participant of the great, even historic event for the Ukrainian science"¹⁷.

Another event to which S. Smal-Stotsky dedicated a lot of efforts in emigration was the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine Society. It was established on May 25, 1925, in Prague. S. Smal-Stotsky was a founding member of the society, and headed it in 1935. The museum was tasked with collecting and preserving written documents, eyewitness accounts, film and photographic materials, works of art, material memos about the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, the struggle for statehood, and the formation of national consciousness. The 2nd Ukrainian Scientific Congress in Prague in a separate resolution confirmed that it had recognized the significant role of the museum, which should be the Central Museum and archival institution abroad¹⁸.

S. Smal-Stotsky made considerable efforts to organize a fundraiser for the purchase of a separate building for the museum. These efforts were successfully completed in 1938. For the needs of the Museum, the scientist donated most of his library (about 3 thousand volumes), many documents from his personal archive – letters, certificates of honorary membership, manuscripts of scientific articles, copies of historical documents, and so on.

Research Activities

S. Smal-Stotsky significantly intensified his research activities after the termination of his diplomatic ones. In Prague, he continued to deal with the issues that he had developed in the pre-war period. He actively collaborated with many scientific journals and, in particular, with one of the most authoritative journals in the field of Slavic Studies – *Slavia*, where he published a number of articles and reviews¹⁹.

17 Ibid. S. 121.

18 *Visty Muzeju Vyzvolnoyi Borotby Ukrayiny*. (1934). Praha, 1934. CH. 4. s. 7.

19 Stefan Smal Stockyj. Ukrajinska Academie Ved v Kijeve. *Slavia*. 1922. Ses. 2/3. s. 194; St. Smal-Stotskyy Diyalektolohichna klasyfikatsiya ukrayinskykh hovoriv Vs. Hantsova (Dialectological Classification of Ukrainian Dialects by V. Gantsov). *Slavia*. 1924. Ses. 3. s. 462–470,

His linguistic studies of that time were primarily dedicated to the issues of the origin of the Ukrainian language and the struggle with the theory of proto-Slavic (proto-Russian language), that is, the theory of the existence of a hypothetical unified language of the eastern Slavs, allegedly formed after the collapse of the proto-Slavic language, and later broke up into three languages: Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian. He devoted a number of works to this issue, which usually caused heated discussions. In particular, in the work *Development of Views on the Family of Slavic Languages and Their Mutual Kinship*, published in 1925 (second edition, significantly expanded – in 1927)²⁰ he presented a thorough review of the history of research on the kinship of Slavic languages, the development of some of them, analyzing the achievements in this research of I. Dobrovsky, P. Shafaryk, O. Shakhmatov, V. Yagich and other recent publications at that time. S. Smal-Stotsky showed the complexity of this issue and once again stressed that the idea of O. Shakhmatova on the proto-Russian language was an artificial construction, the number of arguments in favor of which decreased with the development of comparative Slavic philology. A kind of testament of the academician was his last article on this topic *On the Issue of the East Slavic Proto-Language*, where he once again stressed his conviction that he had been right and stated, “There had never been any ‘proto-Russian language’, and all living Slavic languages, and Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian between them, developed directly from the dialects of the proto-Slavic language”²¹.

While in emigration, S. Smal-Stotsky actively participated in the spelling polemics related to the development of a new spelling in Soviet Ukraine, which was supposed to become uniform for all Ukrainian lands. For the State Spelling Commission, he sent a detailed abstract, published several articles, in particular in the *Literaturno-Pravovyi Visnyk* (Literature and Scientific Bulletin), *Ukraina(Ukraine)*²². Most of all at that time he argued with academician A. Krymskyi, accusing the latter of

695–706.; S. Smal-Stotsky. Naukovyy zbirnyk Kharkivskoyi naukovo-doslidchoyi katedry istoriyi Ukrayiny (Kharkiv, 1924). *Slavia*. 1926. Ses. 1. s. 196–197; Stepan Smal Stotsky. Polyiski mishani hovory i polyiski dyftonhy (Polesia Mixed Dialects and Polesia Diphthongs). *Slavia*. 1927. Ses. 1. s. 28–39.; 197.; Stepan Smal-Stotsky. «M'yahki» i «tverdi» holosivky ('Soft' and 'Hard' Vowels). *Slavia*. 1929. Ses. 4. s. 825–836.

