

UDC 94(477)(092)“1930”  
DOI 10.24919/2519-058x.13.190761

**Vladislav BOYECHKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Professor of the department of Ukraine history Cherkasy National University named after Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, 81 Shevchenko's boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18035 (osbb53@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:**<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5575-5775>

**ResearcherID:**B-8440-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-8440-2019>)

**Tetiana CHEKHOVYCH**

*PhD (Law), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of Constitutional Law Department, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01601 (femida\_knu@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:**<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9821-4127>

**Владислав БОЄЧКО**

*доктор історичних наук, доцент, професор кафедри історії України Черкаського національного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького, бульвар Шевченка, 81, Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18035 (osbb53@ukr.net)*

**Тетяна ЧЕХОВИЧ**

*кандидат юридичних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри конституційного права Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, вул. Володимирська, 60, Київ, Україна, індекс 01601 (femida\_knu@ukr.net)*

**Бібліографічний опис статті:** Boyechko, V. & Chekhovych, T. Lawyer's and public activity of Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 13, 158–167. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.13.190761

## LAWYER'S AND PUBLIC ACTIVITY OF KOST PANKIVSKYI IN THE 1930-ies

**Abstract. The purpose of the article** is to analyze the professional and public activities of the well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies. **Research methodology** – principles of science, historicism and objectivity, biographical and prosopographic approaches to the study of life and activity of historical figures, historical-genetic and historical-typological methods, the method of internal critique of sources. **Research novelty** – for the first time in the historical biography, it has been done a study of the professional and public activity of a well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies, which later became a prominent Ukrainian public and political figure, the head of the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in exile. **The Conclusions.** Thus, since 1930, the lawyer K. Pankivskyi started his own law practice in Lviv. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. In particular, he distinguished himself as a defender of those accused of “political offenses” – participants of the UMO, OUN, KPWU, Komsomol of Western Ukraine. At the same time, K. Pankivskyi was actively involved in the work of the Chamber of lawyers and the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv. During his work, he gained a good reputation

among colleagues (including Jews and Poles) and clients and was considered one of the best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna (together with S. Shukhevych, S. Fedak, V. Starosolskyi). The prolonged legal practice in the 1930-ies created the personal and public foundation that enabled K. Pankivskyi to prove himself as a public and political figure during the difficult years of the World War II and the post-war period.

**Key words:** Kost Pankivskyi, lawyer, Lviv, Chamber of lawyers, Union of Ukrainian Lawyers.

## АДВОКАТСЬКА ТА ГРОМАДСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ КОСТЯ ПАНЬКІВСЬКОГО У 1930-х рр.

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – проаналізувати професійну та громадську діяльність відомого львівського адвоката Костя Паньківського у 1930-х рр. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, історизму та об'єктивності, біографічний та просопографічний підходи до вивчення життя та діяльності історичних особистостей, історико-генетичний та історико-типологічний методи, метод внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** – уперше в історичній біографістиці здійснено дослідження професійної та громадської діяльності відомого львівського адвоката Костя Паньківського у 1930-х рр., який згодом став відомим українським громадським і політичним діячем, головою Уряду Української Народної Республіки (УНР) в еміграції. **Висновки.** Отже, з 1930 р. правник К. Паньківський розпочав самостійну адвокатську практику у Львові. Ведені ним справи можна поділити на три категорії: 1) політичні, 2) корпоративні, 3) приватні. Особливо він відзначився як захисник обвинувачених у “політичних правопорушення” – учасників УВО, ОУН, КПЗУ, Комсомолу Західної України. Водночас К. Паньківський брав активну участь в діяльності Палати адвокатів та Союзу українських адвокатів у Львові. За час своєї праці він здобув добру репутацію серед колег (у тому числі і євреїв та поляків) та клієнтів і вважався одним із найкращих українських адвокатів Східної Галичини (разом з С. Шухевичем, С. Федаком, В. Старосольським). Тривала адвокатська практика у 1930-х рр. втворила той особистісний і громадський фундамент, який дав змогу К. Паньківському проявити себе як громадського і політичного діяча у важкі роки Другої світової війни та післявоєнний час.

