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OPPOSITION MODELS OF THE BODY CODE IN THE MAGICAL PRACTICES OF THE SLAVS

Abstract. *The purpose of the paper is to study the semantics of the “sitting” position in the ritual practices of the Slavs in the context of bodily oppositions. **The Methodology of the Research.** In the study there have been used the methods of structural anthropology, in which a cultural text is seen as a system of semantic balances and counterbalances. **The Scientific Novelty.** The article focuses on the analysis of the oppositional models of the body code in the ritual practices of the Slavs. **The Conclusions.** In the mythological picture of the world, the sequence of ritual actions should follow the process of “divine providence”, which ends with the creation of man. As a result, a human body is a model of a sacred space organization. The repetition of natural locations, which is imitated by a participant of a rite, involves the transformation of global values into a plane of specific meanings. In particular, a horizontal position of a body is interpreted as inanimate, while a vertical state corresponds to the opposite value. At the same time, the ritual names of “horizontal / dead” include the idea of further resurrection (the prospect of bodily verticalization), as evidenced by taboo forms with a direct hint of the temporality of this state (“dead”, “deceased”). Thus, the myth denies the idea of an absolute completion, and life is understood as the alternation of birth and death.*

In contrast to the dual vertical and horizontal arrangements that denote the states of “life-death”, status mythological characters are in an intermediate (neutral) “sitting” position. Significant are the descriptions of their locations – on the island, the blue sea, under / near the tree, which symbolize the imaginary return of the patient at the time of creation of the world (the state of “pre-disease”). The main feature of “sitting” characters is the refusal to perform the work of “living”, associated with the manufacture of thread and canvas. Involvement in spinning and weaving associates these images with the goddesses of fate, who by the logic of the myth should “weave” the thread of life, but do not. A negative characteristics of the images of the goddess of fate are compared to the magic of healing-magic-destruction, which is realized by the reverse rotation of the spindle. Changing the direction of movement provokes opposite consequences – the transformation of “sick” to “healthy”, “indifferent” to “in love” or “living” to “dead”. For this reason, the “sitting” images of “grandma” and “virgin” have dual characteristics, combining the opposite states of “life” and “death”, which explains the dosed use of the attributes of the funeral cult in medical rites.

The semantics of mythological characters with signs of the “otherworldly” is compared with the image of an archaic genitrix. The rudiments of honoring the great mother are recorded in oronyms,

which could be used as ancient sanctuaries. A similar function is taken over by landscape objects of an artificial origin, for example, mounds on which anthropomorphic stone stelae were placed, or graves, the ceremonial use of which is combined with a sacrificial “throne”, which on funeral days serves as a kind of portal connecting “living” and “dead”. Ritualized elements of a “sitting” position are also recorded in transitional rites – at funerals while sitting next to / with the “deceased”, ceremonies of age initiations, enthronement ceremonies. In this way there is a ritual imitation of the actions of the Creator-Savior, who “sits” on the heavenly throne and justly rules the world.

Key words: goddess of fate, witch, axis of the world, divination, myth, sitting position, deceased, ancestor, ritual, world tree, Slavs, body.

ОПОЗИЦІЙНІ МОДЕЛІ ТІЛЕСНОГО КОДУ В МАГІЧНИХ ПРАКТИКАХ СЛОВ'ЯН

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у вивченні семантики позиції “сидячи” у контексті тілесних опозицій. **Методи.** У дослідженні використовуються методи структурної антропології, де культурний текст розглядається як система бінарних балансів і противаг. **Наукова новизна:** вперше досліджено опозиційні моделі тілесного коду в обрядових практиках слов'ян. **Висновки.** У міфологічній картині світу послідовність виконання обрядових дій має наслідувати процес “божественного промислу”, яке завершується творенням людини. Внаслідок цього людське тіло є моделлю організації сакрального простору. Повторення природних розташувань, які наслідує учасник обряду, передбачає трансформацію глобальних значень у площину конкретних смислів. Зокрема горизонтальне розташування тіла трактується як неживе, натомість вертикальний стан відповідає протилежному значенню. Водночас в обрядових називаннях “горизонтального / мертвого” закладено ідею подальшого воскресіння (перспектива тілесної вертикалізації), про що свідчать табуйовані форми з безпосереднім натяком на тимчасовість цього стану (“покійний”, “усопший”). Таким чином, у міфі заперечується ідея абсолютного завершення, а життя розуміється як чергування народження-умирання.

На відміну від дуальних вертикально-горизонтальних розташувань, які позначають стани “життя-смерті”, статусні міфологічні персонажі перебувають у проміжній (нейтральній) позиції “сидячи”. Знаковими є описи місць їхнього розміщення – на острові, синьому морі, під/поряд з деревом, які символізують уявне повернення хворого у часи творення світу (стан “до-хвороби”). Головною рисою “сидячих” персонажів є відмова виконувати роботу “живих”, пов'язану з виготовленням нитки і полотна (мотиви прядіння фіксуються також у гончарстві).

Причетність до прядіння і ткацтва асоціює ці образи з богинями долі, які, за логікою міфу, мають “ткати” нитку життя, але не роблять цього. Від'ємні характеристики образів богині долі зіставляються з магією лікування-чарування-знищення, що реалізується за допомогою зворотного обертання веретена. Зміна напрямку руху провокує протилежні наслідки – перетворення “хворого” на “здорового”, “байдужого” на “закоханого” або “живого” на “мертвого”. З цієї причини “сидячі” образи “бабки” і “дівці” мають дуальні характеристики, поєднуючи протилежні стани “життя” і “смерті”, що пояснює дозоване застосування атрибутів поховального культу в лікувальних обрядах.

Семантика міфологічних персонажів з ознаками “потойбічного” зіставляється з образом архаїчної *genitrix*. Рудименти вишунування великої матері фіксуються в оронімах, які могли використовувати як давні святини. Аналогічну функцію переймають ландшафтні об'єкти штучного походження, наприклад, кургани, на яких ставили антропоморфні кам'яні стели, або могили, обрядове застосування яких поєднується з жертвним “престолом”, що в поминальні дні виконує функцію своєрідного порталу, який з'єднує “живих” і “мертвих”. Ритуалізовані елементи позиції “сидячи” фіксуються також у перехідних обрядах – на похоронах під час сидіння поряд / з “небіжчиком”, церемоніях вікових посвячень, церемоніях інтронізації. В такий спосіб відбувається обрядове наслідування дії Творця-Спасителя, який “сидить” на небесному престолі і справедливо править світом.

Ключові слова: богині долі, відьма, вісь світу, ворожіння, міф, позиція “сидячи”, покійник, пращур, ритуал, світове дерево, слов'яни, тіло.

The Problem Statement. A relevant aspect of a traditional culture is the functioning of discursive communication models of myth, where the verbal component can play a secondary role. Sometimes the key factor that forms the integrative ties of the rite is the visual contact of its performers with each other, with natural or cultural objects. However, a human body is a leading model for imitation and construction of the ritual space. In addition to the well-known oppositions “top-bottom”, “right-left”, “front-back” (as a variant of “front-back”), with the help of which the mythological picture of the world is anthropologized, the plot elements of the ritual in the “sitting” position, which its members acquire, remain poorly researched.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Despite the fact that the “sitting” position is associated with initiation actions and involves the acquisition of a corresponding social-and-hierarchical status (Poshivailo, 2017, p. 68), (Tymoshyk, 2016), in the scientific literature this issue is covered only occasionally (Androshchuk, 2003), (Tubalova & Van, 2018), (Tubalova, Van, 2019). However, a “sitting” position is common in other rites of passage. In particular, in the descriptions of healing and magical practices, sacred characters are placed in a similar way: “Beyond the blue sea, there is a church, there is a throne, behind that throne Jesus Christ sits”; “Candles are burning, God himself is sitting” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 441, 727, 1019).

The purpose of the article involves the study of the semantics of the “sitting” position in the ceremonial practices of the Slavs in the context of bodily oppositions.

The Results of the Research. Emphasizing the fact that the sacris imago “sits” testifies the importance of this position, which, in its turn, is confirmed by textual references to the existence of cult “sitting” places, which can be rudiments of descriptions of pre-Christian shrines. According to the chronicles, the central element of the ancient Russian sanctuary was considered to be an oak tree, which formed its basis and symbolized the axis mundi, i. e., it performed the function of a kind of column connecting heaven and earth, where ritual artifacts were planted as reinforcement (Ivakin, 1979). The corresponding customs resemble the encrustations of a human body in “primitive” peoples or in representatives of modern subcultural groups, which is a necessary condition for the performance of initiation rites and indicates the degree of hierophants initiation. Probably the place near the center is considered to be the most prestigious, and proximity to it indicates the concentration of magical power, a radial distribution of which is projected onto other objects. In this context, the position of “sitting” acquires a different reading, demonstrating a primordial static that arose as a result of the original chaos ordering, equipped by the unshakable Word of the Creator. Therefore, “sitting” as a ritual action can be interpreted as a bodily expression of a creative impulse, therefore it is the prerogative of “stable” ancestors or their adepts – priests and rulers, who a priori are in the time-and-space position “before”. In contrast to social initiations in medical rites, the performance of which involves the “return” of a pre-disease state, primary examples of this stability are involved, personified in the images of a “grandfather” and “grandmother”, which, in its turn, additionally explains the semantics of the traditional beginning of folk tales – “a grandfather and grandmother lived for themselves”¹. Subject models of the primary stability state, which often reinforce and sometimes duplicate anthropic images, are natural and

¹ More details about the semantics of the images of grandfather and grandmother are described in Natalia Syvachuk’s article “Semantics of the Images of the Ukrainian Folk Fairy Tale”. The author, referring to the research of M. Chumarnaya, notes: “Grandfather and Grandfather are not just involved in the creation of the world, they continue its creation, give birth to new entities. Movement gives birth to life. Grandmother asks Grandfather to carve out a wooden boy for her. Grandmother is an immortal, eternal substance, a life force, and she cradles, “bodies” the little wooden boy, bringing him to life through the energy of world movement. A tree, a log is not a dead matter, a wooden log retains a life force that is dormant until it is awakened by the energy of a living word, the strength of spirit and the power of faith” (Syvachuk, 2017, p. 72).

cultural objects, in particular: a stone, an oak, a pillar, a temple, etc. In particular, animization of an oak is recorded in the texts for children's insomnia: "I call you (nightingales)², I send you to the woods, there is an oak in the forest, and there is a grandfather in the oak" (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 57). The production of totemic artifacts from "living" oak does not seem accidental in this aspect. In certain contexts, its strength is associated with iron – a later cultural standard of hardness and strength, which, in its turn, explains its anthropization: "Iron grandfather, iron woman, let's get married" (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 55).

Let's consider several typical examples of magical texts recorded in Belarus, where the "sitting" position has clear mythological overtones: "There is an oak at the blue sea, there are three branches on that oak, candles are burning on these branches, there is a stone under this oak, a grandmother is sitting under this oak. "Grandmother! Do you know how to weave?" "I don't know how to weave, I only know how to order гризь"³ (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 570). The mentioned text (№ 570) lists the key expository components of the archaic rite: an oak tree with three branches, on which three ritual fires burn, as well as a stone which is the seat of the archaic ancestor / "grandmother". The corresponding description can be literal or taken metaphorically, i. e., during the recitation of a magical text, a situation is created, where the function of the oak tree is performed by the trinity candlestick, which is lit during the ritual. In terms of semantics, its shape is related to a tree and a cross at the same time, on the edges of which candles are placed (Sosenko, 1994, pp. 63–65). The indirect juxtaposition of the cross with the oak makes it possible to model the semantic chain: cross → oak → world tree / axis mundi. The reception of the cross as a tree can be traced in iconographic subjects of the "grape vine", as well as medieval heraldic images of the trefoil cross. Similar identifications can be observed in the lexical material, where "крижъ" (Polish: krzyż) is identified with "cross" (Dictionary of the Old Ukrainian language, 1977, p. 514) or the image of a mountain related to mythological semantics (Materials, 1893, p. 1322). In Chyhyryn region (Central Ukraine), an old tree is also called "криж", which corresponds to a mythological plot of the text under study. It is possible that a lamp, candles and a stone are a kind of mini-models of the exposition of the archaic rite, which used to be performed near a sacred tree (an oak) and an altar located next to it (a stone, a fire). Reproducing a pagan ritual on a table or on a cooking place (traditional places of treatment) was supposed not only to guarantee a positive result, but also to return its performers to the times "before the disease". In some ritual texts, the time range "before" can reach prehistoric times, which can be traced in the descriptions of the mythological landscape "a tree in the middle of the blue sea": "There is a green oak at the blue sea", "There is an oak tree at the blue sea" (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 207, 570), "A branchy, rooted oak stood at the sea, on the island" (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 67), which correlates with the mythical primeval tree in carols: "There is a big world, there is also a blue sea. Cherry trees grow at those blue seas" (Sosenko, 1994, p. 227). According to M. Nikolaeva and V. Safronov, similar descriptions refer to the landscape of the late Mesolithic period, when large parts of the land were flooded due to the melting of the glacier, which explains the semantics of prehistoric mythological beliefs about an island, a tree, a water demiurge bird and a world egg (Nikolaeva & Safronov, 1999).

The image of a "grandmother" seems to be iconic. In addition to the mentioned above characteristics, which indicate its semantic connection with an archaic ancestor, additional

² Nightingales are demons that attack babies at night and prevent them from sleeping (Dictionary of the Ukrainian language, 1996, vol. 2, p. 568)

³ "Гризь", Latin mordeo is the popular name of the acute stage of tendovaginitis.

factors are the mention of an altar stone (?), funeral candles (?), as well as the refusal to weave, that is, to perform the everyday work of the “living”. The corresponding signs can also be interpreted as a statement of the negative image of the goddess of fate, whose functions are diametrically opposed, in particular, the spinning of an even and strong thread of life⁴. Probably the origins of such beliefs go back to the Neolithic times, when spinning from fibrous plants was invented, which explains the general nature of the myths about the weaver goddess. Knitting threads one to another existed as far back as the Mesolithic times, when fishermen wove nets for fish and hunters wove tentacles for animals. Even then a spindle and a comb became necessary work tools, which explains the cultic nature of the semantic associations “spindle-life”, “comb-plants”⁵. It is natural that women who spun and wove participated not only in the manufacture of clothes, but contributed to survival a hunter in a cold climate, which stimulated a successful hunt, since only strong tentacles could hold the prey.

The refusal of a “grandmother” to spin is also compared to the magic of enchantment and destruction, the consequence of which is a change in the subject-and-time sequence, and thus it is the construction of an “alternative” reality. In particular, the cessation of the rotation of the spindle is associated with the stoppage of time, darkness and cold⁶, and *motum solis* models a return to the past or produces more radical changes – the transformation of the “earthly” into the “otherworldly” or the “living” into the “dead”⁷. For example, on Maundy Thursday they made the so-called the “Thursday thread” that was spun before sunrise (daily time correlates with cosmic time “pre-creation”), sitting on the threshold (spatial boundary), spinning the spindle against the movement of the sun (“unwinding” the time paradigm). “Thursday thread” is “raw” (Dictionary of the Ukrainian language, 1997, vol. 4, p. 231), i. e., not processed and not dyed (not fully humanized), which indicates its intermediate location between the diametrical meanings of “natural and wild”, “cultural and domestic”. In other words, the “raw” thread is a boundary object between a natural fiber and a thread itself, therefore it is used in rituals for the treatment of “unclean” diseases: “gnawing”, “suspension”, “blows”, muscle strains: “In the field you reap – the hand cracks – you will

⁴ The semantic analogies of the weaving process with the flow of the river are interesting, i.e. the “correct” movement – along the current or the rotation of the spindle – of the saltine. Cf.: Old Russian *потокъ* borders on the concepts of “to weave”, “to sharpen” (Fasmer, 1986, vol. 2, p. 345) in the sense of “to foretell the future” (compare with Armenian *t'ek'em* – to spin, to weave, to wind). In this case, the flow of the river is perceived as a sign of the road to the “afterlife” and is associated with the thread of fate, which is “weaved” by the ancestors (Old *пекти* – to prophesy. Cf.: “рекомъ(и) ← рекъ ← рещи ← г(оспод)ъ пр(о)рокъмъ г(лаго)л(е)тъ ... иже ре” (Sljvník, 1982, p. 633). In this connection, comparisons with Kupala divination along the course of the river, as well as the custom of letting egg shells to Rahman on Easter “for with water”, which is a vestige of ancestors’ archaic cult

⁵ The comb and spindle were used in the treatment of “sunflowers” – an acute stomach disease (Kuybida, Dovga), (Metka, 2012, p. 536). The corresponding function was performed by porridge, the “cultural” properties of which were opposed to otherworldly “sunflowers” (the finding that the seeds are unprocessed). The treatment took place as follows: a knife, a spoon, a spindle and a comb were placed in a bowl of porridge and they said: “It is not my spirit, it is the Lord’s. Merciful Lord and Saint Varvara, great martyr, help me to pronounce” (Chubynsky, 1995, p. 123). After that, the patient had to eat three spoons of “living” porridge “with the Lord’s spirit”, strengthened by the magic of killing-disengaging (knife), life-consuming (spoon), twisting-untwisting (spindle), arrangement (comb).

⁶ By rapidly rotating the spindle around its axis, a “living” fire was obtained, which was also called “column” or “master”. Similar names are found in the dialectal sayings of Belarusians, which denoted a householder or an ancestor. On this fire, kindled in the furnace, colic and tuberculosis were “warmed”: “The baptized woman said: “Where did you see, where did you hear that the child was put in the furnace?” – “Where did you see, where did you hear, that a child was attacked by diarrhea?”. This was repeated three times. One (woman) holds the child, and the other holds the shovel, she leans the shovel (to the child) and the shovel is put into the oven” (Pretends to put the shovel and the child into the oven) (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 111).

⁷ By making dishes on the potter’s wheel or turning the spindle, one joins in learning about the nature of the circle, which explains the mystification of crafts associated with rounded objects or centrifugal motion. Such a situation is compared to sacrificial rites, where the object of knowledge is not only the victim, but also the dishes from which it is consumed, which explains the semantic implications of everyday objects.

tie a thread”. “Christ’s linen, let those sores remain on the thread, so that (name) will not be remembered” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 226). Tying and maximum twisting of the thread implies the disappearance of warts that are “sown” like “unclean” plants (compare with the negative attitude towards twists and turns made by “enemies” and “witches”): “A raw thread is from warts, how many knots are tied on that thread and throw it into the well” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 350). Therefore, spinning “against the sun” is a taboo action, since the thread woven in this way is used for destruction-separation, which is incompatible with its domestic (cultural) use⁸.

Taking into account the mentioned above, it seems logical to assume that the ritually dosed verbalization of mortem (like the use of poison for medicinal purposes) suppresses acute pain, as if destroying the “gnawing”. In this regard, the image of a “grandmother” combines a semantic oppositions of “life-death”, as it relieves pain, but at the same time represents death (the diminutive form indirectly confirms this fact), which explains the semantics of its additional names: Serbian *jéza* – horror, Slavonic *jéza* – anger; Old-Czech *jězě* – witch, Church Slavonic *iaza* – disease (Fasmer, 1987, vol. 4, p. 542), possibly hence “ulcer” (Stepanov, 1997)⁹. In some cases, when a patient’s condition reached a critical state, the use of attributes of “that” world was literal. In particular, with acute rheumatic pains, it was recommended to apply an old bone or to bandage the sore spot with a tape (an element of a married woman’s traditional clothing, probably a grandmother’s?), with which a dead person’s legs were tied (“grandmother’s?”), saying: “This dead person lies still, let the God’s servant N gnaws away” (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 86).

It is obvious that in the mythological picture of the world, built on the principle of dual oppositions, the verbalization of the “productive” return “before” is opposed to immobilization of the “living”, which implies the occurrence of the opposite situation “after”, which models not the restoration of the time of Creation, but on the contrary – the dumbing down, numbness, and eventually its completion. Transferring the key features of “non-living” objects, and therefore their meanings, is practiced in the magic of destruction by simulating a state of freezing, the intensity of which causes temporary bodily paralysis or posthumous numbness: “I want you to become an oak, and I want you to become a stone, and I want you to get lost” (Chubynsky, 1995, p. 98). Probably the power of the curse was, if necessary, strengthened by additional components with the semantics of dehydration and cooling, such as “I want your hands to become dry” or “I want you to pound” in the sense of freezing (Bagan, 2020, p. 29)¹⁰. Hence the origin of such expressions as “to cut into an oak”, i.e., to become as hard as an oak tree, to shrivel up (cf.: *dubovýna* = coffin = grave (Dictionary of the Ukrainian language, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 452, 419).

An indirect confirmation of the fact that the image of a “grandmother” is associated with the “otherworldly” is a literal demonstration of a “grandmother’s” figure, which in terms of semantics is its semantic antipode. Not accidentally that stone “grandmothers” in the form

⁸ Perhaps the taboos on the day of Saint Paraskeva-Friday, when it was forbidden to use sharp objects, in particular a spindle, a needle, scissors, as means of winding-weaving, piercing and cutting, which is considered as spoiling the thread of fate are connected with this (Chubynsky, 1995, p. 214). Similar prohibitions were also projected on natural fibers – human hair and plant roots, which explains the Friday taboos on shaving the beard, washing the head and spinning (Tolstaya, 2009, pp. 382–385).

⁹ The dialectic of “life-death” can also be seen in the semantic approximation of the concepts “sleepy-dead”, where sleep is perceived as temporary death: “Forest grandfathers and grandmothers, wow! Grandmother Yaga, whoa, whoa, whoa! Take the cries and carry them to the forest, and bring me (name) a dream” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 49).

¹⁰ To pound – to be beaten (Dictionary of the Ukrainian language, 1996, vol. 2, p. 147), to wooden, cf. with assumption from lat. *stupĕre* – to become wooden, to become dead, to stiffen (The etymological dictionary, 1985, p. 138).

of anthropomorphic stelae perform the function of peculiar markers of mythical toponymy, marking places of power. Stone idols were placed on natural or artificial elevations¹¹. Probably earlier ritual ceremonies were performed near sacred stones – seats (compare with Church Slavonic *преставитися* – “to die”, hence *приставщина* – “a ghost”?). Hence the names of oronyms associated with female symbolism: Divocha Hora near Smolensk, Divocha Hora in the village of Trypillia and Sakhnivka, the peaks of Divyn on the territory of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Divochi rocks in Ternopil region. Archaeological research confirms their cult character. In particular, the remains of a sanctuary from the first centuries AD were found on Divocha Hora in Trypillia. It was not by chance that other peoples associated the “Babyni” mountains with pagan Sabbaths (Dlugosz, 2009). In this aspect, a mythological “grandmother” corresponds to the archaic progenitor, plastic images of whom are recorded in the “sitting” position in Trypillia culture (Movsha, 1968, p. 22). Women of post-reproductive age who took delivery and used well-deserved authority in the community until the middle of the 20th century were similarly called. Probably, in traditional culture a nominative “grandmother” refers not so much to age, but to functional capabilities, which are associated with the image of an archaic priestess of fertility, as indicated by the nominative clarifications “midwife, branka, puporizka”. The weight of a mythological tradition can be traced in the image of the Mother of God. In particular, in magical healing texts she is depicted in a “sitting” position, which corresponds to the iconographic subjects “The Virgin Hodigitria on the Throne” (the beginning of the 16th century) and “The Virgin Hodigitria on the Altar” (the second half of the 15th century – the beginning of the 16th century) (Demyanchuk, 2016, p. 90): “A church stands on Mount Zion, and the Mother of God sits in this church, angels came to her. It is enough for you, the Mother of God, to sing and go (name) to take away the fallow (convulsions)” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 439).

In some texts, the genitrix acquires dual features: “The church stands in a clear field, and in the church the throne stands. Two young ladies are sitting behind the throne, a glass of water is standing in front of them, they are sitting and guessing (name) the black disease is being repelled. George came to them on a gray horse, on a golden saddle. And that one sits and thinks, this pain is denied to them. Let this pain go to the dark forest, to the swift river” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 438). Text № 438 describes another principle of treatment, which is implemented in the sequence: recognition → “pouring out” → sending the disease. The ritual “pouring” imitates the movement “beyond the water”, i.e., downstream – to the “other” world, therefore it is implemented by “two maidens”, and their actions are reminiscent of girls’ divination on Catherine, whose name is associated with the “mysterious” Hecate (Rybakov, 1994, p. 382), and is functionally compared to the “prophesess” Mokoshsha (Galkovsky, 2000, vol. 2, p. 23). The number of “young ladies” is determined by the myth and associated with the dual image of Fate-Misfortune (Serbian *Спећа-Неспећа*), i.e., the result of treatment-divination depends on a fateful choice of these mythological characters. Magical manipulations with water are also found during the neutralization of “lessons” (*Mörderer Blick*), which was carried out by extinguishing “thirty nine” embers in a vessel with unstarted water (*ungeöffnetes Wasser*) (Rylsky, 1991, p. 36). The floating of embers on the surface of water confirms the existence of “lessons” in a patient’s body, on the other hand, their drowning means destruction of the disease spirit and ends with a verbal statement of its blinding-destruction, as it is evidenced by the demonstrative pronoun “that”

¹¹ The correlation of the concepts “to plant” is fixed in the phrase “to plant a tree”, as well as the use of the verb “to plant” in the sense of “to install conveniently / reliably”.

(i.e., “mischievous”, “hostile”): “If they had eaten it, they would have had those eyes” (Chubynsky, 1995, p. 138)¹². Water in this case acquires characteristics similar to the image of terra mater, which accepts only the pure and sinless into its bosom (Greek Εικατερίνη – pure). “Spoken” (das Wort verderben) embers do not sink, just as the bodies of ghouls and godless people do not rot in the ground. Similar actions were carried out during the examination of women suspected of sorcery (“incantation”), who were forcibly immersed in water (Miloradovich, 1993, p. 58), (Dysa, 2003, p. 192).

Over time, archaic motifs of sitting “on a mountain” or “under a tree” are correlated. The sacral figure of the mater magni is transformed into patriarchal characters, more typical of the Middle Eastern mythological tradition: “There stood a Veper oak on the mountain at Calvary. Seven martyrs Archistratus Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Mephtodymus, Sizontius, Clementius, Ivan the Forerunner sat under that oak, and they saw a terrible, wonderful miracle, and seventeen women came out of the sea, simply naked, untied, with loose hair. Ivan the Forerunner approached them <...> and gave them a hundred conjuring wounds on their heads with his cane. “Oh, Ivan the Forerunner! Whoever will chant our names or whoever will read water¹³ over our heads, we will not touch him for ever and ever, amen” (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 92); “On Mount Zion, Jesus Christ is sitting, in a golden veil, repelling the evil spirit from (name) with a spear and a bayonet” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 1074). A characteristic feature of such texts is a shift in emphasis in the “behavior” of a sacred patron, who acquires the characteristics of a heavenly warrior – a defender of the territory heavenly from the aggressive expansion of the other world (fever, “evil spirit”). Modified images of the heavenly spearman, who “sits” under a tree in a waiting position, were reflected in the folk story “Cossack Mamai”¹⁴. The tradition of depicting the defender in a “sitting” position can be traced in fundamental art. In particular, along with the warriors-riders (the story of George the Snake-Wrestler), the image of “wise rulers” sitting in contemplation is common¹⁵.

It was noted above that the “sitting” position testifies to the appropriate status of the ritual participants, as it imitates the actions of the Creator and Savior, who “sits on the throne” and “rules a just court”¹⁶. In traditional culture, the primary right to “sit” is given to “God’s representatives on earth” – to priests and rulers, in other versions the “sitting” position is a visual statement of a ritual act or a transitional state (for example, the positions of the young). In this case, “sitting” occupies an intermediate position between vertical “standing” and horizontal “lying”, which are part of the binary “life / standing – death / lying”. The association of “standing” with life, and “lying” with death can be traced in nominative constructions that denote the vertical arrangement of sacred objects, icons, candles, photographs (they are

¹² Similar expressions are often used in the magic of destruction and are opposed to the prayer “Amen”.

¹³ Ritual pouring is accompanied by prayers.

¹⁴ According to scholars, the stone women located on the mounds were called “mothers” (!), in addition, the Tatar “mamay” means “no one” (Poshivailo), so it may be of Tabustic origin.

¹⁵ Perhaps the corresponding plots visualize the New Testament parable: “Who among you, when he wants to build a tower, does not first sit down and count the expenses, whether he has something to finish, so that sometimes, when he lays the foundation and is not able to finish, all who see it, they didn’t start laughing at him, saying that that man started to build, but he couldn’t finish! Or what king, going to war against another (king), does not first sit down and consider whether he can stand with ten thousand against him who goes with twenty thousand against him? If he can’t, then, as he is still far away, he sends an embassy and asks for peace” (Gospel of Luke, 14, 25–35).

¹⁶ “The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool” (Acts of the Apostle, 2, pp. 35–36); “When the Son of Man comes in His glory and all the holy angels with Him, then He will sit on the throne of His glory, and all nations will gather before Him” (Gospel of Matthew, pp. 25, 31); “Jesus said to them: I tell you the truth, you who have followed Me, at the restoration of the world, when the Son of Man will sit on the throne of His glory, you will also sit on twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel” (Gospel of Matthew, 19, 28); and also the Gospel of Matthew, 8, 10–13; 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians, 2, 1–4; Gospel of Luke, 14, 25–35).

always placed), desacralized expressions such as “put a mohorych”. Instead, the opposite meanings are marked by a horizontal arrangement – “to lie down in the grave”, “to fall asleep forever”: “Moon, moon, where were you? Beyond the seas, beyond the forests. Where the dead lie” (Star Water, 1993, p. 13); ““New moon <...> were you in the other world?” “Yes, I was”. “Have you seen the dead?” “Yes, I saw”. “What do they do?” “They lie dumbfounded”; ““New moon, new moon, don’t the young man’s teeth hurt?” “They don’t hurt and don’t sting. Let them lie like a stone”” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 475, 480, 499). The motif of lying as a “dumb, cold stone” characterizes the afterlife as a priori motionless, which explains the taboo of “disturbing” the bones of the deceased (literally, “stirring up the past”, reviving long-forgotten offenses). The corresponding attitude is strengthened when it is carried out by foreigners, which explains T. Shevchenko’s radical attitude to the archaeological excavations in Chyhyryn: “And my lovely graves / Moskal is tearing up ... / Let him dig, dig up, / He is not looking for his own, <...> / The grave was dug up in four parts. / Diggered grave. / What were they looking for there? / What was buried there / Old parents? Oh, if only, / If only they found what was buried there, / The children wouldn’t cry, the mother wouldn’t grieve” (“Diggered Grave”). The earthly embodiment of the “stable” past (as that which preceded the “changing” present) in the sacral topography of traditional culture is the “grave”, which is indirectly confirmed by the etymology of this concept related to slavonic *mogō* – I can. Assumptions regarding the approach from the Bulgarian homila, from Greek *γέμω* – I am filled, as well as the comparison of **mogyla* from Greek *μέγαρον* – a hall for saints in a temple or from Middla Irish **magu-ulā* – Magician’s hill, consisting of Khotansaksk. *ula* = Avest. *ərəδwa-* – high (Fasmer, 1987, vol. 3, pp. 634–635) are hypothetical. Comparisons with Russian *мощный*, *моць* – the remains of a saint, also *моч-міч* from Slavonic *мошть*, Czech *moc* – a lot, Slavonic **mokť* from **mogo* – I can, related to Gothic *mahts* – power (Fasmer, 1987, vol. 3, pp. 635–636, 667–668) are also interesting. In a broad sense, “grave” is perceived as a cult structure associated with ritual burial or sacrifice (mound, temple, cross, monument, etc.), around which the space of traditional culture is organized¹⁷. From this it becomes clear why status ancestors are depicted in a “sitting” position, as if stating their visual presence among the living, which implies “establishing” communication contacts with them: ““New moon, new moon, where have you been?” “In that world”. “What did you see?” “The dead”. “What do they do?” “They are sitting” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 502). Examples of “sitting” monumental sculptures of “status” ancestors, which serve as a kind of portals of communication with the past are interesting in this regard. For example, there are monuments to M. Hrushevsky and M. Bulhakov in Kyiv, T. Shevchenko in Chernihiv, S. Petlyura in Vinnytsia, L. Utyosov in Odesa, etc.

The positioning of “standing” as a sign of life (vertical dynamics of growth) also explains the semantics of the texts, the utterance of which was supposed to establish and stabilize the internal organ displaced due to excessive tension: “Goldsmith, stand in the town <...> where your mother gave birth to you <...> called you a colonel, a colonel ordered, he was looking for a small town, how stone churches should stand, so you stand in place”; “I take it with my veins, strength, nails, claws, so that (name)’s joints become strong. The Lord established the earth and the sky, established by my hands” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 583, 606). Text № 606 looks interesting, at the beginning of which the healer enlists the support of totemic beings (“veins, forces, nails, claws”). Probably the naming of the places of strength should reproduce the original integrity by establishing “*брені*”

¹⁷ In the Soviet empire, a mausoleum, a hill of glory or an obelisk symbolizes a “stable” past, which its adepts try to revive from time to time.

(from the Old High German *brecha*: New High German *brechen* – to break (Fasmer, 1986, vol. 1, p. 213), the connection with Ukrainian *брехати* – to distort reality, to violate the established order) is possible. “Establishment” here can be understood as the reproduction of the primary order – the “eternal standing” of heaven and earth (their cultural analogues of “stone churches” № 583), where the disease, like the deceased, must occupy a horizontal position (that is, remain in the past): “So that you lie like a dead person so that your teeth do not ache” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 536). Similar plots can serve as an explanation of magical manipulations of the enemy’s trace (his place of standing), as a result of which he (as well as the “zoltochnik” in texts № 583, 606) is deprived of the ability to move. The key action of such rituals is the application of the bones of the deceased (“recumbent”, “immobile”) to the trace: “Kovtunychyk, kovtunychyk (Latin *plica polonica*) <...> so that you do not walk on the bones, do not settle anywhere <...> you will settle down, as people from the other world will settle down, and follow in your footsteps” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 618). Magical manipulations with the trace are recorded in enchantment rites, which were performed with the aim of “tying” a man to her (fixing his location): “So that he did not go to other women, it was necessary to take earth from his trace, mix it with the sacred poppy and to shower him sleepy from head to toe, saying: “I will sprinkle you with earth and holy poppy and I will not allow to go to bad women”” (Secret power of words, 1992, № 32).

The sacredness of the “sitting” position is evidenced by tangential actions of a symbolic nature, in particular, the commemorative sitting of the “living” next to / together with the “dead”. An important component of memorial services is the story about the deeds of the deceased (that’s why “either good or nothing is said about the deceased”). Ritual speaking with the deceased (or instead of him) is a life-affirming act, as it voices otherworldly silence and is associated with other symbolic actions, for example, opening the mouth of the deceased and feeding him. The tradition of posthumous sitting is compared with historical facts, in particular, with ritual sitting on mounds (places of ancestors) and funeral pyres. F. Androshchuk draws parallels to this custom in Russian princes and Scandinavian kings. The author notes that the power of the prince was considered to be valid when he sat for a certain time on an earthen mound, which could be an ancestral burial ground, after that he pronounced an oath to rule justly (Androshchuk, 2003, pp. 5–10). The reception of a ritual sitting as a necessary component of coronation is confirmed by chronicle material where these concepts are equated: “And the wife said to [Boris] his father: “Here is your father’s wife. Go sit in Kyiv at your father’s table”; “Svyatopolk sat down in Kyiv after his father, and summoned the citizens of Kyiv and began to distribute property to them” (Chronicle of Rus, 1990, p. 77). Hence the names of ancient Russian settlements are “posads”, where princely governors “posadskiye” managed. The desecrated remnants of sacrificial meals have come down to our time as the custom of “exposing a mohorych” for a position. The distribution of part of the property by the prince after sitting on the table may be a rudiment of the ancient rite of sacrifice to the people who elected him to rule, and is connected with the threefold division of property after his death, about which Ibn-Faldan mentions: “The deceased was put in the grave temporarily, they put a drink (probably honey), vegetables and a harp (or a stringed instrument in general) near him, and they themselves got busy preparing clothes and everything else necessary for him. This lasted for ten days. His property, as usual, was divided into three parts: one-third is given to the family, one-third is used for clothing the deceased, and one-third is for the drink that is drunk on the day of the funeral” (Hrushevsky, 1991, p. 2).

Thus, the memorial sitting and sitting on a powerful “table” (of a predecessor) should be considered successive stages of a single ritual complex of inheritance of power (seat), since in mythology a secular power is considered to be legitimate when it is “sanctioned” by the

ancestors. In the context of sitting on the throne / table, the motif of sitting at the table together also acquires a symbolic meaning. The orders preserved the remains of descriptions of ritual meals, when the dish was demonstratively consumed from one bowl: “The moon is in the sky, fish is in the sea, bear is in the forest, master is in the house. As they should not gather together, should not sit at the same table, should not drink from the same cup of wine, should not eat from the same cup of grass, so the servant of God <...> should not have a toothache” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 510). Sitting at a common table recalls the descriptions of ritual family meals mentioned in the epic of Kyiv cycle (Bylinas, 1958, pp. 107, 87), which is indicated by the naming of the moon, oak, and stone as brothers: “The new moon is in the sky, and the oak is on the earth, and the stone is in water. When those three brothers will get up to eat from one half-bowl, then <...> the born, praying, baptized woman will have toothache” (Recipes of folk medicine, 1992, p. 75). Calling objects different in nature “brothers” can hypothetically refer to ancient Russian totemic clans, the leaders of which fraternized during joint ritual meals.

In this aspect, the semantics of memorial dinners “by the whole world”, which are held every year on the farewell, are perceived in a different way¹⁸. Sitting together at the dining table, placed directly at the village cemetery or near it, is an element of the symbolic kinship of the “living” and the “dead”. The vestiges of this custom are mentioned in healing texts: “<...> beyond the seas, there were tables in rows, the gentlemen sat at those tables, they neither sew, they neither embroider, nor dab, nor wire” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 439). It is obvious that we are talking about the dead, since they (as well as the mentioned above “grandmother”) do not do the work of the living (“neither dab nor wire”). Their other social status is also emphasized – “gentlemen”, who “sit” at parallel tables (“rows”), which resembles the rationally correct arrangement of burials in the cemetery. At the funeral, the burial mound serves as a “table-throne”, on which memorial dishes are placed – bread, kolyvo, eggs and sweets. The existence of a ritual table as a place of sacrifice presupposes the existence of a binary opposition “on the table – under the table” as a variant of the semantic opposition of “top-life” and “bottom-death”, therefore in healing magic the disease was placed “below, under the table”, and the sick – “above, at the table”: “(name) is sitting at the table, and (his) pain is under the table”; “Jesus Christ came to life (name) into the world, he was born, descended, was lit by the moon, surrounded by stars, lit by the sun. (Name) sits at the table, and evil is under the table” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 435, 445).