20 Smal-Stotsky S. (1927). *Rozvytok pohlyadiv na semyu slovyanskyx mov i yix vzayemne sporidnennya* (Development of Views on the Family of Slavic Languages and Their Mutual Kinship). Praha. (*Druhe vydannya, pereroblene i dopovnene*).

21 Smal-Stotsky S. Pytannya pro skhidnoslovyansku pramovu (On the Issue of the East Slavic Proto-Language). *Zapysky Naukovoh Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*. Lviv, 1937. T. 155. s. 5.

22 Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Literaturno naukovyy visnyk*. Lviv, 1926. Kn. 7–8. s. 312–321; Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Ukrayina*. Kyiv, 1926. Kn. 4. s. 180–191.; Uvahy do proektu ukrayinskoho pravopysu (Attention on the Ukrainian Spelling Project). *Ukrayina*. Kyiv, 1927. Kn. 1–2. s. 230–239.

supporting Russification tendencies in spelling. He strongly insisted on separating spelling matters from what belongs to grammar, and, most importantly, he noted, “who depends on the fact that the Ukrainian literary language gets its true, fully corresponding to the Ukrainian spelling, he must first make every effort to free the Ukrainian spelling from the inappropriate habits entered from other spellings, foreign to the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian language, having received the right of statehood and complete freedom of development, cannot continue to be shown in the world ‘in a patched caftan.’ It must finally dress up in its native, beautiful, well-sewn and well-fitting clothes”²³.

And yet, S. Smal-Stotsky was engaged in research on the creative work of T. Shevchenko that was the greatest pleasure at that time for him. S. Smal-Stotsky was rightly considered one of the best experts on this subject among scientists in emigration. He regularly spoke at the holidays dedicated to the anniversary of Taras Shevchenko, and as a rule, his reports opened solemn meetings. These speeches invariably aroused great interest of all those present. One of the eyewitnesses, Z. Mirna, left a mention of such speeches in the 1920s: “...prof. S. Smal-Stotsky made a report on the topic: *Shevchenko is a Singer of Independent Ukraine*. His report made a huge impression on the audience both with the content of the abstract and with an extraordinary ability to read expressively. But no less impressive was his imposing figure, the embodiment of great strength and the noble spirit that surrounded his face like a halo. This abstract was such a success that it was immediately published as a separate booklet, which was usually then given to those present at the Shevchenko holidays”²⁴.

In Prague, S. Smal-Stotsky, as during the pre-war period, conducted research on Shevchenko studies in two directions. First, it was the interpretation of individual works. He published some articles on Shevchenko’s works *Velykyi Liokh* (Big Cellar), *Chyhyryn, Shevchenkove Poslaniye* (Shevchenko’s Message), *Varnak, Yakby Vy Znaly, Panychi* (If You Knew, Lords), *Dumy* (Thoughts), *Son* (Dream) and others. For an in-depth interpretation of Kobzar’s works, he thoroughly researched the text itself, analyzing the meaning of words, expressions, sentences, identifying thoughts that the poet embodied in images, descriptions and symbols. In addition, a comparison of the analyzed work with other ones written on the same topic or at the same time was used. Much attention was paid to the genesis and history of writing individual works.

23 Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Literaturno-naukovyy visnyk*. 1926. Kn. 7–8. s. 315.

24 Mirna Z. Spomyn pro bl. p. S.Smal-Stotskoho (Memories of Pious Mr. S. Smal-Stotsky). *Zhinocha dolya*. 1938. №. 20. s. 12.