**Ключові слова:** Кость Паньківський, адвокат, Львів, Палата адвокатів, Союз українських адвокатів.

**The Problem Statement.** The issues of personification of history, the study of the life path, activities and creative heritage of prominent figures have become one of the important tasks of modern historical science. The attention of scientists is attracted, first of all, by the names of those Ukrainian figures whose activities contributed to the social development of the Ukrainian people. These figures included a lawyer Kost Pankivskyi. He was an active participant in the Ukrainian student movement in Prague, a defender of members of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at politically motivated trials organized by the Polish authorities, a prominent figure of the Ukrainian Central Committee, Head of the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in exile. Unfortunately, there is virtually no research in modern historical science that would cover his life and activities. Therefore, the need to conduct a scientific study of K. Pankivskyi's professional and public-political activity, particularly in the 1930-ies, is noticeable.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** The chronological first work concerning Kost Pankivskyi was a book by a diaspora researcher Illia Vytanovych, which was devoted to his father, Kost Fedorovych Pankivskyi (Vytanovych, 1954). For the most part, we find a nonfiction description of the Pankivskyi family, a patriotic atmosphere that dominated in the family. Since K. Pankivskyi's life and work were closely linked to the Ukrainian

Central Committee (1940 – 1945), we also find some information about him in studies that dealt with World War II and Nazi occupation. Among them, the work of Volodymyr Kubiiovych, “I am 85” (Kubiiovych, 2000), which characterizes K. Pankivskyi as a person, is of great importance. We will not touch upon those papers that covered the work of K. Pankivskyi during the Nazi occupation and the post-war years, given that they had little relevance to his advocacy activity during the interwar period. Much richer is the historiography of the activity of the Lviv Bar during the interwar period. As early as 1928 and 1938, the publication of a lawyer, Roman Dombchevskyi, appeared, analyzing the organizational activity of Ukrainian lawyers in the 1920s and 1930s (Dombchevskyi, 1928; Dombchevskyi, 1938). Subsequently, this issue was explored by M. Petriv (Petriv, 1998; Petriv, 2002; Petriv, 2014), I. Hlovatskyi (Hlovatskyi, 2003; Hlovatskyi, 2004; Hlovatskyi, 2012), A. Boichuk (Boichuk, 2012), I. Vasylyk (Vasylyk, 2012), N. Mysak (Mysak, 2012), T. Andrusiak (Andrusiak, 2013), O. Arkusha (Arkusha, 2013), O. Lazurko (Lazurko, 2014), S. Kobuta (Kobuta, 2016) etc.

We should note that three books of K. Pankivskyi’s memoirs: “From the State to the Committee”, “Years of German Occupation”, “From the Committee to the State Center” (Pankivskyi, 1957; Pankivskyi, 1965; Pankivskyi, 1970) are an important source for us. V. Kubiiovych, agreeing with the opinion of Ivan Kedryn, considered the memoirs of Kost Pankivskyi as one of the best works of Ukrainian memoirs (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 151). In addition, while emigrating, K. Pankivskyi published several small memoirs covering the work of Ukrainian lawyers in Lviv in the 1930s (Pankivskyi, 1955; Pankivskyi, 1963; Pankivskyi, 1978).

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the professional and public activities of the well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies.

**The Statement of the Basic Material.** Kost (Kostiantyn) Pankivskyi was born on 6 December 1897 in Lviv, in the family of well-known Ukrainian public and political figure Kost Fedorovych Pankivskyi and teacher Yosypa Fedak. Prominent representatives of his family were his brother Stepan Pankivskyi – Sich shooter and a hero of the November Order, his cousin Stepan Fedak – a member of the UMO, executor of the certificate for Pilsudskyi in Lviv (1921), his uncles Fedir Pankivskyi – Colonel of the Army of the UNR and participant of the First Winter Campaign, Oleksandr Pankivskyi – an employee of the Ministry of Military Affairs of the UNR, Severyn Pankivskyi – a famous Ukrainian actor, Stepan Fedak – a member of the ZUNR government, later a well-known Lviv lawyer (Vytanovych, 1954).

K. Pankivskyi studied at home, then at one of Lviv’s public schools, educational institute of St. Mykola, which was headed by his father, later at the branch of the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv. From 1911 he became a member of Plast. In 1915 – 1918 he served in the Austrian army, fought on the fronts of the First World War. He then studied law in Vienna and at the Faculty of Law at Charles University in Prague (1920 – 1924). He was an active participant in the Ukrainian student life and headed the student organization “Ukrainian Gradual Youth Group”. He studied under the guidance of the famous Ukrainian scholar-lawyer S. Dnistrianskyi. In 1924 he received his law degree and soon returned to Lviv (Poizdnyk, 2011, p. 54; Pankivskyi, 1965, pp. 134–135).