The analysis of the beliefs associated with the ritual “sitting” seems to be incomplete without taking into account another important component of ritual initiations. We are talking about impregnation as a symbolic putting “in place”, since the birth of a child in an archaic society is considered to be legitimate only if there is a “vacant” place vacated for it by an ancestor. Hence there are the prehistoric customs of sacrificing the old and infirm, which stimulates the birth of the young and strong (Veletskaya, 1978). In “Tale of Bygone Years” it is said that in years of bad harvest and famine, they killed the “old chad”, which “holds the gobino”¹⁹, i.e. interferes with the growth of young shoots: “In the same summer (1024), the Magi rose up <...> and killed old people <...> saying that they keep gobino (harvest).

¹⁸ At the memorial dinner, the deceased “takes” a prominent place, and his presence is marked by a photograph and a ritual treat in the form of water and bread.

¹⁹ Serbian, Croatian *гобино* – spelled <Gothic. *gabai* is related to *gabains* – wealth, and also to Irish *gaibim* – capio, lat. *habere*; with another degree of vocalism: Gothic *giban* – to give (Fasmer, 1986, vol. 1, p. 423). *Гобина* – harvest, abundance of earthly fruits: “Канѣ ре(к) аще изгониши мѣ ѿ гобины земля. то и ѿ лица твое(г) скрѣюсѣ”; “Не презри немл(с)твна болнаго. в гобинѣ сыи и в житѣи чай бури вѣщемъ приде(г) болѣзнь. придетъ нищета” (Dictionary of the Old Russian language, 1988).

And there was a great mutiny, and famine in the whole land” (Metropolitan Hilarion, 1991, pp. 345–346). In ritual texts, conception is perceived as the placement of the future child by the father in the mother’s womb: “The goldsmith, God’s helper, sit in the town, on the golden chair”; “The goldsmith, <...> has become covered on the royal seat, cups are poured”; “The father created you, God created you, the mother gave birth to you, put you in place, the grandmother cut the navel, tied it to her place” (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 585, 587–588, 596), therefore the placenta is called a “place”.

Medical text № 596 seems interesting, which consists of four semantic blocks describing the time sequence from fertilization to birth: “the father created you” → “God created you” → “the mother gave birth to you, put you in place” → “the grandmother cut the navel, tied it to her place”. According to the text, the creator of the child is the father: “the father co-created you”. Cf.: the Old Russian noun “тварь” denotes a visible part of the body, for example, the face (Materials, 1903, vol. 3, pp. 930–932); the prefix “co-” is a sign of the joint action of God and the father. Therefore, God not only sanctifies the actions of the father, but breathes soul into the newborn, i.e., “gives” him life (“God co-created”). The perception of spirituality as a divine “gift” is found in carols – rudiments of the etiological myths of the Indo-Europeans: “There is a big world, there is also a blue sea: hey, God give it! Cherry trees grow at these blue seas: hey, God give it!” (Sosenko, 1994, p. 227)²⁰. Depending on the context, the concepts “create” and “give” (or its “inverted” projection “destroy” and “give”) can be situational synonyms: cf. with Old Russian. “со-з-дание, со-творение” (Materials, 1893 – 1912, vol. 3, p. 710). The corresponding situation is explained by the fact that the semantic relationship between God and father is an echo of the patriarchal system, when the right of the first wedding night belonged to the oldest and the strongest, later to the representative of the ancestor – the priest. When the father / God is credited with the creation of the child, then the mother gives birth / “releases into the world” (materialization of *materia prima*): “the mother gave birth, put you in place”. In addition, the eldest woman of the family “ties” the child to the place by tying the umbilical cord: “the grandmother cut the navel and tied it to her place”. The high frequency of use of the prefixes “co-” shows that the birth ceremony is understood as a joint action with Someone, possibly with an archaic Genus (?).

Associations of the royal throne and the mother’s womb are found in calendar rites. During the meeting of the spring, a low hill was built – a throne, where a young girl (“princess-queen”) was placed or an egg was placed around which dances were conducted (Corinsky, 1995, p. 227). The erotic subtext of the rite can be seen in the possible correlation of the circle / dance with the place of conception and birth, which is personified by a girl (potential maternity) or an egg. The cosmic principle of fertilization, the model of which is demonstrated during the performance of the rite, is projected onto people and can be traced in the custom of placing the bride (Voitovych & Hlushko, 2022) “princess-queen” on the “throne”. For example, among Bulgarians, the wedding ceremony is called “buchka”, which consists in solemnly placing the bride and her friends in penance near the icons. Similar customs are recorded among the Avars and some other peoples (Savarin & Fedchyshyn, 2021). M. Kostomarov saw in the position the vestiges of the ancient custom of seating the prince on the table.

A ceremonial analogue of the “throne” can be a coat, the semantics of which is also related to a woman’s womb. Thus, during the treatment of the “baby”, the mother had to sit on the

²⁰ In traditional culture, it was believed that in contrast to the divine, there is a harmful “gift” that is sprinkled into food or drinks by witches

baby's face, simulating a rebirth. Sometimes the child was wrapped in a *red* belt and covered with a *black* coat with wool on the outside. The combination of red, black and hairy is a sign of the reproductive organ: "When the child cries <...> the child should be put in place – wrapped in a red belt"; "You have to sit down with your bare ass on the child's face and say: "What a guest, such an honor". And hurry up, so that someone can cover the child with a black coat" (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 227, 466). In this case, the semantics of the "throne" in the funeral rite, where the body of the deceased was returned "to its place" in the bosom of mother-earth becomes clear, so the location of the deceased sitting down seems to be logical.

The future child's placement in the womb ("on the golden chair", "royal seat") is later implemented as the placement of an adult descendant on the father's farm, which explains the inheritance of land through the male line. The literal meaning of this custom is to imitate the father's seat, who "plants" in the womb, but must provide or give "his", otherwise "someone else's" (cf. "they knocked out old people") seat to his descendant. Thus, in traditional society, the legitimacy of birth (implantation in the womb) is determined by two factors: the child takes the ancestor's place and inherits his name (compare with the custom of calling a grandson by his grandfather's name); the descendant receives an inheritance from the father – a place on the earth, which explains the careless treatment of orphans or illegitimate children who are not "secured" with their place, which indicates the interruption of the ritual connection "ancestor – descendant". Cf. with the custom of burying the navel under the threshold of the house – the future newborn's seat (Plots in Polissia, 2003, № 597).

The Conclusions. In traditional culture, the performance of ritual actions corresponds to a certain sequence, which must follow the process of "divine providence", the completion of which is marked by a person's creation. In this regard, a human body is not only a sign, but rather a model of the sacred space organization. Repetition of natural locations, which the participant of the ritual imitates, involves the transformation of global values into the plane of specific meanings (the "cultivation of nature" takes place). In particular, a horizontal position of the body is interpreted as inanimate, while a vertical position corresponds to the opposite meaning. At the same time, the ritual designations of "horizontal / dead" contain the idea of a subsequent resurrection (the perspective of bodily verticalization), as it is evidenced by taboo forms with a direct hint of the temporality of this state ("deceased"). Thus, the idea of an absolute completion is denied in the myth, and life is understood as an alternation of birth-death. However, in exceptional situations, simulation of the final termination phase is allowed in the rite. We are talking about the post-mortem non-alternative fixation of the "recumbent" bodies of "ghouls" and "witches", which was carried out by straddling or crushing them.

In contrast to the dual vertical-and-horizontal positions that mark the "life-death" states, status mythological characters are in an intermediate (neutral) "sitting" position. The descriptions of the places, where they are placed, are iconic – on an island, at the blue sea, under / next to a tree, which symbolize the patient's imaginary return to the times of the creation of the world (the "pre-disease" state). The main feature of the "sitting" characters is the refusal to perform the work of the "living" people, related to the production of thread and canvas. Involvement in spinning and weaving associates these images with the goddesses of fate, who, according to the logic of the myth, should "weave" the thread of life, but don't do this. The negative characteristics of the goddess of fate images are juxtaposed with the magic of cure-enchancement-destruction, which is realized with the help of the reverse rotation of the spindle. Changing the direction of movement provokes the opposite consequences – the transformation of "sick" into "healthy", "indifferent" into "in love" or "alive" into "dead". For

this reason, the “sitting” images of a “grandmother” and “maidens” have dual characteristics, combining the opposite states of “life” and “death”, which explains the dosed use of funeral cult attributes in healing rituals.

The semantics of mythological characters with signs of the “otherworld” is compared with the image of the archaic genitrix. The rudiments of honoring the great mother are recorded in oronyms, which could be used as ancient sanctuaries. A similar function is taken over by landscape objects of artificial origin, for example, mounds on which anthropomorphic stone stelae, or graves, were placed, the ritual use of which is combined with the sacrificial “throne”, which performs on memorial days the function of a kind of portal that connects “living” and “dead”. Ritualized elements of the “sitting” position are also recorded in transitional rites – at funerals when sitting next to / with the “deceased”, age initiation ceremonies, enthronement ceremonies. In this way, there is a ritual imitation of the actions of the Creator-Savior, who “sits” on the heavenly throne and justly rules the world.

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**SULTANA HASEKI HIURREM: HER STATUS IN TOPCAPY PALACE
AND ROLE IN THE POLICY OF THE OTTOMAN PORTE¹**

Abstract. The purpose of the study: the study concerns Roxolana's life and activities in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, and particularly the fact of her Ukrainian ethnical origin, her status in the Sultan's Palace and her participation in the international policy of the High Porte. Besides, there have been characterised the family relations which were between Suleiman Kanuni and Roxolana. Grounds putting in practice by Roxolana her political and charity activities have been identified. There have been identified probable dates of the birth of both figures, as well as studied depiction of their artistic images in works of arts. **The Methodology of the study** is based on the principles of providing the historicism, scientific objectivity, a specific historical systematicity, and also on the interdisciplinarity principle and the principle of identification of the authenticity and informational value of the data and facts having been found. While making this study there were applied general historical methods of making a historiographical, terminological, typological and textologic analyses, and also the comparativistics method. **The academic novelty of the study** is reception of the Historiosophy of Ukraine's History in the context of intercivilisational relations. The point of interest is also the given facts, which make it possible to say, that Roxolana enjoyed a high position in the palace of Topcapy in the times of the Ottoman Empire, which enabled her to be engaged in some political activities. Besides, Sultana Haseki Hiurrem together with her daughter Sultana Mihrimah was engaged in charity activities in different spheres. For instance, owing to their efforts a mosque was erected to commemorate the famous Sufi scholar and philosopher Mevlana Djelaleddin Mehammed Rumi. It should be noted, that one of the most significant charity actions of Roxolana in the context of civilisational measurements we can consider

¹ Dedicated to the 85th anniversary of the birth of Yaroslav Kalakura

her practical repair of the so called “The Dome of the Cliff” (Turk. “Kubbet-üs Sahra”), that is in Jerusalem. “The Dome of the Cliff” is supposed to be a sacred thing in three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The most important charity action of Mihrimah was provision of a road from Mecca to the peak of the Arafat Mountain, so as to enable water supplying. While studying the artistic aspect of the formulated problem, and namely – portrait images of Sultana Haseki Hiurrem, a special interest is risen by the copy of the picture by the Italian artist Paolo Veronese “A Wedding-Party in the Galilean Kana”, which is supposed to be one of the best works of the said artist, who depicted Roxolana-Haseki Hiurrem by the side of the Turkish Sultan Suleiman Kanuni. Interpretation of the said artistic masterpiece and some other arguments give a better grounds for a high assessment of such important historic Turkish personalities, as Sultan Kanuni and his Ukrainian wife Sultana Roxolana, who are of much significance in studying the history of mutual relations between Ukraine and Turkey in the context of civilisational measurements.

While studying the above said topic, there has been underlined the importance of the data found in Turkish written sources, the information available in historiography and also that of portrayal presentations by famous artists, so as to support strengthening needs for a profound and objective studying of the said problem, particularly in relation of the development of the Ukrainian-Crimean Tatar-Turkish cultural relations.

The Conclusions. On a base of the outcomes of this study we can state, that Roxolana was a Ruthenian (that is a Ukrainian) by her origin; she was born in 1502 or in 1504 in Ukraine and died on 15 April 1558 after travelling with her husband to Adrianople; Roxolana was buried on the territory of Suleimaniye Mosque, the latter having been built due to a project by Architect Mimar Sinan. Roxolana and Kanuni's daughter Mihrimah was born in 1522, she died on 25 January 1578.

Authors of numerous studies state, that the family relations between Roxolana and Suleiman Kanuni, which were based on mutual love, guaranteed Roxolana a high position in the Sultan's Palace and a certain influence on the policy of the Ottoman Turkey. This study demonstrates, that Roxolana became a Sultana during the respective rising of the High Porte. In this context Roxolana supported her husband stimulating him to increase the list of his new victories in remote military marches.

The formulated problem and theme requires its further studying with taking in account the data, available in Turkish written sources and in historiography. Besides, studying the theme on a base of the data from works of art increases the grounds for characterisation of the said figures, particularly so as to study the history of cultural relations between Ukraine and Türkiye.

Key words: history, Roxolana, Kanuni, Topcapy, source, Turkey, Ukraine, Poland, culture, portrait.

СУЛТАНША ХАСЕКІ ГЮРРЕМ: СТАНОВИЩЕ В ПАЛАЦІ ТОПКАПИ І РОЛЬ У ПОЛІТИЦІ ОТТОМАНСЬКОЇ ПОРТИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – у дослідженні йдеться про життя та історичну діяльність Роксолани в Османській імперії в XVI ст., зокрема про факт її українського походження, про її становище в палаці султана та про участь у міжнародній політиці Високої Порти. Окрім того, характеризуються сімейні стосунки, що існували між Сулейманом Кануні та Роксоланою. З'ясовуються підстави для здійснення Роксоланою політичної та доброчинної діяльності. Встановлено ймовірні дати щодо народин обох постатей, а також відображення їхніх художніх образів у мистецьких творах. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, наукової об'єктивності, конкретно-історичної системності, а також міждисциплінарності, встановлення достовірності та інформаційної цінності виявлених відомостей і фактів. При проведенні цього дослідження були застосовані загальноісторичні методи історіографічного, термінологічного, типологічного, текстологічного аналізів, метод компаративістики. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в осмисленні історіософії історії України в контексті міжцивілізаційних відносин. Звертається увага на відзначені факти, які уможливають говорити про те, що Роксолана мала визначне становище в палаці Топкапи

Османської імперії, яке давало їй змогу займатися певною дипломатичною діяльністю. Крім того, разом з донькою-султанишою Мігрімаг Султаниша Хасекі Гюррем проводила добродійну діяльність, що стосувалася різноманітних питань. Наприклад, завдяки її зусиллям була побудована мечеть на честь видатного вченого-філософа-суфія Мевлана Джелаледдіна Мугаммеда Румі. Варто зазначити, що однією із дуже значимих добродійних акцій Роксолани в контексті цивілізаційних вимірів можна вважати здійснення нею повного ремонтування так званого “Куполу скелі” (турецьк. “Kubbet-iis Sahra”) в Єрусалимі. Купол скелі вважається святиною трьох монотеїстичних релігій: іудаїзму, християнства та ісламу. Найважливішою добродійною справою Султаниши Мігрімаг стало будівництво надійного шляхопроводу від Мекки до вершини гори Арафату, з метою забезпечення водопостачання. Досліджуючи мистецький аспект проблеми, а саме портретні зображення Султаниши Хасекі Гюррем, особливу увагу привертає до себе репродукція картини італійського художника Паоло Веронезе “Весілля в Кані Галілейській”, яка вважається однією з найкращих робіт названого художника, де поруч із турецьким султаном Сулейманом Кануні зображена Роксолани-Хасекі Гюррем. Інтерпретування названого витвору художнього мистецтва та інші наведені аргументи посилюють обґрунтування оцінки таких важливих історичних турецьких постатей, як султан Сулейман Кануні та його дружина-українка султаниша Роксолана, які мають неабияке значення для вивчення історії взаємин між Україною та Туреччиною в контексті цивілізаційних вимірів.

У процесі вивчення зазначеної теми наголошується врахування відомостей, наявних у турецьких писемних джерелах, інформації з історіографії, а також картинних відтворень визнаних митців з метою посилення обґрунтування необхідності глибокого об'єктивного дослідження порушеної проблеми, зокрема щодо розвитку українсько-кримськотатарсько-турецьких культурних взаємин.

Висновки. За результатом означеного дослідження можемо стверджувати, що Роксолана за етнічним походженням була русинкою (тобто українкою), народилася 1502 або 1504 року в Україні, померла 15 квітня 1558 р. після подорожі разом з чоловіком до Адріанополя і похована в Мавзолеї на території мечеті Сулейманіє, побудованому за проєктом архітектора Мімара Сінана. Їхня з Сулейманом Кануні донька народилася у 1522 р., померла 25 січня 1578 р. У численних наукових дослідженнях зазначається, що сімейні стосунки між Роксоланою і Сулейманом Кануні, які ґрунтувалися на взаємній любові, забезпечували Роксолані високе становищем у палаці султана та певний вплив на політику Оттоманської Туреччини. З цієї студії виявляється, що Роксолана в період зазначеного піднесення Високої Порти стала султанишою. У цьому контексті вона підтримувала свого чоловіка у здобутті нових перемог у далеких воєнних походах.

Названа тема потребує подальшого вивчення з урахуванням відомостей, які містяться у турецьких писемних джерелах та історіографії. Крім того, вивчення теми за даними мистецьких творів посилює обґрунтування оцінки цих постатей, зокрема для вивчення історії культурних взаємин між Україною та Туреччиною.

Ключові слова: історія, Роксолана, Кануні, Топкапи, джерело, Туреччина, Україна, Польща, культура, портрет.

The Problem Statement. The significance of this research consists in an objective study of Roxolana's life; particularly, her Ukrainian origin, family relations with Suleiman Kanuni and her historic role in High Porta. Her political and charity activity require more detailed analysis using corresponding methodology and taking into account the evidence available in Osman-Turkish written sources and historiography. In the study of this problem, an important role is given to identification of artistic images of the mentioned characters in art.

The Analysis of the Sources and Recent Academic Studies. A number of fundamental studies by Ukrainian and foreign authors – B. Havryliv “The Documental Portrait of Roxolana Stored in Louvre” (Havryliv, 2008), F. Turanly “Roxolana in Istanbul” (2008), D. Gün “A Royal Hanım Sultan: Hurrem” (Gün, 2019), C. Baltacı “Hurrem Sultan” (Baltacı, 1998), A. İ. Gülcü “The Wife and Daughter of Kanuni: Two Charity Sultanas” (Gülcü, 1995) and the

others – are dedicated to the scientific research into the historic destiny of Roxolana – Haseki Hurrem Sultan.

The Purpose of the Publication is to analyze the facts in the available written sources and historiography about the life and activity of Roxolana in Topkapy Palace of Ottoman Empire, in particular, her Ukrainian origin and family life, as well as the reasons for conducting her political and charity activity.

The Results of the Research. Studying the ethnical origin, life and activities of Nastia Lisovska-Roxolana² has been challenging since the middle of the 16th, and these issues have been deserving interest of chronicle writers, historians, writers and fine art experts in Turkey, Ukraine and in other countries of Europe (Gün, 2019). Even at the present time the said problem kept being one of the most important themes in the study of history, particularly for a detailed study of the history of development of cultural relations between Ukraine and Turkey, as well as for providing the adequate reception of works of arts. In this context it is important to underline, that quite a number outstanding women left put themselves on record in the history of the said countries. One of such also Roxolana was – the Great Legislator Sultan Suleiman Kanuni's wife³, Sultan Selim II Sary's mother (Ruling years: 1566 – 1574). She was the only woman who deserved the honour to be buried in the Mausoleum (Turanly, 2008, pp. 32–34). It should be noted, that to study the said theme according to the needs to carry out the study maximally objectively, one has to address the content of Turkish-Ottoman written sources and to the available and known historiographic works (Havryliv, 2008, pp. 3–7). Her portraits were painted by a lot of artists, poets glorified her in their poems. Suleiman Kanuni, who in fact was a noticeable poet, dedicated to Roxolana quite many verses expressing his adoration of his wife.



**A portrait of Sultana Haseki Hiurrem – Roxolana
(kept in Istanbul in the Portrait Gallery of Topcapy Palace)**

² Given as a transliteration from the Turkish “*Haseki Hürrem*”. This study was approbated as a report at the conference organised by Yunus Emre Institute in Kyiv on 6 Decembre 2018.

³ He was born on 27 April 1495 in the city of Trabzon (Turkey), died on 7 September 1566 in Hungary during a military march at the age of 71 years, 4 months and 10 old. Ruling period: 1520 – 1566 (Türk Ansiklopedisi, Ankara, 1981, Cilt XXX, pp. 34–79). According to the data from different written sources of the 16th century, Suleiman Kanuni was born on the 6th day of the Safer month in 900 due to Hegira Calendar (6 November 1494 AD); generally, the date of his birthday is fixed in the beginning of 900 due to Heriga Calendar, particularly in the Shaban month of 901 due to Heriga Calendar (April–May 1496). (Emecen, 2010, pp. 62–74; Turanly, 2016, pp. 558–559).



**A portrait of the Great Legislator Suleiman Kanuni
(kept in Istanbul in the Portrait Gallery of Topcapy Palace)**

According to the data from the chronicle writer Ebul Faruk (Turanly, 2000, p. 146), the Crimean Tatars made military marches to Rus for quite a long time⁴, and the successful wars resulted in grabbing material values and taking prisoners. Beautiful women were presented to the Padishah. One of those, the beauty Roxolana, became a famous person in the history of Turkey during the reigning of Sultan Suleiman Kanuni the Legislator. The Turks called her “Haseki Hiurrem”, which means “the beloved and jolly, positive woman”. One of the youngest Turkology experts tried to explain the origin of the European name “Roxolana” on the phonetical grounds: as if the form ‘Roxolana’ should be a European transformation or a wrong pronunciation of the Turkish combination of two manes – “Rus-Hiurrem” that means “a woman-Ruthenian Hiurrem”. But such an artificial interpretation, that is not weakly grounded even from the analysis of the said word combination, must not be taken seriously at least for the reason of the well-known fact, that the then Europeans, observing the classical geographical nomenclature, called “roxolanas” absolutely all the people on the Ukrainian territory; “Rus” (Ukraine) in Latin of that time was called “Roxoliana”, and every Ruthenian-Ukrainian man-person was called “Roxolanus”, while every woman-Ukrainian person was called “Roxolana”. That was stressed by Agatangel Krymsky in his study “A History of Turkey” (Krymsky, 1996, pp. 202–204). The data he gave us support the proves basis for the grounding and confirmation of the ethnical origin of Roxolana from Ukraine. If to go on developing this idea, it should be said, that other scientific studies also confirm the information, that Sultana Roxolana was a Ruthenian. For example, the Turkish scholar Ali Giuljiu in his work “The wife and daughter of Kanuni: two noble sultanas” states, that the majority of historians believe Roxolana originated from Rus (was a Ruthenian, that is a Ukrainian) – *Author’s note*. She was born in Rohatyn (Ukraine), which was then under Polish government. Her real name was “Roza, Rossa or Roxialene”. At the age of nine she was got a prisoner by the Crimean Tatars, who made military marches against the Muscovites and Poles and reached even Halychyna (Gülcü, 1995, pp. 49–55). According to some sources, Roxolana was first brought to the Palace of the Crimean Ulus. After getting education and upbringing for a few years, the master of the Crimean Khanate Mehmed Giray I (Ruling years: 1514 – 1524)⁵ presented this woman to the Sultan’s Palace, while at the age of 14 or 17 years old she was introduced to Suleiman Kanuni by his mother

⁴ Ukraine is meant.

⁵ Regarding the time of ruling by the Crimean Tatar khans see: Karal, 1999, pp. 19–20.

Sultana Hafsa (*in Turkish* “Hafsa”) (Baltacı, 1998, pp. 498–500), who, in 1520, after the death of his first wife – Giulbabar Hatun (*in Turkish* “Gülbahar Hatun”). Kanuni chose Roxolana out of a lot of beauties and took her to his Harem. After marrying Roxolana, Kanuni kept being faithful to his beloved wife Roxolana till the end of his life. Haseki Hiurrem was an extremely wise, beautiful and a beloved wife of the said ruler. There is also mentioned, that Roxolana was quite an energetic woman and a careful mother. Besides, scholars suppose, that this woman-mother tried to interfere with some political affairs; for instance, she was the initiator of the management of the internal affairs in the Palace. A western writer – Bernard Bromage – wrote about the Roxolana’s personality the following: “She was a wife of Suleiman Kanuni, during whose reigning the Ottoman State achieved its prosperity and power, and who was supposed to be the Ruler of the world. That beautiful woman was proud of her husband being the Owner of the world, and she tried in to increase in any way the outcomes of the victories of Ottomans in remote European countries” (Gülcü, 1995, pp. 49–55). Besides, the said author informs us also of the following: “When getting married, Roxolana was 11 years younger, that Suleiman Kanuni/ She never left either her children, or her husband” (Gülcü, 1995, pp. 49–55)⁶.

Tvardovski, a messenger from the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth, who was in Istanbul in 1621 році, heard from Turks, that Roxolana herself originated from Rohatyn. They wrote, that Sultana Hiurrem (she started to be called “Sultana” after her gibing a birth to a Padishah’s child), was born in 1506 in Ukraine, which was then under the power of Poland. At the age of nine she was taken a prisoner by the Crimean-Tatar Army. A few years later, after getting a proper education upbringing in the Crimean palace, the Crimean Khan presented Roxolana to the Turkish Sultan’s Palace ⁷. In 1520, after the death of his first wife – Giulbahar Hatun, the future sultan selected Haseki Hiurrem together with other three hundred beauties and accepted all those to his Harem, as it was written in the national historiography and in the belle-lettres. We shall note, that the image of the harem was formed in Ukraine under the effect of its initial European vision. That is why the harem is described not as an institute, whose function was to guarantee in fact a steadiness of the Sultan’s роду, but rather as a place for luxury, love caresses and intrigues. Roxolana, after she found herself in the Harem, did not recognise the internal rules of dwelling in that one (in the way Ukrainian authors imagined it), and she is described as contradictory to the Harem women. As the harem in works by the Ukrainian authors was always represented as a large gathering of people. Besides, unknown men came there from outside. Roxolana invited to her place poets, philosophers, artists and European ambassadors. If to speak objectively, then the harem was actually a place in the Sultan’s Palace, where masters’ families themselves lived, as well as did teachers, librarians, servants and the other serving personnel. The number of the persons who lived in the harem was approximately a few dozens, but not hundreds, nor thousands of personsяткам, as it was supposed to believe without persuasive grounds (Dermenji, 2001, pp. 52–57). In this context, for instance, the Ukrainian poets Serhiy Plachynda and Liubov Zabashta wrote, that women in the Ottoman society were completely deprived of civil rights, had no education and were dependent. That is why Roxolana on the background of their typical representation differed with her love of freedom and intelligence. Roxolana’s relations with the Sultan are perceived by extrapolating the Ukrainian traditional family harmony, with its typical matriarchate and monogamy. Hence, Sultan in the works by those authors the Sultan is depicted as depicted of his own freedom and as Roxolana’s marionette. That is exactly the way the said family relations were seen by the Austrian writer Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch, which is absolutely opposite to the

⁶ It should be noted, that the date of Roxolana’s birth, due to the inscription on her grave monument, is 1502 or 1504, which, to our mind, is quite probabilistically possible. According to the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, Roxolana lived in 1505–1561 (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies (Shevchenko Scientific Society). Paris–New York, 1973. Vocabulary Part 7, pp. 25–29).

⁷ Due to Turkish sources a probable date of the birth of the said master has been identified.

then reality (Turanly, 2008, p. 32). Therefore, we may say, that the artistic image of Roxolana, despite its inconformity with the objective reality of that time, caused in the readers' minds creation of quite a lot of different stereotypes in relation of Roxolana's image, particularly in terms of the then social life.

A. Krymsky in his above mentioned "History" wrote, that according her appearances, Roxolana was not a typical oriental beautiful woman, who were supposed to have fierce eyes like black olives, voracious lips, a high hot breast, a gorgeous well set-up figure – it was the kind of women, who at that time were supposed ideals of the women's beauty. As for Roxolana is concerned, on the contrary, yet a Venetian ambassador wrote in 1526, that, Roxolana was not very beautiful in her youth, but he once added, that she has a very gracious elegantly-small figure. And, what was the most important point about Roxolana, she was a very smart woman, who knew very well, how to entertain her master, and how to properly advise him, and in what way, when she needed that – to whisper her master of the world painful suspicions against the ones, who was trying to hand on around the master (Krymsky, 1996, pp. 203–204). The Turkish scholar wrote, that, when Sultan Kanuni got married with Roxolana, he was 11 years older, than Hiurrem was. They had seven children: six sons – Abdullag, Murad, Selim, Mehmed, Jangir, Bayezid – and the only daughter Mihrimah, who in due time got married to the Great Vizier Damad Rustam Pasha (Gülcü, 1995, p. 49). Concerning the family aspect of this married pair, A. Krymsky particularly wrote, that Suleiman Pompous loved his wife Roxolana in the sincerest way, he gladly conferred with her about the state affairs and, he must have followed her wise advice and believed Roxolana more, than he relied on his experienced statesmen. Though Suleiman's nature did not lack at all any personal independence and determination. Though the Sultan accepted tolerably others' ideas, though he was glad to listen to others' advice, but if anybody kept obstinately making him think something, which was not pleasant for the Sultan, it may have resulted even in a fierce Sultan's rage. Continuing the given point according to the data available in European written sources, the said author stressed, that "... the Sultan will not allow his pashas hold on leash, – the Venetian ambassador wrote to his government, on the contrary, – they are trembling in front of him and try to run as far away as possible from the Sultan, as soon they see him angry, so as to get safe" (Krymsky, 1996, pp. 148). A. Krymsky thinks, that the said pashas recalled then the character of Suleiman's late father Sultan Selim I Yavuz / Bagatyr⁸ (Ruling years: 1512 – 1520), the person who the Vizier. As for the invading insatiability of Selim the Terrible, the whole Europe was afraid of, the historian continues in his writings further, Suleiman Pompous had hardly that feature. Although, from the other hand, he did not ever felt in the least like giving up to his neighbours, nor like bringing harm to the Ottoman Empire. So, if the state interests required from Suleiman Pompous to start a war, he bravely and decisively went on the war, and his reigning for almost 50 years brought Turkey a lot of military glory. After the governing of Suleiman I (II) Kanuni a certain decay is was taking place in the economic development of this state, the emergence of new political forces in the Northern Black Sea region in the 17th century took place (Turanly, 2020, p. 42). Due to the studies of the English historian-orientalist, who, besides, knew well the History of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic dynasties – Stanley Lane-Poole (Life years: 1854 – 1931), the latter one in his book "A History of Turkey, when comparing the conquering activities of the father with that one of the son, that is Selim I's and Suleiman I's, very precisely called Suleiman "partis fortis, filius fortior" ("a son stronger than his father" or "A son stronger than his strong father" of "a son who is stronger owing to his father's strength" (Krymsky, 1996, pp. 148; Turanly, 2008, pp. 32–34). In the same work there is also stated, that this Sultan was called in Europe as Sultan Pompous" and "Sultan the Great Turk", obviously because of the famous military and political mightiness of that Sultan (Emecen, 2002, pp. 9–10). This is exactly the way in different studies, particularly made those in Europe, that the family relations of the great

⁸ This Sultan from 1517 had the title of Khalif.

historical persons being in question in our work, are characterised, while in fact these relations were based on mutual love and, perhaps, besides they were added with some Roxolana's effect on the Ottoman Porte's policy of that. me. In this relation there are worth attention two letters written in the Ottoman Turkish language and dated from 1548 and 1549, signed by Roxolana, to the king of the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth – Zygmunt II August, which are kept in a polish archive. We note, that these documents were written at the time, when Suleiman Kanuni was on a Bahdad March, and the documents prove Roxolana enjoyed rather serious authorities not only in the internal policy of the country, but in the foreign affairs as well. The said letters also demonstrate Roxolana's more friendly attitude to the Polish king (Hurrem Sultan, 1971, pp. 387–388). Another known letter written by Roxolana to the ruler of the state of the Safevids – Shah Tahmasib I (Ruling years: 1524 – 1576), as her reply on receiving gifts sent to Suleimaniye Mosque (Hurrem Sultan, 1971, pp. 387–388). All the facts we have given make us think, that Roxolana had an outstanding position in Palace of her husband-Sultan, which enabled her being engaged in some diplomatic activities.

On the other hand, at the same time Roxolana and her daughter Mihrimah (Life years: 1522 – 1578)⁹ were engaged in charity actions. For example, owing to her efforts a mosque with two minarets was built in the town of Konia to commemorate the outstanding scholar sufi-philosopher Mevlan Jeleleddin Mugammed Rumi (Ruling years: 1207 – 1273) (Celâleddin-i Rumî, 1960, pp. 106–117). Besides, another Roxolana's charity action, very important in terms of civilisational measurements, may be considered her implementation of a complete repair of the so called “The Dome of the Cliff” (in Turkish “*Kubbet-üs Sahra*”) in Jerusalem, where were provided a mosaic decoration of expensive marble, ceramics, gold and texts from the Koran. The dome of the Cliff is supposed to be an object of worship in three monotheistic religions: the Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Gülcü, 1995, p. 52; Fayda, 2007, pp. 44–51).



The Dome of the Cliff (in Turkish Ottoman – “*Kubbet-üs Sahra*”)

Mihrimah's most important charity action was implementation of a road from Mecca to the foot of the mountain of Arafat¹⁰, so as to provide water supply (Gülcü, 1995, p. 53).

When speaking about numerous portrayal depictions of Roxolana, a special attention is drawn to the copy of the Italian artist Paolo Veronese “A wedding-party in Kani Galilean”, which is dated to 1562 – 1563 and is supposed one of the best works of the said artist. In

⁹ “Mihrimah” in Turkish Ottoman means “the sun with the moon, love” (“*mihir û mâh*”). They called her in the Palace “*Hanım Sultan*” (Devellioğlu, 1993, p. 646; Gülcü, 1995, pp. 55–56; Kacar, 2005, pp. 39–40).

¹⁰ The place for standing and worshipping during a Hadj (pilgrimage) (Boks, 1991, pp. 261–263).

his painting the artist represented his vision of the famous biblical scenes about the first miracle committed by Jesus Christ – transformation of water into wine during a wedding-party in Kani town. In the picture, among a number of portrayal images one cannot but pay attention to the fact, that at the table next to the Turkish Sultan Suleiman Kanuni, on the very left, there is also depicted the bright personality of Roxolana–Haseki Hiurrem. In this relation, we, after a consultation with a famous historian-regional expert Bohdan Havrylov from the Transcarpathian University, came to the conclusion, that the said depicted images of Suleiman Kanuni and his wife Roxolana are realistic¹¹. Hence, the results of interpreting the mentioned painted work of art and our other above said arguments only support the grounds for a characterisation of such important historical Turkish figures, as Sultan Suleiman Kanuni and his Ukrainian wife Sultana Haseki Hiurrem (Roxolana), that are of large importance, particularly for studying the history of cultural relations with Turkey.

To complete this study, we provide a gazel by Suleiman Kanuni (in the original), which was evidently dedicated to Haseki Hiurrem – Roxolana (Turanly, 2008, pp. 32–34):

Gazel

Geç kaşıyla gözleri her lahza âl üstündedir
Kırmağa âşıkları her dem hayâl üstündedir

Bilse idin rahm ederdin derd-i dil ahvâlini
Görse idin gözlerim yaşı ne hâl üstündedir

Dâd sarsaydın Bi’hamdullah ki kurtuldu zemin
Mevsim-i güldür havalar i’tidâl üstündedir

Sahn-ı gülşende yine sultan gül divan edüb
Ayak üzre sorular kendü nihâl üstündedir

Bağlanup virmez Muhibbî¹² dâr-ı dünyâya gönül
Anınçün kim bilür anı zevâl üstündedir.



**A copy of the picture “A wedding party in Kana Galilean”
by the Italian artist Paolo Veronese (1562 – 1563) – Paris, The Louvre.**

¹¹ A copy of the picture “A wedding party in Kana Galilean” of the Italian artist Paolo Veronese (1562 – 1563). Paris, The Louvre Museum (Havryliv, 2008, pp. 3–7).

¹² The pen-name of Suleiman Kanuni.



In the Mausoleum (on the left), where Haseki Hiurrem – Roxolana was buried, her grandson Mehmed (a son of Sultan Selim II) and the daughters of Suleiman Kanuni’s sister – Sultana Hadija – were buried next to her too.



Ольга Сумецька в ролі Роксолани.



Анатолій Хостинський втілює у кадрі чоловіку мрія

**“Roxolana in the world”:
A historical and regional collection
(Compiled by B. Havryliv & I. Myroniuk.
Ivano-Frankivsk, 2008. P. 47).**

The Conclusions. On a base of the outcomes of this study we can state, that Roxolana was a Ruthenian (that is a Ukrainian) by her origin; she was born in 1502 or in 1504 in Ukraine and died on 15 April 1558 after travelling with her husband to Adrianople; Roxolana was buried on the territory of Suleimaniye Mosque, the latter having been built due to a project by Architect Mimar Sinan. Roxolana and Kanuni’s daughter Mihrimah was born in 1522, she died on 25 January 1578. Authors of numerous studies state, that the family relations between Roxolana and Suleiman Kanuni, which were based on mutual love, guaranteed Roxolana a high position in the Sultan’s Palace and a certain influence on the policy of the Ottoman Turkey. This



**Roxolana and Sultan Suleiman Kanuni (on the very left).
A fragment of the picture ‘A wedding party in Kana Galilean’**



**“Roxolana in the world”: A
historical and regional collection
(Compiled by B. Havryliv & I. Myroniuk.
Ivano-Frankivsk, 2008. 96 pp.).**

study demonstrates, that Roxolana became a Sultana during the respective rising of the High Porte. In this context Roxolana supported her husband stimulating him to increase the list of his new victories in remote military marches. The formulated problem and theme requires its further studying with taking in account the data, available in Turkish written sources and in historiography. Besides, studying the theme on a base of the data from works of art increases the grounds for characterisation of the said figures, particularly so as to study the history of cultural relations between Ukraine and Turkey.