In the interpretation of S. Smal-Stotsky, T. Shevchenko was a statesman who called for a selfless struggle for free, politically and culturally independent Ukraine, where every citizen would have an equal right ("without a bond slave and a master").

Shevchenko was a patriot and he did not shadow Shevchenko – a great creator, artist of the word, artist in the broadest sense of the word, for Smal-Stotsky. S. Smal-Stotsky never stopped paying attention to the artistic values of Shevchenko's works, the beauty of poetic images, the power of words, and the composition of works.

The second direction was the study of the rhythm of Shevchenko's works, an attempt to trace the folk roots in his poetry, to reveal the relationship between the rhythm of Kobzar's poems with folk songs and oral folk art.

S. Smal-Stotsky studied the works of T. Shevchenko until the last years of his life. In 1934, he published his best articles in a separate book under the title *T. Shevchenko, Interpretations*²⁵. However, even after that, hard work continued. The last article in this great series was published after the author's death in 1939.²⁶ It was dedicated to some of T. Shevchenko's end-of-life poems and was marked by the depth of analysis, the richness of thoughts, thus, it was an excellent result of great work over several decades.

Among the historical issues in the 1920 s, S. Smal-Stotsky was most interested in the ancient times in the history of Ukraine, the formation of Ukrainians as a separate people. Undoubtedly, this historical topic was close to him due to his philological search and struggle against the concept of the "proto-Russian" language. In 1928, in the Ukraine magazine under the title *Eastern Slavs*, he published a lengthy review of the work of the outstanding Czech historian L. Niederle *Slavic Antiquities. Origins and Beginnings of the Eastern Slavs*²⁷.

S. Smal-Stotsky highly appreciated this book, noting its thoroughness and richness of the sources used. At the same time, he strongly objected to certain provisions of L. Niederle. First of all, he focused on the issue of the territory of the oldest residence of Slavic tribes and defended the point of view that the Slavs were still in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD lived as one people between the Vistula River in the west and the Dnipro River in the east, bordered by Finnish tribes in the north, and

25 Smal-Stotsky S. (1934). T. Shevchenko, interpretatsiyi (T. Shevchenko, Interpretations). Varshava.

26 Smal-Stotsky S. Ostanniy rik Shevchenkovoyi poetychnoyi tvorchoosti (The Last Year of Shevchenko's Poetic Creative Work). *Pratsi Ukrayinskoho Istoryko-Filolohichnoho tovarystva u Prazi*. Praha. 1939. T. 2. s. 1–11.

27 *Sxidni slovyany* (z pryvodu knyzhky «L. Niederle Slovanské starožitnosti. Původ a počátky Slovanů východních. Oddíl. Svazek IV. V Praze 1924») (Eastern Slavs (on the book "L. Niederle Slovanské starožitnosti"). Ukrajina. Kyiv, 1928. Kn. 3. s. 3–23.

reached the Dnister and Prut rivers in the south. He especially sharply objected to some 'centers', 'cradles' of the settlement of western, southern and eastern Slavs²⁸.

S. Smal-Stotsky concluded that the idea of settlement centers of the Slavs had its root in the unifying ideology of the 19th and 20th centuries and was not supported by anything. Here, he once again stressed that the 'proto-Russian' language as an expression of such unity also did not exist.

In the autumn of 1930, initiated by S. Smal-Stotsky, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague held a large discussion about M. Korduba's article *The Most Important Moment in the History of Ukraine*, placed in the book of the 6th Literature and Scientific Bulletin for the same year. The Society met twice on this issue: on November 11 and 18, 1930. S. Smal-Stotsky was the main speaker. He sharply criticized the position of M. Korduba, who in his article defended the thesis that Kyivan Rus was an 'all-Russian' state, that in this state there was a process of uniting all the eastern Slavs into one cultural and national integrity, that is, into one 'all-Russian' nation according to M. Korduba. He was convinced that the Ukrainian nation began to form only in the 14th century as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. S. Smal-Stotsky consistently defended the thesis that a separate Ukrainian people lived in Kyivan Rus, and this state was Ukrainian, and the Great Russian nation was formed later – in the 13th–14th centuries from a mixture of Slavic and Finnish elements²⁹.