In Lviv, K. Pankivskyi worked for several years as an assistant to his uncle, lawyer Stepan Fedak, who headed the Committee for Assistance to Political Prisoners (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 136). Even then, he witnessed lawsuits by the Polish authorities over Ukrainian nationalists who fought for the revival of Ukrainian statehood. Subsequently, K. Pankivskyi was an assistant to the well-known lawyer Volodymyr Starosolskyi, who often had to defend

Ukrainians – members of underground organizations. Since 1930 he started legal activity as an independent lawyer (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 136). His office was located on ul. 26 Charnetskyi Street (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 23).

Therefore, in the 1930s, the development of K. Pankivskyi's legal activity occurred. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. It was at this time that he had to defend in courts the persons accused of anti-state activity, members of the Organizations of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. The trials against members of the OUN were especially remembered by K. Pankivskyi, who did not tolerate nationalist ideology. No wonder V. Kubiiovych, who worked closely with K. Pankivskyi within the framework of the Ukrainian Central Committee (1941 – 1945), called him a “liberal” (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 148). K. Pankivskyi himself asserted that he always tried to take a neutral position between the socialists and the nationalists. While being a student in Prague, he became familiar with socialist and nationalist ideas and groups. “I did not attach to either group, but stood in the middle with a slight deviation to the left, although organizationally I was never a socialist,” he later recalled (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 134). In Prague, K. Pankivskyi was staying with his relative, a convinced Social Democrat lawyer Dr. Roman Dombchevskyi, who had worked for the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Czechoslovakia. He introduced K. Pankivskyi to the secretary of the mission, Olgerd Ipolyt Bochkovskyi, also a Social Democrat. Under the influence of these two personalities, the outlook of a future lawyer was formed. R. Dombchevskyi and O. I. Bochkovskyi were supporters of political ideology and struggle, which would be based on moral grounds, and therefore rejected terror and violence as a means of struggle. At the same time, being committed to the ideas of socialism, they had a deep sense of the national idea, and therefore strongly opposed Bolshevism and fascism. The views of these two intellectuals certainly influenced K. Pankivskyi. He recalled: “I learned to appreciate the ideas they lived on. They are largely indebted to the consolidation of my socio-political worldview, and in particular the conviction throughout my life that the powerful values of liberal democracy are far more worthwhile than the brutality of totalitarian tyranny, whether by the Bolsheviks or nationalists. Regardless of their influence on me, I always had my own opinion on things. I understood that political life and political action are guided not only by cold reason and logic, but largely by feelings and emotions, and often by intuition. In our discussions, we already stated at that time that we, as a nation, are prone to day-dreaming, symbols that are an expression of the irrational page of our national psychology. So while I was critical of our nationalism in its beginnings and overcome its manifestations, which seemed to me unhealthy and harmful, yet I had an understanding and at least tried to understand the motives of those effective manifestations” (Pankivskyi, 1965, pp. 134–35).

Therefore, K. Pankivskyi's attitude towards the radical activities of the Ukrainian nationalists was largely offensive. Noting their positive role in the fight against Soviet philosophy and in raising the national spirit, he also noted the negative aspects of their activities, referring primarily to the terror that targeted not only the representatives of the Polish authorities, but also those Ukrainians who sought understanding with the Polish authorities. He was particularly struck by the OUN's killings of two OUN members in the spring of 1935 – students Mariia Kovaliuk and Volodymyr Melnyk. Moreover, the killing of the latter took place not far from K. Pankivskyi's apartment on Charnetskyi Street in Lviv, so the lawyer saw this assassination with his own eyes (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 141).

Despite his political views, he took a professional approach to the protection of arrested OUN members. As early as 1932, K. Pankivskyi was involved as one of the lawyers in the

defense of members of the Ukrainian military organization M. Mostenchuk and B. Pashkevych (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 13, p. 1–6). In December 1932, K. Pankivskiy, together with Stepan Shukhevych, defended the OUN fighter Dmytro Danylyshyn in court. It is known that, together with D. Danylyn, other members of the OUN appeared on the dock: V. Bilas, M. Zhurakivskiy, and Z. Kossak. V. Bilas's lawyers were V. Starosolskiy and M. Maritchak, Z. Kossak's lawyer – M. Hlushkevych, M. Zhurakivskiy's – L. Hankevych. In the Polish judiciary in 1931 – 1934 there was the practice of so-called “arrogant”, that is, fast courts – if the criminals were caught rapidly and there was no doubt in their guilt. They were carried out without investigation, and sentenced within a month after the crime. The lawyers who defended the OUN fighters in December 1932 could not deny their client's involvement in the attack on the Horodok post office (prosecutors had unquestionable evidence), so they set out to at least move the case from brazen to ordinary court and thus save the boys from the death penalty. However, these attempts proved unsuccessful; D. Danylyshyn, V. Bilas, M. Zhurakivskiy were sentenced to death penalty (the latter of which was later pardoned by the President of Poland, Ignacy Moscicki) (Posivnych, 2017, pp. 120–121).