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**PREREQUISITES FOR THE “THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY”
ESTABLISHMENT ON THE TERRITORY OF FRANCE DURING
THE PERIOD OF THE “MAGICAL REVIVAL”**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to characterize the “Theosophical Society” formation and activities as the element of the “Magical Revival” in France in the XIXth century. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism and scientific objectivity. In addition to general scientific methods: analysis, synthesis, philosophical method, induction and deduction, special historical methods have been used in the study: historical comparative, historiographical, historical and typological methods, as well as – for a complex study – the interdisciplinary method of sympathetic empiricism has been used to define esotericism as a religious component of society. The scientific novelty is that, for the first time in the Ukrainian historiography, the processes of institutionalization of occult societies issues development on the territory of France began. In particular, an important component of the study of this topic is to elucidate the process of the Magical Revival, as a complex sociocultural phenomenon that emerged on the territory of France in the second half of the*

*XLXth century. The formation of the Theosophical Society is part of this process, so it is crucial to consider the history of this organization in the appropriate context. **The Conclusions.** Due to the latest approaches to analysis of the study on “Western Esotericism”, which made it possible to establish a link between institutionalization of the esoteric movement, the spread of the occult press, and deployment of the activities of the Theosophical Society on the territory of France. It has been proved that the specified factors are appropriate to be considered part of the process of the Magical Revival and the previous traditions of the French society. The presented facts made it possible to expand the list of prerequisites that influenced the Theosophical Society establishment in modern historiography.*

Key words: esotericism, religion, history, Theosophy, France, occultism.

ПЕРЕДУМОВИ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ “ТЕОСОФСЬКОГО ТОВАРИСТВА” НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ФРАНЦІЇ У ПЕРІОД “МАГІЧНОГО ВІДРОДЖЕННЯ”

***Анотація. Мета дослідження** – характеристика становлення та діяльності “Теософського Товариства”, як елементу “Магічного Відродження” на території Франції у XIX ст. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму та наукової об’єктивності. Крім загальнонаукових методів: аналіз, синтез, філософський метод, індукція та дедукція, у дослідженні використовувались спеціальні історичні методи: історико-порівняльний, історіографічний й історико-типологічний, а також – задля комплексного дослідження – використовувався міждисциплінарний метод симпатичного емпіризму, для визначення езотеризму як релігійної складової суспільства. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії започатковано розробку проблематики процесів інституалізації окультних товариств на території Франції. Зокрема важливим компонентом студіювання означеної теми є висвітлення процесу Магічного Відродження як складного соціокультурного явища, що розпочалося на території Франції у другій половині XIX ст. Становлення Теософського Товариства є частиною цього процесу, тому важливо розглядати історію цієї організації у відповідному контексті. **Висновки.** Аналіз новітніх підходів до вивчення “Західного езотеризму” уможливив встановити зв’язок між інституалізацією езотеричного руху, поширенням окультної преси та розгортанням діяльності Теософського Товариства на території Франції. Було доведено, що вказані фактори доречно вважати частиною процесу Магічного Відродження та попередніх традицій французького суспільства. Викладені факти дали змогу розширити перелік передумов, які мали вплив на становлення Теософського Товариства.*

Ключові слова: езотеризм, релігія, історія, Теософія, Франція, окультизм.

The Problem Statement. The interdisciplinary study of Western esotericism is considered to be one of the leading scientific directions in modern world as an independent and complex sociocultural phenomenon. The history of the formation and development of numerous institutions that broadcast esoteric ideas is an inextricable part of the study of the above-mentioned phenomenon, in particular, in the context of such a complex process as the “Magic Revival” (hereinafter referred to as the MR), which began in the XIth century from the territory of France. The key mystical organization operating within the geographical boundaries of Western Europe at the end of the century was the “Theosophical Society” (hereinafter – TS), which was established by a prominent figure of the occult movement in 1875 – Helena Blavatsky. Unlike most of the mystical Orders that functioned in the Western European region and were liquidated at the turn of the century, the TS carried on its activities in the XXth century, even on the territory of Ukraine. An active popularization of the TS ideas in the media space was one of the features of this organization. In general, the specifics of deployment and activity of occult Orders, in particular the TS, were not covered in modern historiography sufficiently or were based on outdated concepts that did not provide a complete and comprehensive knowledge of the above-mentioned topic. Hence, the topicality

of the presented topic is determined by the fact that it has not been covered in modern historiography of the occult movement of Western Europe of modern era sufficiently and it needs a more detailed study, especially in the context of the MR. At the same time, taking into account the rapid spread of various ideological paradigms that are reflected in modern information space, it is vital to identify social systems of a religious model accurately, such as the TS, which broadcasted their ideas to the society actively. It is the study of the historical path and the specifics of their formation that allows us to identify positive or destructive tendencies in their influence on modern society.

The purpose of the research is to characterize the “Theosophical Society” formation and activities as an element of the “Magical Revival” in France in the XIXth century.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The majority of historiographical materials on the presented topic are written in English and are of a foreign origin mainly. One of the first modern works that which focuses on the analysis the activity history of the French branch of the TS is the monograph of Jussel Godwin “The Beginnings of Theosophy in France”, which is part of an outstanding project on the study of esotericism “L’Esoterisme Musicalen France, 1750 – 1950” (Godwin, 1989). The above-mentioned monograph is unique because it focuses on the prerequisites and early period of the TS branches activity on the territory of France. The author elucidated the factors and circumstances that influenced the development of the theosophical movement thoroughly. J. Godwin outlined four main prerequisites that stimulated the TS establishment in France: first of all, it was the presence of numerous lodges of another secret society – the “Masonic Order”, from whose ranks a significant number of adepts of the theosophical movement emerged; second of all, F. Mesmer, an outstanding occultist of the XVIIIth century, who spread the ideas of hypnotism, magnetism and various trance states, was active namely in Paris; third of all, it is the influence of spiritual practices that were spreading on the territory of France actively; fourth of all, the author focused on the activities done by the French occultist Louis Constant (a magical pseudonym Eliphas Levi), who is considered to be a key figure of the MR (Godwin, 1989, pp. 2–3). It should be noted that the above-mentioned prerequisites were accepted by other diverse researchers, whose works made up modern historiography of the TS. However, due to new approaches to the study on the history of Western esotericism published archival materials expanded the information model of the TS activity significantly and the prerequisites for its emergence, in particular on the territory of France.

The topic on the MR and the occultism ideas popularization was covered in a monograph of a cultural nature quite meaningfully and was called “The Place of Enchantment British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern” by the American researcher Alex Owen (Owen, 2004). In the presented monograph there were analyzed the origins of the British occult movement in the light of a cultural paradigm. Despite the fact that the geographical boundaries of the monograph covered the British Isles mainly, and the central theme of the study was the peculiarities of the British esotericism, A. Owen examined the influence of the French mystical ideas on the Victorian occult model thoroughly. In particular, the author pointed out that it was Paris that became the center of the occult movement in Western Europe. The French mystics developed esoteric ideas and broadcast them to other European countries actively. As Britain is geographically close to France, the influence on the occult establishment was very strong. In the researcher’s work there are analyzed the activities of such prominent mystics as E. Levi, A. Kardec, S. de Guita, G. Encausse (Papus) and the others. There were numerous examples concerning the influence of the French sacred model on the representatives of the British esoteric organizations (Owen, 2004, pp. 44–45). However, it should be noted that

A. Owen considered the TS and the occult theories of H. Blavatska to be the central factor in the MR development on the territory of France. According to the author, it was Theosophy who became a relevant form of fulfilling sacred needs, both for women and men of a different social status (Owen, 2004, pp. 22–23).

One of the most fundamental works on the history of the theosophical movement in France is the thesis work, published by the historian Marie-José Delalande and entitled “Le mouvement théosophique en France 1876 – 1921” (Delalande, 2007). The above-mentioned research focuses on a very wide range of various issues related to the history of the creation and activity of the TS in the second half of the XIXth and at the beginning of the XXth centuries. The research consists of two large parts. The first part of the thesis contained the analysis of the prerequisites for the TS establishment, which almost completely coincided with the set of factors cited by D. Godwin and were consistent with the general trends of the theosophical movement. The paramount difference in the above-mentioned presentation of the prerequisites was a rather extensive overview of the influence on European esotericism of “Eastern” cultural traditions, which actually formed the ideological basis of the society (Delalande, 2007, pp. 196–223). Other factors influencing the TS formation were outlined in the work, written by M.-Kh. Delalande, almost did not differ from those identified in Godwin’s work. It is obvious that the format of the doctoral thesis allowed the author to highlight the research objectives presented in the work more systematically. In addition, in the first part there are analyzed the formation and spread process of the TS in France in the XIXth century. The researcher managed to reproduce the course events of the early period of the TS history consistently and integrally, especially in the context of its formation as part of the social system (Delalande, 2007, pp. 349–357). The second part of the work was dedicated to the history of the TS activity on the territory of France in different chronological segments of the XXth century. The number of issues elucidated in the research was very great and covered almost all important aspects of the French branch of the TS history.

More generally, the subject of the MR on the territory of France was elucidated in the monograph of the British historian Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke entitled “The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction” (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008). The above-mentioned monograph focused on the study of the Western esotericism phenomenon on the basis of philosophical and historical approaches. The subject of research was a wide range of issues related to the esoteric tradition of Europe, starting from the era of the Ancient World and ending with Modern History. However, the author singled out two conceptually related topics, presented in the corresponding sections of the book: the formation history of the TS and the French MR. As in the works of other researchers, E. Levi was identified as a key figure in the MR development and his diverse occult publications were noted, which influenced the popularization of the esoteric movement, even outside France (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 192–196). At the same time, the topic of the TS formation history was elucidated in a rather original way. It was noted that the active spread of materialism and popularization of Charles Darwin’s “evolutionary” theory gave impact to the TS not only to intensify its activities, but also to adapt its theories to the challenges of the XIXth century. According to the theory presented by Goodrick-Clarke, H. Blavatska’s concepts were a response to global world processes and ideas. After all, the main source of inspiration for H. Blavatska was the Eastern sacred systems, namely Hinduism and Buddhism, one of the central ideas of which was the evolution of the soul and the improvement of moral and ethical qualities of a person (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 211–212).

J. Monroe drew attention to the fact that already in 1875 in the Catholic and Republican press of France, a discussion about spiritualism and the activities of spiritualists developed (Monroe, 2003). Carlos S. Alvarado believed that we should recognize the conceptual contributions of spiritualists to esoteric studies. After all, he contributed to the process of studying and understanding mediumism and its conceptualization (Alvarado, 2020, p. 714). On the other hand, M. Morrisson stated that the spirit of the occult revival was based on a vogue for the esotericism. And in this regard, a significant role was played by the occult periodical press, which spread occult ideas massively (Morrisson, 2008, pp. 3–4).

The Results of the Research. The process of MR and its connection with the history of the TS formation should be considered before highlighting the prerequisites that influenced the theosophical movement development in France. The MR phenomenon is very complex in order to give a comprehensive characterization of this phenomenon. Hence, it is appropriate to analyze individual elements of the above-mentioned process. Modern researchers of Western esotericism believed that the French occultist E. Levi was at the origin of the “Magic Revival”. E. Levi was able to satisfy the needs of the “romanticized” European society of the XIXth century in an alternative sacred doctrine by publishing a number of original works (“Dogme et ritual delahaute magie” (1856), “Histoire de la magie” (1860) and “La clef de sgrands mysteres” (1861)) (Granholm, 2014, p. 44). The MR process began on the territory of France right after the publication of E. Levi’s works and covered other countries of Western Europe very quickly. E. Levi’s role in this process was fundamental that researchers considered him to be the founder of a form of occultism, which, in its main features, is also relevant in the modern world (Strube, 2017, p. 569). At the same time, it should be noted that France was quite prepared from an ideological point of view for the appearance of the MR, under the conditions when the rational era of the “Enlightenment”, which was a product of socio-political processes of the French society, actually discredited the Orthodox Christian system of the Catholic Church completely and was accompanied by a deep religious crisis (Blackbourn, 1991, pp. 779–782).

Another contemporary of the events, E. Maitland, noted that the variety of religious doctrines can be reduced to two fundamental directions: the revival of esoteric philosophy and the revival of mysticism (Owen, pp. 20–21). The followers of the MR sought inspiration for new spiritual doctrines outside the traditional Christianity mainly. The source of new sacred concepts for the mystics of the XIXth century served ancient Christian texts, Eastern religious traditions and pagan myths. In addition, the occult societies followers were offered individual practice, as well as the “hidden truth” that was the basis of ancient texts. Popularization of these ideas was facilitated by the grouping of people into esoteric organizations and closed groups, which in some cases had competing ideological systems (Owen, p. 21). In fact, the MR spread gave a strong impetus to the institutionalization of the occult movement, of which the TS was a part.

The TS history began in 1875 on the territory of the United States of America, where at that time there was a rather favourable environment for the development of alternative forms of religion. It is worth noting that H. Blavatska came to New York in 1873 and, with the help of the influential mystic H. Olcott, integrated into the esoteric community of America quickly. Owing to the fact that H. Olcott was a prominent lawyer and publicist this process was facilitated. Due to his efforts and certain advertising that H. Olcott did with his articles in popular newspapers, H. Blavatska became known among the general population, primarily in esoteric circles. Since, at that time the most popular esoteric direction was spiritualism, it was in that stream that H. Blavatska’s quasi-sacred activity unfolded (Magee, 2016, pp. 249–250).

The headquarters of the future Society was located in New York, in the house of H. Olcott, where H. Blavatska lived. Due to the fact that H. Blavatska was known to a large number of occultists, various meetings, spiritual sessions and lectures were held in this headquarters by prominent American mystics, who formed the “backbone” of the organization. At the end of 1875, during one of the meetings, the Theosophical Society was formed, aimed at studying and popularizing occult sciences. The following figures of the esoteric movement became the basis of the TS, in addition to H. Blavatska: H. Olcott, S. Pancoast, E. H. Britten, C. Sotheran, G. D. Newton, C. K. Massey, and the others. The society expanded its activities quickly, both in the United States and in Europe owing to a considerable experience and extensive funds of materials of an esoteric nature (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 217–218). According to Anna Delcheva Kaltseva, the universal brotherhood of humanity’s core formation without distinction of race, colour or creed began already at that time. At the same time, special attention was paid to the study of Aryan and other sacred texts. The purpose was to explore the hidden secrets of nature in all its manifestations, as well as the mental and spiritual potential of a person (Delcheva Kaltseva, 2019, p. 230).

At the same time, the majority of modern historians believe that the full development of the TS activities in France should be counted from 1884. It was at that time that the leadership of the organization began a journey to Europe in order to resolve the accumulated contradictions in the ranks of the TS (Delalande, 2007, p. 360). It is worth noting that among the high-ranking officials of the TS, the founder and head of the organization went to France. In her letter dated January 25, 1884, H. Blavatska wrote that the problems of movement must be solved in London, but she was sick and needed treatment in the south of France precisely (Blavatskaya, 1996, pp. 151–154). However, in our opinion, the dating of the beginning of the theosophical movement in France in 1884 cannot be considered correct. According to the facts provided by D. Godwin, the French mystics activity in the ranks of theosophical centers began much earlier. In 1876, the New York branch included French theosophists. In 1879, the organization called the “Theosophical Spiritist Society of France” was formed on the territory of France, which, we believe, should be considered the original form of institutionalization of the TS. At the same time, although the named Society had an indirect relation to the sacred model of theosophists, the central ideological paradigm was the doctrine of the outstanding French spiritualist – A. Kardec. In fact, H. Blavatska knew about the existence of the above-mentioned society for five years, but had no direct influence on it (Godwin, 1989, pp. 7–8). The researchers often date the theosophical societies activity development in the country namely in 1884, the beginning of direct relations between the founders of the TS and the French theosophists due to the ambiguous situation that developed around the pioneers of the theosophical movement in France.

It is essential to analyze and enlarge the prerequisites for the emergence of this organization on the territory of France in order to understand of the history of the formation of the TS holistically. As it was above-mentioned, modern scholars established several groups of prerequisites that constituted a favourable basis for the French branch of the TS. In particular, D. Godwin was one of the first to identify a number of factors that influenced the theosophical movement activation in France. The first prerequisite that contributed to the emergence of the TS on the territory of France was the activity of the Masonic Order long before the Theosophists appeared there. In particular, a type of Masonic movement of a mystical nature was quite popular in France itself. The usual Masonic rite was called “Memphis-Mitzraim” and was based on the ancient Egyptian mythological model. However,

the above-mentioned esoteric Order was not directly related to the theosophical doctrine, but the presence of such institution contributed to the emergence of more traditional occult societies in the society (Godwin, 1989, p. 3).

The second factor D. Godwin identified was the active spread of the esoteric concepts of Mesmerism and Magnetism on the territory of France in the XVIIIth century (Godwin, 1989, pp. 3–4). The esoteric direction originated as a medical method justified by Anton-Franz Mesmer, aimed at nervous disorders treatment. According to Mesmer, the theory was based on the fact that there was an invisible substance in a human body, which, was involved in maintaining the vital activity of the body. The researcher nominated such substance as “Animal Magnetism”, which is why his method came to be called Magnetism. As a result, official science denied the effectiveness of the above-mentioned technique after the appointment of two commissions and a thorough examination of Mesmer’s methods (Magee, 2016, pp. 223–224). However, interest in the concept of Magnetism was maintained in the occult environment actively and was quite lively even in the XIXth century. For example, a number of elements of Mesmer’s theory were used by the pioneer of MR – E. Levi in his works (Churton, 2008, p. 317).

The third fact is also related to a mystical concept, namely Spiritualism, which was quite popular in France. One of the central figures among the followers of this direction was A. Kardec, whose ideas were very popular in France (Godwin, 1989, p. 4). It should be noted that the French society accepted the appearance of spiritualism as an alternative form of fulfilling sacred needs quite enthusiastically. A number of facts prove that in the middle of the XIXth century spiritualism was very popular on the territory of France, and especially in Paris. In addition to the constant discussions, which were unfolding in the society concerning the reality of spiritual practices, the congresses were also held, where scientists debated. As a result, it was depicted on the pages of popular publications widely (Delalande, 2007, pp. 225–226).

According to Godwin’s systematization, another prerequisite that influenced the TS formation was the activity of E. Levi, who was actually the main popularizer of the occult ideas in the second half of the XIXth century. The main peculiarity of his works was that E. Levi not only described various esoteric traditions, but also focused on the intellectual reception of certain concepts (Godwin, 1989, pp. 7–8). According to modern authors, it was E. Levi, who is considered to be a key figure in the spread of the MR in France. This prominent esotericist is also considered to be the founder of the “Ceremonial Magic” as a form of realization of human spiritual needs. The TS used elements of Ceremonial Magic in their occult practices in turn (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 192–193; Granholm, 2014, pp. 43–44).

Although the prerequisites defined by D. Godwin became the basis for subsequent research, it is obvious that the group of factors defined by the scientist does not cover the entire set of prerequisites for the TS formation. In particular, M. Kh. Delalande added another factor to Godwin’s list, namely the active popularization of “Eastern” sacred motifs in France at that time. In fact, in the XIXth century the “Eastern Renaissance” took place, which stirred up mass interest in Eastern culture (Delalande, 2007, p. 197). The study on the Eastern religious model gained institutional and professional forms in the XIXth century. As of 1822, the “Asiatic Society” was opened in Paris, and in 1823, the “Asiatic Journal” began its work, where numerous materials related to the culture of the East were published. In addition, France occupied a key position in the pan-European “Eastern Renaissance”, owing to the participation of a significant number of French scientists in this process. It should be noted that the presented fact is very crucial in order to understand the prerequisites that influenced the TS formation, taking into account

the fact that the mystical doctrine of the organization was formed on the basis of a religious paradigm, and some society members were part of the scientific environment of researchers, who dealt with the East issues (Delalande, 2007, pp. 200–201).

The British researcher N. Godrick-Clarke also emphasized the prerequisites for the TS formation in his fundamental study of Western esotericism. In particular, the researcher was able to enlarge the list of already existing prerequisites for the TS activation of in France. According to N. Godrick-Clarke, the work written by Ch. Darwin “The Origin of Species”, was one of the factors influencing the activity and spread of the TS, in which an attempt was made to prove the origin of a human being from more primitive biological beings, as a result of evolution and a “natural selection”. New scientific concepts gained popularity, first of all, among intellectuals as the Orthodox forms and dogmas of religion were discredited by turbulent socio-political processes and the development of natural science significantly by the middle of the XIXth century. However, the leading ideological paradigm of H. Blavatska had as its goal the search of a compromise between religion and science. One of the main components of the theosophical doctrine was evolutionism, namely the “spiritual evolution” of a human being as a form of development. In fact, the ideas of evolution, which were expressed by Ch. Darwin in a materialistic context, were involved by H. Blavatska in her theory, but already in a sacred sense (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 211–212).

During a general overview of the trends in the development of Western esotericism as an independent sacred model, W. Hanegraaff noted that by the XVIIth century the occult movement existed in the form of an unsystematic intellectual tradition that took place in Europe. Only in the middle of the XVIIIth century the process of structuring and institutionalizing the esoteric movement begins (Hanegraaff, 2013, p. 8). The process of institutionalization, in our opinion, is one of the key factors in the TS formation on the territory of France, during the MR period. France acted as the initiator for the structural Orders of an esoteric nature formation. It was facilitated by numerous socio-political preconditions, in particular, the religious crisis and the activities of the Masonic Order, which was spread in the majority of countries of Western Europe during the Enlightenment. Esoteric organizations developed their activities in France, the purpose of which was not just the individual improvement of a personality, as in adepts-Masons, but also training in the practical use of magical practices. The Order of Knight-Masons Elect Priests of the Universe (“Elus-Cohen”) was one of the first esoteric societies, founded in 1766 by Martínez de Pasqually, on the territory of France. The organization had a clear structure based on esoteric principles, each level had a certain initiation and opened access to the information case. The Order focused on ideas of Judeo-Christian content from the point of view of a sacral model. In general, the doctrine of the Order was based on theurgical principles and rituals, designed to interact with the “powers” of God. The above-mentioned Order was one of the first to have a clear structure, which remained the prototype of modern esoteric societies (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 140–141).

It should be noted that the Order of Knight-Masons Elect Priests of the Universe (“Elus-Cohen”) carried on operating and keeping its tradition even after M. Pasqually. It was on the territory of France that the ideas of M. Pasqually continued to be studied and improved by his student L. K. Saint-Marten, who approved this direction of esoteric doctrine. A bit later, the trend was called “Marténism”. St. Marten held the position of M. Pasqually’s secretary starting from 1771 and had a high level of initiation in the hierarchy of the Order. In his works, the French occultist criticized rationalist philosophy actively, especially in the context of knowledge of God and the spiritual mission of a human being on Earth (Churton, 2016).

His most vigorous activity as a member of the Order unfolded in the city of Bordeaux. During the period between 1767 and 1771, a dozen branches of the Order of Knight-Masons Elect Priests of the Universe (“Elus-Cohen”) were established in the city, and the ranks of the society included more than a hundred people, which, for the XVIIIth century, was quite a significant figure (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008, pp. 140–141).

The occult branch representatives of the Masonic Order also supported the trend of institutionalization of the movement actively. For example, in Toulouse during the XVIIIth century paramasonic esoteric societies were active (Galtey, 2012, pp. 210–211). The activities of the “Memphis-Mitzaïm” masonic lodges, which had an occult character, were booming near Paris soon, namely in 1815 (Galtey, 2012, p. 117). E. Levi in his letters to Baron Spadelieri made hints that he was related to one of these orders. In a letter dated November of 1861, E. Levi, used quotations from the “New Testament”, invited Baron Spadelieri to join his “companionship” (Levi, 2016, p. 8). In a letter dated April 13, 1862, E. Levi noted that he had 12 students, who were scattered throughout Western Europe, but all of them were united by the practices, which were provided by the French mystic (Levi, 2016, pp. 75–76).

The above-mentioned facts demonstrate clearly that the processes of institutionalization of occult societies on the territory of France had a long and thorough tradition. In the second half of the XIXth century the process of the MR intensified the spread of occult societies. During this period, such flagships of the esoteric movement appeared in France as the “Martinist Order”, founded by G. Encausse, a native of the TS, and the “Kabbalist Order of the Rose-Cross”, founded by the outstanding mystic S. de Guaita (Owen, 2004, pp. 44–45). But the first organization founded during the MR period, namely in 1884, was the TS, which, in fact, encouraged diverse figures of the esoteric movement to found occult societies (Owen, 2004, p. 44). The above-mentioned facts illustrate clearly that French society was ready to accept the mass institutionalization of the mystical occult movement as part of the social system. At the same time, the TS not only focused on the past tradition, but was also a pioneer of this process in the context of the MR.

Another factor that influenced the prerequisites for the TS formation and was practically not elucidated in modern historiography – is an active spread of the press of a mystical nature. For example, the foundation of the theosophical magazine was indirectly considered by D. Godwin in his monograph, but he did not cover its activities in the context of prerequisites. However, at that time France was one of the leading countries in journalism development and distribution of publications of various orientations. Periodicals specially devoted to occult and esoteric doctrines appeared in France starting from the XIXth century. In 1858 the magazine called “Revue Spirite” was founded, edited by A. Kardec. The topic of the magazine was aimed at studying the theory and practice of spiritualism, which developed in the French society actively (Revue Spirite, 1858). Another magazine of a spiritual nature was founded in Paris, which was called “Revue Spiritualiste” in the same year, but edited by Z. J. Pierart. In addition to the theory and practice of spiritualism, the following topics were considered on the pages of the magazine: Theurgy, Magnetism, Ontology, Psychology and many other areas devoted to the study of a human nature (Revue Spiritualiste, 1858). In 1865 one more magazine called “Union Spirite Bordelaise” was founded, the leading topic of which was the phenomenon of spiritualism. The peculiarity of this edition was that, in addition to elucidating topical issues of spiritualism, considerable attention was paid to the problem of reconciling spiritualist ideas and Catholicism (Union Spirite Bordelaise, 1865). At the request of the French society, which was quite keenly interested in the ideas of magnetism, in 1778 the

magazine called “Revue Magnetique” was founded. The above-mentioned magazine focused on the study of phenomena of a human psyche and popularization and development of the concept of magnetism (Revue Magnetique, 1878).

It should be noted that the emergence of numerous publications on an esoteric nature was synchronized with the process of development of the MR and, thereby, stimulated the MR development. At that time the popularity of magazines in Europe indicated that it was an effective tool for spreading Theosophy, Esotericism and Spiritualism in the society. It is no coincidence that in 1887, the magazine “Lucifer” was published in London, which was later actively used by Theosophists in order to discuss esoteric ideas (Lucifer, 1887). The magazine “The Theosophist” appeared on the territory of India quite similarly (1879), whose active contributors were the British and French followers of the TS, including H. Blavatska (The Theosophist, 1879).

H. Blavatska understood the importance of periodicals, hence, already from the early stages of the TS existence focused on using them as a means of broadcasting her ideas. H. Blavatska was directly involved in the activities of periodicals owned by the TS representatives. In particular, in a letter dated December 7, 1882, she expressed her concern about the unstable and poor quality of the magazine “The Theosophist” (Blavatskay, 1996, p. 85). Based on the above-mentioned, it becomes clear that the TS, as one of the first to expand its activities on the territory of France during the MR, could not ignore such a serious tool for influencing public opinion. Due to difficult circumstances of the TS organization, the process of creating a theosophical printed organ also suffered many obstacles and was delayed. Therefore, at the early stages of the TS formation, the publishing side was used to provide information support. In 1887 the French branch of the TS received its own magazine called “The Blue Lotus” after attracting certain investments, which for a long time helped the followers of Theosophy to broadcast their ideas in the French society (Godwin, 1989, pp. 12–13). As in the case of the general process of institutionalization of the occult movement on the territory of France, the public environment was prepared for the emergence of the press of an esoteric nature, which was evidenced by the popularity of numerous magazines on esoteric topics.

Kelly E. Hayes noted that already in the XXth century the TS activities, in particular the spread of its theosophical literature, led to the emergence of a Brazilian spiritualist lodge called “Love for God” (Amor a Deus). At the same time, the spiritualist newspapers, conferences, radio programmes and other mass media were also an important vector with the help of which theosophical ideas spread in Brazil (Hayes, 2020, p. 65).

The Conclusions. The factors, which influenced the TS formation were consistently and systematically analyzed in researches of modern scholars. These prerequisites include the following: the activity of the Masonic Order of an esoteric model; spread of Magnetism doctrine; popularization of Spiritism practice; creation and distribution of works by Eliphas Levi; growing interest of the French society in the culture of Eastern countries. In addition, little-studied prerequisites of the occult movement, which were relevant in the MR period, were identified and characterized additionally. Due to the synergistic methodology application, the need to take into account two more factors that influenced the TS formation was substantiated. First of all, the institutionalization of alternative forms of religious cults on the territory of France had a coherent tradition, the origins of which can be seen at least in the XVIIIth century. Owing to the presence of this tradition and society orientation to the structuring of a mystical movement, the TS managed to build an effective system. During the period of the MR, it was the TS which was the first organization of an esoteric nature that

created a centralized structure. Therefore, France was one of the first countries where the occult movement was institutionalized. Another factor that influenced the spread of the TS during the MR was that France had a developed press of a mystical direction. The leading publications of an esoteric nature are identified and their thematic specifics were outlined. At the same time, the analysis of the correspondence of the leader of the TS – H. Blavatska and the influence of these publications, made it possible to establish the important role of the press in spreading the ideas of theosophical doctrine. The presence of an already formed information system in broad circles of the French society had a very positive effect on the spread of the TS activities. This article does not claim to be an exhaustive and comprehensive study of the chosen topic, but it can serve for further scientific studies of Western esotericism.

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**HISTORY OF CREATION AND ACTIVITY OF KHOMIVKA
ASSUMPTION-TRANSFIGURATION CONVICT**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to cover Khomivka Assumption-Seraphim Monastery's history and the contribution of the Razdobarov family to the conversion of the Old Believer community of Kharkiv region. The research methods in the article have been selected in accordance with the purpose and based on the principle of historicism. They are represented by a general scientific method of analysis and a special scientific historical genetic method. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that previously unanalyzed sources have been discovered (archival documents, materials of the local press of that time, statistical documents) and introduced into scientific circulation, owing to which it was possible to recreate the history of the monastery and find out new facts in the history of the church in Ukraine. The Conclusions. Special attention in the research is devoted to uncovering the facts of the priest T. Razdobarov's biography, a renowned figure among the missionary movement of Kharkiv region. It was his name that was considered to be associated with the local community of Old Believers involvement into monotheism and the decrease in the number of Old Believers in the region. The influence of Archimandrite Pavlo Prussky on the life and outlook of T. Razdobarov has been traced in the article. There has been elucidated the work of T. Razdobarov in the Old Believer community on the creation of the tenement to the monastery and his constant search of optimal ways of conversion to Old Believers. It has been determined, that one of the causes of the monastery's foundation was T. Razdobarov's experience of communication with the female part of the Old Believer community. As the priest stated that women's fanaticism was considered to be a factor in slowing down the process of converting Old Believers to the same faith. Therefore, according to T. Razdobarov's plan, the place where children of Old Believers and coreligionists could study and communicate together would be the tenement from which the monastery later emerged. In conclusion, the following events have been elucidated in the article: the fate of the monastery during the Soviet era, the closure of the monastery, the immigration of the family of Yo. A. Vasiutin and a gradual destruction of monastery premises.*

Key words: *monotheism, convent, T. Razdobarov, Old Believers.*

ІСТОРІЯ СТВОРЕННЯ ТА ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ХОМІВСЬКОГО УСПЕНСЬКО-ПРЕОБРАЖЕНСЬКОГО МОНАСТІРЯ

Анотація. *Мета статті* – висвітлити історію Хомівського Успенсько-Преображенського монастиря та внесок родини Раздобарових у навернення старообрядницької громади Харківщини. **Методи дослідження** у статті добиралися відповідно до мети та опиралися на принцип історизму. Представлені вони загальнонауковим методом аналізу та спеціально науковим історико-генетичним методом. **Наукова новизна:** введено до наукового обігу виявлені раніше неактуалізовані джерела (архівні документи, матеріали тогочасної місцевої преси, статистичні документи), завдяки яким вдалося відтворити історію монастиря та з'ясувати нові факти в історії церкви в Україні. **Висновки.** Особливу увагу у розвідці присвячено розкриттю фактів біографії священника Т. Раздобарова, відомої постаті серед місіонерського руху Харківщини. Саме з його ім'ям пов'язують прилучення місцевої общини старообрядців до єдиновірництва та зменшення кількості старообрядців у краї. У статті простежено вплив архімандрита Павла Прусського на життя і світогляд Т. Раздобарова. Висвітлено працю Т. Раздобарова у старообрядницькій общині від створення обителі до монастиря та постійній пошук ним оптимальних шляхів навернення старообрядців. Встановлено, що одним із приводів до заснування обителі став досвід спілкування Т. Раздобарова з жіночою частиною старообрядницької общини. Священник відзначав фанатичність жіноцтва як фактор гальмування процесу навернення старообрядців у єдиновір'я. А отже, за задумом Раздобарова, місцем, де діти старообрядців та єдиновірців зможуть навчатися та спілкуватися разом, мала стати обитель, з якої і постав пізніше монастир. На закінчення розкривається доля монастиря за радянської доби, закриття обителі, імміграція родини Й. А. Васютіна та поступове руйнування монастирських приміщень.

Ключові слова: єдиновірництво, жіночий монастир, Т. Раздобаров, старообрядництво.

The Problem Statement. Khomivka Assumption-Seraphim Monastery (Uspensko-Seraphymovsky Monastery) has not attracted attention of researchers for a long time as it was small in scale and time of activity. However, its history is connected with activities of one of the prominent missionaries in Kharkiv region, Timofiy Razdobarov. However, there are numerous questions: how did Razdobarov come to a difficult missionary activity, how did he build his communication with the Old Believer community and what made his work successful? T. Razdobarov's and his wife Matrona participation in the monastery's creation, and a devoted missionary activity were not previously the subject of scientific research.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The Old Believers' fate in Ukraine or the research of the history of the Orthodox churches are one of the important issues of the Ukrainian church historiography undoubtedly. Diverse Ukrainian historians covered the above-mentioned issue in their works (Potockyi, 2004; Taranets, 2012; Bublyk, 2012; Khytrovska, (2018); Yeremeev, 2018; Bystrytska, 2020; Kuhutiak & Korolko (2020); Bystrytska & Kostiuk, 2021; Ihnatusha & Hruzova, 2021) as well as the Russian historians (Makarov, 1996; Cherkashin, 2006).

However, a few short histories, written by the local historians (Paramonov, 2013, p. 47; Naidenova, 2019) and individual mentions of its founders in works on the history of the Old Believers of Kharkiv region make up the entire historiographical work on Khomivka Monastery (Yeremeev, 2018, p. 59). The biographies of its founders, Timofiy and Matrona Razdobarov were not covered either.

Yosyf Antonovych Vasiutin (1870 – 1934) described the background history of the women's abode establishment and then the monastery in the book "Fomovsky Uspensko-Seraphymovsky Convent: (History of Establishment and Opening)" as he was the priest

there. The work was published in Moscow, in 1906. There is not much information about the author. This issue required additional research involving new sources. Therefore, in order to restore their biographies and verify the facts of the life of the Razdobarov family and Yo. A. Vasiutin, we turned to Fund 40 “Kharkiv Spiritual Consistory” of the State Archive of Kharkiv Region (hereinafter – SAKhR).

The purpose of the research is to cover Khomivka Assumption-Seraphim Monastery’s history and the Razdobarov family contribution to the Old Believer community’s conversion of Kharkiv region

The Results of the Research. Yosyf Antonovych Vasiutin was born in 1870 in Karmazynivka hamlet, Kupiansky povit (district). His father, Anton Omelianovych Vasiutin (born in 1841), belonged to the bezpopovtsi (priestless ones) community of Old Believers. In 1866, he came to Moscow in order to learn the Old Believer statutory chant. However, there was no place at Moscow chapel and he went to study at the Old Believer monastery of Pavlo Prussky, a famous Old Believer nachotchyk (Razdobarov, 1877, p. 38). Two years later, Anton Vasiutin returned to Karmazynivka, where he married Maria Prokopivna, born in 1842. They had four children: Dmytro, Yosyf, Darya and Pavlo (SAKhR, f. 40, d. 110, c. 881, p. 1). In 1875, Anton Omelianovych Vasiutin was recorded as a deacon in Karmazynivka. In his work, the son explained the reasons for his father’s conversion to the Orthodoxy by Pavlo Prussky’s influence, who joined the Orthodoxy in 1867: “Father Pavlo’s exit from the schism prompted the Old Believers of Karmazynivka to consider their religious state more carefully ... having heard that Fr. Pavlo joined, at first they were amazed at the act of their “column”, and then they decided to write him a letter, asking him to inform them of the motives by which he was guided in his extraordinary act; at the same time, they asked to send someone to them for a detailed explanation and instruction. In response to this letter, Fr. Pavlo sent to Karmazynivka his first printed conversation with the Old Believers and Ozersky’s book “extracts from old printed books”. The Karmazinovtsi treated these books with special attention, and a movement emerged towards St. Church among them. The Old Believers took the advice of their former parish priest, Fr. Stefan Krasnopolsky and declared their desire to join the local consistory. The Consistory sent them a priest of the same faith from Kharkiv, Fr. Andriy Rumiantsev, who performed the rite of accession in Karmazynivka” (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 3). According to the lists of the clergy of Kharkiv diocese of 1908, A. O. Vasiutin is recorded as the priest in the village of Mykolaivska Kupiansky District 3 (Kharkovskaia Eparkhyia, 1900 – 1929). At least two of his sons followed in his footsteps.

It is known that after graduating from the seminary, Yosyf Antonovych was appointed the first priest of the Assumption community on August 25, 1897. In 1906, his work “Fomovsky Uspensko-Serafymovsky Convent. History of Establishment and Opening”. Dmytro Antonovych, his brother, was a deacon in Fomivka with him (Kharkovskaia Eparkhyia, 1900 – 1929). Yosyf Antonovych was married and had a son. After the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, Yosyf Antonovych and his family emigrated to the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. Yo. A. Vasiutin died in 1934.