Doctors of sciences and professors S. Narizhnyi, P. Fedenko, K. Chekhov, M. Slavinskyi, S. Sheliukhin, V. Simovych and V. Shcherbakivskyi also took part in the discussion. Most of the speakers supported the position of S. Smal-Stotsky and supplemented it with significant arguments. The report on this discussion, by the resolution of the General Meeting of the Society, was published lithographically in a separate booklet under the title *Where the Russian Land Came from*³⁰. That publication, as well as the discussion itself, caused a wide response in the literature and even discussion in the media. Only during 1930 and early 1931, 21 publications appeared in magazines and newspapers in Lviv, Przemysl, and Prague. Famous Ukrainian historian O. Pritsak recalled that back in 1937, the discussion continued in the Lviv media. Regarding the essence of the discussion itself, he wrote, "Unfortunately, the discussion was held in the style of dogmatic disputes, without clarifying the common denominator (presentation of the definition of a nation) and

28 Ibid., p. 21.

29 Smal-Stotsky S. Nayvazhlyvishyy moment v istoriyi Ukrayiny (The Most Important Moment in the History of Ukraine). *Literaturno-naukovyy visnyk*. 1931. Kn. 9. s. 797.

30 *Richne spravozdannya Ukrayinskoho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva u Prazi*. (1931). Praha, s. 6–8.

it did not convince prof. Korduba that his thesis was false³¹. Indeed, the debating parties could not come to any common point of view under such conditions. But the discussion of this issue was certainly productive because it attracted the attention of a wide range of scientists and all those who were not indifferent to the history of the Ukrainian people origin.

The linguistic, literary and historical works of S. Smal-Stotsky of the emigration period undoubtedly became the pinnacle of his scientific work, showed his academic integrity and desire for a comprehensive study of the issues that were researched.

Conclusion

Thus, the emigration period of S. Smal-Stotsky's life was extremely fruitful and active. At that time, he continued many things that he had begun to do in the pre-war period. But there were also many new things. He was involved into diplomatic activities for the first time. In the difficult conditions of post-war Europe, he represented the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in Prague and, we can say with confidence, he coped with that task in the best possible way. He managed to do a lot to popularize the Ukrainian issue. The Czechoslovak community took his efforts kindly and supported many of his initiatives.

S. Smal-Stotsky continued his teaching career at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. It had always been very important for every university professor that what they taught found its followers in order to develop students who would continue the teacher's work. And from this point of view, the work of S. Smal-Stotsky was not in vain. He could be proud of many of his students who were engaged in linguistics, studied the works of T. Shevchenko, did other research work, worked at higher educational institutions in many countries of Europe and North America.

Scientific research activities were characterized by consistency and thoroughness at that time. He did a lot to debunk the theory of the existence of the proto-East Slavic language, popularized the Ukrainian language through the publication of textbooks, and actively fought against Russification trends in Ukrainian spelling.

The pinnacle of his scientific work was the publication of research on the work of T. Shevchenko and the publication of the book – *T. Shevchenko. Interpretations*.

He became a kind of Living Legend of the Ukrainian national movement in emigration. Young generations were brought up on his dedication to Ukraine and the national idea. But even there, already in respectable age, he did everything he

31 Pritsak O. (1991). *Istoriiosofiya ta istoriohrafiiya Mykhayla Hrushevskoho* (Historiosophy and Historiography of Mykhailo Hrushevsky). Kyiv–Kembriđzh. s. 70.

could for the good of his Motherland, without stopping social activities, until the last days without ceasing to believe in a better future for his people.

S. Smal-Stotsky died on August 17, 1938, in Prague. According to his will, he was buried near his wife in Krakow.