Next time K. Pankivskiy had to become a member defender of the OUN on the well-known “Lviv trial” in 1936. This trial was a continuation of the “Warsaw trial” (1935) over members of the OUN Regional Executive S. Bandera, R. Shukhevych and others who were accused of murdering Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Peratsky (1934). In court in Lviv, K. Pankivskiy defended Yaroslav Makarushka and Oleksandr Pashkevych. It was there that he met Yaroslav Stetsko, who later – in early July 1941 – when organizing the Ukrainian government, invited K. Pankivskiy to become Deputy Minister of the Interior (Pankivskiy, 1970, p. 44). In total, the Ounists were defended by 12 best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna at the “Lviv trial”.

The same year, a group of OUN members (Dmytro Pelyp, Mykhailo Bohush, Teodor Chorny, Danylo Feleshchak) was convicted, who operated in the village of Gole Ravske of Rava-Ruska County. They received different sentences. In particular, T. Chorny was sentenced to 3 years in prison. While serving his sentence, he fell ill and asked the court to give him a break from serving his sentence for treatment. It was K. Pankivskiy who dealt with this case in the summer of 1938 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 8, p. 1–9 v.). Since 1936, K. Pankivskiy has been involved in the case of Ya. Rak, who was prosecuted for belonging to the OUN (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, C. 9, pp. 1–12). In 1937, the lawyer participated in the defense of OUN members V. Gotts, V. Zeleniy and D. Mark, who were charged with anti-state activity in the Lviv District Court (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, C. 11, pp. 1–10).

In the summer of 1939, K. Pankivskiy again took up the defense of OUN members. This time, in Lviv City Court he represented an appeal against the case of convicted in Chortkiv, students of the Ukrainian Gymnasium of the “Ridna Shkola” Society of Ivan Zapotochniy and Stepan Vorokh, who were accused of involvement in the OUN. These high school students were detained on 12 – 13 May 1939 by Polish police and, after searches, found their nationalist literature: the OUN Decalogue, “12 Principles of the Ukrainian Nationalist”, and a part of “Resolutions of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists” (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 1–3 v.). On 24 July 1939, the court of Chortkiv sentenced them to a year and a half of imprisonment. Instead, another high school student, Mykola Zubyk, who also had illegal literature, was acquitted by the court (CSHAUL, f. 374, p. 1, c. 9, p. 6–8). Stepan Vorokh's lawyer, Volodymyr Elektorovych appealed to K. Pankivskiy to file an appeal in Lviv city court. The main grounds for appeal were the following aspects: 1) S. Vorokh's affiliation to

the OUN was not proved; 2) only “12 foundations of the Ukrainian nationalist” were found in S. Vorokh’s apartment, which, according to his confession, he received from an unknown person and copied through a tracing paper (for this he was justly found guilty under Article 154 Part 2 of the Criminal Code and sentenced to 8 months); 3) S. Vorokh strongly denied his affiliation with the OUN both during the investigation and during the trial; 4) police witnesses that they had confidential information that there was an organized OUN group among the students of the 4th grade of the gymnasium of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society “Ridna Shkola” in Chortkiv, but they could not prove that it belonged to S. Vorokh and I. Zapotochnyi; 5) the court in Chortkiv, based solely on the fact that S. Vorokh had illegal literature, concluded that the defendant was a member of the OUN as a valid member. But the third accused, Mykola Zubyk, had also illegal literature, but he was released from custody; 6) it should be borne in mind that he was a young man (17 years old) and has not yet been punished, and had kept and copied illegal literature rather out of his awareness of punitive consequences. Therefore, K. Pankivskyi had to seek a suspended sentence (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 16–17). The case review of S. Vorokh was due to take place on 22 September 1939 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, p. 18–18 v.), but it was at that time that the German-Polish war was in full swing, so K. Pankivskyi most likely was not able to do this.

In addition, K. Pankivskyi often had to appear in courts of varying degrees as a lawyer for persons accused of belonging to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU). In 1931, Polish police arrested several dozen members of the Komsomol of Western Ukraine and the Communist Party. At the great trial in Lviv, K. Pankivskyi defended Communist writer Volodymyr Shaian (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 67; CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 1–40). By the way, in the process K. Pankivskyi met a well-known Jewish lawyer, Dr. Leib Landau, whom he described as “a person of high personal culture, a prominent lawyer and a brilliant speaker”. Subsequently, during the Nazi occupation, L. Landau, who was called “The Great Leib” by Lviv lawyers, headed Judenrat in Lviv and often collaborated with K. Pankivskyi, head of the Ukrainian Regional Committee (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 67).