In his work, Yo. A. Vasiutin wrote that the monastery’s founders were Tymofiy Matviyovych Razdobarov and Matriona Yefymivna Razdobarova. T. M. Razdobarov (1831 – 1897) came from the Orthodox peasant family from the village of Blahodatne, Rytsky Povit (County), Kursk Hubernia (Governorate). At the age of 12, his parents sent their son to study literacy with a man, who belonged to the Old Believer community, as a result of which Timofiy became the member of their community. The community sent a skilled boy to study in Moscow, where

he met P. Prussky, who took the boy as his student, intending to raise him as an Old Believer missionary. Pavlo Prussky also helped to arrange the marriage of Timofiy with Matriona Yefymivna Nemtseva (*in the book written by Yo. Vasiutin it was stated that the year of birth was 1813, which is probably a technical error in the text*), a daughter of Moscow bourgeois manufacturer. The Nemtsov family belonged to Old Believers of the Feodosia celibate class. The bride dreamed of a monastic life, and even the birth of a son did not change her intentions. In the end, after giving away their property to the poor, Timofiy and Matriona went to the monasteries. Timofiy was baptized under the name of Petro in a monastery.

After Pavlo Prussky joined the Orthodox Church in 1867, Razdobarov also followed his example (Razdobarov, 1877, p. 32). According to Yo. A. Vasiutin's records, there was a different situation with Matriona: "But Matriona Yevfimovna, although she also joined, had to be persuaded in a special way to restore the broken marriage. Both Father Pavlo and the others pointed out to her that in ancient times those who adopted Christianity did not end the pagan marriage. Thus, joining the church served for her and her husband as a new beginning of a life together" (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 9).

This new life was closely connected with the missionary activity among the supporters of the Old Believers in Karmazynivka hamlet of Kupiansky povit (district). At the request of the locals, P. Prussky sent a priest there in order to explain to the local community the reasons for leaving the Old Believers and to help them follow the same path – "according to the cast lot, he sent T. M. Razdobarov". However, in order not to cause opposition from the Old Believer community, he had to hide his conversion to the Orthodox Church at the very beginning. Anton Vasiutin was one of the trusted people, who knew about the real purpose of the Razdobarovs' visit. Only on March 25, 1871, he became a priest in Karmazynivka (SAKhR, f. 40, d. 110, c. 881, p. 1).

Razdobarov came up with the idea of building a church from the very beginning. After all, the monotheists of the village prayed in a wooden prayer house, a former peasant hut. Timofiy raised money for the construction of a stone temple for more than ten years in order to do that he travelled to Moscow and St. Petersburg many times in search of the patrons. Razdobarov's missionary activity was successful, and in 1887, a stone three-throne monotheistic church in honour of St. Mykolay was built, and in 1892 in the settlement of Krasnianka, Kupiansky povit (district) – a wooden monotheistic church in honour of Olexandr Nevsky was built (Osviashchenye edynovercheskho khrama, 1892, p. 2).

According to missionary data, during the period of 1880 – 1900, the number of Old Believers in Kupiansky povit (district) decreased. In Ye. Yeremeyev's opinion, the researcher, it happened due to the development of monotheism in the povit and the monotheist priest Timofiy Razdobarov's activities (Yeremeev, 2018, p. 170).

Matriona Razdobarov also had a considerable influence, according to Vasiutin's records, it was she who instigated her husband to create a women's monastery: Father Timofiy's wife did not weaken in her inclination towards monasticism and asked several times to let her go to the monastery. At one time, she achieved her goal, was released to Yekaterynoslav Monastery, but due to circumstances beyond her control, she was forced to return home ... Father Timofiy used to say the following: "everyone would call me stupid if I, having the opportunity to arrange my own monastery, I would let my wife go to someone else's" (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 11).

The next reason for founding the monastery for T. Razdobarov was the experience of communication with the female part of the Old Believer community. The priest noted the

fanaticism of women as a factor hindering the conversion of Old Believers. He was pondering over a “monastery” in which children of monotheists and Old Believers would be able to study together “and then, leaving the monastery, they would bring enlightenment to the dark environment of schism/split”.

The monastery’s establishment began with the arrangement of a shelter for girls of Old Believers and monotheists. Matrona took charge of the shelter. The organization of the shelter was extremely simple, the girls gathered at the Razdobarovs’ house, learned to read and sing. The first girl was Paraskeva Panina, whom the Razdobarovs took as their daughter, the family had no children, none of the eight born survived.

In order to provide shelter, T. Razdobarov was looking for a place to buy land and was talking about the monastery’s founding openly. The necessary amount of land was bought from the bankrupt nobleman Mykhailo Oleksandrovykh Katrukhin in the village of Khomyvtsi, Kupianskyi povit (district) (it was 25 versts from Karmazynivka). The land was put up for auction through Dvoriansky Bank. The purchase of 120 desiatyn of land was brought by Fr. Timofiy in Karmazynivka as a gift for Matrona’s birthday. Later, another 536 desiatyn were bought from Katrukhin’s heirs.

A wooden church from Karmazynivka was moved to the new place “Katrukhivka” along with the Razdobarovs. T. Razdobarov himself was the first priest of the church, which was consecrated in honour of the Assumption of the Mother of God on August 27, 1896. However, in a new place, time was needed again in order to gain trust of local population. Vasiutin mentioned that, given that the service was conducted according to the monotheistic rite, many of the villagers went to the liturgy. There were very few Karmazin girls left in Khomivka.

According to the mentions of Yo. Vasiutin before Fr. Timofiy faced the question concerning organizing the Orthodox or monotheistic women’s monastery. Due to a poor state of health, which prevented the priest from continuing his missionary activities, influenced the decision and the Orthodox monastery was created, which began to take on the appearance of a monastery from the very beginning. In order to do this, he went to Seraphim-Ponetaievsky Monastery in Nizhniy Novhorod hubernia (province). Having received financial support from local patrons S. P. Petrov and S. D. Kulmychev, Fr. Timofiy persuaded the abbess to let the two nuns Oleksandra Mykolayeva and Olena Dmytrivska go to a young monastery.

On June 13, 1897, Fr. Timofiy died several months before the monastery was opened. On October 7, 1897, the solemn opening of the community took place. Matrona Yefimivna became its head. Yosyf Vasiutin was appointed the first priest. There were more than 200 nuns in the monastery. A uniform was introduced for the sisters modelled after the northern monasteries (kamylovka) with the blessing of Archbishop Ambrose. From the first days, the local people nicknamed the monastery “The Razdobarovsky Monastery”. “From the very first days of its existence, the community attracted many, who aspired for a monastic life. Some were accepted without any means, while the others were able to help build the community with their own means” (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 20).

The community itself existed for 7 years. During this time, the monastery grew and, in addition to a wooden church and the building of the old landowner’s estate, had a refectory building, a water mill, a building for singers, a small guest house, and separate rooms for the priest and the mother. In 1902, the construction of the stone temple began, because from the very beginning, a small church was designed for no more than one hundred people and even after the expansion, it could accommodate no more than 400. The funds for construction were collected from various sources, Vasiutin wrote about in detail: “The most important of

them is the collection of books, which were given in abundance under Archbishop Ambrose. Land cultivation also gave some help, sisters themselves did all the field and garden work, and the estate was managed by Moses Yehorovych Vasiutin all the time free of charge. Contributions, although not particularly large, nevertheless proved to be given at the right time in accordance with the need. But the most grateful kind of help is one-time donations, since in this case the monastery was not forced to owe anything to the benefactors, except for a feeling of gratitude. Let us mention here at least the largest donors. Serhiy Petrovych Petrov at various times donated up to 8,000 rubles; St. Petersburg merchant Konstantin Ilyich Driabin loaned 6,000 rubles at a time, of which he accepted only 2,000 rubles for payment, and the remaining 4,000 rubles donated; Petersburg tradesman Dmitry Ivanovich Bashmakov donated 5,000 rubles; Yuzovskyi mine owner Yakov Ivanovich Derevitsky donated 2,000 rubles; Starobelskyi merchant Yakov Dmytryievych Myahkov – 1,000 rubles; in addition, many donated not so significant amounts, and some at the same time brought valuable things as a gift, such as, for example, Serhiy Dmytryievych Kuzmichev, who donated the Gospel with a rich decoration, all utensils and many others” (Vasyutin, 1906, pp. 20–21).

In 1903, Matrona Razdobarova submitted a request for the transformation of her community into a monastery. The petition was under consideration for almost a year, and finally, in August of 1904, the Holy Synod made the following decision: Khomivska women’s community should be renamed the Uspeno (Assumption) Seraphim Monastery, and Matrona Razdobarova should be appointed as its abbess. Archbishop Arseniy of Kharkiv and Okhtyr decided to open a new monastery personally.

On September 7–8, 1905, the solemn opening of a new monastery took place. Yo. Vasiutin recorded the welcoming speech of the archbishop: “I am very glad, dear sisters, that I have arrived in this quiet haven of your life, in your young St. monastery. I have come to you this time not for one joint prayer with you, not only out of a desire to inspect your monastic community, and not only to give my blessing and a word of instruction. The purpose of my coming to you is to announce, in accordance with the command of the Holy Synod, the opening of the Assumption-Serafim Monastery in this place, where the Dormition community has hitherto been, to take vows solemnly in this temple as a nun of your abbess and elevate the latter to the rank of abbess, to pray with by all of you, may the Lord bring down his grace to this place for the salvation of all who seek monastic life. All these are great events in the life of your Holy Monastery, the memory of which will remain with you forever” (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 21).

The Bishop performed the ceremony of the monastery’s abbess Matrona to become a monk with the given name – Melania. The godmother was the abbess of Starobilskoho Skorbiashchenskoho Monastery Apollinaria. The archbishop expressed his satisfaction to what he saw in the monastery and presented the abbot with an icon of the Assumption of the Mother of God with his signature on the back when he was leaving.

The monastery took on a life of its own, daily services were held, the nuns were engaged in writing icons, decorating kiots for icons, and sewing chasubles. The monastery economy also grew: a small brick factory, its own bakery, carpet production. The number of nuns doubled almost to 400. The monastery managed to survive from fire and a long legal battle for the land with Katrukhin’s heirs, the case even reached the Senate.

Yo. Vasiutin listed the shrines that the monastery had: “The Lord did not leave the monastery without the shrines, of which we will mention the following: 1) a part of the Life-Giving Tree of the Holy Cross of the Lord. This shrine consists of two small sticks, cruciformly attached

to the inner wall of a copper medallion, on the upper wing of which there is an inscription: part of the tree of the cross of the Lord from old Jerusalem. This shrine was handed over to Fr. Timofiy by the palace archpriest Nykandrom Brantsev... 2) An icon depicting saints: Ignatius, Euthymius, Akaki, Niphon. The following are embedded into the icon's board: a part of the Life-Giving Tree of the Lord's Cross and the relics of the depicted saints. 3) Holy relics of the Great Martyrs Barbara, Catherine, Procopius and Mina. These parts of the holy relics were left from the founder of the monastery. 4) As an object of special veneration, in a conspicuous place in the church is the icon of the Mother of God of the Sign. This icon was painted in Ponetaevsky Monastery and sent here in 1898" (Vasyutin, 1906, p. 22).

There was no information concerning the monastery's fate during the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921, the first years of the Soviet power. At the end of the 1920s, in 1928, the monastery was closed, and the premises and the church were looted. The priest immigrated with his family abroad. The nuns, who were driven out into the street, found shelter at local residents, and then left Khomivka. The nuns visited the village for many more years, appearing for a week or a month and leaving again. A few months after its closure, an agricultural school began operating within the walls of the monastery. However, in 1929, the school was transferred to the village of Dvurichne in Kharkiv region, and the monastery premises, which were left unattended, began to ruin quickly, and in 1943 the monastery was finally ruined. After the war, the idea of creating an agricultural educational institution came up again, and the monastery yard was divided under the construction of Khomivka Agricultural Vocational Technical School, where it is currently located.

The Conclusions. Khomivka Assumption-Seraphim Monastery (Uspensko-Seraphymovsky Monastery) was built as a result of fruitful long-term activities of the Razdobarov family. Priest Tymofiy Razdobarov became a renowned figure among the missionary movement of Kharkiv region. It was his name that was considered to be associated with the local community of Old Believers involvement in monotheism and the decrease in the number of Old Believers in the region. The influence of Archimandrite Pavlo Prusky on the life and outlook of T. Razdobarov could be traced. T. Razdobarov placed great hope precisely on education in the process of conversion of Old Believers. The monastery first appeared, based on the educational goal and then Khomivka Assumption and Transfiguration Monastery itself.

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**CHARITABLE ACTIVITY OF THE ORTHODOX FRATERNITIES
OF RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXth CENTURY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to highlight the main aspects of charitable work of the Orthodox fraternities that operated on the territory of the Right-Bank of Ukraine during the XIXth century. The Methodology of the Research.* The research objectives have been solved on the principles of scientificity, objectivity and historicism, as well as the use of general scientific methods (internal criticism of sources, analysis, synthesis, generalization). **The scientific novelty** of the article – the materials of previous researches on charity in Volyn province have been supplemented, and also on the basis of little-known archival sources the analysis of the charitable work of the Orthodox fraternities of Podilsk province has been carried out. **The Conclusions.** The government of the Russian Empire planned to carry out systematic work to strengthen the foundations of Orthodoxy among the population of the south-western region. Charitable direction of work was considered as one of the possible options for the implementation of such tasks. Taking care of the poor and low-income population of the region was carried out, in part, in order to influence the minds of the people and the formation of ideas of devotion to the orthodox faith. The implementation of such mission relied in part on the newly formed Orthodox fraternities. It has been determined that despite the complex social and religious changes during the period under analysis and the conditions of formation and activity of the Orthodox fraternities, their charity was important as a certain type of social work among the local population. The statutory documents governing the work of the Orthodox fraternities indicated a number of tasks aimed at conducting charitable work. It has been found out that the main directions of charitable work by the Orthodox fraternities were providing food for the homeless, providing temporary food for travellers, providing material assistance and supporting the population during epidemics and natural disasters, allocating one-time payments to low-income families, and caring for orphaned children. From the analysis of the reporting documentation of the fraternities, the idea follows that only some fraternities carried out effective activities in this direction.

Keys words: Orthodox fraternities, charity, hospital, shelter, Right-Bank Ukraine.

БЛАГОДІЙНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ БРАТСТВ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ ст.

Анотація. *Мета статті* полягає у висвітленні основних аспектів благодійної роботи православних братств, що діяли на території Правобережної України впродовж ХІХ ст. **Методологія.** Дослідження ґрунтується на принципах науковості, об'єктивності та історизму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових методів (внутрішньої критики джерел, аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення). **Наукова новизна** – доповнено матеріали попередніх розвідок про благодійництво у Волинській губернії, а також на основі маловідомих архівних джерел здійснено аналіз благодійної роботи православних братств Подільської губернії. **Висновки.** Уряд Російської імперії планував здійснювати планомірну роботу щодо зміцнення засад православ'я серед населення південно-західного регіону. Благодійний напрям роботи розглядався як один з можливих варіантів втілення таких завдань. Опікування бідного та малозабезпеченого населення регіону проводилося, частково, з метою впливу на свідомість людей та формування ідей відданості православної вірі. Втілення такої місії частково покладалося і на новостворені православні братства. Встановлено, що, незважаючи на складні соціальні та релігійні зміни, у зазначений період та умови постання й діяльності православних братств, їх благодійництво мало важливе значення як певний вид соціальної роботи серед місцевого населення. У статутних документах, що регулювали роботу православних братств, зазначалася низка завдань, які були спрямовані на проведення благодійницької роботи. З'ясовано що її основні напрями полягали у забезпеченні безпритульних, тимчасовому харчуванні подорожуючих, наданні матеріальної допомоги та підтримці населення під час епідемій та стихійних лих, виділенні одноразових виплат малозабезпеченим сім'ям, опікуванні дітьми-сиротами. Із аналізу звітної документації братств можемо констатувати, що лише окремі з них проводили результативну діяльність у цьому напрямі.

Ключові слова: православні братства, благодійність, лікарня, притулок, Правобережна Україна.

The Problem Statement. The state policy of the Russian government was aimed at planting orthodoxy and eradicating catholicism (Buravsky, 2021, p. 50). According to I. Nadtoka, “the introduction of a number of discriminatory measures by the tsarist government was aimed at destroying the remnants of the Polish autonomy, russifying the population, as well as expropriating the local Roman Catholic Church and distancing it from the Polish national liberation movement” (Nadtoka, 2019, p. 91). The Russian Orthodox Church occupied a leading position, and it concentrated its activities on the creation of diocesan historical and statistical committees, archival commissions (Koshel', 2021, p. 42), and the Orthodox fraternities.

Restored during the second half of the XIXth century the Orthodox fraternities on the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine were to carry out the tasks set by the Russian government aimed at strengthening the Orthodox Church. In this vein, these organizations were expected to conduct various vector educational activities, in particular, much attention was paid to charitable work.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. A significant array of historiography of the issue under analysis are scientific studies during the XXth century. This topic is presented in the publications of domestic scholars: Alioshyna O. (Aloshyna, 2019), Donik O. (Donik, 2005), Men'ko V. (Men'ko, 2018), Tymochko I. (Tymochko, 2010), Grigoruk O. (Grigoruk, 2008) published a number of articles devoted to the emergence, educational activities and participation of the Orthodox fraternities in the cultural life of Volyn and Podilsk provinces. However, in these researches, the authors analyzed the aspects of philanthropy briefly. In the publications there were used archival documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, which supplemented and clarified the materials of previous scientific articles on this issue. An important source for the study was the periodicals “Volyn Diocesan Gazette”

and “Podilsk Diocesan Gazette”, which contain information about the activities of charitable institutions organized by the Orthodox fraternities.

The purpose of the scientific article is to elucidate the charitable activities of the Orthodox fraternities on the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine during the XIXth century.

The Results of the Research. The Orthodox fraternities carried out charitable activities because they were one of the means of influencing the local population. They believed that in this way it would be possible to strengthen the population’s sense of belonging to “true Orthodoxy” and to educate the younger generation in this spirit. In this context, the charitable activity of the Ostroh Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood deserves attention. According to the statute, its members were obliged to help all patients with “good advice and free medicine”, to visit the hospital in turn, to have a list of orphans and all patients, to support them both morally and materially (Ustav, 1893, p. 12). It was emphasized that the fraternity should take care only of the Orthodox, as the Jewish and Polish population had sufficient funds to help their fellow believers.

Implementing such tasks, there was established a fraternal hospital and pharmacy, the premises for which were built at the school yard 2 years later in 1867. The hospital was originally under the direction of sister M. M. Alekseyeva, who came from St. Petersburg and lived until 1869. During the period of 1873 – 1922, the sister of mercy was M. P. Solodkovych, who performed her duties faithfully and gave advice and treatment to all who applied. The school for girls also had a hospital with 4 inpatient beds. All patients were provided with outpatient care and free medication. There was a hospital near the gymnasium for women, where patients came to see doctors. It consisted of two rooms – an outpatient clinic (reception and pharmacy) and a living room, where the pharmacist lived. Doctors E. Levitsky and S. Borshchov came there at a certain time and consulted patients, performed dressings, and made medicines. Prescribed drugs were made in a pharmacy and given to everyone for free. During the first year of its operation, only 18 patients went to the hospital, and during the second year – 147, and in 1888 – 3155. Patients were given 6,272 items of medicine. From the time of opening until 1915, it was visited by 132,249 patients who were given 278,320 different drugs (Bykov, 1915, pp. 410–412). Significant financial and material assistance to the hospital was provided by Empress Maria Olexandrivna, on whose orders clothes, medicines, and food were sent every year. During the period of 1868 – 1890, about 50,000 people were treated at the hospital. The hospital consisted of an outpatient clinic (reception and pharmacy) and living rooms, where the pharmacy “lady” lived. In the 70s of the XIXth century the whole volume of work (consultations, dressings, production of medicines) was performed by two fraternal doctors E. P. Levitsky and S. A. Borshchov. The position of pharmacy lady was held by M. Razina, and later from May 1, 1873 M. Solodkovych (Tymochko, 2010, p. 197).

At the request of the fraternity, the Minister of Public Education during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 – 1878 allowed the gymnasium to be turned into a hospital in the form of the Red Cross department with 16 beds and full medical supplies. From August of 1877 to July of 1878, 49 patients underwent a course of treatment in this hospital, for which the brothers spent 827 rubles. Along with the provision of medical care, the brothers were on duty at the patients, took care of their psychological condition (Bykov, 1915, p. 206).

On May 6, 1868, on the birthday of the descendant of the throne Mykola Oleksandrovych, the fraternity opened a pilgrimage house for pilgrims and travellers. Every year in the reporting documentation the brothers recorded the number of travellers and in total by 1910 it was visited by about 29,365 people. It was located in front of the fraternal room and annually

received from 300 to 400 pilgrims (or an average of about 10 people a day) who passed Ostroh on their way to the Pochaiv or Kyiv Lavra to pray and came from different parts of the Russian Empire – Poland, Belarus, Arkhangelsk, Irkutsk and etc. If necessary, the brothers gave the pilgrims not only the opportunity to rest, but also provided food, clothing and footwear. The largest number of pilgrims was observed on the eve of major religious holidays. In honour of the day of the zoning of the house, the brothers organized charity dinners for pilgrims, urban and rural children, the homeless and the poor (Zhilyuk, 1996, p. 65). A constant influx of people was used to spread ideology by the brothers. Relevant propaganda work was carried out especially at the beginning of the XXth century. The new charter of the fraternity of 1909 fixed one of the tasks – to hold conversations and readings on relevant topics among the visitors.

Ten years later, in 1878, the members of the fraternity established another charitable institution, which was named Olexander-Mariinsky Asylum (in honour of the emperor and empress). It was intended for servicemen because it gave the right to life imprisonment to four “lower ranks” of the Russian army, who were incapacitated due to injuries received during the Russo-Turkish war (CSHAU, f. 442, d. 627, c. 1, p. 136a). They received a room with a separate entrance and one-tenth of the land. Monthly the brothers provided financial and material assistance to family members and provided free education for the children. The main condition for living in the shelter was the obligatory attendance of worship services. In case of misconduct by the military or family members, the council had the right to evict them (Tymochko, 2010, p. 197). Despite all the amenities, the shelter was not filled and the brothers decided to establish a hospital with 20 beds for the wounded during the war with Japan. It was visited by a medical inspector of the Kyiv Military District and after reviewing the organization and conditions of the institution, he noted that “medical examination is satisfactory, treatment is carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Moscow Executive Commission, premises and conditions meet medical requirements”. From March of 1905, 23 people were treated in the hospital, and after the discharge of patients on October 23, 1905, it was closed.

During World War I, the fraternity built a hospital with 15 beds and maintained it at its own expense. By May 1, 1915, 42 wounded had been treated there. After the occupation of Western Ukraine by Poland, the fraternity ceased its work in 1922 (Bykov, 1915, p. 425).

In the absence of a satisfactory health system in the region, the fraternal charitable work of the fraternity helped to change and maintain the health of the population and was of a humanistic nature.

In addition to school for girls, the Cyril and Methodius fraternity took care of a boarding school for girls, where they expected a vacancy for admission to the school (since 1879, no more than 80 girls were admitted to the school), as well as a peasant boarding house where boys trained after graduating from rural school to enter the Ostroh gymnasium. However, the funds for the maintenance of the boarding house for the boys came from the peasants of Ostroh district. Instead, the brothers provided these boarding houses with literature, taught children free of charge or for a nominal fee (Ershova, 2006, pp. 195–196).

The charitable direction of the Lutsk Brotherhood’s work was the establishment of an almshouse and a night shelter for the poor and travellers. Having received significant monetary donations, the fraternity opened a chapel on September 14, 1893. On March 26, 1894, the Synod approved the “Statute of the Almshouse and Night Shelter of the Lutsk Exaltation of the Cross” (Otchet, 1894, p. 5). In 1894, 1219 people received shelter (Otchet,

1895, p. 741), in 1907 – 1787 people. During the period of 1912 – 1913, there were 11 – 19 homeless poor people in the chapel, and 3753 needy people found shelter in the night shelter.

In the future, the brothers planned to establish a shelter for orphans, as well as for young children of the Orthodox faith. According to the brothers, these children “do not find a place in their parents’ homes and who, sometimes falling into Catholic families, not only separate from the Orthodox Church and the Russian people, but even forget the Russian language” (Otchet, 1891, p. 240).

Continuing to work in this direction, the members of the fraternity decided to establish a hospital. They addressed a letter to the governors-general of Kyiv, Volyn and Podilsk as needed in the hospital for the poor of Lutsk and its environs to approve the hospital’s charter in 1890. After receiving permission, in 1891 the fraternity members opened a hospital to provide free assistance to the poor of Lutsk. At the hospital patients were given free medical consultation and medicine at the expense of the fraternity. The activities of the hospital were: to give advice by doctors, to perform surgical operations, vaccination against smallpox. All affairs of the hospital were managed by the fraternity council and doctors who performed medical duties on a voluntary basis. Once a month, meetings of the fraternity council were held, at which organizational matters were decided and appropriate decisions were made, which were recorded in the minutes. Doctors chose from among themselves the person who managed the internal regulations. The hospital was under the supervision of the hospital department of the provincial administration, where the head provided evidence of patients, operations and vaccinations, and members of the fraternity submitted annual reports on its activities. The hospital was first headed by the city doctor A. H. Fominykh, and from 1893 by A. P. Slesarevsky. In addition, such doctors as P. Gavrilov, A. Zavileisky, G. Poczobut and the others worked in it for a certain period on a voluntary basis (Otchet, 1895, p. 741). Later, in 1892, a reception department for the treatment of inpatients was organized in the premises of the city council. However, in 1907, in connection with the opening of an outpatient examination at the Zemstvo hospital, the fraternity decided to close its own hospital, which had not actually been operating for a year. All instruments and pharmacy equipment were transferred to the Zemstvo hospital (CSHAU, f. 442, d. 637, c. 1, p. 218a).

Enough attention was paid to the charitable work of the members of Kremenets fraternity, who took care of orphans and pupils of theological educational institutions of Kremenets. However, on the grounds that special guardianship institutions were set up at the educational establishments to carry out such work, the members decided to satisfy only those requests “the needs of which were not in doubt and were certified by an official”. Later, they changed the vector of their work, because they realized that the help they provide cannot fully satisfy all the needy of the city. That is why, they decided to focus their charitable activities on changing the social life of the city, in which the local Orthodox population will be friendly to the problems of the others, will be attentive to their needs and will begin to fight poverty. Based on this belief, the brothers decided to help only orphans, as the most vulnerable stratum, and teach them various crafts and occupations that would make their lives easier in the future (Otchet, 1892, pp. 52–53).

The fraternity, helping the needy residents of Kremenets, considered it a moral duty to help the Orthodox population of other cities of Volyn province, especially in cases of distress. Evidence of this is the fact that the fraternity provided assistance during the fire that broke out in Ostroh on June 3, 1889. During such events, members of the fraternity opened a subscription to help the Orthodox victims and collected 100 rubles, as well as sent 25 rubles from the basic

monetary capital of the fraternity council (Otchet, 1890, p. 54). This fact testifies to a constant cooperation of Kremenets fraternity with other fraternities of Volyn Province.

Ioanno-Predtechenske fraternity of Kamianets, founded in 1864, operated in Podilsk Province, and opened three fraternal schools for the education of children from the city and its environs. Children were admitted to these schools, in the vast majority of poor families and orphans, regardless of religion. Some orphans living in the shelter were supported by the fraternity, the others studied at the expense of philanthropists (Ptavila, 1865, pp. 488–490).

Representatives of the fraternity took care of orphans, who had neither mother nor father, or children, who could not be provided for by poor parents and were left without any supervision or upbringing. Expanding its activities, the fraternity was convinced that school education is of great benefit to students. However, the brothers understood that teaching only one literacy, no matter how “it does not have a beneficial effect on the urban population, cannot give orphans the means” to live safely in the future, because when they finish school, “they will be exposed to all the horrors of poverty, it will be difficult for them” (CSHAU, f. 127, d. 674, c. 52, p. 1). Based on this, the patron saint of the fraternity, Bishop Leontius of Podilsk and Bratslav, decided to establish a shelter at one of the fraternal schools, in which, in addition to the school programme, children would be taught various trades that “could bring an honest and safe piece of bread for themselves and for their families” (Bratskiy, 1867, p. 156). The pages of the press of that time praised the work of the fraternity in this direction and it was noted that “the shelter and craft school founded in Kamianets by the fraternity cannot but be considered quite useful and therefore worthy not only of support but also of their development in a broader direction” (CSHAU, f. 442, d. 535, c. 81, p. 3). These institutions were used and the number of those wishing to go to schools was constantly growing, but the limited material wealth of the fraternity did not allow to increase the number of pupils. The case exceeded the expectations of its members, which consisted only in “giving help to poor and needy children”.

After ten years of operation of these institutions, the head of the fraternity emphasized that the help of philanthropists from other provinces decreased with each passing year. Then he appealed for help “to those who sympathize with the charitable cause with a request to support the orphans who were dependent on the fraternity with their possible donations”. The head emphasized that aid from other provinces decreased with each passing year. The main reason for this state of affairs was the opening of new fraternities and trustees in many cities of the state. In turn, this reduced some donations from other cities in the province (Otchet, 1877, pp. 66, 69).

The fraternity made significant efforts to find additional funds for the operation of schools. With the assistance of V. Ustrugov, on January 9, 1877, a concert was organized and held for those interested in the premises of the local men’s gymnasium in favour of raising money for subsistence. During the concert, the hall was crowded with visitors and all seats were occupied.

The fraternity supported a large number of widows and the poor, deprived of any means of subsistence. From time to time they were given one-time or permanent financial assistance.

During the reporting year 1868, Kamianets-Podilsky fraternity provided material resources for those who needed additional help the most. A certain amount of money was distributed to each parish to local priests who had reliable information about such people. During previous years, the brothers received information about people in need from the local police department, but these data were not always reliable. The fraternity then instructed its members, and sometimes priests, to collect such data and make appropriate decisions. Due to lack of material

resources, the fraternity council was limited to issuing lump sums. In 1881, in particular, such one-time benefits were received by: the wife of Deacon N. Dashkevych – 25 rubles, the wife of official O. Yanitska – 4 rubles, an official O. Krulikovska – 15 rubles, N. Sosnytska and M. Ivanytska – 2 rubles each, and Kukhnytska – 3 rubles. As an exception, M. Svishchev's officials paid a monthly payment of 1 ruble. 50 kop. (CSHAU, f. 442, d. 47, c. 317, pp. 12–13). The brothers reported a one-time cash benefit in their annual reports for the work done.

Every year, at Christmas holidays and Resurrection of the Christ, the brothers constantly distributed 160 rubles for the needs of the poor inhabitants of the Orthodox faith in the city of Kamianets and its suburbs (Otchet, 1867, p. 818).

The charitable aspect of the work was fixed in the statutory document of Letychiv fraternity. The charter stated that among the next tasks it was to take care of the allocation of possible financial assistance to “poor people, especially those who went to Letychiv School for proper training and behaviour” (Otchet, 1873, p. 145). However, such financial assistance was one-time rather than permanent, as the fraternity did not have sufficient material resources.

The Conclusions. The most effective in the cause of charity was the activity of big Orthodox fraternities, in particular those that functioned in big cities of Right-Bank Ukraine. Other, rural or small urban fraternities, did not pay enough attention to charitable work in comparison with other areas of work in which they were engaged. This was due to the fact that they did not have sufficient material base and financial support to fully implement charitable work. In addition, it should be added that some fraternities, in their statutory documents, defined this area of activity as secondary and therefore did not pay enough attention to it. This is due to the difficult financial situation and the decrease in the number of benefactors who helped the fraternities financially.

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**THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL ON THE FORMATION OF PRECONDITIONS
AND THE COURSE OF THE PEASANT REVOLUTION
IN NADDNIPRIANSKA UKRAINE (1902 – 1922)**

The purpose of the article is to analyze the influence of alcohol on the formation of objective preconditions of the peasant struggle and the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian village of the first decades of the 20th century. The research methodology is based on the use of the principle of historicism, which helped to elucidate consistently the role and place of alcohol as a component of the Peasant Revolution: from the first pogroms of “wine” objects in 1905 to their final destruction in 1917; to elucidate the attitude of peasantry to alcohol abuse under the conditions of military and political upheavals. Theoretical achievements of social psychology (G. Le Bon’s crowd psychology), analytical psychology (C. Jung’s collective unconscious) contribute to the explanation of the peculiarities of peasants’ riotous behaviour. The scientific novelty of the research consists in clarifying the influence of alcohol on the development of socio-cultural and political processes in

the Ukrainian village through the prism of the conflict between peasants and landlords and state (1902 – 1922). The authors have analyzed the sum of money wasted on alcohol in peasant budgets at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries; there has been given the answer to the question concerning the influence of alcohol abuse on the causes formation of the Peasant Revolution; a comparative analysis of “drunken” riots in 1905 and 1917 has been carried out; the attitude of peasants to moonshine brewing in 1917 – 1922 has been characterized.

The Conclusions. “Drunken” riots were a concomitant phenomenon of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine in the first decades of the 20th century. At the same time, peasants’ abuse of alcohol was not the cause of the Peasant Revolution. In 1905, peasants were motivated by food difficulties to destroy alcohol industry facilities, it was the protest against state policy. For a long time, alcohol was a factor that determined the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian countryside (mass pogroms of distilleries, alcohol warehouses, wine shops, landowners’ estates, sugar factories). Under the conditions of military and political upheavals of 1918 – 1920, mass moonshine brewing served as a financial support for peasantry and at the same time played a negative social role.

Key words: alcohol, peasants, the Peasant Revolution, “drunken” riots, alcohol, distilleries, Naddniprianska Ukraine.

ВПЛИВ АЛКОГОЛЮ НА ФОРМУВАННЯ ПЕРЕДУМОВ ТА ПЕРЕБІГ СЕЛЯНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ У НАДДНІПРЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ (1902 – 1922)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати вплив алкоголю на виникнення об’єктивних передумов селянської боротьби та перебіг соціально-політичних процесів в українському селі перших десятиліть ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** базується на використанні принципу історизму, який допоміг послідовно розкрити роль і місце алкоголю як складника селянської революції: від перших погромів “винних” об’єктів у 1905 р. до їх остаточної руйнації в 1917 р.; показати ставлення селянства до зловживання алкоголем в умовах воєнно-політичних потрясінь. Поясненню особливостей погромницької поведінки селян сприяють теоретичні досягнення соціальної психології (психологія натовпу Г. Лебона), аналітичної психології (колективне несвідоме К. Юнга). **Наукова новизна** полягає у з’ясуванні впливу алкоголю на розвиток соціокультурних та політичних процесів в українському селі крізь призму конфлікту селян з поміщиками й державою (1902 – 1922). Авторами проаналізовано частку витрат на алкоголь у селянських бюджетах наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.; запропоновано відповідь на запитання щодо впливу зловживання алкоголем на формування причин селянської революції; здійснено порівняльний аналіз “п’яних” бунтів у 1905 р. та 1917 р.; охарактеризовано ставлення селян до самогонваріння в 1917 – 1922 рр.

Висновки. “П’яні” бунти були супутнім явищем селянської революції в Наддніпрянській Україні перших десятиріч ХХ ст.. Водночас зловживання алкоголем не було причиною селянської революції. На руйнацію об’єктів спиртової галузі в 1905 р. селян спонукали продовольчі труднощі, це був протест проти державної політики. Тривалий час алкоголь був чинником, який визначав перебіг соціально-політичних процесів в українському селі (масові погроми винокурень, спиртосховищ, винних крамниць, поміщицьких маєтків, цукрових заводів). В умовах воєнно-політичних потрясінь 1918 – 1920 рр. масове самогонваріння слугувало фінансовою підтримкою для селянства й одночасно відіграло негативну соціальну роль.

Ключові слова: алкоголь, селяни, селянська революція, “п’яні” бунти, спирт, винокурні заводи, Наддніпрянська Україна.

The Problem Statement. The idea of the Peasant Revolution as a means of solving the peasant issue arose at the beginning of the 20th century. The concept of the Peasant Revolution in the course of class struggle (the nature, driving forces, scale of peasant revolts, etc.) was formed by the Soviet researchers in the 1920s, however, from the second half of the 1930s, historians neglected the study of the peasantry role in revolutionary processes and focused on studying the agrarian policy of the Soviet government. The concept of the Peasant Revolution

received a new interpretation in the 1990s in the works of the Russian historian V. Danylov and the British researcher T. Shanin, who analyzed the social behaviour of peasantry through the prism of activities of a village community and substantiated its chronological boundaries (1902 – 1922). Based on the reasoning that the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine had different features of its course from the all-Russian revolutionary process, we consider the creation of a complete picture of the social and socio-political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry to be a topical issue nowadays. The most analyzed component of the concept of the Peasant Revolution is its social aspects. At the first glance, alcohol abuse during the pogroms of landlord estates is a well-known fact for many researchers and a popular interpretation of peasants' behaviour. However, at certain stages of the Peasant Revolution, the consumption of alcoholic beverages and their abuse had different effects on the course of socio-political processes in Naddniprianska Ukraine.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. A systematic study of the concept of the Peasant Revolution and the peculiarities of its course in Naddniprianska Ukraine was initiated by agrarian historians of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkasy National University, in particular S. Kornovenko, I. Farenii: they substantiated the periodization of the Peasant Revolution and extended its chronological boundaries to 1933 (Kornovenko, 2017; Kornovenko, 2018), analyzed manifestations of the peasant rebellion (Kornovenko, Herasymenko, 2017), highlighted the conceptual principles of interpreting the issue of the Peasant Revolution (Farenii, 2019). At the beginning of the 20th century D. Kudinov and V. Parkhomenko began discussing the classification issue of forms and methods of social and political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry (Kudinov & Parkhomenko, 2021, pp. 133–134). V. Shevchenko and A. Kotsur analyzed the role of narrative sources in understanding the attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry to social changes and upheavals of the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, World War I (reaction to psychotrauma) (Shevchenko & Kotsur, 2021). The evolution of peasant attitudes under the conditions of the revolutionary upheavals of 1917 – 1921 was characterized by V. Lozovy (Lozovyi, 2021).

The problem of alcohol abuse during peasant riots was raised by the British researcher T. Shanin (Shanin, 1997, p. 171). Peculiarities of alcohol production development in the Russian Empire and the practice of combating alcoholism in the South of Ukraine, in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries were researched by I. Mironova (Mironova, 2019). In our opinion, the issue of alcohol influence on the causes formation of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine (1902 – 1922) is studied insufficiently. In addition, “drunken” riots at different stages of the Peasant Revolution (1905, 1917) were studied by researchers separately.

We consider the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine in 1902 – 1922 as a socio-political phenomenon, the reaction of the peasantry to the contradictions of economic development, to legal, cultural and educational, national oppression in the Russian Empire, the struggle for their interests under the conditions of the Ukrainian revolution and opposition to the Soviet power. The choice of a lower chronological limit is determined by the beginning of peasant protests in Poltava and Kharkiv huberniyakh, which are characterized by mass, anti-landlord orientation and radical methods of struggle (pogroms); an upper one – adoption of the Land Code in the UkrSSR, which summarized the consequences of the “land” revolution and the “reconciliation” of the peasantry with the Soviet power.

The purpose of the article is to find out the influence of alcohol on the emergence of preconditions of the peasant struggle and the course of the Peasant Revolution in the

Ukrainian huberniyakh during the first decades of the 20th century. The methodological principles of the study are based on the use of the principle of historicism, which helped to elucidate the role and place of alcohol as a constituent part of the Peasant Revolution consistently: from the first pogroms of “wine” objects in 1905 to their final destruction in 1917; to show the attitude of the peasantry to the abuse of alcohol under the conditions of military and political upheavals. Theoretical achievements of social psychology (G. Lebon’s crowd psychology) contribute to the explanation of the peculiarities of riotous behaviour of peasants (Lebon, 1995, pp. 150–151, 155), of analytical psychology (C. Jung’s collective unconscious, who came to the conclusion about behaviour mutation of significant masses of people under the influence of war) (Jung, 1994, pp. 140–141).

The Results of the Research. One of the components of the economic preconditions formation for the Peasant Revolution was a burdensome nature of taxation in the Russian Empire. Against the background of tax reforms in the 1880s – the 1890s (abolition of salt and per capita taxes, reduction of redemption payments), the state tried to compensate for the lack of revenues to the budget by increasing excise duty on alcohol, i. e., indirect taxation. The state monopoly for the sale of alcoholic beverages was introduced in 1895 and by 1904 it covered almost the entire territory of the Russian Empire and operated till World War I. The state had the exclusive right to purchase and sell alcohol, as well as to import it from abroad. Private owners who produced horilka and wine sold them to the state, and at the network of state wholesale warehouses, which were established everywhere within the Russian Empire, cared for the purification of alcohol and its sale. The very warehouse itself was a complex of premises where storage, purification and bottling of alcohol drinks and horilka took place, which was sold in wine shops (“monopolies”). The warehouse was two-storeyed, built of bricks, and its design was of a typical project.

Information about the money that peasants spent on buying alcohol drinks is contained in peasant household budgets. The wealthy peasant household in Pedynivska volost of Zvenyhorod povit, Kyiv huberniya had to pay for the land (own and leased) 73 krb. of an annual salary, which was almost a third of the household profits. At that time spending on horilka was: in a wealthy household – 15 krb., a middle one – 7 krb. (a bucket of horilka), in a poor one – 3.5 krb. (half a bucket of horilka). At the same time, total income was 208 krb., in a wealthy household, 21 krb. in a middle household, and taking into account part-time jobs – 76 krb. (Osadchyy, 1899, pp. 85–89). Thus, to buy horilka, wealthy owners spent 7% of their income, and middle-class peasants – a third of their main income.

Peasants’ of Poltava region spendings on horilka were insignificant because of their poverty. In the village of Demianivtsi of Khorolsky povit, Poltava huberniya, according to Zemsky statistics L. Padalka (1903), peasants of five households spent 10 krb. to buy horilka per year (7 krb. were spent by one of the wealthiest household) (Lokot, 1908, p. 211). For this category of peasantry, the main problem was to meet basic life needs.

At the beginning of the 20th century improvement of peasants’ situation was accompanied by an increase in spending on alcohol products. The peasants of Vinnytsia povit, in particular, consumed horilka at the sum of 1.5 to 2 million krb., spending six times more money on it than on paying direct taxes per year (Geyden, 1910, pp. 40–41). Rising prices for horilka products caused dissatisfaction in the peasant environment, and high taxation was generally a good reason that prompted middle class householders to participate in the Peasant Revolution.

Under the conditions of “dry law” during World War I, peasants were able to save some money. Officials, bakeries, journalists stated about the enrichment of the rural population

at the expense of the state aid paid to families whose members were mobilized to the army. These payments were several tens of millions of krb., and it was much less than the pre-war peasants' spendings on alcohol drinks (about 100 million krb. per year) (Reient & Serdiuk, 2004, p. 10). Inflation and general economic devastation caused the peasantry impoverishment, and the strict prohibitions of alcohol with the onset of the February Revolution of 1917 led to the flowering of moonshine brewing and alcohol abuse.

Let us dwell on the question: can alcohol abuse be one of the causes of the Peasant Revolution? During the peasant uprisings in Poltava and Kharkiv huberniyakh in the spring of 1902, we do not find information about the pogroms of alcohol producing plants, warehouses and wine shops. The absence of such pogroms T. Shanin explains by the fear of peasants to break the state monopoly on alcohol ("it was "tsarist" and it must not be even touched") (Shanin, 1997, p. 172). In 1905, the attitude of the peasantry to the state monopoly on alcohol changed significantly.

The majority information about alcohol abuse as a pretext for violent actions against landowners in 1905 is found in the sources concerning Chernihiv and Kharkiv huberniya. The Police Department informed the head of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire S. Witte that the initiators of the robbery of Mykhailivsky Sugar Plant of Tereshchenko in Hlukhiv povit of Chernihiv huberniya, which took place on February 22, 1905, were about 400 people who came there from Orel huberniya (Krestyanskoe dvizhenie, 1925, p. 72; Krestyanskoe dvizhenie v tsentralnoy polose, 1935, p. 158). For almost a month, peasants were on the booze who tried to rob the landlord household in the town of Ushcherpia of Suraz povit of Chernihiv huberniya in the summer of 1905 (nowadays – the territory of Briansk region of the Russian Federation) (Agrarnoe dvizhenie, 1936, p. 102).

The "drunken" riots acquired mass nature in the autumn of 1905: the day before and during the pogroms of landed estates, the peasants robbed both state wine shops and private distillery. In particular, in October of 1905, in Horodniansky povit distilleries were robbed which were owned by O. Svechyn and Karvolsky-Hrynevsky. The rebels destroyed state-owned wine shops and looted wine in the villages of Velyka Vis and Burivka (Drozdov, 1925, pp. 76–79). Alcohol from looted distillery and wine shops could be found in almost every home. In 1905, the so-called leadership of Chernihiv huberniya could partly explain the losses of big landowners caused by peasant pogroms by the spread of "drunk" riots. They were largely triggered by food difficulties the peasants had for a long time: and since horilka was made of bread, potatoes and sugar molasses, the objects of wine monopoly were victims of pogroms.

In 1906, on Right-Bank Ukraine, the strike movement was accompanied by a conscious refusal of peasants to drink alcohol and boycott of wine shops. This was the case in Lebedyn volost of Chyhyryn povit, Vasylkiv povit in Kyiv region (Agrarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 1908, pp. 10, 97–98). Peasants destroyed alcohol reserves in areas under the control of the All-Russian Peasant Union Deliberately (Shanin, 1997, p. 172).

The causes of the peasant movement in the Ukrainian huberniyakh and its course in 1905 – 1906 were studied by the Russian government officials carefully, in particular, police officers, Adjutant General O. Panteleyev (seconded to Chernihiv huberniya at the beginning of 1906), prosecutor of Kharkiv Judicial Chamber S. Khruliev. Higher government officials did not consider alcohol abuse before and during the pogroms of landlords' estates one of the causes of peasant riots: in their view, revolutionary propaganda and a wide range of economic factors were such causes (Krestyanskoe dvizhenie, 1925, pp. 68–69). In 1905 – 1906, the tendency of peasants to drink was stated in the reports of officials (Krestyanskoe

dvizhenie v tsentralnoy polose, 1935, p. 164). Among landowners there were the ones who considered laziness and drinking to be the cause of peasant riots. In particular, in Right-bank Ukraine in the answers to Questionnaires of Free Economic Society, only 4 four landowners shared this point of view (2 in Podilska huberniya, 2 in Kyiv huberniya) (*Agrarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, 1908, p. 34). Alcohol abuse appeared as a social phenomenon characteristic of the peasant life of that era. However, as a result of long-term food difficulties, peasants changed their attitude towards the state monopoly on the sale of alcohol, and “wine” facilities were destructed significantly.

In 1917 there came the culminating period of the destructive influence of alcohol on the course of the Peasant Revolution. Mass pogroms were initiated by soldiers of the Russian army, often deserters. In May of 1917, in official statistics there were reported the first robberies of wine cellars which belonged to landowners and other private owners – wine cellars in Bessarabian huberniya. Despite the protection ineffectiveness of warehouses with alcohol and the threat of peasants joining these actions, local authorities opposed the destruction of alcohol stocks because of the losses to their owners (Pokrovskiy, 1927, pp. 56–57).

In the autumn of 1917, as a result of the state power weakening, an increase in desertion, the spread of moonshine brewing and anarchy at local places, there came the culminating period of “drunken” riots. In the front-line Podilska huberniya the existence of a network of alcohol warehouses provoked a wave of pogroms initiated by the military (peasants also looted alcohol actively). At the end of September of 1917, the distillery was blown up and robbed in the village of Markivtsi of Letychiv povit (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 289). Pogroms and arson of distilleries spread from Letychiv povit to the south of Lityn povit, where during the period of September of 26 – October 2, 1917, at least six privately owned (landlord) distilleries and one warehouse of alcohol drinks were destroyed. In Nova Syniavka, alcohol stocks were destroyed by the military command order, but the soldiers of Bakhmut regiment 415, who got drunk, together with local peasants, began to loot the landowners’ estates. People often died during the destruction of alcohol stocks. In particular, a fire broke out in the town of Khmilnyk during the robbery of the state warehouse on the night of October of 1: 12 people were burned, 40 received burns, 31 people were poisoned by alcohol (one person died, and the others were hospitalized) (Zavalniuk & Stetsiuk, 2008, pp. 60–63).

A wave of “alcohol” pogroms committed by soldiers provoked anarchy in half of Podilska huberniya (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 290). The bearers of anarchy were the military units of Guards Corps 2, in Pokrovskiy particular Rifle Regiment 2 and Rifle Regiment 4, Infantry Reserve Regiment 23, and Machine Gun Group of Infantry Reserve Regiment 15. Atrocities were also committed by the military, who were sent to control and keep order (Zavalniuk & Stetsiuk, 2008, pp. 60–63). Pogroms were accompanied by shooting: on September 5, in Kostiantynivka, Zhytomyr povit, Volyn, drunken soldiers killed two civilians (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 290).

After the destruction of facilities with alcohol, soldiers and peasants destroyed sugar factories, forests, looted landowners’ estates, taking away food and alcoholic beverages. A landowner I. Hlembotsky, applying to Volyn gubernatorial commissar, described in detail the circumstances of the destruction of his estate in the village of Lashky in Starokostiantyniv povit (which began on October 19 and lasted for three days), he also mentioned the robbery of brick cellars with old wine (the wine was drunk and spilled by the looters) (*Pohromy na Volyni*, 1917). Lieutenant General H. Glazenap complained to the provincial land committee about the residents of the village of Vasylivka of Lebedyn povit, Kharkiv huberniya (the statement dated December 4, 1917), who, on the night of November 16–17, 1917, smashed

the basement of his distillery and looted alcohol, and then looted the estate for three days (Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine – CSASBPGU, f. 1326, d. 1, c. 32, p. 45). Such looting robberies occurred everywhere.

Another region, which in 1917 was covered by “drunken” riots, was Chernihiv region. Food difficulties were felt there as early as the summer of 1917, and in some povits the peasants even starved. There was the state horilka warehouse in Chernihiv (Doroshenko, 1969, p. 184). 100,000 buckets of spirit were stored in Starodubsky povit. In order to prevent the spread of pogrom movement there, on September 18, 1917, the povit commissioner sent a telegramme demanding immediate destruction of alcohol (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 294). These predictions came true in Novozybkivsky povit, where the robbery of distillery lasted for three days, starting on October 17. In Klymiv (nowadays – the territory of Briansk region of the Russian Federation) soldiers destroyed two distilleries, barrels with alcohol were taken away, they got drunk and brawled (Shcherbakov, 1927, p. 23). According to the recollections of peasants, of seven private distilleries in Novhorod-Siversky povit of Chernihiv huberniya, five were destroyed (spirit was looted by peasants), two factories were transferred to the control of Ukrderzhspirt (Statya krestyanina, 1929, pp. 185–188). Arsons of horilka and alcohol warehouses covered the entire Chernihiv region, people died of careless handling of fire, spirit explosions. These were both participants in pogroms and those who did not participate in them (Doroshenko, 1969, p. 173).

The sources preserved many descriptions of the robbery of landlord distilleries and wine cellars, but there is little information about the compensation by peasants for the looted alcohol and these are only several mentions. In particular, the head of the Special Department at the Hetman’s Staff in a report dated July 6, 1918 addressed to the Chief of Staff on the causes and course of the uprising in Zvenyhorod povit of Kyiv region indicated, that peasants paid 85,000 krb. for the alcohol looted from Kniaz Kurakin’s estate and suggested that these funds could have been used by the local military commandant M. Pavlovsky to organize the uprising against the Hetman (CSASBPGU, f. 3158, d. 1, c. 10, p. 11). It is most likely that the money for the looted alcohol in 1917 was included in the total amount of losses by the landlords.

The peasants interpreted the freedom of moonshine brewing as one of the achievements of the Revolution. They produced alcoholic beverages for their own use: they celebrated religious and family holidays, and relieved psychological stress. In May – July of 1917 large-scale distilleries were recorded in Podilska huberniya, in particular, in Olhopil and Letychiv povits (there were sugar plantations there). Police could not do anything (Pokrovskiy, 1927, pp. 62, 175).

Under the conditions of military and political instability, alcohol abuse was accompanied by an increase in criminal activities. Various political regimes tried to fight this social phenomenon with the help of the rural community. On November 12, 1917, in the village of Podibna, of Krasnopolkska volost of Uman povit of Kyiv huberniya, at the village assembly moonshine brewing was strictly prohibited and it was decided to fine peasants (100 krb), arrest them, and destroy the moonshine machines (CSASBPGU, f. 737, d. 1, c. 4, p. 18). The community of the village of Katoshyne, Anastasiv volost, Katerynoslav povit and huberniya took the same position of a strict ban on the production and sale of moonshine (on January 12, 1918) (The State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region – SADR, f. 630, d. 1, c. 11, p. 21a.). On July 27, 1919, residents of the village of Pryvilne of Kherson povit and huberniya decided to prohibit moonshine brewing, and to hand over the guilty to the authorities for prosecution (CSASBPGU, f. 3633, d. 1, c. 1, p. 95a.).

Under the conditions of revolutionary upheavals, moonshine brewing became one of the means of survival for many peasant families. I. Yaroshenko, a resident of one of the farms of Tomakivka left detailed memories of his personal experience of using moonshine and the scale of moonshine brewing in the Ukrainian village in 1917 – 1923 (nowadays – Zaporizhzhia region) (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 277–300). He worked as a shoemaker, but under the conditions of constant high prices, economic ruin and political instability, he could not provide for his family, and because of this, together with relatives and friends, he engaged in moonshine brewing (Yaroshenko, 2005, p. 282).

The ban on moonshine brewing and inflation caused a significant increase in prices for home-made alcohol: in March of 1919, a bottle of moonshine cost 25 krb. (a poud of wheat – 50 krb., a poud of flour – 100 krb.), in May – 30 krb. (they began to arrest people for making moonshine), in February of 1920 the cost of a bottle of moonshine rose to 150 krb. Three years later – in February of 1923 – it could be purchased for as much as 8 million krb. (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 288–289, 292, 299).

The volume of moonshine brewing decreased due to crop failure and famine: for a little over a year (from June of 1921 to the beginning of October of 1922), there were absolutely no records of alcohol consumption. However, from September of 1922 to the middle of 1923, as the author of the memoirs testified, peasants often organized “good parties” with an active participation of the board members of the agricultural farm (that’s how the collective farm is called in the text. – The authors). Strict bans on moonshine brewing and alcohol consumption, which the Soviet authorities began to impose in March of 1923, did not stop peasants and they continued to drink stealthily. The communists consumed alcohol taken from peasants (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 296, 299–300).

In the ranks of rural communists alcohol abuse reached a significant scale. Illegal distilling was often supported by the “red” militia, as was the case in Verkhniodniprovsky povit, Katerynoslav huberniya in the spring of 1921 (SADR, f. r-224, d. 1, c. 6, p. 61). The Bolsheviks recognized the problem of alcohol abuse in their environment, and this was one of the reasons for expulsion from the ranks of the CP(b)U in 1921 (Shcherbakov, 1927, p. 116).

In 1922, the instructors of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U carefully examined the state of affairs in local party organizations carefully – Odesa huberniya was the most “drunk”. There, drunkenness infected the entire party apparatus – from local members to the leadership, and in Tyraspol povit, communists drank wine instead of tea. The party committees fought against alcoholism, and alcohol consumption acquired an illegal character gradually (Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 1063, p. 71).

The Conclusions. “Drunken” riots were a concomitant phenomenon of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprovska Ukraine at its culminating stages (1905, 1917), its destructive component. At the same time, peasants’ abuse of alcohol was not the cause of the Peasant Revolution, although the expenses of middle-class households for the purchase of alcohol were significant. In 1905, peasants were motivated by food difficulties to destroy the facilities of the alcohol industry, it was a protest against the state policy. For a long time, alcohol influenced the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian countryside (pogroms of distilleries, alcohol warehouses, wine shops, landowners’ estates, sugar factories). In 1905, “wine” factories of Left-Bank Ukraine (Chernihiv, Kharkiv huberniya) suffered the most, and in 1917 – “wine” factories of Right-Bank Ukraine. Under the conditions of military and political upheavals of 1918 – 1920, mass moonshine served as financial support for the peasantry and at the same time played a negative social role. At the end of the frontier

stage of the Peasant Revolution (1921 – 1922) alcoholism was especially common among rural communists. For them, as well as for the peasants in many regions of Naddniprianska Ukraine, the Soviet power was alien, brought from Bolshevik Russia.

Prospects for further research are related to the deepening of regional studies on the history of the Peasant Revolution of 1902 – 1922, as well as its political aspects.

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**RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IN THE BALKANS DURING
THE FIRST BALKAN WAR OF 1912 – 1913**

Abstract. *The Russian Empire sought to use the formation of the Balkan League (Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro) in order to weaken the Ottoman Porte before and during the First Balkan War of 1912 – 1913. Due to Russia’s ambitions, such steps were motivated, in order to establish control over the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits, Constantinople, as well as in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean regions. The purpose of the research is to do historical analysis of the causes / events of the First Balkan War of 1912 – 1913 and the efforts, which were made in order to implement the Russian Empire’s ambitions during it, whose interests collided with the interests of other Great Powers that sought to establish control over the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean region, as well as manipulation of the Balkan peoples’ aspirations for this purpose. The methodology of research is*

based on the principles of historicism, systematicity and scientificity. The following approaches have been used in the course of the study: historical political and historical systemic, as well as methods of macro historical analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in updating the study of historical events related to the clash of geopolitical interests of big states in the Balkans, the Black and Mediterranean Seas. **The Conclusions.** During the First Balkan War of 1912 – 1913, the contradictions between the big states concerning the influence on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits intensified. The Russian Empire, taking advantage of the Ottoman Porte weakening, tried to influence the course of its confrontation with the Balkan League in order to achieve the expansion of its presence. The tsarist government, emphasizing the support of the Slavic peoples, at the same time tried to hinder the advance of the Bulgarian army to the Ottoman capital in every possible way, since it claimed to subjugate Constantinople and the Straits at a convenient opportunity. In the same way, St. Petersburg reacted very unkindly to the aspirations of Greece to strengthen its own positions in the direction of these strategic points. However, in addition to Russia, Austria-Hungary, the German Empire, as well as Britain and France claimed influence in these regions, which made it impossible to determine the leading subject of influence in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and became one of the important reasons for the beginning of World War I.

Key words: Balkan Wars, Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Balkan League, Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Great Powers, geopolitical interests.

РОСІЙСЬКИЙ ІМПЕРІАЛІЗМ НА БАЛКАНАХ ПІД ЧАС ПЕРШОЇ БАЛКАНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ 1912 – 1913 рр.

Анотація. Російська імперія напередодні та у ході Першої балканської війни 1912 – 1913 рр. прагнула використати формування Балканського союзу (Сербії, Болгарії, Греції та Чорногорії) задля подальшого ослаблення Порту. Такі кроки були зумовлені амбіціями Росії у встановленні контролю над протоками Босфор і Дарданелли, Константинополем, а також в Чорноморському і Середземноморському регіоні. **Мета статті** полягає в історичному аналізі причин / подій Першої балканської війни 1912 – 1913 рр. та намагання реалізації у її ході амбіцій Російської імперії, інтереси якої зіткнулися з інтересами інших великих держав, які прагнули встановити контроль на Балканах, Чорноморському та Середземноморському регіоні, а також маніпуляціях задля цієї мети прагненнями балканських народів. **Методологічну основу** становлять принципи історизму, системності та науковості. У ході дослідження було використано історико-політологічний та історико-системний підхід, а також прийоми макроісторичного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає в актуалізації вивчення історичних подій, пов'язаних із зіткненням геополітичних інтересів великих держав на Балканах, в Чорному та Середземному морях. **Висновки.** У ході Першої балканської війни 1912 – 1913 рр. загострилися суперечності між великими державами за вплив на протоках Босфор і Дарданелли. Російська імперія, користуючись ослабленням Порту, намагалася впливати на перебіг її протистояння із Балканським союзом з тим, щоби домогтися розширення своєї присутності. Царський уряд, наголошуючи на підтримці слов'янських народів, водночас всіляко намагався завадити просуванню болгарської армії до османської столиці, оскільки сам претендував на підпорядкування, за зручної нагоди, Константинополя та Проток. Так само Петербург дуже недоброчливо поставився і до прагнень Греції зміцнити власні позиції у напрямі цих стратегічних пунктів. Утім, окрім Росії, на вплив у цих регіонах претендували Австро-Угорщина, Німецька імперія, а також Британія і Франція, що не дозволило визначити провідного суб'єкта впливу в Чорномор'ї та Середземномор'ї, й стало однією з важливих причин початку Першої світової війни.

Ключові слова: Балканські війни, Російська імперія, Османська імперія, Балканський союз, Босфор, Дарданелли, великі держави, геополітичні інтереси.

The Problem Statement. At the beginning of the XXth century, in the Balkans the deadlocked geopolitical situation resulted in the Great Powers' ambitions of the empires of that time. The Balkan wars of 1912 – 1913 increased international tensions significantly, deepened the contradictions between the Balkan countries and great powers and European

alliances. Hence, it is not for nothing that the Balkan Peninsula was called the “powder cellar” of Europe, and the Balkan wars were the prelude to World War I. Against the background of the Balkan wars, the geopolitical ambitions of both great empires and national interests of the Greeks and the Southern Slavic peoples, who sought to complete the creation of their own independent states, became intertwined. As a result, the trigger of the first global armed conflict caused the collapse of three empires – the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire. Currently, the unsteady situation in the Balkans is also due to the efforts to strengthen the influence of the great powers, primarily the Russian Federation, which, as at the beginning of the XXth century, seeks to use the smoldering instability in this region to its advantage in order to take a geopolitical revenge of the Russian Empire and the USSR, which regained its influence in the Balkans after World War II. The Russian Federation tries to regain its dominance in the Black Sea region and the Balkans once again by resorting to an imperial foreign policy.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The source base of the research was based on the French-language materials from the series “The French Diplomatic Documents of 1870 – 1914” (Documents diplomatiques français (1871 – 1914)) and diplomatic correspondence from the English-language edition of “The British Diplomatic Papers of 1898 – 1914” (British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898 – 1914), the German-language documents published in the multi-volume collection “The Great Politics of European Cabinets of 1870 – 1914” (Die Große Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871 – 1914), as well as a number of other documentary materials.

The above-mentioned issue became the object of research focus of different generations of foreign and domestic historians. The Western European historiography of the first third of the XXth century drew attention to the fact that Russia’s expansion in the Black Sea region posed a threat to the security and economic development of European countries. The following historians K. Phillipson, N. Buxton (Phillipson & Buxton, 1917) and N. Dascovici (Dascovici, 1915) did not avoid the political conjecture, trying to highlight the position of their countries in a better light. At the same time, Western historians pointed at Russia’s significant diplomatic miscalculations, as Russia, in their opinion, failed to take advantage of the result of the creation of the Balkan League in order to strengthen its own positions on the issue of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and moreover, with its treacherous imperial policy, Russia turned Bulgaria, Greece and the Ottoman Empire against itself. As a result, according to the French historian N. Dascovici, who emphasized that the above-mentioned prompted the entry of Porta and Sofia into World War I on the side of Germany (Dascovici, 1915, p. 268). The American researcher R. Bobroff also analyzed the Russian-French contradictions during the First Balkan War in a somewhat favourable way (Bobroff, 2000, p. 81). However, subsequent generations of Western historians, in particular M. Anderson (Anderson, 1965) and A. Macfie (Macfie, 1993) in their works, which are mainly of a review nature, tried to give a more objective analysis of the Great Powers contradictions, but they focused, first of all, on the policy of their own countries concerning this issue.

The approaches of the Russian historians of tsarist Russia, the USSR, and the modern Russian Federation are very similar in their desire to elucidate expansion in the Black Sea-Mediterranean region as concern for the fate of local Slavs or protection of their own vital interests. The exception was the period of the 1920s, when historians of M. Pokrovskiy’s school, having the obvious task of debunking the Russian tsarism as the instigator of war, were also very critical of its assertion in the Balkans (Pokrovskiy, 1931). Attempts to cover

the Black Sea vector of tsarist Russia's policy in a more objective and balanced way were also made by the Russian historians in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s, until a new wave of modern Russian chauvinism arose, particularly in historical science. The following works written by P. Kosik (Kosik, 2003) and B. Tupolev (Tupolev, 2003) should be mentioned.

In the Ukrainian historiography, the above-mentioned topic is mostly presented fragmentarily. Only some works bring us closer to the understanding of imperial policy in the context of the Balkan crisis at the beginning of the XXth century. The article, written by I. Lyman and V. Konstantinova, covered the role of the British consulates in the port cities of the northern Black Sea region and the Azov region in the second half of the XIXth and at the beginning of the XXth centuries. The authors made a conclusion that the British Empire itself emphasized diplomatic influence in the region in order to promote its trade and economic interests until the beginning of World War I (Lyman & Konstantinova, 2019). The article, written by O. Potiekhin focuses on the discourse of World War I causes, which were determined also by the results of the First Balkan War of 1912 – 1913. The article deals with the trade and economic relations of the Russian Empire, Great Britain, France and Germany on the eve of World War I – in which the basins of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, as well as the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits played not the last role (Potiekhin, 2021). The Russian-German influence on the politics of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of World War I was covered in the publication of M. Tortika. The scholar substantiated the decisive role of O. Parvus' activity in the activation of the left forces (primarily the social democratic) in Turkey and the Balkans. Hence, emphasis should also be placed on internal political transformations in the Ottoman Empire, which became one of the decisive factors in the negative results of its participation in the First Balkan and World War I (Tortika, 2021).

Among modern Ukrainian researchers, T. Vakoliuk (Vakoliuk, 2006) covered the above-mentioned topic in details, who, considering Russia's Balkan policy in her PhD thesis, rightly claimed that at the beginning of the XXth century the tsarist diplomacy tried to use its influence on the Balkan peoples in order to strengthen its position, particularly in the issue of the Black Sea Straits. However, the works of this researcher are based on the Russian sources, without comparing them with the relevant British, German and French documents.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the causes / events of the First Balkan War of 1912 – 1913 historically and the efforts, which were made in order to implement the Russian Empire's ambitions during it, whose interests collided with the interests of the other great powers that sought to establish control over the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean region, as well as manipulation of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples for this purpose.

The Results of the Research. The weakening of the Ottoman Porte after its defeat in the war with Italy created a convenient basis for the Balkan states to liberate quite significant territories on the Balkan Peninsula from the Ottoman oppression and increase their own possessions at their expense (Hauser, 1929, p. 217; Immanuel, 1913, p. 28).

A significant motive for Petersburg's interest in the consolidation of the Balkan states was the desire to create a powerful counterbalance to Vienna and not only to stop its further expansion in the Balkans, but also to use, in the event of a war with it, the newly created alliance entity to strike Austria-Hungary with its help from the south direction. In addition, the tsarist government, despite the fact that it was worried about the growing militancy in Sofia, Belgrade and Athens, realized that if it did not support these processes of unification of the Balkan peoples, then, taking into consideration their nationalist rise, it could lose

a significant part its influence in an extremely important region for itself (Kosik, 2003, pp. 415–416; Sokolovskaya, pp. 461–462; *Istoriya diplomatii*, pp. 737–738).

As a result of tense negotiations, the Serbian-Bulgarian Alliance Treaty was signed on March 13, 1912, (Serb – Bulgarian Alliance, 1912), the Greek-Bulgarian Alliance was signed on May 29, 1912, (Greek – Bulgarian Alliance, 1912), and the Serbian-Montenegrin Alliance was signed on October 6, 1912 (Serbian – Montenegrin Alliance, 1912). Thus, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro were directly or indirectly united by alliance obligations.

Although Russia was one of the initiators of the unification of the Balkan states, from the very beginning the activities of the above-mentioned intergovernmental organization raised concern in St. Petersburg, in particular, the fact that the Bulgarian King Ferdinand did not hide his hopes for a triumphal entry into Constantinople at the head of a victorious army. Hence, there was a threat that the control of the Straits would pass from the weakened Ottoman Empire to a vigorous Bulgaria with the German dynasty on the throne (Anderson, 1965, p. 291). In his reports to Paris the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, M. Bompard, emphasized the following: “Since Russia is forced to abandon the capture of Constantinople for the time being, it should be concerned that this city, taking into account its importance for controlling the Straits, does not fall into the hands, instead of a weak, impoverished and disarmed Turkey, to a strong state. Therefore, it was worried about the increasing influence of both the Bulgarians and the Austrians” in this region (Bompard – Poincaré, 1912, p. 191).

According to the British historians K. Phillipson and N. Buxton, Russia made significant diplomatic miscalculations by contributing to the formation of the Balkan League in order to use its influence to strengthen its own positions on the issue of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles or, even taking advantage of favourable circumstances, with the help of this alliance to resolve it in its favour finally. In fact, the Balkan League, with its victorious war against the Ottoman Empire, would, on the contrary, have created a significant problem to St. Petersburg, since the rapid advance of the Bulgarian army to Constantinople and the Straits, quite realistically, could cause the transfer of control over these strategic water communications from the weakened Porte, which had to balance between the Great Powers, to Bulgaria, which was gradually getting closer to Germany and Austria-Hungary (Phillipson, Buxton, pp. 192–193).

Russia believed that the instructions would be enough for the Bulgarian army, in the event of a successful offensive in the direction of Constantinople, to stop in front of Adrianople and not move further towards the Straits and the Ottoman capital (Bobroff, 2000, p. 82). The Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Sazonov was convinced that, in the last resort, Sofia’s harsh ultimatum would stop the Bulgarian march to the Bosphorus (Bobroff, 2000, p. 83).

At the same time, Petersburg, like the majority of European cabinets, did not exclude the victory of the Ottoman Porte in the war with the Balkan states and the significant strengthening of the Ottoman Empire as a result (Hauser, 1929, pp. 225–226; Bobroff, 2000, p. 82). It would also be contrary to the traditional strategy of the tsarist government regarding the Bosphorus and Dardanelles issue. Petersburg, together with its own efforts to curb the militancy of the Balkan League, also turned to its Entente allies for this purpose. As A. Nicolson wrote, London responded to its partner, who was interested in avoiding unpredictable cataclysms in this region, but it did not have effective levers to settle the situation and, therefore, advised the tsarist government to cooperate with Austria-Hungary primarily. According to A. Nicolson, the real motive behind this policy of the British cabinet, was the fear that while London would spend its resources to support St. Petersburg on the above-mentioned issues, at that time Russia

would intensify its expansion in the Middle and Far East, and thus, would cause damage to the British interests. In addition, the Foreign Office was not too keen on spoiling its relations with the Balkan states in order to ensure the Russian needs, forcing them to act contrary to their own expectations (Honchar, 2004, p. 100; Nicolson – Buchanan, 1912, pp. 44–45).

On October 9, 1912, Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire, and on October 17 – Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece (Iskenderov, 2003, pp. 482–483; *Istoriya diplomatii*, 1963, pp. 743–744). Hence, the First Balkan War began. The tsarist government along with the beginning of the hostilities was concerned about the possibility of a raid by the Greek fleet to the Dardanelles. On October 3 (16), 1912, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S. Sazonov, while receiving the Greek chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg, emphasized the following: “The interests of our grain exports require the free passage of ships through the Straits. The example of Italy clearly showed the difficulties of naval operations in the Straits. Any attempt by Greece in this direction is still doomed to failure” (Sazonov – Demidov, 1912, pp. 476).

On October 20, 1912, the Greek naval forces invaded the islands of Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos and Tenedos, which are located near the entrance to the Dardanelles. Taking it into consideration, Russia demanded assurances from Greece regarding the non-expansion of military operations to the Straits, as well as the subsequent release of the above-mentioned islands (Dontas, 1987, p. 26). On October 20, 1912, the Russian Foreign Ministry instructed the ambassador in Athens, E. Demidov, to analyze the probability of the threat of conducting military operations in the Black Sea Straits by Greece (Hauser, 1929, p. 234). The Greek Prime Minister E. Venizelos, in a conversation with the tsarist diplomat, according to the testimony of the Russian ambassador in London O. Benkendorf, “refused to give any guarantee regarding the Straits and expressed confidence that, if necessary, the Greek fleet would pass where the Italian fleet would not was able to succeed in” (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 44).

A more important threat to Constantinople and the Straits than the Greek fleet was the rapid offensive of the Bulgarian army on the Ottoman capital after the victory over the Turkish troops on October 29 – 30, 1912. (Hauser, 1929, p. 234). As E. Gray wrote to J. Buchanan, the ambassador in St. Petersburg, on November 1, 1912, “the capture of Constantinople by the Bulgarians can become an accomplished fact any day” (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 72).

According to the observations of the German ambassador in St. Petersburg, F. Pourtales, the tsarist government was concerned about Bulgaria’s success not only because, as S. Sazonov claimed, “it was more profitable for him that nothing should change regarding Constantinople and the Straits” (Pourtales – Bethmann Hollweg, 1912, pp. 395–396). As the German diplomat wrote, the possibility of “King Ferdinand’s triumphant entry into the Turkish capital” caused envy in St. Petersburg, because there was fear that Bulgaria would be able to do what “the Russians were forced to refuse 34 years ago” (Pourtales – Bethmann Hollweg, 1912, pp. 395–396). Russia considered any attempts in this regard, according to the British historian A. Macfie, as a *casus belli* and, accordingly, was ready in such case even for military intervention (Macfie, 1993, pp. 38–39).

As early as on October 20, 1912, the Russian Naval Department decided that it was expedient, “taking into account the threat of anarchy and the danger to the Christian population of Constantinople, ... to use the smallest opportunity to send at least the minimum number of troops to capture the European shore of the Bosphorus... The final occupation of the upper Bosphorus would half solve (for Russia – *authors*) the painful issue of the Strait” (Hauser, 1929, p. 211). On the night of October 25 – 26, Admiral I. Hryhorovych, the

Minister of the Navy, “after the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers”, asked Nicholas II to allow him to enter into direct communication with the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, M. Girs, “to direct, (at a convenient moment – *authors*), an unlimited number of warships or even the entire squadron (Black Sea – *authors*), if necessary” (Hauser, 1929, p. 212). Nicholas II replied that “from the very beginning it was necessary to resort to such measures, to which (he – *authors*) agrees” (Bovykin, 1961, p. 124).

On November 8, 1912, the Russian ambassador in the Ottoman capital, M. Hirs, received from his government the authority to call the Black Sea fleet to the Bosphorus, which, in the event of the final defeat of the Ottoman army, was supposed to ensure Russian interests in the Straits (Istoriya diplomatii, 1963, pp. 744–745).

However, neither the Russian army, which was in the process of rearmament, nor, even more so, the navy, which had not yet fully recovered after the defeat in the war with Japan, were ready for a large-scale armed conflict (Kutsyk, 2022, pp. 65–66). Taking into account Petersburg’s threats, expressed on November 4, 1912, to London and Paris to send their fleet to the Straits were more like, as the French researcher M. Hauser said, “a light blackmail in order to induce two allies to support its policy more actively” regarding Bosphorus and Dardanelles (Hauser, 1929, p. 234).

Russia wanted to leave the Straits under the control of the weakened Ottoman Empire for a certain time in order to, having accumulated resources, eventually change their regime in its favour (Dascovici, 1915, p. 268). For Russia’s allies – France and Great Britain, such hopes of the tsarist government were a convenient means to emphasize their sympathy for these Russian aspirations, to keep it in the orbit of their influence, to strengthen Petersburg’s dependence on London and Paris, and to seek new preferences from it in other important issues of world politics.

Another diplomatic paradox was that while Russian diplomacy was actually taking a pro-Ottoman position, worrying that the Bulgarian army would not occupy Constantinople and the Straits, hence, undermining its authority among the Balkan peoples, the pro-Bulgarian sentiments were increasingly spreading in Germany and Austria-Hungary. In particular, the German and Austro-Hungarian pro-government press were filled with articles expressing admiration for the successes of the Bulgarian army and emphasizing that the Ottoman capital was the only place where Tsar Ferdinand could make peace with the Sultan (Phillipson & Buxton, p. 193).

Germany, which was trying to draw Bulgaria into its sphere of influence, emphasized that the capture of Constantinople by the Bulgarians would be beneficial for Russia. Of course, such actions of the Berlin cabinet aggravated its relations with Petersburg and increased the need for the Russian diplomacy to appeal to its allies in the Entente in order to restrain Sofia’s ambitions and, as it seemed to Russia, the intrigues of the Triple Alliance (Phillipson & Buxton, p. 193).