From January to November 1932, K. Pankivskyi was one of the lawyers who defended 46 members of the CPWU (a group led by Demian Polekh and Leonid Tsymbaliuk). In particular, his client was Serhii Voloshyniuk. The accused communists acted in the Kremenets and Gorokhiv districts of the Volyn Voivodeship (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 1–2). They were accused of having joined the CPWU and being its members from 1925 up to the time of arrest on the territory of Gorokhiv, Lutsk and Kremenets counties, collecting their weapons and ammunition reserves, electing to dismantle the Constitution established by the Constitution by way of rebellion, to detach Volyn from Poland (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 2–3). It is important that S. Pankivskyi’s client S. Voloshaniuk did not admit to belonging to the CPWU. From 1928 he was a member and later head of the county committee of the Selrob-Unity party in Gorokhiv. In the autumn of 1929, one of the leading members of the CPWU, Volodymyr Zhyhailo, invited him to join the CPWU, but S. Voloshaniuk disagreed (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, p. 46).

On 23 November 1936, the case of 15 people accused of belonging to communist organizations began in the Lviv District Court. Four defendants (Mykhailo Smut, Ivan Bzdel, Dmytro Mot, Andrii Stroivas) were defended by K. Pankivskyi. His wards were charged under Article 97 § 1 of the Criminal Code of Poland (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 4, p. 1). They were arrested in December 1935, living in the villages of Verkhvat and Mryhlody (Rava-Ruska County). Ivan Bzdel had a pseudo “Red”, and A. Stroivas – “Galatsis”. They were accused

of the belonging to the Communist Union of Youth of Western Ukraine (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 1 v–2 v.). In general, they were accused of communist agitation, secret meetings, the spread of illegal literature, propaganda of communism, and holding rallies.

Quite often K. Pankivskyi was engaged in protection of business rights of corporate clients. As early as 1930, he brought the case of the “Dobrobut” Co-operative against the community of the city of Gorokhiv regarding the terms of the contract between them (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 2). In 1938, K. Pankivskyi represented the interests of the Ukrainian Society for Assistance to the Disabled (USAD) (chairman – Semen Ukrainets), who pleaded with Earl Oleksandr Zalesskyi. The latter rented an apartment from the society on 48 Pototskyi Street in Lviv. The agreement between them was made on 1 November 1932 and the tenant had to pay 250 PLN monthly (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 12–13). However, over time, he owed a considerable amount. K. Pankivskyi developed a draft agreement between USAD and the debtor, according to which A. Zalesskyi had to pay the company 700 PLN, but with monthly installments (100 PLN each), starting from April 1938 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1 c. 28, pp. 5–7).

K. Pankivskyi represented the interests of the Ukrainian Cooperative Bank, headed by S. Fedak in debt cases. As of 2 February 1938, there were 63 such cases (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 25). In August 1937, the “Social Craft” Co-operative (Lviv) granted K. Pankivskyi the power to represent it in all cases of procedural, execution, and indisputable matters, which he would pursue in the courts and authorities as plaintiff and defendant. In November 1937, K. Pankivskyi was granted the same authority by the Women’s Industrial Union “Trud” (a cooperative with limited liability) in Lviv (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 4–5).

The lawyer had to lead the legal affairs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Thus, he was engaged in a contract of employment between the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Chapter in Lviv on the one hand, and the entrepreneurs Joseph Eck and David Stein on the other one. The Chapter leased an area of tree on two parcels of soil on Gorodotskyi Street. The contract was concluded on one year dated 1 July 1927. For rent, entrepreneurs had to pay \$ 200 per year in two installments – 1 July and 1 October 1927 (CSHAUL, f. 374, p. 1, c. 18, pp. 14–15 v.). Unfortunately, given the lack of documentary sources, the periphery of this case remains unknown.