The British government realized that in order to maintain friendly relations with Russia, it was necessary to show Russia support for the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. In addition, the continuation of this Bulgarian offensive worried the London cabinet, since it could, as at least they claimed in St. Petersburg, lead to Russia conducting an amphibious operation on the Bosphorus or at least sending the Russian Black Sea Fleet to Constantinople (Lowther – Grey, 1912, p. 94). Secretary of State E. Gray was convinced that “the change in possession of Constantinople is a great European issue” which was not the time to raise it. At the same

time, the British government, despite repeated requests from St. Petersburg, was limited in its ability to exert pressure on Sofia, which would cause the cessation of the Bulgarian troops advance to the Straits, since “public opinion (of Great Britain – *authors*) opposed any attempt to deprive the Balkan states fruits of their victories” (Lowther – Grey, 1912, p. 94). The British government understood the Russian strategy for the Straits fully and did not want to go to extra mile in order to support those plans, which were contrary to its own interests. In particular, the British ambassador in Paris, Lord F. Bertie, wrote on October 25 (November 7) 1912 that “the Russians cannot expect that the majority of the Great Powers will contribute to the fact that Constantinople remains in the hands of the Turks only to wait until Russia, using auspicious moment, captures it itself” (Kostrikova, 1999, p. 287).

However, as it turned out, reaching the consensus between Russia and Austria-Hungary in Balkan politics was already an extremely difficult task. Moreover, the tsarist government’s support of Serbia’s aspirations to gain access to the Adriatic Sea during the Balkan wars almost caused a pan-European armed conflict, since Vienna, having secured the support of its Berlin ally, opposed these demands categorically (Grey – Paget, 1912, p. 108).

Hence, in particular, on November 6, 1912, the Serbian Chargé d’affaires in London emphasized in his conversation with E. Gray that for his country “a port at the Adriatic coast is a matter of economic independence, and therefore – life and death” (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 110). Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, the Serbian troops, ignoring Vienna’s warnings, captured a number of ports on the Albanian coast of the Adriatic Sea during November of 1912 (Iskenderov, 2003, p. 440). On the other hand, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs A. Kiderlen, in a conversation with the British Ambassador to Germany V. Goschen, noted as early as November 7, 1912, that Berlin “will be forced to support Austria... and if Serbia and its friends receive Russia’s support, then Germany will be together with its ally. It cannot be otherwise!” (Goschen – Grey, 1912, p. 149).

A. Kiderlen shared his thoughts quite fair and correct in a letter to the German ambassador in Rome, G. von Yagov, he mentioted the following “the Russian government’s support of Serbian claims to a port in the Adriatic Sea should not only demonstrate Russia’s traditional role as a defender of the Balkan states”. According to the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the tsarist government planned that by taking control of the Straits with Constantinople eventually and helping Serbia gain a port on the Adriatic, it would have “two valuable bases for its naval power in the Mediterranean” (Kiderlen – Jagow, 1912, p. 362). According to the testimony of A. Kiderlen, Petersburg aimed at reaching the above-mentioned goal, tried to use allied relations with Paris in order to encourage Italy to take a positive attitude to Serbian demands, and thus, provoke a “split in the Triple Alliance” (Kiderlen – Jagow, 1912, p. 362).

Taking into consideration the fact that Russia was convinced that Austria-Hungary, followed by Germany, would not refrain from military intervention if necessary, Russia decided to concede as realized its unpreparedness for the war, despite the support of warlike France. In January of 1913, Serbia, on the advice of St. Petersburg, declared its agreement to withdraw troops from the Adriatic coast and agreed to the creation of the Albanian state on its shores (Tupolev, 2003, pp. 286–287; Iskenderov, 2003, pp. 438–442; Istorija diplomatii, 1963, pp. 746–748, 750–751).

Taking into account that “the friendly but serious advice that Mr. Sazonov gave to Sofia so that the Bulgarians would not storm Çatalca” turned out to be useless, the Russian diplomacy, whose capabilities were also weakened by the confrontation with Vienna, continued to appeal

to London and Paris “to do something in this sense in Sofia”. Although E. Grey was firmly convinced that it was “already too late” to curb the offensive fervor of the Bulgarian army (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 95).

The increasing pressure of the Bulgarian army on Constantinople intensified the cooperation within the Russo-French alliance in order to encourage the warring parties to end the armed struggle with the help of joint mediation efforts, with the involvement of other Great Powers. France, as well as its Russian partner, was interested in at least maintaining the status quo in relation to Constantinople and the Straits, albeit with somewhat different motives. According to the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, M. Bompard, Paris “having significant economic, industrial, financial interests” in the Middle East, was primarily concerned with preserving the operational capacity and solvency of the Porte (Bompard – Poincaré, 1912, p. 192) if possible, as R. Poincaré noted, also “territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire” (Poincaré – Luis, 1912, p. 41). As the Russian ambassador to France, O. Izwolsky, reported to St. Petersburg, “although the Paris cabinet expressed readiness to support Russia in a friendly manner in the Balkan crisis, but when it came to financial issues, I predict that all our efforts and means are ineffective compared to the arguments that are at Ottoman and other interested banks” (Iswolsky – Sasonow, 1913, p. 163).

R. Poincaré also tried to influence Sofia in order to stop the Bulgarian army in front of Constantinople and the Straits and even suggested the head of British diplomacy E. Gray resorting to “collective intervention of the Great Powers in order to stop the hostilities” (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 95). However, at that time his proposals did not find support in London, which, although it did not object to it, considered these actions too late (Grey – Buchanan, 1912, p. 95).

It should be emphasized that during the Balkan wars, the aggravation of the Straits issues as a result of the Bulgarian offensive, as well as the threat of the capture of the Bosphorus by Russia, clearly revealed the hidden contradictions between Paris and St. Petersburg. After all, when there was a real threat of the tsarist government taking control of the Straits, as it was during the Middle East crisis of the 1990s, Paris opposed it strongly and unequivocally, making impossible to take such actions by Russia.

We can agree with the opinion of a modern American researcher R. Bobroff, that at that time it was the closest Russian ally – France, that at the above-mentioned critical moments was the biggest hindrance to these Russian ambitions. R. Bobroff explained such actions taken by Paris the following way: Paris was concerned about the possibility of the powerful Russian influence penetration into the Mediterranean and, as a result, disruption of the balance of power in this region, which would cause geopolitical instability there and endanger significant French investments in Syria and the Levant (Bobroff, 2000, p. 81).

A notable conflict of the Russian and French interests regarding the Straits issue was caused by Russia’s support for a proposal by the Bulgarian diplomacy that the Ottoman Empire should pay Bulgaria financial compensation for not continuing the offensive on Constantinople. The tsarist government, considering the above-mentioned option acceptable for securing the Straits from being captured by the Bulgarian army, tried to persuade the European states to support it. On the other hand, Paris opposed it strongly, as it worried that such additional payments would cause the Porte to go bankrupt and unable to repay the huge French loans, which accounted for 45% of the Ottoman Empire’s debts (Bobroff, 2000, p. 92).

Taking into account the above-mentioned facts, it can be considered a significant exaggeration of the statement of the French historian N. Dascovici that the offensive of the Bulgarian army on the defensive line near Constantinople was stopped not so much by the

resistance of the Ottoman troops and numerous epidemics, but by the Russian-British diplomacy (Dascovici, 1915, p. 267). Similar mistakes were made by the English researchers K. Phillipson and N. Buxton, who published their collective monograph on the Straits issues in 1917. In the collective monograph, in particular, there was covered the period of the Balkan wars, the authors focused too much attention on the anti-Russian policy of Germany and Austria-Hungary on the Bosphorus issue and the Dardanelles (Phillipson & Buxton, 1917, pp. 192–195).

As the German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs A. Kiderlen wrote, European capitals realized that “Bulgaria, with its relatively modest population of 4 million, was not interested in keeping a large city with several million inhabitants on its periphery” (Aufzeichnung Kiderlen, 1912, pp. 38–39). Therefore, the Great Powers understood that even if the Bulgarian army entered the Ottoman capital, it would be there temporarily until the fate of this city and the problem of the Straits were resolved.

The London Cabinet lacked sufficient motivation to press Sofia to stop the movement of the Bulgarian army to Constantinople, and, at the same time, was concerned about the possibility of worsening relations with Petersburg, as well as the threat of the Russian amphibious operation on the Bosphorus. Therefore, at the beginning of November of 1912, the Foreign Office prepared proposals for the Great Powers, according to which, in the event of the fall of the Ottoman capital, “the narrow strip that includes the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should become a neutral territory” (Paget – Grey, 1912, p. 82). The British Prime Minister H. Asquith first heralded those proposals in a private, confidential conversation with the Russian ambassador in London, Count O. Benkendorf. The proposals were officially addressed to the St. Petersburg cabinet after that (Grey – Paget, 1912, p. 109). In general, Bulgaria supported such ideas of the Foreign Office (Goshen – Grey, 1912, p. 187).

The above-mentioned project did not suit Russia, which since the time of the eastern crisis of the 90s of the XIXth century considered the strengthening of international control in the Ottoman Empire unacceptable. Russia predicted that it would be beneficial primarily to European states, which, using their financial and economic advantage, would supersede the Russian influence from these areas gradually. “Internationalization” and “neutralization” of the Strait was disadvantageous for St. Petersburg also because it facilitated the passage of foreign warships to the Black Sea (Macfie, 1993, p. 40) and contradicted the old axiom of the Russian diplomacy – to resist attempts to establish any foreign control over the entrance to the Black Sea (Dranov, 1948, p. 150). In addition, the tsarist government had a rather strong temptation, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, in particular the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, to achieve a change in the regime of the Straits to its own advantage later or even to subjugate them completely (Macfie, 1993, p. 38).

French Foreign Minister R. Poincaré also considered the “internationalization” of Constantinople and the Bosphorus and Dardanelles unrealistic (Grey – Paget, 1912, p. 109). Fierce resistance of the Ottoman army at the Çatalca positions, which were the last frontier before Constantinople and the Straits, as well as the exhaustion of the Bulgarian troops, eventually led to the signing of an armistice between the warring parties on December 3, 1912. On December 17, 1912, a peace conference began in London. It was attended by representatives of the Balkan states and the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, a meeting of ambassadors of six Great Powers – Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy – was held in the British capital (Honchar, 2004, p. 747).

European countries were generally interested in maintaining the status quo regarding Constantinople and the Black Sea Straits (Macfie, 1993, p. 38). The closest allies of Russia

in the Entente – Great Britain and France, as evidenced by E. Gray’s conversation with the French ambassador in London P. Cambon on December 11, 1912, believed that it was unacceptable for them that the Straits issue should be directly raised at the above-mentioned conferences (Grey – Bertie, 1912, p. 278). Although the Bosphorus and Dardanelles issue influenced the consideration of other important issues during these negotiations significantly.

At the London Conference of the Great Powers, a heated discussion took place regarding the future of four islands in the Aegean Sea, which were captured by Greece in October of 1912, and which were located near the Dardanelles. According to the testimony of Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Germany A. Zimmerman, the states of the Triple Alliance were mainly inclined to return these islands to the Ottoman Empire and grant them autonomous status. On the contrary, Great Britain and France insisted that they remain in the possession of Greece (Zimmerman – Lucius, 1913, p. 157).

Hence, a rather dangerous divergence for the Entente in one of the fundamental issues of international politics was observed. Actually Petersburg followed the position consonant with Vienna and Rome, which, fearing “a complete disturbance of the balance in the Mediterranean” in favour of Greece, which was mainly under the influence of London and Paris (Zimmerman – Tschirchky, 1913, pp. 124–125), strongly demanded that Athens would return the islands captured by it to the Ottoman Porte (Lichnowsky – Auswärtige Amt, 1913, p. 148). The above-mentioned circumstances, taking into account Germany’s willingness to compromise with Great Britain, led to the eventual agreement of the Great Powers to join those islands to Greece.

Nationalist-minded Young Turk activists, hoping for the support of Germany, refused further concessions at the peace conferences held in London. On February 3, 1913, the hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the countries of the Balkan League resumed. After the Bulgarian army captured the cities of Adrianople and Ioannina in March of 1913, it again attacked the Çatalca defensive line, which was the last obstacle on the way to Constantinople, as it was only 45 km away from it (Bovykin, 1961, p. 124). Once again Russia was worried about the fate of the Ottoman capital and the Black Sea Straits. As a result, on March 28, 1913, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, M. Hirs, was given the proxy again: if necessary, to call the Black Sea Fleet to the Bosphorus (Istoriya diplomatii, 1963, p. 752). In mid-April of 1913, the adviser to the German Foreign Ministry, von Treutler, reported to the leadership of this department that “Russia’s arbitrary regulation of the Dardanelles issue will threaten the existence of the Triple Entente” (Treutler – Auswärtige Amt, 1913, p. 678). At the same time, Russia again turned to its Entente allies with a request to influence Sofia in order to stop the offensive of the Bulgarian army.

On March 29, 1913, Paris and London learned about the threat of the Russian military action in the Straits (Bülow – Saleske, 1913, p. 580). However, unlike the tsarist government, France and Great Britain believed that the Bulgarian armed forces, in which the cholera epidemic was spreading, were unable to break through the Turkish fortifications. Hence, the Paris and London cabinets did not consider it necessary to comply with the Russian request regarding pressure on Sofia, and thus, risk their influence in this country (Lichnowsky – Auswärtige Amt, 1913, pp. 669–670).

At the same time, in order to avoid the threat of Russia’s individual action on the Bosphorus, at the end of March of 1913 France proposed to return to the idea of collective actions of the Great Powers in the Straits. As the Russian ambassador in Paris, O. Iswolski, reported to St. Petersburg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, S. Pichon, claimed that if the

tsarist government agreed, he would “immediately make a proposal to all cabinets to send a combined squadron of six states to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles” (Iswołski – Sasonow, 1913, pp. 120–121). However, the above-mentioned proposals of the Paris cabinet were accepted in St. Petersburg no longer as its declared desire to help the ally in securing its interests in the Straits, but as an attempt to prevent Russia, at an inconvenient moment for its Western partners, to raise again the Bosphorus and Dardanelles issues (Lichnowsky – Auswärtige Amt, 1913, pp. 669–670).

According to the negotiations between S. Poklovsky-Kozell, assistant to the Russian ambassador in London, and E. Grey at the beginning of April of 1913, the tsarist government considered “the French initiatives to hold a joint naval demonstration” as an extremely forced measure that should have a local character. On April 7, 1913, E. Grey wrote to the British ambassador in St. Petersburg, J. Buchanan, that he had the impression that in the event that “if any powers pre-occupy Constantinople in order to prevent its capture by the Bulgarians, the Russian public opinion will be categorically against this, as it believes that the only state that has the right to do so is Russia. Hence, according to E. Grey, the Russian public believed that it would be best for the Russian government to resolve the Strait issue alone, without the participation of other states in this process” (Grey – Buchanan, 1913, pp. 660–661).

The London Peace Treaty of May of 30, 1913 between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro put an end to the First Balkan War. According to it, the Ottoman Empire lost almost all its European possessions, which were distributed among the victorious states. However, Bulgaria had to withdraw its troops from all the points it reached on the coast of the Sea of Marmara (Phillipson, Buxton, 1917, p. 193). According to the French historian N. Dascovici, the above-mentioned decision was made primarily under the influence of the British diplomacy, which, in turn, had to reckon with the wishes of St. Petersburg (Dascovici, 1915, p. 267). Although both Serbia and Russia, which supported it, did not achieve their goal of the Serbs entering the Mediterranean Sea, which would obviously lead to the Russians obtaining a naval base there.

The Conclusions. On the eve of serious escalation in the Balkans, Russia hoped to use its influence over the southern Slavs in its own imperial interests, and, therefore, contributed to the formation of the Balkan League. Even during the Bosnian crisis of 1908 – 1909, the tsarist diplomacy considered increasing its expansion in the Black Sea-Mediterranean region, the ultimate goal of which was to subjugate the strategically located Black Sea straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the Ottoman capital of Constantinople, and transform Russia, in fact, into a powerful imperial player in the Mediterranean region. Such rampant ambitions became one of the important causes of World War I, because other empires had their own expansionist plans in this region. First of all, this concerned Austria-Hungary, which sought to at least preserve its Balkan possessions, and, in general, to change its position on this peninsula, which was significant for European stability. Even more ambitious were the plans of the German Empire, which rapidly spread its influence in Asia Minor, the Middle East and advanced, so far mainly by economic means, in the direction of the Persian Gulf. The rapidly degrading Omani Empire attempted to maintain the status quo by holding off the advance of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro, who formed an allied league to oppose Ottoman imperialism and gain independence.

Britain and France, as Russia’s allies within the Entente, emphasized that they understood Russian concern about the advance of Bulgaria by land or Greece by sea towards the Ottoman capital and the Straits. However, London and Paris were aware of the fact that

the Russian tsarism wanted to capture this “main prize” in the “Eastern issue” itself, which would fundamentally upset the balance of power in an important region. Petersburg, which positioned itself as the main defender of the interests of the Balkan Christians, turned out to be an opponent of the Bulgarians and Greeks when they threatened its imperial interests.

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**UKRAINIAN CITIZENS' COMMITTEE IN 1918 – 1921
(ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS OF THE PERIODICAL “DILO”)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee concerning social welfare, legal protection, and medical assistance to the Ukrainian prisoners of war, interned soldiers, and war invalids based on the materials of the periodical “Dilo”. **The Research Methodology.** The methodological basis of the research is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism, with observance of general scientific and special historical methods of analysis, which make it possible to reveal the importance of sections activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in the field of social protection of the population of the region, care of war invalids, orphans, the Ukrainian soldiers, providing them with material, legal, moral and medical assistance. **The scientific novelty** consists in elucidating the main activity areas of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee based on the materials of the periodical “Dilo”, which was aimed at resolving social care, legal protection and assistance to internees, relocated people and victims of war. The periodical's published materials about the living conditions of prisoners of war, assistance to the invalids, which contributed to the improvement of their social protection, have been analyzed; the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee*

regarding the maintenance of war graves and commemoration of the dead have been highlighted. **The Conclusions.** Thus, the foundation of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, the periodical “Dilo” covered in detail the directions of its activities under the difficult socio-political conditions of the Polish occupation and national resistance. The Committee was the only legal national institution that represented the interests of the Ukrainians, participating in the social protection of various strata of the Galician population, acting with the support of national, financial and cooperative institutions, the Greek Catholic Church. Despite the ban on the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, its organizational branches and sections became the basis for the creation of a number of separate societies, in particular, the Ukrainian Medical Society, the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers, the Ukrainian Society for Assistance to the Invalids, and the illegal Committee for Assistance to Political Prisoners.

Key words: Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, the periodical “Dilo”, social care, war victims, national resistance.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ГОРОЖАНСЬКИЙ КОМІТЕТ 1918 – 1921 рр. (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ЧАСОПISY “ДІЛО”)

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз діяльності Українського горожанського комітету щодо соціальної опіки, правового захисту, медичної допомоги українським полоненим, інтернованим воякам та інвалідам війни за матеріалами газети “Діло”. **Методологія дослідження.** Методологічна основа дослідження базується на принципах об'єктивності та історизму, з дотриманням загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних методів аналізу, які дають змогу розкрити значимість діяльності секцій Українського горожанського комітету у сфері соціального захисту населення краю, турботою над інвалідами війни, сиротами, українськими вояками, наданням їм матеріальної, правової, моральної та медичної допомоги. **Наукова новизна** полягає у висвітленні основних напрямів діяльності Українського горожанського комітету за матеріалами часопису “Діло”, яка була спрямована на запровадження соціальної опіки, правового захисту та допомоги інтернованим, переселенцям і жертвам війни. Проаналізовано опубліковані матеріали часопису про умови проживання військовополонених, допомогу інвалідам, що сприяло поліпшенню їхнього соціального захисту; діяльність Українського горожанського комітету щодо догляду воєнних могил та вшанування пам'яті загиблих. **Висновки.** З часу заснування Українського горожанського комітету часопис “Діло” детально висвітлював напрями його діяльності у складних суспільно-політичних умовах польської окупації та національного спротиву. Комітет був єдиною легальною національною інституцією, що презентував інтереси українства, долучаючись до соціального захисту різних верств населення Галичини, діючи за підтримки національних фінансових та кооперативних установ, греко-католицької церкви. Незважаючи на заборону діяльності Українського горожанського комітету, його організаційні підрозділи та секції стали підґрунтям для створення низки окремих товариств, зокрема Українського лікарського товариства, Союзу українських адвокатів, Українського товариства допомоги інвалідам, нелегального Комітету допомоги політичним в'язням.

Ключові слова: Український горожанський комітет, часопис “Діло”, соціальна опіка, жертви війни, національний супротив.

The Problem Statement. During World War I, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and national liberation struggle, the traditions of national self-organization of the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia, which were initiated at the end of the 19th century by public associations, continued: “Prosvita”, Ruthenian (Ruske) Pedagogical Society, “Dniester”, “Silsky Hospodar”. It was those societies which created the prerequisites for the development of the Ukrainian national life under the conditions of the Polish occupation and laid the foundation for emergence and development of new Ukrainian public organizations. The periodical “Dilo” highlighted and informed the Ukrainian population of the region about important events and their consequences, which reflected social realities, and contributed to the formation of public opinion.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Research on the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee (hereinafter – UCC) was done in the scientific works of such scholars as: O. Bezhuk (Bezhuk, 2011), M. Serediuk (Serediuk, 2019), I. Bilavych, H. Bilavych, B. Savchuk (Bilavych, Bilavych & Savchuk, 2017), O. Luhova (Luhova, 2018), L. Davybida (Davybida, 2014), M. Pavlenko (Pavlenko, 1999). The protection of the national minorities interests, on the eve of World War I and during the interwar period, in the western Ukrainian lands became the object of scientific research by V. Vyzdryk, K. Kurylyshyn (Vyzdryk & Kurylyshyn, 2020), I. Soliar, Kh. Sholota (Soliar & Sholota, 2019).

Analysis of scientific publications gives us reason to state that this topic needs further elaboration. The source base of the research is formed on the basis of the periodical “Dilo”.

The purpose of the article is the analysis of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee activities and its role in solving social problems and protecting the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia, which was widely covered in the columns of the periodical “Dilo”. In the periodical there were highlighted the areas of sections activity aimed at improving the sanitary and hygienic living conditions of prisoners of war, internees and invalids who were victims of military operations and providing them with medical, material and legal assistance.

The Results of the Research. It should be noted that the history of the periodical from September of 1914 to April of 1923 is the history of the struggle for the right to have its own press, which would cover the national interests of the residents of Eastern Galicia.

During the Russian occupation of Lviv, the editorial office was forced to move to Vienna, where the periodical “Dilo” was published as a weekly one from September 19, 1914 till July 31, 1915. The resumption of activity of the periodical “Dilo” took place on September 12, 1915 as a daily one under the editorship of V. Paneiko in Lviv and lasted until November 29, 1918, however, due to a ban by the Polish authorities, the periodical ceased being published. From January 1 till September 26, 1920, “Hromadska Dumka” was published instead of the periodical “Dilo”, and from October 6 till November 13, 1920, the name was changed into “Ukrayinska Dumka”. From January 25, 1921, the name was changed into “Ukrayinsky Visnyk”, which was published until September of 29 of the same year. During the year of 1922, the name was changed three times (“Hromadsky Vistnyk”, “Dilo”, “Svoboda”) and only in April of 1923 the name “Dilo” was returned to the periodical finally (Kurylyshyn, 2021).

In the periodical, among the publications, during the period under analysis, an important place belongs to materials that elucidated important aspects of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee activity. Its establishment in Lviv (December of 1918) was conditioned by the need to represent the interests of the Ukrainian population to the Polish occupation authorities and to organize assistance to those in need, primarily the Ukrainian prisoners and internees. This is the extract written in the periodical: “Many Ukrainians left Lviv, or were taken to internment camps, then in Lviv there was a group of people among the Ukrainian community who managed to obtain permission given by the Polish authorities to organize the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee and it began hard work immediately just to ease the fate of our prisoners and internees” (Nashi humanitarni tovarystva i kruh yikh diialnosti, 1921).

At that time, the majority of other Ukrainian institutions were forced to stop their activities, in particular, the publication of the periodical “Dilo” was stopped.

In order to legalize the activity of the society under conditions of the Polish occupation, the UCC statute was elaborated, which was approved by the governorship in Lviv at the end of June of 1920. The Committee, whose central bodies were located on Ruska street,

received the right to establish povit and city branches (in some places they had been already working on the basis of permits by local civil and military authorities) (Yak osnovuvaty, 1920). The activities of a legal organization were carried out at the expense of membership fees and voluntary donations. To become a benefactor-member, it was necessary to pay at least 1,000 Polish marks. The UCC also gained some support among representatives of the higher clergy, in particular Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, and many Ukrainian political and public figures (Dvaitsiat novykh chleniv-dobrodiiv "Ukr. Hor. Komitetu", 1921; 15 Postiinykh chleniv "Ukrainskoho Horozhanskoho Komitetu", 1921). In the periodical it was noted that "the UCC is a purely humanitarian organization that has gathered the best and most reliable units, without differences of political or social views, due to its work it has won a full trust and gratitude among its people, and even strangers must respect it" (Nashi humanitarni tovarystva i kruh yikh diialnosti, 1921). The founders were well-known figures of Eastern Galicia: S. Fedak (a head), M. Panchyshyn, L. Hankevych, V. Tselevych, O. Sheparovych, Fr. L. Kunytsky, and the others, "One day, history will properly assess the merits of that group of people and the multitude of their devoted work, and the names: Fedak, Studynsky, Hankevych, Tsilevych, Halushchynsky, Panchyshyn, Meletsky will be remembered with a deep respect as those provident workers, that among the most difficult waves and hardships for the people, they gave them support with their chests, regardless of whether they themselves are imprisoned tomorrow..." – it was reported in the periodical (Nashi humanitarni tovarystva i kruh yikh diialnosti, 1921).

As a result of complex negotiations between the Ukrainian public institutions and the Polish military administration, it was possible to reach some understanding regarding the activities of the UCC. In the periodical it was noted that in these negotiations an important role was played by the international obligations of the Polish authorities to ensure the rights of national minorities (Yak osnovuvaty okruzhni i mistsevi tovarystva "Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet", 1920).

The activity of the UCC can be conditionally divided into two periods – the first one was limited only to Lviv and lasted from the end of 1918 till May of 1919, and the second one – from the summer of 1919, when the Committee expanded its network of povit and local branches, which covered all areas of Eastern Galicia. According to the periodical materials, in the spring of 1920, the UCC network was reorganized and 46 povit committees were established, which were under constant pressure and persecution of the Polish authorities. Thus, in contrast to reports on the establishment and operation of the UCC representative offices in various Galician towns, for example in Zalishchyky ("Povitovy Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet" v Zalishchykakh, 1920), Kolomyia (Poklyk Ukrainskoho Hor. Komitetu v Kolomyi, 1920), Pidhaitsi (Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet v Pidhaitsiakh, 1920), In Rudky (O. U. H. K. v Rudkakh, 1921), Ternopil (Z Ternopolia, 1921), already beginning on July of 1921, the periodical informed only about the ban on the activities of another humanitarian institution, in particular in Burshtyn (Zaborona diialnosti Ukrainskoho Horozhanskoho Komitetu v Burshtyni, 1921), Kalush (Zakryttia Ukrainskoho Horozhanskoho Komitetu v Kalushi, 1921), Kolomyia and Stryi (Nyshchat humanitarni instytutysii!!!, 1921), in Sambir (Nyshchat, 1921). On September 25, 1921 the situation worsened, after the assassination attempt on the head of the Polish state J. Piłsudski and voivode V. Grabski, when the arrests of the leadership and members of the UCC began. The Ukrainian press called this day "Black Sunday" (Chorna nedilia u Lvovi, 1921). On October 19, 1921, the Polish authorities finally banned the association's activities finally.

The activities of the UCC were charitable in nature and functioned on donations from private individuals, unions and societies. It should be noted that at the beginning of the establishment of the UCC, its structure consisted of such sections as the samaritan, the arrested and prisoners of the war, the assistance to the interned, assistance to the population who lived in the Pre-Carpathian poviats, legal aid (legal advice), governmental aid, school aid, “American aid”. Subsequently, sections for the protection of the war graves, care of the invalids, assistance to the starving population, and assistance to emigrants from Naddniprianska Ukraine, as well as university commission and a labour mediation bureau, were established.

Among the periodical’s publications, an important place belongs to the materials on the work of the sections of the UCC. One of the activities of the Committee was the care of the Ukrainian prisoners of war. From the autumn of 1919 till the spring of 1920, a typhus epidemic raged in the region, which worsened the already difficult situation in the prisoners of war camps and internees. The periodical informed its readers about the high mortality in the camps, in particular in Pikulychiv and Brest-Lytovsk. The delegation of the International Red Cross, which arrived at the internment camp in Brest-Lytovsk, saw the critical condition of the Ukrainian prisoners who lived in unsanitary conditions and lack of medical care (Ukrainskyi Horozhanskyi Komitet v spravi areshtovanykh i uviaznyykh, 1920).

It should be noted the activity of the samaritan section of the UCC, which from the beginning of its existence (November 29, 1918) compiled lists of the Ukrainian prisoners of war, interned and deceased soldiers. Due to cooperation with the International Red Cross, it managed to find more than 2,000 missing Ukrainian soldiers. The section took care of the distribution of humanitarian aid among prisoners, and also provided wounded Ukrainian soldiers with lunches in Lviv. “The action of feeding the internees covers from 50 to 200 people in different months; 1,500 – 6,000 lunches are given to soldiers per month” (Ukrainskyi Hor. Komitet v Kolomyi i ratunkova aktsiia Hutsulshchyny, 1920). Owing to the activities of the Committee, thousands of the Ukrainian prisoners, internees who were in a difficult situation in Polish camps received help (V spravi zvilnennia polonenykh, 1920). In the periodical the legal aid section provided advice “...to the families of internees and prisoners and settled various legal matters” (Ukrainskyi Hor. Komitet v Kolomyi i ratunkova aktsiia Hutsulshchyny, 1920).

Due to the oppression and persecution of the participants of the Ukrainian liberation struggle by the Polish authorities, the UCC started taking care of veterans and invalids of the UGA and the Army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, by organizing the registration and collection of funds for payment of material assistance. Owing to the Committee, on September 1, 1920, the “Home of the Ukrainian Invalids” and “Guardianship of the Invalids” section were established in Lviv (Konkurs, 1920). It should be noted that according to the 1921 law on the material and social support of the war veterans, Poland deprived of any support those who fought against it.

In October of 1920, a meeting was held under the leadership of the head of the UCC, S. Fedak, at which the issue of famine in the foothills povits was discussed; war orphans, widows and orphans of soldiers of the Ukrainian armies; the Ukrainian private schools and bursaries, academic youth; political prisoners, internees and captives; the Ukrainian officials; military invalids; general unemployment; Ukrainian institutions (Ratuimo sebe!, 1920).

In the same month, at the meeting with the Polish Minister of Justice, the UCC representatives raised the issue of the illegal dismissal of the Ukrainians from their positions or

their transfer to secondary positions (the Ukrainian judges and employees of the prosecutor's office were meant), demanded an end to the prosecution of civil servants of the ZUNR period and soldiers of the Galician army, to amnesty political prisoners. None of the conditions was fulfilled, although "the minister promised sincerely to deal with the cases raised" (U polskoho ministra spravedlyvosti, 1920).

At the beginning of November of 1920, "Ukrainska Dumka" published the appeal "To the Ukrainian Population of America!", in which it was stated that "we will not get help from the others", hope is only in ourselves and "in you, Brothers and Sisters, in America". The document substantiated the need for a quick forwarding of collected funds and was signed by representatives of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, the Ukrainian Regional Society for Child Protection and Youth Care, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, "Prosvita" Society, the Ukrainian War Widows and Orphans Fund, the Ukrainian Diocesan Committee for the Care of War Orphans, the "Ukrainian Zahoronka" Society (Do ukrainskoho naseleння Ameryky!, 1920).

The editors of the periodical focused on the activities of the Regional Committee for Maintenance of War Graves and Monuments, established on May 31, 1921 as a section of the Ukrainian Civil Service for the purpose of making the only register and maintenance of the graves of heroes who died in the battles for the Ukrainian statehood. The work began in Lviv cemeteries, in particular, more than 150 graves were arranged in Lychakivsky cemetery, and several hundred graves in Yanivsky cemetery. Before the Whitsun Holiday, the graves had to be tidied and crosses of certain sizes should be erected. During the Whitsun Holiday, laying of wreaths and flowers, church services in the UGCC temples, and commemoration of fallen heroes were planned (Okhorona mohyl heroiv, 1921; Kraievyi Komitet okhorony voiennykh mohyl, 1921; Na mohylakh nezvisnykh heroiv na Zamarstynovi, 1922). "And we will come to Their graves, which have covered all land in rows. And we will come to worship the ashes of those who rose up in one motion, like a spontaneous and formidable avalanche with the slogan: Free Ukraine! Who fought for the highest right: to live freely, but also to die freely, not as a helot under someone else's and master's hedge, not as a slave with a bent spine, not in a yoke, proud and without glory, but a free son of a free state" (Tym, shcho vpaly, 1921).

The newspaper also highlighted the facts of vandalism to the Ukrainian burials during the Polish-Ukrainian war period and inaction of the authorities. Thus, in May of 1920, there were recorded ruined crosses and plaques with the names of buried Ukrainian soldiers were recorded, which made it impossible to identify the burial (Vandalizm, 1920). Another recorded act of vandalism took place on February 18, 1922, when the graves of four Ukrainian Sich riflemen were dug up and taken to an unknown destination. The Ukrainian Sich riflemen were buried near the Lychakiv Palace in Lviv in 1918 (Nechuvane zvirstvo, 1922). Since May of 1922, the leadership of Lviv police prohibited the collection of donations near churches, which were intended for the care and conservation of war graves (Zaborona zbirky na konservatsiiu voiennykh mohyl, 1922).

The Conclusions. During the period under analysis, the periodical was published under different names: "Hromadska Dumka", "Ukrayinska Dumka", "Ukrayinsky Visnyk", "Svoboda". Its columns reflected the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, which was aimed at the social protection of various strata of the Ukrainian population of the region, in particular, to improve the living conditions of prisoners of war and internees who suffered as a result of military operations and provide them with medical, material and legal assistance.

The periodical "Dilo" informed its readers about the creation of the UCC, its leadership and organizational structure, reported on the establishment of povit and town branches, as

well as on the ban of their activities and persecution by the Polish authorities. The editorial staff of the periodical, together with UCC and other public associations, called on the Ukrainian diaspora of America to join the collection of financial aid.

Under the conditions of the Polish occupation and despite the fact that the activity of the UCC was short-lived (from December of 1918 till September of 1921), the Committee managed, as far as possible, to improve the social protection and financial situation of the Ukrainian soldiers, organized meals for prisoners, collected clothes, etc. The Committee took care of honouring the memory of the heroes who died in the battles for the Ukrainian statehood (collection of donations for the maintenance of graves, erection of crosses, organization of religious services). Due to the ban on the activities of the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, its organizational branches and sections became the basis for the creation of a number of separate societies, in particular, the Ukrainian Medical Society, the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers, the Ukrainian Society for Assistance to the Invalids, the Illegal Committee for Assistance to Political Prisoners, which continued the deed of the UCC.

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RESETTLEMENT MOVEMENT AMONG THE GERMAN POPULATION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN THE 1920S

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to elucidate poorly analyzed issue – the process of relocation of the German landless and smallholders from the Polissian and forest-steppe districts of the Ukrainian SSR to the free lands of the southern region of the Republic during the 1920s. The author used general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, system, method of generalization and the historical, historical and systemic methods to study this problem. The scientific novelty of the article is that, based on archival sources, the little-studied problem of resettlement of the German population in the southern regions of the Republic during the 1920s has been analyzed. The research is based on the documents from the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine. The following conclusions have been made: at the beginning of the 1920s, in the agrarian sector of the Ukrainian SSR, in the Polissia zone and the forest-steppe of the Republic the “agrarian overpopulation” arose. There were several reasons for this phenomenon, and one of the main ones is the sharp increase in the population in these traditionally agricultural zones of Ukraine. Already in the first half of the 1920s, 68 000 German peasants (12.8 thousand yards) appeared in landless villages of Volhynia, Podillia, and partly in Kyiv and Chernihiv regions. Altogether 110 thousand people needed to improve their agricultural situation and resettlement to the free lands of the southern part of republic, or the All-Union Resettlement Land Fund (free lands in all Soviet Union). During the first half of the 1920s, 30 700 Germans and in the second half of the 1920s – at the beginning of the 1930s – 30 800 Germans moved to the southern regions of the Republic. It should be noted that the desirable condition for resettlement was the creation of collectivized resettlement farms. For settlers in the south of the republic not only enough land and pastures for productive farming and livestock was provided, as well as allocated state financial assistance for housing, purchase of agricultural inventory, the purchase of domestic animals, etc. But process of repression against German national minority was staged by the Soviet authorities during the 1930s – the 1940s. It led to the destruction of national settlements and death of representatives of the German nationality.*

Key words: agrarian overpopulation, landless peasants, resettlement, German population, Ukrainian SSR.

ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНСЬКИЙ РУХ СЕРЕД НІМЕЦЬКОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ ПІВДЕННИХ ОКРУГ УСРР У 1920-х рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити невивчену проблему – процес переселення безземельного та малоземельного німецького населення з поліських і лісостепових районів УСРР на вільні землі південних округ республіки протягом 1920-х років. Автор використовував загальнонаукові **методи** аналізу, синтезу, систему, узагальнення та історичний, історико-системний методи дослідження цієї проблеми. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у тому, що на основі архівних джерел досліджувалася маловивчена проблема переселення німецького населення у південні регіони республіки протягом 1920-х рр. Дослідження ґрунтується на аналізі документів Центрального державного архіву вищих органів влади та управління України. Зроблено такі **висновки**: на початку 1920-х рр. в аграрному секторі УСРР, в поліській зоні та лісостепу республіки виникло “аграрне перенаселення”. Причин цього явища було кілька, і одна з головних – різке збільшення чисельності населення в цих традиційно сільськогосподарських зонах України. Уже в першій половині 1920-х рр. 68 000 німецьких селян (12,8 тис. дворів) з’явилися в безземельних селах Волині, Поділля та частково в Київській та Чернігівській областях. Загалом 100 тис. осіб німецької національності потребували поліпшення сільськогосподарського становища та переселення до вільних земель півдня республіки або на землі Всесоюзного переселенського фонду. Протягом першої половини 1920-х рр. до південних округ республіки переселилося 30 700 німців, а протягом другої половини 1920 – на початку 1930-х – 30 800 німців. Доцільно зазначити, що умовою для переселення було створення колективізованих переселенських господарств. Для переселенців на півдні республіки Народним комісаріатом земельних справ УСРР та місцевими радами було забезпечено не лише достатньо землі та пасовищ для продуктивного землеробства і худоби, а також виділено державну фінансову допомогу на житло, придбання сільськогосподарського інвентарю, домашніх тварин тощо. Проте радянська влада проти представників німецької національності влаштувала репресії, що тривали протягом наступних двох десятиліть. Це призвело до зникнення національних населених пунктів, фізичного винищення представників німецької національності.

Ключові слова: аграрне перенаселення, безземельні, малоземельні селяни, переселення, німецьке населення, УСРР.

The Problem Statement. At the beginning of the 1920s, the problem of agrarian overpopulation arose in the environment of national minorities of the Republic. At that time, the Ukrainian SSR was home to representatives of 54 nations from the past, both from the nations and peoples of the Russian Empire and from abroad. From the total population of 5 million people, 3.3 million lived in rural areas, from which 359 671 were the Germans (Central State Archive of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Management of Ukraine, f. 413, d.1, c. 10, p. 89). In the first half of the 1920s, there were 68 000 landless German peasants in the Ukrainian SSR. Such situation arose as a result of the repressive policy of the tsarist government and the policy of bolshevik’s military communism. Later, the improvement of the economic situation and allotment of land required 110 000 Germans who were living in the northern regions of the Republic. The ways of solving the agrarian crisis by the Soviet government and the problem of giving the German national minority land allotments in the southern regions of the Ukrainian SSR are issues of modern historiography which are little studied.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The settlement of different ethnic groups in the south of Ukraine (the Ukrainian SSR) at the beginning of the 1920s is analyzed in the work of O. Danylchenko. The author showed the movement in the Ukrainian lands of the Germans, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Poles, the Moldovans and representatives from other nationalities, starting from the end of the XVIIIth century till the beginning of the 1920s. It reveals the process of forming a compact residence on the territory of Ukraine.

Describes the socio-economic and cultural way of life. However, this work as a whole is cognitively popular. But despite this, it is written on the basis of archival sources and has a scientific value (Danylchenko, 1993). In his research B. Chyrko notes about the economic crisis and problems of land management that arose among the German population of Ukraine during the new economic policy (NEP). The author of the monograph also reveals the facts of pressure on the German colonies during the course of collectivization, the forced relocation of the Germans to different regions of the USSR (Chyrko, 2015). The repressions of the Russian and Soviet governments against the German population are discussed in the publications of such researchers as O. Kadol (Kadol, 2019), O. Rozovyk (Rozovyk, 2020), G. Shmelev (Shmelev, 1991), L. Dianasheva, and M. Egamberdiyev (Dianasheva, Egamberdiyev, 2014). The situation with land supply in the German colonies, the creation of national German districts and the policy of collectivization in the national districts are covered in the articles by V. Serhiychuk (Serhiychuk, 2006), M. Panchuk, O. Kovalchuk, B. Chyrko (Panchuk, Kovalchuk & Chyrko, 2006), M. Kozyreva (Kozyreva, 2006), Yu. Kotlyar (Kotlyar, 2006) and M. Shytyuk (Shytyuk, 2006) in the collective monograph “Nimetski poselentsi v Ukraini: istoriya ta sohodennya”. A collection of documents from the state archives of Ukraine “Nimtsi v Ukraini. 20–30ti rr. XX st.” (Yakovleva, Chyrko & Pyshko, 1994) that cover the socio-economic, political and cultural situation of representatives of the German nationality who lived in the Ukrainian SSR in the 1920s and 1930s deserves special attention as well. The factual material that most fully illustrates the resettlement processes in the mentioned region, is contained in the Central State Archive of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Management of Ukraine (CSA SBPMU) and State Archive of Zaporizhzhya Region (SAZR).

The Purpose of the Research. The purpose of this article is to elucidate the process of resettlement of the German landless and smallholders from Polissia and forest-steppe regions of the Ukrainian SSR to the free lands in the south of the Republic during the 1920s.

The Results of the Research. At the beginning of the 1920s, along with the Ukrainian population resettlement issue, the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR solved the problems of the national minorities resettlement both on the territory of the Republic and in the All-Union Colonization Fund. This issue, together with the government, was handled by the All-Ukrainian Migration Commission, the National Committee of the National Minorities at the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUCVK), the district land administrations (OZU) and the National Minority Migrant Commissions established by them (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 20, p. 19).

During the years of 1922 – 1923, at the behest of the government, the national minorities living in rural areas were registered in the Republic, the level of providing their farms with land, agricultural stock, families – foodstuffs, etc., was revealed. On the basis of these data, the Council of People’s Commissars (RNK) adopted a Decree “On Measures Taken by the Government of the Ukrainian SSR to Assist the Resettlement of Certain Nationalities Living in the Territory of the Republic during the period of 1924 – 1925” in the spring of 1924. It identified measures to provide material assistance to the national minorities for their resettlement in Ukraine and the Union Colonization Fund, allocated land for the establishment of new farms and outlined the number of yards needed to be relocated first. The level of landing of a particular farm and the number of family members who were in these families were primarily taken into account. Also areas were identified where landless or smallholder peasantry from national minorities had moved (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 147, pp. 155–156).

An active migrant movement in the 1920s and at the beginning of the 1930s was among the German national minority.

At the beginning of the XXth century 400 000 Germans lived in Ukraine. During World War I, the tsarist government pursued a policy of deportation against the German population of the Russian Empire, as a result of which the Germans lost the right to their land ownership. About 80 000 of them left Ukraine and those who remained lived mainly in the southern provinces of the Republic. There they lived in 854 colonies and 133 farms (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 130, p. 168). In 1918, the German population began to air into Ukraine in connection with the policies of the Ukrainian governments. However, in 1919, the German settlements suffered the devastating effects of the pogroms. With the consolidation of the bolsheviks in power and their policies of military communism, the German farms lost much of their land holdings and were deprived of food. As a result, the Holodomor of 1921 – 1922 covered 50 – 80% of the German population in southern Ukraine. The German farms were taxed several times higher than the surrounding non-German farms. It is worth noting that the so-called *zamozhnyky* (wealthy landowners) were deprived of the right to vote during local elections. Another factor that increased the dissatisfaction of the German population with the Soviet policy were anti-religious campaigns. As a result of this difficult situation, the Germans began to leave Ukraine en masse. Thus, during the period from 1922 till 1924, 8000 Germans left the USSR and another 20000 applied to leave (Yakovleva, Chyrko & Pyshko, 1994, pp. 7, 32, 38, 58, 129, 132). Therefore, the Soviet government began to take a more prudent approach to the organization of land use, began to return the right to vote to certain categories of the German families. VUCVK conducted a study of the reasons for the dissatisfaction of the German population, and in September of 1923 the People's Commissariat of the USSR issued a resolution granting the right to lease land to mennonite farms on preferential terms. The area of the plot per farm could be up to 32 acres of land. In addition, in 1925 the process of formation of the German national districts began. This should take into account the specifics of the German colonies and remove the possibility of interethnic conflicts (Serhiychyk, 2006, p. 51; Kozyreva, 2006, pp. 328–329).

At the beginning of the 1920s many of the peasants among the Germans who lived in the north-western districts of the Ukrainian SSR were as landless or smallholder as the local indigenous population. 321 000 Germans (70 000 farms) lived in the countryside. Taking into account the natural increase, their numbers grew to 363 000 people by the mid-1920s (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 147, p. 155). Already in the first half of the 1920s, 68 000 German peasants (12 800 yards) appeared in the villages of Volyn, Podillia, partly Kyiv and Chernihiv regions. In general improvement of agrarian status and resettlement to the vacant lands of the south of the Republic, or to the All-Union Resettlement Land Fund was needed for 110 thousand people (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d.1, c. 52, p. 3).

In addition, the land holdings of the German colonists of the southern provinces of the Republic gradually decreased due to population growth. Therefore, the leadership of the USSR had a twofold task: on the one hand, to relocate landless and smallholder German peasants from Polissia and forest-steppe provinces to the south of the Republic, and on the other – to allocate land to those families that were already on the verge of smallholding in the German colonies of the southern provinces. In 1917, 1924 and 1926, the land supply of the German families in Zaporizhzhia region was as follows:

Land supply to the German families living among the Ukrainian and other population of Zaporizhzhia district

Land supply to 1917	Ave-ge land supply	Land supply in 1924 p. the amount of land in desiatyna (1 tenth is 1.09 hectares)	Ave-ge land supply	per yard / per person	Land supply in 1926 p.	Average land supply	yards	per yard / per person	the amount of land in desiatyna	yards	people	the amount of land in desiatyna	per yard / per person
Khortytsky district													
248	1998	5493	22,1 / 2,7		263	1550	263	9,8 / 1,6	2602	263	1764	3634	13,8 / 2
Sofiyivsky district													
299	2157	10888	36,4 / 5		292	2191	292	21,2 / 2,8	6176	423	2274	5223	12,3 / 2,2
Pokrovsky district													
266	1742	8768	32,9 / 5		297	1812	297	18,3 / 3	5453	309	1836	5453	17,6 / 2,9
Huliai-Pilsky district													
411	4801	15262	37 / 3,1		763	3677	763	14,8 / 3	11364	1898	5249	14744	7,7 / 2,8
Novo-Mykolayivsky district													
538	3196	20242	37,6 / 6,3		726	3823	726	19,8 / 3,7	14378	904	4795	17339	19,1 / 3,6
Zaporizky district													
80	693	6436	80,4 / 9,2		105	733	105	28 / 4	2947	152	750	3059	20 / 4

Tables are compiled from the following sources: SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 85–87.

Thus, in comparison with 1917, in the mid-1920s the wealth of each German court in agricultural lands decreased as follows: in Zaporizhzhia region – 4.6 times, Novo-Mykolaivsky – 2, Polohsky – 1.7, Sofiyevsky – 3.5, Pokrovsky – 6.8, Huliai-Pilsky – 3, Zhrebetsky – 4.6 times, etc.

There were also many German families in the county who were completely landless. In 1926, there were 321 such families, which is 1266 people. According to the areas of residence they were distributed as follows:

Landless German Population of Zaporizhzhia region, 1926

(SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 85–87)

Name of districts	Number of landless households	Number of people
Zaporizky	10	33
Khortytsky	163	577
Vasylovsky	9	53
Polohovsky	2	9
Toliukovsky	1	4
Sofiyevsky	12	61
Novo-Mykolayivsky	60	241
Pokrovsky	2	14
Zhrebetsky	28	129
Huliai-Pilsky	33	145

For example, the German colonists of Novo-Rozovka settlement, numbering 62 families (232 persons), almost all of them were landless, made a living by a coterelling. There were 127 such people in the village of Huliai-Pole, of whom only 2 had plots of land measuring 2.2 and 4.3 hectares, which they rented from a local population. The rental fee, on average, was half the yield. On average, each such family in the district numbered 5 people. Often the German population of the district also rented housing and premises. This, along with the payment of taxes, created an additional financial burden on the German families. For several years, since 1924, the German colonists asked the local authorities to provide them with agricultural land. Despite the payment of land-based organizational services, these families remained landless for a long time (SAZR, f.R-576, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 28–29, 36–37, 62). In Khortytsky district, the colony of Ternovataya was destroyed by the revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921. Therefore, this population (65 people) was forced to use the land temporarily granted to them by the District Executive Committee (RVK) from the colonization fund (114.4 hectares). Newly established German settlements in Novo-Mykolaiv region during the period of 1923 – 1924 were also smallholders. For example, the settlements of Neilibenthal and Leninfeld were provided with 2.3 hectares per person on average. There was another problem in Huliai-Pole district – here, during the pre-revolutionary times, the German population was displaced among the Jewish colonists. Therefore, in 1926, such German families began to request their resettlement to the German colonies (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 87b).

Taking into account the agrarian situation among the German peasantry and in many of their colonies, in June of 1924 the VUCVK adopted a Decree on the resettlement of 5.7 thousand families (30781 persons) of landless Germans from the northern lands and forest-steppe areas of the Republic into the south, providing each family with 16 desiatyns (17.4 hectares) of land (CSA SBPMU, f. 27, d. 4, c. 1141, p. 12). In 1925, following the above-mentioned decision, the People's Commissar of Land Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR allocated

48.7 thousand desiatyns (53.08 thousand hectares) of arable land to the German immigrants in the south from the Republican Migration Fund and 3.6 thousand desiatyns (3.9 thousand hectares) from a local funds, excluding territories intended for grazing of horses, cows, sheep. All together, it made up 52.3 thousand desiatyns (57 thousand hectares) of lands (see the table below). At the same time, the government ordered the resettlements commissions of Podillia, Volhynia and Kyiv region to relocate to these lands predetermined amount of population (30781 people) within three years (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 77, p. 104; c. 167, p. 3).

The number plots of land allocated to the German resettlements in the southern regions of the Ukrainian SSR

(CSA SBPMU, f. 27, d. 7, c. 1176, p. 236)

Name of regions	The amount of land, allocated to the German settlers, in desiatyns
Zinovyevska	163
Pershotravneva	109
Odeska	10424
Mykolayivska	15754
Kryvorizka	4000
Melitopolska	4291
Mariupolska	2536
Zaporizka	4682
Khersonska	6019
Dnipropetrovska	398
Artemivska	835
Luhanska	2725

In 1927, the VUTSVK approved a 10-year plan for the resettlement of landless and smallholders Ukrainians into the republican and All-Union colonial funds. As for the German population, in terms of their resettlement within the Republic, the number remained at 30.8 thousand people and it was planned to relocate 12970 families (67439 persons) to the All-Union Colonization Fund (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 52, p. 3).

The approved programme for the resettlement of the German population to the south of the Republic was implemented in stages by the All-Ukrainian Resettlement Committee. At its disposal, the district resettlement commissions of Polisia and the forest-steppe zones of Ukraine made regular lists of the German peasants for resettlement. Landless and then families with little plots of land were first and foremost enrolled. There were several hundred in each district (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 139, p. 16). Of these, 1250 families (6250 people) were relocated from the northern constituencies to the south of the Republic during 1927 (See the table below).

The dynamics of the Germans resettlement from the northern regions of the Ukrainian SSR

(CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 347, p. 1)

Name of departure district	Number of families, who moved to the southern regions	Number of people
Korostensky	300	1500
Volynsky	300	1500
Shepetivsky	50	250
Konotopsky	100	500
Another districts	500	2500
Total	1250	6250

During the following years 1928 – 1929, 2305 families (11850 people) moved to the south of the Ukrainian SSR, and during the period of 1930 – 2540 families (12700 people). At the beginning of the 1930s, 30800 people moved here from the northern and forest-steppe districts of the Republic. Of these, there were 19604 landless people and 5617 people with little plots of land (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 167, p. 3).

The settlers in the south of the Republic were provided with sufficient land and pastures for productive farming and livestock farming and with state financial assistance for housing, the purchase of agricultural implements, the purchase of pets and more. This assistance per displaced family amounted to approximately 900 rubles, excluding assistance from local foundations and NGOs. Construction materials were provided on preferential terms. To estimate the amount of aid, it should be noted that at that time the breeding cow cost 80 rubles, 100 kg. of wheat flour – 16 rubles, a small new residential building 12 x 9 m. – 420 – 450 rubles, etc. (CSA SBPMU, f. 27, d. 5, c. 6652, p. 50). Funds were also allocated for the construction of administrative premises, medical centers, cultural and educational establishments, and household spheres in the villages. Particularly large funds were earmarked for the creation of water supply systems, artificial reservoirs, planting of protective forest strips in the villages, laying roads to villages, carrying out radio and electrification of settlements after the construction of DniproHES in 1932 (CSA SBPMU, f. 27, d. 5, c. 362, p. 85).

During the second half of the 1920s – the beginning of the 1930s, the German settlers built 30 new villages in the southern districts of the Ukrainian SSR, 70 to 80 yards in each settlement, created dozens of farms, settled the German population in existing villages, settlements and hamlets (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 167, p. 3).

Along with the resettlement of the German peasants from the northern regions of the Ukrainian SSR in the south, the problem of increasing arable land in those southern German farms that were already on the verge of landlessness was solved. In 1925, a census of those farms that had land holdings of less than 16 desiatyns (17.4 hect.) was conducted in 1925 in order to find out the real agricultural security of the German peasantry of the southern districts of the Republic. Their statistics is illustrated in the table below (CSA SBPMU, f. 27, d. 8, c. 804, p. 301).

The number of the German farms with land holdings of less than 16 desiatyns (17.4 hect.)

Name of regions	Number of the German villages which were surveyed	Number of yards	The total amount of land in the desiatyns	The average number of desiatyns of land per farm	It is necessary to allocate to the norm 16 desiatyns
Katerynoslav	12	898	10 871	12.0	1 432
Melitopol	101	1 024	11 869	16.4	3 008
Kryvyi Rih	51	2 615	36 940	14.1	3 634
Zaporizhzhia	52	6 719	84 805	13.9	4 735
Pavlohrad	22	837	12 672	15.2	1 183
Total	238	21 280	263 979	14.5	13 997

This census-register showed that the German peasants of the southern colonies to bring their land holdings to the norm in 16 desiatyns it was necessary to allocate additional 14 thousand desiatyns (15.2 thousand hectares) of arable land. In order to resolve this issue, the VUCVK in July of 1926 adopted a Decree “About Land Management of the German Colonies”. The document instructed the People’s Commissar of Land Affairs of the Ukrainian

SSR, local authorities and resettlement commissions to find local land resources and provide them to the German peasants. At the same time, it was emphasized that the local authorities must create all the necessary socio-economic conditions for the German peasants not to leave their inhabited villages and farms, not to migrate to other parts of the Ukrainian SSR, but to live and work in their villages and farms (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 97, p. 96).

This order was gradually fulfilled and the German peasants were given additional land. However, in some districts of Odesa and Kherson regions, not all farms were found and allocated the necessary land. Therefore, for example, in Odesa district, 295 families were moved from the district to the district and 200 families – in Kherson region. A few dozen families were relocated to other southern districts of the Republic (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 17, p. 244).

On March 1, 1926, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs issued a special instruction, which provided, with the help of special land commissions, a tract of land from the state fund for the benefit of the German colonies of Zaporizhzhia district. However, in the majority of these settlements, the number of land tithes per farm exceeded the county standard. And in the colonies Shyroka and Tyrsanka allotments for each yard were 14.5 – 15 desiatyns. But the Land Commission decided to consolidate the amount of land they were currently using and not increase the size of allotments for the German colonies of Khortytsky, Novo-Mykolaiv, Zaporizhzhia, Pokrovsky, Polohsky, Huliai-Pilsky, Zhrebetsky and Sofiyivsky districts (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 88).

The colonies of Kantserovka of Khortytsia district decided to provide 21% more land than the settlement, which amounted to 283 desiatyns of land. For Khortytsia colony of Khortytsia district it was allocated 10%, which made 210 desiatyns of land. This was due to the fact that the average land supply of these settlements was more than 2 desiatyns (2.2 hect.) per person, which was considered the acceptable minimum, as well as additional earnings of the population in factories. It was added by 10% of the land, amounting to 201 desiatyns land for colony Vodiana in the same district, for colony Nova Khortytsia – 18.5% (413 desiatyns), Pavlovka and Novoslobidka – 21% (450 and 157 desiatyns respectively) (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 88b–89). For the population of the destroyed colony of Ternovata of Khortytsia district, (13 yards, 65 people) were allocated 15 desiatyns per yard, which was 195 desiatyns in general. For the colonists of Listovka and Serhiyivka of Novo-Mykolaiv district – 20% (206 and 240 desiatyns respectively), Marianslav in the same district – 21% (35 desiatyns), Kamianka and Mirovka – 15% for each (75 and 132 desiatyns), Verbov and Romanivka – 20% (64 and 105 desiatyns), Waldorf, Heinrichstal, Leninfeld, Neilibenthal – 21% each (33, 30, 40 and 39 desiatyns in accordance). For the Katerinfeld, Dudnikovo, Yehorovka, Rosenheim colonies – 21% each, which amounted to 49, 151, 80 and 22 desiatyns of land respectively (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 89b).

Also, on March 15, 1927, the People's Commissariat of Land Affairs (NKZS) approved the Decree, and on March 1, 1927, issued an order granting land to the German landless farms under existing rules. Thus, for the population of 54 farms (230 people) of Novo-Mykolaiv district 464 desiatyns of land were allocated in the same region. It was allocated 254 desiatyns for 26 farms (133 people) of Zhrebetsky district in Novo-Mykolaiv district, for 14 farms (68 persons) – 129 desiatyns in Novo-Mykolaiv district, for 28 farms (125 people) of Huliai-Pole district – 253 desiatyns in the Novo-Mykolaiv district. At the same time, at the request of the National Bureau, the district's land administration contributed to the allocation of 240 desiatyns of land in Novo-Mykolaiv district for 18 families (81 people) of the German Mennonites (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 31, 32, 92. 190).

However, the process of empowering the German colonists with additional land was sometimes conflicting. Thus, the population of the Rosenfeld colony in the Sofievsky district could not receive allotments for a long time due to the fact that they were claimed by the population of the Russian neighboring village (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 18, p. 128).

In 1927, the problem of resettlement of the local population was also solved in connection with the flooding of part of the settlements after the construction of the DniproHES, including the historic settlement of Kichkas with a large proportion of the Germans. However, the state provided a small cash payment – 1 rubles per hectare for land management at new settlements and a loan was provided (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 39, p. 94).

To support the logistical base of the resettlement farms and land irrigation, the Drought Fund allocated 1900 rubles loans for the transfer of buildings, 20000 rubles – for household equipment and 2000 rubles – for irrigation of land. Loan for an individual farm was as follows: for the transfer of buildings without horses household received 150 rubles, with 1 horse – 140 rubles, with 2 oxen – 125 rubles, with 2 horses – 110 rubles. To provide the logistics base, each farm was allocated from 80 to 150 rubles by the same criteria. For the population that left the village of Kichkas due to the construction of the DniproGES each farm was provided with 200 rubles, which amounted to 3000 rubles for 15 yards. Also 2000 rubles were allocated for the construction of wells in the settlements (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 39, p. 95).

The distribution of credits for the resettlement farms of Zaporizhzhia district was as follows:

Polohovsky district:

1. The settlement Shyroke received 3580 rubles for the transfer of buildings, 5690 rubles – for agricultural implements and equipment.
2. The settlement of Zaporizhzhia – 4258 rubles and 2840 rubles in accordance.
3. Settlement of Kremenchuh – 6048 rubles and 6480 rubles in accordance.

Orikhiv district:

1. The settlement Shyroke – 2144 rubles. and 6120 rubles in accordance.
2. Settlement of Tera – 1280 rubles for household equipment.
3. Settlement Barvinok – 590 rubles for household equipment (SAZR, f. R-576, d. 1, c. 39, p. 95).

It should be noted that a desirable condition for resettlement was the creation of collective farms. In the first half of the 1920s, various forms of collective agricultural production emerged in the German colonies of the south of the Ukrainian SSR. They had combined more than 23% of the population. In 1928, there were only 10 German collective farms in the Ukrainian SSR, and 65 in 1929. As a result of economic pressure on single farms, the number of collective farms increased dramatically in 1930, including the German's – 119 collective farms were created (Chyrko, 2015, p. 101). Dispossessed families were deported to the north-eastern regions of the USSR in the autumn of 1929, during the attack on the so-called kurkuls and the beginning of forced collectivization. Also at that time, part of the mennonites of southern Ukraine tried to leave the country but were returned forcibly. The following year, the Central Committee of the bolsheviks of Ukraine set up special agitation groups to persuade the German population to remain in place and support collectivization (Kozyreva, 2006, p. 330; Shytyuk, 2006, p. 355).

The deployment of continuous collectivization in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR (the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) of January 5, 1930 “On Rates of

Collectivization and Measures of State aid to the Collective Farm System”) did not bypass the German rural population. However, coercive methods and the creation of “paper’s” collective farms led to peasant uprisings. In particular, the uprising in the Friedrich-Engels National Area is known. Due to the repressive actions of the authorities and the suppression of population resistance, the percentage of land socialization in the German settlements was one of the highest, accounting for 77% of farms and 81% of arable land. In 1931, almost every German village or large farm had some form of collective management. There were 156 large collective farms and state farms (radhosps) and hundreds of different agricultural cooperatives among them (CSA SBPMU, f. 413, d. 1, c. 17, pp. 252, 260; c. 552, p. 8).

These economic changes in the countryside halted the planned resettlement of the German peasants to the south of the Republic. Beginning in the 1930s, they moved to this region no longer en masse, but single families, and settled there to work in agricultural cooperatives, collective farms and state farms. Remuneration in cash equivalent to employees who were employed on a permanent basis: mechanics, technical staff of livestock farms, agronomists, accountants and other workers amounted to 80 – 120 rubles per month. It was a pretty big salary at that time. But workers without special education earned from 30 to 40 rubles per month. Wages were also paid for products (CSA SBPMU, f. 318, d. 1, c. 263, pp. 63, 68).

However, artificially arranged in the USSR, including the Ukrainian SSR, the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 led to numerous casualties. According to various sources, 4.5 million people died of starvation and exhaustion, from which about 29000 were the Germans. This high death toll greatly undermined the Republic’s agriculture and the economic activities of many displaced families. In addition, the offensive on national areas began since 1930. In 1930 Khortytsia national district was liquidated. In 1932, 5 oblasts were formed in Ukraine and the national German districts became part of them. All German regions of southern Ukraine had been disbanded by 1939 (Kozyreva, 2006, p. 330). Also, during the 1930s, repressions against members of national minorities, including the Germans, who were declared as hostile to the Soviet government, unfolded. The process of forcible eviction of the German population to various regions of the USSR began (Chyrko, 2015; Kadol, 2019; Rozovyk, 2020; Dinashva & Egamberdiyev, 2014; Smelev, 1991).

The Conclusions. Thus, at the beginning of the 1930s, the government programme for the resettlement of the German landless and smallholders from the northern and forest-steppe regions and districts of the Ukrainian SSR to the south of the Republic was implemented. Estimates from various sources show that nearly 50000 German landless and owners of small plots of land changed their place of residence. The vast majority of them settled at new lands, but some, as representatives of other national minorities, settled in cities and worked in various sectors of the economy and socio-cultural sphere. Also, process of repression against the German national minority started at the same time. It led to the destruction of national settlements, mass deportations and death of representatives of the German nationality during the 1930s.

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THE CLERGY OF THE ORTHODOX REFORMATION CONFESSIONS AND PRECONDITIONS OF INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE DIOCESES IN THE DONBAS (at the beginning of the 1920s – mid-1950s)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to elucidate the clergy's influence of the oppositional Reformation denominations on the prerequisites for institutionalization and development of the Ukrainian Exarchate dioceses of the Moscow Patriarchate in the Donbas (at the beginning of the 1920s – mid-1950s). The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, the author's objectivity; as well as the use of general scientific and special historical methods. The scientific novelty of this study consists in the attempt to do an unbiased systematic analysis of the circumstances of the Orthodox Church eparchial network development in the Donbas based on a comprehensive analysis of sources and scientific publications. The Conclusions.* The historical analysis of the prerequisites and circumstances of the institutionalization of Voroshylivhrad Diocese proves that the clergy's integration of the Reformation Orthodox denominations allowed the leadership of the renewed Moscow Patriarchate, headed by the former member of the renewed VCU, Patriarch Serhii (Strahorodsky), not only to solve the acute personnel shortage of the higher hierarchy and workers of the Diocesan Administrations, but also to minimize partially the consequences of the marginalization of the religious consciousness of the believers. Due to the abolishment of the legal parish life in the Donbas by force at the end of the 1930s, the confessional division resumed against the background of a general church revival during the German occupation of 1941 – 1943. However, owing to the lack of the liberal UAOC episcopate, the restoration of church structures was mainly implemented under the jurisdiction of the conservative Autonomous Church, which indicates the scarcity of awareness concerning the importance of church reforms by local followers of the opposition denominations in the 1920s and 1930s. At the same time, the exclusive discrediting of the Orthodox Reformation and the concealment of their original confessional affiliation by the clerics led to the emergence of unresolved key issues of the church system and the restoration of division under the conditions of religious policy liberalization at the end of the 1980s, the consequences of which could be felt in the religious discourse of the post-Soviet countries up till nowadays. Further analysis of interfaith dialogue experience and integration of the oppositional Reformation clergy will allow us to elaborate new conceptual approaches to restoring the unity of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

Key words: Ukrainian Orthodoxy, Renovatist Movement, political repression, the German-Soviet war, the Nazi occupation, the postwar period, Donbas, Voroshylivhrad Diocese.

ДУХОВЕНСТВО РЕФОРМАЦІЙНИХ ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ КОНФЕСІЙ ТА ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ІНСТИТУАЛІЗАЦІЇ ЄПАРХІЙ МОСКОВСЬКОЇ ПАТРІАРХІЇ НА ДОНБАСІ (початок 1920 – середина 1950-х рр)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити вплив духовенства опозиційних реформаційних конфесій на передумови інституалізації та розвиток єпархій Московської Патріархії на Донбасі (початок 1920 – середина 1950-х рр). **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також використанні загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних методів. **Наукова новизна** розвідки полягає у спробі неупередженого системного аналізу обставин розвитку єпархіяльної мережі Православної Церкви на Донбасі на підставі комплексного аналізу джерел та наукової літератури. **Висновки.** Історичний аналіз передумов та обставин інституалізації Ворошиловградської єпархії доводить, що інтеграція духовенства реформаційних православних конфесій дозволила керівництву оновленої Московської Патріархії на чолі з колишнім членом обновленського ВЦУ патріархом Сергієм (Страгородським) не тільки ліквідувати гострий кадровий дефіцит вищої ієрархії та працівників єпархіяльних управлінь, але й частково мінімізувати наслідки маргіналізації релігійної свідомості вірян. Оскільки наприкінці 1930-х рр. легальне парафіяльне життя на Донбасі було силоміць ліквідоване, конфесійне розділення відновилося на тлі загального церковного відродження під час німецької окупації 1941 – 1943 рр. Однак, з огляду на брак єпископату ліберальної УАПЦ, відновлення церковних структур здійснювалось переважно в юрисдикції консервативної Автономної Церкви, що свідчить про недостатність усвідомлення значення церковних реформ місцевими послідовниками опозиційних конфесій 1920 – 1930-х рр. Водночас виключна дискредитація православної реформації та приховування кліриками своєї первісної конфесійної належності призвели до нерегульованості ключових дискусійних питань церковного устрою та відновлення розділення в умовах лібералізації релігійної політики наприкінці 1980-х рр., наслідки чого відчутні в релігійному дискурсі пострадянських країн до нашого часу. Подальший аналіз досвіду міжконфесійного діалогу та інтеграції опозиційного реформаційного духовенства уможливить запропонувати нові концептуальні підходи до відновлення єдності Українського Православ'я.

Ключові слова: Українське Православ'я, обновленський рух, політичні репресії, німецько-радянська війна, нацистська окупація, післявоєнний період, Донбас, Ворошиловградська єпархія.

The Problem Statement. The prerequisites for the formation and the circumstances of the institutional formation of Voroshylovhrad Diocese of the Ukrainian Exarchate of Moscow Patriarchate belong to the least covered pages in the domestic church historiography. The main peculiarity of the issue is that in the Donbas a religious life revival was carried out under the conditions of the German occupation and was marked by confessional division on the basis of contradictions regarding the canonical status of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy, moreover, after the de-occupation of the territory under the conditions of the political course of the Soviet government implementation in support of the unified pro-government denomination, there was a mass transition of the clergy's survived representatives of separate denominations to Moscow Patriarchate clergy, owing to which many reformation practices and ideas entered the liturgical and canonical tradition of the latter. Finally, the topicality of studying the historical experience of the Orthodox dioceses organizational formation in the Donbas during the post-war period, the influence of the renewalist clergy on the implementation of the specified process acquires exceptional importance in the context of researching the final period of separate denominations activity in Ukraine, the search of the reunification model of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy and the definition of conceptual approaches regarding the local Church development in the Ukrainian-Russian border region.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The issue of the historical circumstances of the Orthodox confessions formation and development in Ukraine is

considered to be of a high topicality on the national religious historiography pages. Among the Ukrainian researchers the topic of the Orthodox Church position in Ukraine in the 1920s – 1950s is presented in the works of Yu. Voloshyn (Voloshyn, 1997), O. Lysenko (Lysenko, 1999), A. Kyrydon, V. Pashchenko (Pashchenko & Kyrydon, 2004), P. Bondarchuk, V. Danylenko (Bondarchuk & Danylenko, 2012), A. Smyrnov (Smyrnov, 2019; 2020) and the others. The analysis on tendencies concerning the key reformation confessions development was carried out in the scientific works of S. Zhyliuk (Zhyliuk, 2002), V. Sylantiev (Sylantiev, 2005), O. Ihnatyusha, T. Hruzova (Ihnatusha, 2006; Ihnatusha & Hruzova, 2021), O. Tryhub (Tryhub, 2009). Among foreign historiography representatives, the prominent monographs published by the Russian researchers should also be mentioned: Metropolitan Theodosius (Protsiuk) (Protsiuk, 2004), L. Regelson (Regelson, 2007), Archpriest V. Lavrinov (Lavrinov, 2007; 2017) and priest I. Soloviov (Soloviov, 2002). The historical aspect of church revival in the occupied territories and subsequent transformation of the state-church relations during the years of Stalin's rule was presented in the articles written by R. Boer (Boer, 2018) and D. Harrisville (Harrisville, 2019). The works of O. Forostiuk (Forostiuk, 1999; 2000; 2004), I. Lukovenko (Lukovenko, 2011), M. Rebrova (Rebrova, 2016) and V. Pidhaiko (Pidhaiko, 2020) deal with the study of the circumstances of the Orthodoxy institutionalization in the Donbas, and the human dimension of this issue is considered in the researches carried out by I. Hridina (Hridina, 2001), I. Dovzhuk (Dovzhuk, 2012) and the others. However, since the available historiography is often marked by the tendency of confessional reception and there could be some inaccuracies, there is a drastic need not only to involve new sources into scientific circulation, but also to carry out a detailed comparative analysis of available factual material in the context of a regional section of the above-mentioned issue.

Hence, the subject of the study is the historical circumstances and a personal factor of the Moscow Patriarchate dioceses institutionalization in the Donbas. The chronological boundaries of the study cover the period from the organizational formation of the movement for the Orthodoxy renewal at the beginning of the 1920s to the leadership of Voroshylovhrad Diocese by the former cleric of the Synodal Church – Metropolitan Borys (Vik) in 1956. The territorial boundaries of the study are delineated by the actual boundaries of the dioceses – the territories of Stalinska and Voroshylovhrad (at that time) regions.

The purpose of the research is to trace, based on a comprehensive analysis of historical sources and scientific publications, the influence of the clergy of the Reformation Orthodox denominations on the prerequisites for the creation, organizational formation and development of the Moscow Patriarchate dioceses in the Donbas, which involves solving the following research objectives: first of all, to find out the prerequisites for the emergence and quantitative composition of the reformation Orthodox denominations in the Donbas; second of all, to analyze the peculiarities of church revival in the territory of the region during the period of the German occupation; third of all, to find out the integration circumstances of the reformation denominations clergy into the composition of local dioceses of the Moscow Patriarchate. The following methods were used while working on the research: general scientific methods and principles of historical research. The article is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, continuity, multifactoriality, complexity and pluralism. Historical comparative, prosopographic, problem chronological methods were applied in the research (Fullerton, 2011).

The Results of the Research. The ideological design of the movement for the Orthodox Church reformation in Ukraine dates back to the time of the Pre-Conciliar presence in 1906. The revolutionary events of 1917 – 1921 contributed to the destruction of the control system

over a spiritual life of society that existed during the autocracy and intensified the activities of reformation movements due to the liberalization of religious policy and the possibility of creating communities without the hierarchy sanction. The policy of oppression concerning the conservative hierarchs, who were marked by a political unreliability, began right after the establishment of the Bolshevik dictatorship. The actual instrument for the destruction of the organized structure of the Orthodox Church was the deepening of its internal contradictions and the establishment of multi-confessionalism. However, the first experience of an open discussion on possible reforms regarding the depoliticization and normalization of the parish life in accordance with the challenges of the era remained unrealized at the All-Ukrainian and All-Russian Councils of 1917 – 1918, and within the Church a powerful opposition of ordinary clergy and intelligentsia was formed, whose participation in the management of church affairs was minimal. In May of 1922, the imprisoned Patriarch Tykhon was visited by a group of the clergy – the supporters of church reforms – and persuaded the hierarch to renounce power. By his resolution, Patriarch Tykhon transferred the clerical office to the specified clerics until the arrival of the vicar, which was interpreted a bit later as permission to transfer church power to them.

On May 29, 1922, the founding meeting of the renewed Higher Church Administration for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (hereinafter referred to as the VCU) was held in Moscow (Soloviev, 2005, p. 104), and already on June 16, 1922, the future Patriarch of Moscow (at that time – Metropolitan) Serhiy (Strahorodsky) as part of a group of hierarchs signed an open appeal to the episcopate, in which he recognized the VCU as the only canonical, legal, Supreme Church Authority, and all its decrees were legal and binding, calling the following: “*all true shepherds and believing sons of the Orthodox Church to follow our example*” (Gubonin, 1994, pp. 218–219). As a result, soon Metropolitan Serhiy became a member of the VCU and was proposed as one of the candidates for its leadership (Soloviev, 2005, p. 105). It should be stated that the VCU was recognized by 37 out of 73 bishops of the Moscow Patriarchate already in 1922 (Regelson, 2007, pp. 84, 310). The VCU was officially recognized by the future heads of the Moscow Patriarchate – bishops Oleksiy (Symansky) and Mykolai (Yarushevych), who, however, showed a wait-and-see attitude (Krasnov-Levitin & Shavrov, 1996, p. 140).