At the same time, K. Pankivskyi conducted many private cases. Thus, he was a lawyer in the business case of Petro Maksymovych (August 1933) (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 4). In April 1934, in Lviv City Court, K. Pankivskyi acted as defendant’s representative of Abraham Gotholz, who was in Belgium at that time. He was sued by the community of Lviv for not paying the rent quota of 903 PLN 30 gr. K. Pankivskyi managed to defend the interests of his client and agreed to pay the quota only in the amount of 400 PLN (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 8). In May 1937 he brought the case of Stefania Terletska against Hryhorii Terletskyi on the failure to pay alimony (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 9). In October of that year, K. Pankivskyi represented in court the interests of Strezhakova in the completion of her house (roof and chimneys) by builders who, due to unknown circumstances, failed to fulfill their obligations (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 23). He later defended the well-known politician and historian Dr. Matvii Stakhiv with his wife, who rented the apartment but refused to pay the increased rent (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 26).

K. Pankivskyi’s home archive kept numerous letters from persons known in Halychyna, including the writer Katria Hrynevycheva. In a letter dated 21 November 1937, she asked not to involve her as a witness in one of the cases (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 28, p. 1).

K. Pankivskiy was also approached by members of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS) to protect their dignity. In particular, he represented the interests of Slavic philologist Kostiantyn Chekhovych, who was allegedly insulted by a well-known church historian and teacher, Mykola Chubatyi, at one of the SSS meetings. The letter of M. Chubatyi to K. Pankivskiy of 28 December 1937 was preserved, in which the historian assured that he did not remember the expressions he had made to K. Chekhivskiy and requested that the latter be given the following: "I do not mean that I did anything offensive to Chekhovych at the SSS meeting, but if Chekhovych is offended by some of my imprudent words, so I apologize for it. I highly appreciate Mr. K. Chekhovych as a famous scholar and quick literary critic, as a man of great tact, a disciplined and compliant figure on the territory of our institutions, and in particular, as a person well deserved in the fight against the Drahomani and socialist-radical worldview. For this reason, as a Catholic, I would not knowingly offend Mr. K. Chekhovych" (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 11–11 v.). However, K. Chekhovych did not grant such an apology, so in M. Chubatyi's letter to K. Pankivskiy he assured the lawyer that he would act in accordance with the statute of SSS (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, p. 12). A letter from Natali Semaniuk from Vorokhta, a client of K. Pankivskiy, dated 23 February 1935, thanking her lawyer for his work, has been preserved (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 35, p. 6).

K. Pankivskiy's contacts with his lawyer colleagues in Halychyna were extensive. It should be noted that K. Pankivskiy was a member of the non-governmental organization "Union of Ukrainian Lawyers" (UUL). This professional law organization was established in May 1923 in Lviv on the initiative of S. Fedak, V. Okhrymovych, Ya. Olesnytskyi, L. Hankevych and other well-known lawyers. For the first time it was headed by S. Fedak (Petriv, 2002, p. 101). In 1932, K. Pankivskiy, along with other well-known Ukrainian lawyers, became a member of the Board of Directors of the UUL (Petriv, 2002, p. 102). Later, he acted as the cashier of this organization, monitored the revenues, expenses, kept the relevant documentation. Dozens of checks, bills, receipts and other financial documents of the UUL for 1934 – 1939 were stored in his home archive (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 21, pp. 1–55). The UUL published the journal "Life and Law", in which K. Pankivskiy published an article in 1938 on the responsibilities of the UUL members (Pankivskiy, 1938).

K. Pankivskiy was a member of the Chamber of lawyers in Lviv. This organization operated on the basis of self-government. However, after the change in legislation in 1935, its powers were limited. Thus, the composition of the lawyer's court has since been appointed by the Initial Bar Council in Warsaw. However, it took into account the position of the Lviv Bar. The authority of the UUL was high, so its position was taken into account in the Chamber of lawyers. Thus, in the spring of 1938, on the proposal of the UUL, the disciplinary judges of the Chamber of lawyers in Lviv were appointed L. Hankevych, O. Syvuliak and K. Pankivskiy, and V. Starosolskyi in the Initial court in Warsaw. It was during his work in the disciplinary court that K. Pankivskiy met Polish lawyer Leopold Teshnar, who headed the Polish Relief Committee in Lviv during the Nazi occupation and worked closely with K. Pankivskiy (Pankivskiy, 1965, pp. 65–66).

K. Pankivskiy was addressed by his colleagues from different counties in Eastern Halychyna with various legal issues. They were not able to file certain cases in Lviv courts, and therefore asked K. Pankivskiy to do that. Thus, on 16 April 1934, a lawyer from Sokal, Dr. B. Tchaikovskiy, asked K. Pankivskiy to act as a defense counsel for Ivan Malitskyi in Lviv court. In November of that year, he asked K. Pankivskiy to represent the community of the village Zboiska in an appeal in Lviv District Court. He repeatedly made the same



request during 1935 – 1936. At the same time he sent a fee from 10 to 70 zł. (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1–9). In September 1937, a lawyer from Belz Ilia Salahub addressed to K. Pankivskyi with a similar request. In June and September 1939, a lawyer from Sambir, Ivan Rohutskyi, wrote to K. Pankivskyi, requesting to represent Drohobych Yosyp Hevryk in court (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 35, pp. 1–2, 5).

**The Conclusions.** Thus, since 1930, the lawyer K. Pankivskyi started his own law practice in Lviv. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. In particular, he distinguished himself as a defender of those accused of “political offenses” – participants of the UMO, OUN, KPWU, Komsomol of Western Ukraine. At the same time, K. Pankivskyi was actively involved in the work of the Chamber of lawyers and the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv. During his work, he gained a good reputation among colleagues (including Jews and Poles) and clients and was considered one of the best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna (together with S. Shukhevych, S. Fedak, V. Starosolskyi). The prolonged legal practice in the 1930s created the personal and public foundation that enabled K. Pankivskyi to prove himself as a public and political figure during the difficult years of the Second World War and the post-war period.

**Acknowledgments.** We express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for printing.

**Funding.** The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Andrusiak, T. H.** (2013). Advokaty ta yikh rol u rozvytku ukrainskoi pravovoi dumky [Lawyers and their role in the development of Ukrainian legal thought]. *Advokatura Ukrainy: istoriia ta suchasnist: materialy Vseukrainskoho kruhloho stolu.* (pp. 14–18). Kyiv-Ternopil: TNPU im. V. Hnatiuka. [in Ukrainian]

**Arkusha, O. H.** (2013). Sotsialno-profesiina hrupa ukrainskykh advokativ u Halychyni druhoi polovyny XIX – pochatku XX stolittia: metodolohiia i konteksty doslidzhen [Social-professional group of Ukrainian lawyers in Halychyna in the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries: methodology and contexts of research]. *Advokatura Ukrainy: istoriia ta suchasnist: materialy Vseukrainskoho kruhloho stolu.* (pp. 63–68). Kyiv-Ternopil: TNPU im. V. Hnatiuka. [in Ukrainian]

**Boichuk, A. Yu.** (2012). Instytut advokatury v Halychyni druhoi polovyny XIX – pochatku XX stolittia: istoryko-pravove doslidzhennia [Institute of Advocacy in Halychyna in the second half of XIXth – early XXth century: a historical and legal study]. Odesa: Feniks, 150 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Dombchevskyi, R.** (1928). Orhanizatsiia ukrainskoi advokatury [Organization of the Ukrainian advocacy]. *Zhyttia i Pravo, 1*, 44–48. [in Ukrainian]

**Dombchevskyi, R.** (1938). Pershe desiatylittia [The first decade]. *Zhyttia i Pravo, 1*, 1–5. [in Ukrainian]

**Hlovatskyi, I.** (2012). *Advokatura Halychyny: istoriia, rozvytok, pravovyi status (1772 – 1939)* [Halychyna's Advocacy: History, Development, Legal Status (1772 – 1939)]. Varshava, 880 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Hlovatskyi, I. Yu. & Hlovatskyi, V. I.** (2004). *Ukrainski advokaty Skhidnoi Halychyny (kinets XVIII – 30-ti roky XX st.)* [Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Galicia (end of XVIIIth – 30s of XXth century)]. Lviv: Triada plius, 112 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Hlovatskyi, I. Yu.** (2003). *Ukrainski advokaty u politychnykh sudovykh protsesakh u Skhidni Halychyni (1921 – 1939 rr.)* [Ukrainian lawyers in political litigation in Eastern Halychyna (1921 – 1939)]. Lviv: Triada plius, 348 p. [in Ukrainian]

**Kobuta, S.** (2016). Profesiina i hromadsko-politychna diialnist advokativ Stanyslavivshchyny (kinets XIX – persha polovyna XX st.): istoriohrafichnyi ohliad [Professional and socio-political activity of Stanislaviv's lawyers (end of XIXth – first half of XXth century): historiographical review]. *Halychyna, 28*, 165–177. [in Ukrainian]

- Kubiiovych, V.** (1970). *Meni 70 [I'm 70]*. Paryzh-Miunkhen, 135 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kubiiovych, V.** (2000). Meni 85 [I'm 85]. In *Volodymyr Kubiiovych. Tom II. Memuary. Rozdumy. Vybrani lysty* (pp. 5–303). Paryzh-Lviv-Feniks: Ukrainska akademiia druzarstva. [in Ukrainian]
- Lazurko, O. B.** (2014). “Soiuz ukrainskykh advokativ” yak pryklad advokatskoi samoorhanizatsii (1923 – 1940 rr.) [The Union of Ukrainian Lawyers as an Example of Advocate Self-Organization (1923 – 1940)]. *Advokatura Ukrainy: zabute i nevidome. Seriia “Narysy z istorii advokatury Ukrainy”*. (Issue 1, pp. 280–318). Kyiv: KVITs. [in Ukrainian]
- Mysak, N.** (2012). Halytski advokaty naprykintsi XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia: natsionalna identyfikatsiia i profesiina diialnist [Halychyna's lawyers in the late XIXth and early XXth centuries: national identification and professional activity]. *Ukraina-Polshcha: istorychna spadshchyna i suspilna svi-do-mist. Vyp. 5 : Yuvileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu Oleksandra Kolianchuka*. (pp. 26–37). Lviv: In-t ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypiakevycha NAN Ukrainy. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1938). Soiuz ukrainskykh advokativ, yoho chleny ta yikh oboviazky [Union of Ukrainian Lawyers, its members and their responsibilities]. *Zhyttia i Pravo*, 3, 28–29. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1955). Orhanizatsii ukrainskykh pravnykiv u mynulomu [Ukrainian law organizations in the past]. *Pravnychi Visnyk. Niu-York, 1*, 55–58. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1957). *Vid Derzhavy do Komitetu [From the State to the Committee]*. Niu-York: Kliuchi, 448 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1963). Storinka z istorii Soiuzu Ukrainskykh Advokativ i Ukrainkoi Advokatury v Halychyni [History page of the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers and the Ukrainian Advocacy in Halychyna]. *Pravnychi Visnyk. Niu-York, 2*, 188–197. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1965). *Roky nimetskoj okupatsii [Years of German occupation]*. Niu-York – Toronto, 480 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1970). *Vid Komitetu do Derzhavnogo Tsentru [From the Committee to the State Center]*. Niu-York – Toronto: Kliuchi, 287 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Pankivskiy, K.** (1978). Spohady pro NTSh [Memories about NTSh]. *Ukrainskyi istoryk, 4 (60)*, 94–99. [in Ukrainian]
- Petriv, M.** (1998). *Soiuz Ukrainskykh Advokativ u Lvovi. Ch. 1: Pokazhchyk vydan [Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv. Part 1: Index of publications]*. Kyiv: Ukrainska Vydavnycha Spilka, 55 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Petriv, M.** (2002). Storinky istorii advokatury Ukrainy: Coiuz Ukrainskykh Advokativ u Lvovi 1923 – 1940 rr [Ukrainian Advocacy History Pages: Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv 1923 – 1940]. *Advokat, 4/5*, 98–106. [in Ukrainian]
- Petriv, M. Y.** (2014). *Ukrainski advokaty: derzhavni, hromadski, politychni ta kulturno-osvitni diiachy kintsia XIX – pershoj polovyny XX st. Kn. 1 [Ukrainian lawyers: state, public, political and cultural figures of the late 19th - first half of the 20th century. Book 1]*. Kyiv: Yustynian, 544 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Poizdnyk, I. I.** (2011). Pankivskiy Kost [Pankivskiy Kost]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy: u 10 t. [Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine: in 10 volumes]* (vol. 8, p. 54). Kyiv: Nauk. dumka. [in Ukrainian]
- Posivnych, M.** (2017). Politychnyi portret Vasylia Bilasa ta Dmytra Danylyshyna [Political portrait of Vasyl Bilas and Dmytro Danylyshyn]. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin], Spetsvypusk*, 116–125. [in Ukrainian]
- Tsentrалnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u Lvovi (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv – CSHAUL)*
- Vasylyk, I.** (2012). Osoblyvosti formuvannia ukrainskoi yurydychnoi elity Skhidnoi Halychyny v kintsia XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia [The peculiarities of the formation of the Ukrainian legal elite of Eastern Halychyna in the late XIXth – early XXth centuries]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu im. T. Shevchenka. Ukrainoznavstvo, 16*, 39–43. [in Ukrainian]
- Vytanovych, I.** (1954). *Kost Pankivskiy (1855 – 1915). Idealist hromadskoi pratsi i viry u vlasni syly narodu [Kost Pankivskiy (1855 – 1915). Idealist of community work and belief in the own forces of the people]*. Niu-York: Vyd. Tov-va Ukr. Kooperativ, 48 p. [in Ukrainian]

The article was received on April 21, 2019.  
Article recommended for publishing 06/11/2019.