As a result of significant disagreements regarding the degree of reforms radicality, the mass separation of a number of renewalist groups began. On May 8, 1923, Metropolitan Serhiy (Strahorodsky) did not join the renewed composition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which was named the Supreme Church Council, but already on August 27 he repented in public, in front of Patriarch Tykhon (Lavrynov, 2017, p. 516). As the threat of collapse loomed over the renovationist movement as a result of a significant organizational crisis, the course was taken to curtail reforms, which, however, did not improve its situation. Instead, the Soviet special services searched for the mechanisms to control the activities of the remaining Orthodox denominations. On June 4 – 5, 1925, in Ukraine, Lubensky assembly was held with the participation of 5 hierarchs, at which the Cathedral-Episcopal Church was formalized – a canonical alternative to the UAOC and the renewed Synodal Church (hereinafter – USC). There were registered 207 parishes of reformation denominations (UAOC, USC, and USEC) in the Donbas on January 1, 1928, which was only 36,8% of the total number of the Orthodox communities in the region (CSAHAAU, f. 5, d. 3, c. 116, pp. 114–119).

On July 29, 1927 the Declaration of Loyalty to the Soviet Government was proclaimed and the Temporary Patriarchal Holy Synod of Metropolitan Serhiy was formed, who after

the death of Patriarch Tykhon became the Deputy Patriarchal Vicar of Metropolitan Peter Krutytsky (Poliansky) and soon actually headed the Moscow Patriarchate, crisis arose – a part of bishops accused the hierarch of exceeding his authority, abusing the highest church authority and creating “*a newly renewed split*” (Shumilo, 2011, p. 42). Since Metropolitan Serhiy resorted to numerous concessions to the authorities in his actions, in particular, the introduction of the practice of actual intervention of the authorities in church personnel policy, a number of clerics and hierarchs formed the basis of the so-called Catacomb Church. Under those circumstances, Metropolitan Serhiy carried out personnel rotations of the governing bodies of the Moscow Patriarchate at the expense of hierarchs loyal to the Soviet government, many of whom were in the Renewal Movement previously. Hence, according to R. Rehelson, Metropolitan Serhiy carried out “*a terrible and irreparable act – a purposeful change in the hierarchy of the Russian Church*” (Regelson, 2007, p. 117). However, despite the hierarchs’ loyalty of the renewed Moscow Patriarchate, Synodal and Cathedral-Episcopal Churches, all denominations were subjected to repression. Thus, at the end of the 1930s, in the Donbas, a legal religious life was brought to a halt completely. The exception was only two congregations of the Renovationist Church: Pokrovsky Church (khram) in the village of Staromykhailivka, Stalin Region, and Ascension Church, in the city of Oleksandrivsk, Voroshylovhrad Region (Pidgayko, 2020, p. 538).

However, the German-Soviet war changed the situation drastically. With the beginning of the Nazi occupation, Metropolitan Feofil (Buldovsky), the last First Hierarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Ukraine, restored Kharkiv Diocesan Administration, whose jurisdiction included more than 400 parishes in Kharkiv, Poltava, Luhansk, Donetsk, Kursk, and Voronezh regions by the middle of 1942 (Voloshyn, 1997, p. 56). On July 27, 1942, at the meeting of Kharkiv diocesan administration, with the participation of Bishop Mstyslav (Skrypnyk), a protocol was signed on the integration of parishes subordinate to Bishop Feofilo into the Administration of the UAOC of Archbishop Polikarp (Sikorsky) (Zinkevych, 1987, pp. 726–727). First of all, the revival of a religious life in the Donbas covered its western part (from October of 1941 – the beginning of the occupation of Stalino), and by July of 1942, when Voroshylovhrad and Rostov were captured, it spread to the eastern part of the region. The occupation government did not interfere with a religious revival in Ukraine, but, on the contrary, sought to use it for its own ideological purposes.

In the absence of local bishops and an organized system of church administration, believers spontaneously created temporary diocesan administrative bodies on their own, which were given the functions of restoring liquidated churches, coordinating the activities of district deacons, and also ensuring the conditions for appointing a bishop. The surviving representatives of the clergy were found by the parishioners themselves, less often by the occupation administration, and they were involved in the restoration of divine services. In November of 1941, a member of the All-Ukrainian Synod from Donetsk Diocese of the Synodal Church, a priest Prokip Drahozhynsky, was appointed the abbot of Mykylsky Church (Krasnoarmiysk) and Deacon of Krasnoarmiysk District. Owing to his efforts, 11 mostly former renewal communities were restored, which became part of the Autonomous Church, which recognized canonical submission to the Moscow Patriarchate (Нікольський, 2013, с. 122). On December 1, 1942, permission was received to create Donetsk Diocesan Administration of the Autonomous Church, with its center in Bakhmut. However, due to the impossibility of holding services at the dilapidated former renovated Trinity Cathedral of the city, the center of the diocese, which included most of the Orthodox communities of Stalin

and Voroshylovhrad regions (544 parishes) (Rebrova, 2016, p. 60), was situated in the city of Ordzhonikidze (nowadays – Yenakiyev). There was also Makiyiv Diocesan Administration, subordinate to the Vicar of Rostov Diocese (Pidgayko, 2020, p. 538).

After signing the unification act of the Autocephalous and Autonomous Churches on October 8, 1942, Metropolitan Feofil, having the ambitions of a superior, made an unsuccessful attempt to convene the Synod session of the United Church in Kharkiv in December of 1942 (Prykhodchenko, 2011, p. 47). Taking into account the failure of the unification, on December 8, 1942, Metropolitan Feofil was given the authority of the administrator of the UAC in Left-Bank Ukraine and was asked to appoint bishops to the main cities of the eastern dioceses, including Mariupol and Voroshylovhrad immediately (Feodosii (Protsiuk), 2004, p. 475). Among the possible applicants, the candidacy of Bishop Mstyslav (Skrypnyk) was considered, whom the occupation authorities demanded to be transferred to one of the eastern cathedrals to choose from: Rostov, Stalin or Voroshylovhrad (Vlasovsky, 1998, p. 238), as well as the secretary of Kharkiv Diocesan Administration, Archpriest O. Kryvomaz, whose episcopal ordination was approved at Lutsk Cathedral of the UAPC on October 10, 1942 (Feodosii (Protsiuk), 2004, p. 453). There is information about the activities of the Trinity Deanery of Valuisk Diocese of the UAPC, which covered the northern regions of Luhansk region (Forostiuk, 2004, p. 197).

In January of 1943, Bishop Dymytriy (Mahan), who received the title of “Katerynoslav and Donetsk”, was appointed the head of Donetsk Diocese of the Autonomous Church (Feodosii (Protsiuk), 2004, p. 562), and already on January 11, 1943, by order of the Reich Commissariat, the activities of bishops and their movement outside the boundaries of their own dioceses were strictly limited to local general commissioners, whose competence also included permission for new episcopal ordinations and the transfer of the clergy (Zinkevych, 1987, p. 751). Because of these circumstances, the formation of new diocesan administrations became impossible. On February 14, 1943, the Soviet troops occupied Voroshylovhrad, and by September of 22, the entire territory of the Donbas. On the eve of this, Metropolitan Feofil requested his acceptance into the Moscow Patriarchate. In the fall of 1943, the hierarch was arrested, and on January 23, 1944, he died in prison (Prykhodchenko, 2011, pp. 47, 50). It is worth noting that during the war, the Soviet authorities also managed to support the religious feelings of society, trying to use this factor in ideological speculations. In particular, religious communities restored during the Nazi occupation not only continued to operate in the liberated settlements, but new ones were also opened. Taking into consideration the ideological isolation and physical destruction of the most radical hierarchs, the minimization of reformation tendencies in the majority of communities, the Soviet party leadership aspired to form a single loyal pro-government denomination – the renewed Moscow Patriarchate with the aim of its further use to increase international authority among allied countries and as a response to the Nazi policy of a religious revival with its subsequent use as a controlled ideology. On September 4, 1943, during the personal reception by Y. Stalin of the above-mentioned Metropolitan Serhiy (Strahorodsky), Oleksiy (Symansky) and Mykolai (Yarushevychi), it was agreed to hold the Council of Bishops, at which Metropolitan Serhiy was elected Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia on September 8 (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 517).

On February 29, 1944, during a meeting with the head of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, H. Karpov, Metropolitan Oleksandr Vvedensky raised unsuccessfully the issue of permission to appoint Metropolitan Filaret (Yatsenko) as Exarch of Ukraine (Soloviev, 2002, p. 48). On March 2, 1944, the former Renovation First Hierarch

Metropolitan Vitaliy (Vvedensky) was accepted into the Moscow Patriarchate in the rank of bishop, who was already promoted to the rank of archbishop on May 5, 1944, and on July 13, 1944, he was appointed archbishop of Tula and Bielevsky. Since July 19, 1946 – Archbishop Dmitrovsky, Vicar of Moscow Diocese, Chairman of the Missionary Council at the Holy Synod (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 173). As of July 1, 1944, 98 renewal parishes were officially functioning on the territory of Ukraine, and 88 priests, 16 deacons, and 18 psalmists were registered (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 3, pp. 24–25.). However, by April 1, 1945, not a single Renewal cleric was registered on the territory of Ukraine (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 3, p. 49.). In June of 1945, under the conditions of actual liquidation of the Renewal Church due to the refusal to register the clergy, Metropolitan Oleksandr requested to be accepted into the Moscow Patriarchate. However, after a long consideration, the final decision was made that it could only be accepted by a layman, so the reunion never took place (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 52). The last renewalist hierarch, Metropolitan Filaret (Yatsenko), having made a number of unsuccessful attempts to restore the Church, passed away at the beginning of 1951 (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 560).

Meanwhile, the eparchial network of the Moscow Patriarchate underwent an active development. In the summer of 1944, 128 religious communities functioned on the territory of Voroshylovhrad region (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 3, p. 53), 126 of which were opened during the German occupation. In September of 1942, Archpriest Leontiy Yarzhemsky, a cleric of the USEC (SAKhR, f. P-845, d. 2, c. 825, pp. 2–4), later a clergyman of Voroshylovhrad District of the Autonomous Church, headed the former Renewal community of Kazan Cathedral (Voroshylovhrad) (Forostiuk, 1999, p. 16), whose starosta (head) received permission from the city administration to restore the cathedral and the center of the Orthodox diocese in the city (Pidgayko, 2020, p. 539). On October 1, 1942, the restored congregation of the Ascension Church (Voroshylovhrad) was headed by Archpriest Ioakim Oleksiuk, a former commissioner of the renewal Donetsk Diocese, who in the spring of 1943 became a Deacon of Voroshylovhrad district, and in the spring of 1944, at the local clergy Congress, was elected as a candidate for the bishop of Voroshylovhrad (Pidgayko, 2020, p. 539). However, during the discussion of this issue by Patriarch Serhiy with the head of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church H. Karpov, due to the anti-Soviet speeches of Archpriest I. Oleksiuk during the Nazi occupation, the cleric's candidacy was rejected, and already on September 16, 1944, he was arrested (Holenko, 2005, p. 686).

On May 19, 1944, a former Revivalist priest was appointed Bishop of Voroshylovhrad, Vicar of Dnipropetrovsk Diocese, and later Archpriest Oleksandr Petin, Deacon of Kalinin district of Kalinin region. It should be noted that O. Petin was in the Renewal Movement since 1922 (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 457). In 1928, a celibate, he was ordained a priest and appointed Abbot of Kazan Cathedral in Penza. In the fall of 1931, he was promoted to the rank of Archpriest. There is information that in the Renewal Church, the issue of the episcopal ordination of Archpriest O. Petin was raised three times. On August 24, 1932, he was appointed Bishop of Ural and Huryevsk, however, on September 7, the appointment was cancelled. On December 7, 1932, the cleric was recommended to replace the vacant Kozlov Diocese, and in 1933 he was appointed Bishop of Kimra. However, the episcopal ordination never took place, as he was already arrested on March 8, 1933 (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 457). Hence, Archpriest O. Avdiugin's statement that only after returning from exile in the summer of 1937, the future bishop "*joined the revivalist split ... in order to obtain a priestly position*" is false (Avdiugin, 2010, p. 17). At the end of 1943, Archpriest O. Petin

repented to Patriarch Serhiy and was admitted to the clergy of the Moscow Patriarchate with the recognition of a priestly rank (Lavrinov, 2017, p. 457). On May 20, 1944, he was ordained a monk, and on May 21 he was ordained a bishop, presided over by Metropolitan Mykolai (Yarushevych) (Narecheniye i khirotoniya, 1944, pp. 8–9). One of the priority tasks of the hierarch was the consolidation of the surviving clergy, including reformation confessions. Hence, the documents contain references to clerics' complaints about the "liberalism" of the hierarch (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 23, pp. 192–193).

In October of 1944, priest Dymytriy Klepachevsky, a former member of the renewal Luhansk Diocesan Administration, was appointed to the Petro and Pavlo Cathedral in Voroshylohrad (Zhyliuk, 2002, p. 189; Sumishyn, Kornieyev, Brel & Kravchenko, 2011, p. 31). In the autumn of 1947, after a 10-year imprisonment, a graduate of Moscow Theological Academy (1927 – 1931), candidate of Theology, Revivalist priest Volodymyr Molchanov was admitted to the clergy of Voroshylohrad Diocese (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 8, p. 54), as well as the former secretary of Metropolitan Feofilo (Buldovsky) of the USEC, Archpriest Fiodor Obmok, were enrolled in the clergy of Voroshylohrad Diocese (later – Archimandrite Feofan) (Feodosii (Protsiuk), 2004, p. 399; Forostiuk, 2004, p. 113). In the summer of 1947, Archpriest Leontiy Yarzhemsky acted as a lecturer at three-month theological courses organized by Voroshylohrad Diocesan Administration (CSAHAAU, f. 4648, d. 3, c. 8, pp. 40–41).

Since 1947, the strengthening of anti-religious policy began in the USSR. On August 3, 1948, after the conflict aggravation between Bishop Nykon and the commissioner of the Russian Orthodox Church in Stalin region regarding the expropriation of the Trinity Cathedral in Sloviansk, the hierarch was appointed temporarily in charge of Odesa Diocese, and on October 21, 1949 – the Bishop of Kherson and Odesa Dioceses with the right to manage Voroshylohrad Diocese (Pidgayko, 2020, p. 539). Actually the above-mentioned decision started a long-term practice of the leadership of the Donbas Dioceses by Odesa Bishops and provided for the limitation of their role in a spiritual life of the region. In October of 1949, the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church agreed to close and remove the building of Mykyl Cathedral in Voroshylohrad. In March of 1950, by decree of Bishop Nykon, the episcopal chair was moved to Petro and Pavlo Cathedral of the city (Forostiuk, 2004, pp. 88, 90). Despite this, the process of staffing the clergy of the diocese continued due to the hierarch's measures. In particular, on December 10, 1950, Archpriest Leonid Borodulin, a former Deacon of the Renewal Diocese of Nizhnyi Tahil, was enrolled in the clergy of the Diocese, and he was appointed to the position of Rector of the church in the village of Khanzhenkovo, Stalin region. From January 22, 1952, he became the Abbot of Mykylska Cathedral and Deacon of Voroshylohrad District, from April 14, 1953, he was transferred to Petro and Pavlo Cathedral of the city, and from 1954 – the Abbot of Mykylska Cathedral in Artemivsk (Lavrinov, 2007, p. 210).

In 1955, Archbishop Nykon (Petin) was diagnosed with leukemia, and on May 16, 1956, he died prematurely. In the end, it was the hierarch's efforts that not only created the organizational structure of the Voroshylohrad Diocese, but also strengthened it with powerful personnel potential and new parishioners, including former representatives of reformation denominations. Thus, it was his activity that marked a new stage in the religious life of the Donbas. On April 25, 1956, Archbishop Borys (Vik) was appointed the new head of the Diocese, who also began his service in the Renewal Church, where in 1926 he was ordained celibate to the rank of Deacon, and already in 1934 he became a monk in Moscow Patriarchates without recognition of ordination (Kopylova, 2003, p. 35).

The Conclusion. Thus, at the beginning of the 1920s, in view of the unsolvedness of many urgent problems of church life, a number of oppositional Orthodox denominations arose in Ukraine, differing in the degree of the reform programme radicality. As legal parish life was abolished at the end of 1930s, religious life and denominational separation resumed during the Nazi occupation of 1941 – 1943. However, taking into consideration the lack of a bishopric of the liberal UAOC, the restoration of church structures in the Donbas, in particular the former congregations of the USC and USEC, was carried out under the jurisdiction of the conservative hierarchs of the Autonomous Church. After the end of the war, in view of the ideological discrediting of the majority of denominations, there arose objective prerequisites for the formation of a single Diocesan network in Ukraine loyal to the Soviet leadership of the Moscow Patriarchate, which was significantly strengthened by the clergy of the Synodal and Cathedral-Episcopal Churches. A special role in the formation of Voroshylovhrad Diocese was played by the activities of the former Renewal cleric – Archbishop Nykon (Petin).

The historical analysis of the formation of Voroshylovhrad Diocese proves that the integration of the opposition clergy allowed the leadership of the renewed Moscow Patriarchate not only to solve the acute personnel shortage of the higher hierarchy and employees of the Diocesan Administrations, but also to minimize the consequences of the marginalization of the religious consciousness of the faithful, since a number of former representatives of the renewalist clergy of the Donbas had high authority of clergy and preachers. At the same time, the exclusive discrediting of the Orthodox Reformation and the concealment by clerics of their original confessional affiliation led to the unresolved key debated issues of the church system, the deepening of secularism and, ultimately, the restoration of division under the conditions of the liberalization of religious policy at the end of the 1980s, the consequences of which are felt in the post-Soviet religious discourse to our time. We believe that further analysis of the experience of interfaith dialogue and the circumstances of the integration of the opposition clergy will allow us to offer new conceptual approaches to restoring the unity of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

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**UKRAINIAN HUMANITARIANS IN THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC:
PARTICIPATION IN FOREIGN SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION**

Abstract. The purpose of the study is to analyze comprehensively the implementation ways of foreign scientific cooperation by the Ukrainian humanitarians in the Second Polish Republic.

The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach. Particular emphasis is focused on the structural and functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative and historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. In the study there have been also used the methods of periodization, classification and typology. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the attempt to comprehensively reconstruct the participation of the Ukrainian humanitarians of the Second Polish Republic in foreign scientific cooperation. The Conclusions. As a result, we have noted that in some places, with the support and collaboration of the Polish authorities, but more often than not, contrary to its national and cultural policy, in interwar Poland the Ukrainian humanitarians adapted well to the existing difficult realities generally. Responding to socio-political and cultural challenges, they tried to preserve the established traditions of foreign cooperation successfully and, despite the chronic financial impoverishment, worthily represented Ukrainian science in the international arena. It has been proved that the most active in foreign partnerships were the staff of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw. It has been emphasized that the established foreign cooperation became especially important in terms of the last pre-war decade when the sub-Soviet Ukrainian socio-humanitarian sciences suffered several devastating waves of repression. It has been concluded that under the conditions of statelessness, the international scientific activity developed by the Ukrainian humanities representatives in interwar Poland acquired essential features of cultural diplomacy aimed at establishing the political subjectivity of the Ukrainians.

Key words: Ukrainian humanitarians, foreign scientific cooperation, the Second Polish Republic, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw.

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ГУМАНІТАРІЇ В ДРУГІЙ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТІЙ: УЧАСТЬ У ЗАКОРДОННІЙ НАУКОВІЙ СПІВПРАЦІ

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу шляхів реалізації українськими гуманітаріями Другої Речі Посполитої закордонної наукової співпраці. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції участі українських гуманітаріїв Другої Речі Посполитої в закордонній науковій співпраці. **Висновки.** У підсумку відзначено, що подекуди за підтримки і в співпраці з польською владою, але частіше всупереч її національно-культурній політиці українські гуманітарії у міжвоєнній Польщі загалом добре адаптувалися до непростих реалій. Реагуючи на суспільно-політичні та культурні виклики, вони успішно намагалися зберегти закладені у попередні часи традиції закордонної співпраці, а також, незважаючи на хронічне фінансове зuboжіння, гідно представляли українську науку на міжнародній арені. Доведено, що найбільш активними у закордонній співпраці були співробітники Наукового товариства імені Шевченка та Українського наукового інституту у Варшаві. Наголошено, що особливо важливою з іміджевого погляду налагоджена закордонна співпраця стала в останнє передвоєнне десятиліття, коли підрадянська українська соціогуманітаристика зазнала кількох руйнівних хвиль репресій. Підсумовано, що в умовах бездержавності розгорнута українськими гуманітаріями в міжвоєнній Польщі міжнародна наукова діяльність набула важливих рис культурної дипломатії, спрямованої на утвердження політичної суб'єктності українців.

Ключові слова: українські гуманітарії, закордонна наукова співпраця, Друга Річ Посполита, Наукове товариство імені Шевченка, Український науковий інститут у Варшаві.

The Problem Statement. The studies of Ukrainian historiography in the Second Polish Republic move away from personality-centered approach in favour of a broader institutional one gradually. At the same time, scholars discover an increasingly wide range of previously marginalized problems. Considering further plans to reconstruct a complete picture of the Ukrainian scientific movement in interwar Poland these newly discovered aspects require independent research. Among the least known ones, is the participation of the Ukrainian

humanitarians in an international scientific life. In the past, a deeper understanding of the Ukrainian scientific movement used to be hindered by the prevailing stereotype about the total meagerness of the Ukrainian scientific institutions and intellectuals, which allegedly made foreign academic trips completely impossible. Thus, we cannot deny the well-known issues with financing the Ukrainian science in the Second Polish Republic, we try to delve into this important historiographical problem more nuancedly.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The main source for the reconstruction of the participation of the Ukrainian humanitarians in foreign scientific cooperation, in interwar Poland is information reports of scientific institutions. First and foremost, we refer to “The Chronicle of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv” and “Sprawozdanie Ukraińskiego Instytutu Naukowego”. We also consulted published epistolary and institutional document flow (indexes of publications, statutory documents, official correspondence, etc.).

Among modern researchers, Leonid Zashkilniak (Zashkilniak, 2014), Vitaly Masnenko (Masnenko, 2001, pp. 354–360), as well as Vitaly Telvak and Iryna Lozynska (Telvak, Lozynska & Nowacki, 2020) studied individual aspects of the foreign scientific contacts of the Ukrainian humanitarians in interwar Poland. The scientific and organizational activities of representatives of the Dnipro Ukraine emigration in the Second Polish Republic were studied by Andriy Portnov (Portnov, 2009). However, the participation of the Ukrainian humanitarians in foreign scientific cooperation in the works of the aforementioned researchers is largely presented in a fragmentary manner. The relevance of our research stems from this issue.

The Purpose of the Article. The purpose of the article is to do a comprehensive analysis of the implementation ways of foreign scientific cooperation by the Ukrainian humanitarians in the Second Polish Republic.

The Results of the Research. During the first post-war years, the Ukrainian historians, like their European colleagues, tried to understand the consequences of a large-scale world confrontation and determine their place in new socio-political realities. The activity of scientific societies, which traditionally moderated foreign cooperation, resumed extremely slowly. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, the oldest and most respected in Western Ukraine, which united the majority of the Ukrainian humanitarians, gradually resumed its activity only at the beginning of the 1920s. During that time the Eastern Galician area became part of the revived Polish state, first *de facto* and then *de jure*.

The first thing that the leaders of the SSS faced under the new socio-political conditions was the complete disregard of the cultural needs of the Ukrainian community by the officials of the Second Polish Republic, as well as the refusal to support scientific institutions, even the biggest ones financially. The concerns of the scientific community in regards to the new circumstances were reflected in the first post-war “SSS Chronicles”, in which it is stated: “The most concerning issue of this discussion is that for the first time since the Society changed into a scientific one, both local and state subventions to support scientific activity, were terminated” (Khronika, 1920, p. 2). Since then, in the majority of the protocols of the SSS, the issue of appealing to state officials of various levels in the matter of the return of the funding was raised on the obvious grounds by the Ukrainian population being one of the major taxpayers, and therefore their cultural needs had to be financially covered at least partially.

However, despite numerous delegations to Warsaw and repeated parliamentary interpellations, the funding never returned to its pre-war level. In this regard, in the “SSS Chronicles” it was noted: “The activity of any scientific institution depends not only on its members, their energy and flexibility, but even more on the material resources at its disposal.

The members of the Society did not lack energy, yet many important projects were cancelled due to lack of funds” (Khronika, 1926, p. 23). Although eventually the Society was awarded a small monthly subsidy of 1,000 zlotykh. Thus, the SSS regained the right to publish school textbooks and their accumulated communal debts were written off from time to time during the period of relative normalization of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Furthermore, the Ministry of Religion and Education financed the Ukrainian humanitarians’ participation in international scientific events several times during the two interwar decades in response to constant appeals for financial support.

However, such support was rather an exception, and most often the heads of the SSS received refusals for their appeals, which were always explained by the state economic issues. These unsuccessful appeals were reflected upon in the protocols of the Society meetings. For example, in the protocols dated December 23, 1936, it is stated: “It was noted that the Ministry of Religion and Education responded negatively to the Society’s financial assistance request for scientific needs; we decided to address the entire Ukrainian society with an appeal to help the Society fulfill its scientific objectives” (Khronika, 1937, pp. 22–23). Under such unfavourable conditions, financial support for its oldest scientific society was forced to be provided by mostly poor Ukrainian citizens sending small donations and by the Ukrainian businesses, that grew owing to the cooperative movement. The Ukrainian diaspora in the USA also provided a strong support. These facts of sacrifice by the Ukrainian public were carefully noted on the “SSS Chronicles” pages. However, this was obviously not enough to realize the available scientific potential fully.

Considering an acute shortage of funds, it should be noted that among the Ukrainian humanitarians, there was no unanimity in the vision of what required priority funding. The letters of the intellectuals of that time contain reflections on whether it was worth spending extremely limited funds on expensive foreign trips, or it was better to direct them to the publishing activities of the SSS, causing both scientific and important public resonance. In the end, the position outlined in Mykola Chubatyi’s letter to Ivan Krypyakevych in regards to the need to send the SSS delegation to the VIII International Congress of Historians in Zurich became dominant: “Despite all our difficulties, I consider our participation in the Congress final, and I think that our section [Historical and Philosophical Section of the SSS – the authors] must organize, or at the very least initiate the organization of our participation in that Congress. Absentees are never right, and my participation in the VII Congress convinced me in its importance” (Zashkilniak, 2014, p. 153).

In general, at that time the foreign scientific activity of the Ukrainian humanitarians had two vectors – Western and Eastern European, the former being the oldest and most diverse. Participation in scientific forums as a form of academic communication dominated there. During the above mentioned period, representatives of the SSS took part in the following significant conferences: Congress of Slavic Geographers and Ethnographers (K. Studynskyi and I. Rakovskyi), Congress of Bibliographers in Rome (I. Svientsitskyi), II Congress of Slavic Philologists (K. Studynskyi, F. Kolessa, I. Bryk), the Congress of Folk Art in Antwerp (F. Kolessa), the II Congress of Folk Art in Belgium (F. Kolessa), the 5th International Congress of Byzantinists in Rome (Y. Skruten and V. Zalozetskyi), the Pax Romana International Congress in Austria (M. Chubatyi), the Congress of the Union of Historical Societies of Eastern Europe in Zurich (M. Korduba).

The Ukrainian delegations were the most numerous at international forums, which were held in Polish cities. Thus, M. Korduba, M. Chubatyi, R. Zubyk, Y. Pasternak, I. Svientsitskyi

and Y. Skruten took part in the VII International Congress of Historians, held in Warsaw on August 21–26, 1933. Another delegation represented the SSS at the II International Congress of Slavic Philologists, which took place in Warsaw and Krakow on September 21–30, 1934. Among the representatives of the Society were researchers of language and literature: Y. Gordynskyi, S. Smal-Stotskyi, R. Smal-Stotskyi, V. Scherbakivskyi, K. Studynskyi, V. Simovych, I. Sventsitskyi, F. Kolessa, M. Tershakovets, and V. Lev.

Despite a fairly representative list of the scientific forums just given, the SSS was forced to respond to the absolute majority of invitations from Western institutions with only a grateful decline. In the protocols of the Society, we can often come across variations of a phrase stating the following: “Unfortunately, our Society did not have the ability to send its representatives to another international congress and had to limit itself only to sending written regards” (Khronika, 1937, p. 33).

A crucial experience of international inter-institutional communication was the participation of SSS representatives in various anniversary celebrations of scientific societies in other countries, most often the Slavic ones. For example, Z. Kuzel represented the SSS at the 100-year anniversary of the museums in Berlin in October of 1930. O. Kolessa took part in the celebration of the 100th anniversary of “*Matice česká*” in Prague on 16–21 of May, 1931.

Another form of foreign cooperation among the SSS members was participation in internships at Western universities. In May of 1936, the director of the museum of the SSS, Y. Pasternak, went on an academic trip to the museums of Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and Transcarpathia, where he gave speeches popularizing the cultural activities of the Galician Ukrainians. In June of 1938, he completed an internship at the scientific institutions of the Third Reich where he had scientific lectures about the Galician princely faculty in Krylos at the universities in Berlin and Breslau. During this research trip to Germany, which was partially financed by the Ministry of Education and Religion, the director of the museum of the SSS studied historical artefacts of the Middle Ages in seven German cities and 17 different museums. It was noted in the “SSS Chronicles” that “the conclusions of these studies will be used in separate monographs on the excavations in Krylos” (Khronika, 1939, p. 98).

Finally, Western Ukrainian members of the SSS were actively involved in the work of international scientific societies, which were also important platforms for professional communication. For example, the Ukrainian historians, such as M. Korduba, I. Krypyakevych, I. Svientsitskyi, I. Ohienko, R. Smal-Stotskyi joined the Federation of Historical Societies of Eastern Europe, which was created in Warsaw on the initiative of the well-known Polish historians O. Galecki and M. Handelsman, as part of the Polish policy of “Prometheism” in 1927 (Korduba, 1927, pp. 196–199). At the same time, I. Krypiakevych was elected to the Dictionary Commission of the Federation, and M. Korduba joined its Board. On August 19–20, 1933, the Federation held a convention in which M. Korduba and M. Chubatyi took part.

The Eastern European vector of international cooperation, which was focused on the institution of the humanitarian profile of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was less intense and was chronologically limited till the second half of the 1920s. This is the period that began with the return of M. Hrushevsky from exile in 1924. He began to restore communication with the Galician colleagues and vigorously develop scientific life that had been broken by years of war and revolution. This period ended in 1931, when the first “battles on the historical front” broke out and, as a result, the historical institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were liquidated, and their head was effectively exiled to Moscow. However, during this short period of time, the Galician historians (mainly representatives of the Lviv historical school of

M. Hrushevsky) established close relations with their Dnipro Ukrainian colleagues (Telvak, Pedych & Telvak, 2021). Thus, V. Herasymchuk, M. Korduba and I. Krypiakevych joined the Historical Section, the Scientific Research Department of the History of the Ukrainian People, and the Archaeological Commission of UAS. K. Studynskyi, the head of the SSS, and F. Kolessa were even elected full members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on the initiative of M. Hrushevsky.

The establishment of contacts with colleagues from Kyiv was mentioned for the first time in the report on the activities of the SSS during the years of 1926 – 1929: “Cooperation with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv was also established. We publish the works of scholars from Great Ukraine, and in return, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv publishes the works of our scholars, for example, about Drahomanov, Franko, etc.” (Khronika, 1930, p. 2). Since then, the participation of the Galician humanitarians in Kyiv academic projects has always been mentioned for several years. In their annual reports, among the priority tasks, the heads of the SSS always emphasized the need for “the Society’s activities to be in close agreement with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences” (Khronika, 1930, pp. 5–6).

Despite newly occurred passport and visa issues in addition to the financial problems, the Galician humanitarians also took an active part in a number of scientific forums during the aforementioned period. Thus, in June of 1927, literature historians K. Studynskyi and I. Svientsitskyi took part in a linguistics conference in Kharkiv; K. Studynskyi, F. Kolessa and O. Makarushka came to Kyiv in 1927 to celebrate the centenary of the publication of M. Maksymovych’s songs; the SSS delegated M. Korduba to the scientific conference in memory of V. Antonovych, which was held in Kyiv in 1928; in April of 1929, K. Studynskyi participated in the inaugural conference of the Taras Shevchenko Institute in Kharkiv; in 1934, M. Smishko studied historical collections in museums of the USSR.

In addition to scientific forums, the SSS delegated its representatives to the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the life path and the fortieth anniversary of the scientific work of its former head M. Hrushevsky which took place on October 3, 1926. For the anniversary of the author of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” academicians K. Studynsky and Dr. I. Svientsitsky visited Kyiv and presented him with a silver crown as a gift for many years of fruitful scientific and organizational work at the Society’s forum (Khronika, 1930, pp. 65–67). It is noteworthy that in his welcoming speech, K. Studynskyi praised the efforts of the mentioned author to bring the activities of the SSS to the international level and emphasized that it was he who introduced the Galician Ukrainians “to the family of cultured European nations” with his multifaceted work.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the Ukrainian scholars in Poland received alarming news from Kyiv about the destruction of scientific research institutions created by M. Hrushevsky as well as mass repressions against the Ukrainian intellectuals. In his speech at the Society’s General Meeting in December 1937, the head of the National Academy of Sciences, Ivan Rakovsky, emphasized “the importance and the mission of the SSS in the modern era, when the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv has lost all opportunities to nurture and develop independent Ukrainian science” (Khronika, 1939, p. 3).

Along with the SSS, members of another well-known institution – the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, which was founded in Warsaw in 1930 – participated in foreign cooperation, albeit on a much more modest scale. It also lacked sufficient funding, but its financial problems were of a different nature (Portnov, 2004). The USI was financed from the budget as it was built as a part of the implementation of the state policy of the “Prometheus” movement. It

is unknown whether budget funding for foreign business trips was provided and in what amounts. But we know from many sources that the USI members often took part in scientific conferences at their own expense. It is clear that these were sporadic actions due to either the exceptional importance of the scientific forum or the fact that the event was held in the Polish capital and participation did not require financial expenses (Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut, 1935). In general, the USI carried out international institutional exchange through the mediation of the state International Exchange Bureau. The Institute established contacts with 35 foreign institutions in this manner (Potocki, 1999, p. 214).

Mainly, the USI delegated its director Oleksandr Lototskyi to scientific forums. He was a well-known historian of the church and the Ukrainian socio-political movement. We know about his presence, for example, at scientific events in Czechoslovakia and Greece from the Ukrainian periodicals of that time. O. Lototskyi also represented his institution at the aforementioned VII International Congress of Historians held in Warsaw in August of 1933 (Khronika, 1932, p. 28). A much larger group of the USI members took part in the 2nd International Congress of Slavic Philologists held in Poland in September of 1934. In addition to the director, the representatives of the Institute at this forum were R. Smal-Stotskyi, B. Lepkyi and L. Chaikovska (Potocki, 1999, p. 215). R. Smal-Stotskyi, a well-known literature historian, represented the USI at international congresses of linguists in Geneva (1930) and Rome (1933).

The Conclusions. In conclusion, we note that sometimes with the support and cooperation from the Polish authorities, but more often contrary to its national and cultural policy, the Ukrainian humanitarians in interwar Poland generally adapted well to the existing complex realities. They successfully attempted to preserve the traditions of foreign cooperation established years ago and, despite a chronic financial impoverishment, represented the Ukrainian science in the international arena in response to socio-political and cultural challenges. The members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw were the most active in foreign cooperation. It should be noted that the well-established foreign cooperation became especially important from an image point of view in the last pre-war decade when the under-Soviet Ukrainian socio-humanitarianism experienced several destructive waves of repression. In conclusion, considering the stateless status, the international scientific activity developed by the Ukrainian humanitarians in interwar Poland acquired key features of cultural diplomacy aimed at establishing the political subjectivity of the Ukrainians.

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**TRAINING OF ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL STAFF IN PROFESSIONAL
EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE GERMAN OCCUPATION ZONES
OF UKRAINE IN 1941 – 1944**

Abstract. *The purpose* of this historical study is to elucidate a practically unknown page of professional training of engineering staff during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944. One of the essential gaps of modern historical science is the lack of comprehensive research, the subject of which would be the study of the German leaders' experience in the occupation zones of Ukraine in the field of specialists training of engineering and technical profiles. **The scientific novelty** of the study is that, this study fills an existing gap of scientific knowledge, promotes a better understanding of processes in the field of vocational education that took place in the occupied territory of Ukraine by Germany, reconstructs attempts to train a skilled personnel under extreme conditions of the occupation regime, reproduces the issue of educational and methodological support for future specialists in engineering and

technical profile. The following **methods** have been used to achieve the research goal: analysis, synthesis, systematization, comparison and generalization, retrospective, logical and system-structural methods, methods of selection, systematization and periodization of historical facts, search and bibliographic methods, periodization methods, generalization of found and analyzed materials. **The Conclusion.** In all German occupation zones of Ukraine, their administrations organized vocational training of local youth. At the same time, dominant organizational forms of educational institutions of vocational training in the MZO and the RKU, were the former Soviet institutions, technical schools and colleges. Only in Dnipropetrovsk, in the one occupation zone of Ukraine the operation of the University was renewed. In the RKU, the German administration did not pay attention and did not counteract the introduction of subjects of a general level into the educational process, even History of Ukraine, although in general, it "did not welcome". Thus, in these occupation zones the model of engineering personnel training provided for the formation of a wider profile specialist, not a narrow one, as in the DG.

Key words: occupation regime, institution of vocational education, engineering and technical worker.

ПІДГОТОВКА ІНЖЕНЕРНО-ТЕХНІЧНИХ ПРАЦІВНИКІВ У ЗАКЛАДАХ ПРОФЕСІЙНОЇ ОСВІТИ НІМЕЦЬКИХ ОКУПАЦІЙНИХ ЗОН УКРАЇНИ 1941 – 1944 рр.

Анотація. Мета пропонованої розвідки полягає у розкритті практично невідомої сторінки професійної підготовки інженерно-технічних кадрів у період нацистської окупації України в 1941 – 1944 рр. Однією із суттєвих прогалин сучасної історичної науки є відсутність комплексних досліджень, предметом яких стало б вивчення досвіду керівників німецьких окупаційних зон України у сфері підготовки фахівців інженерно-технічного профілю. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що дослідження заповнює наявну лауну наукового пізнання, сприяє кращому розумінню процесів у сфері професійної освіти, які відбувалися на загарбаній Німеччиною території України, реконструює спроби підготовки кваліфікованих кадрів в екстремальних умовах окупаційного режиму, відтворює питання навчально-методичного забезпечення навчання майбутніх фахівців інженерно-технічного профілю. Для досягнення мети публікації використовувалися такі **методи:** аналіз, синтез, систематизація, порівняння та узагальнення, ретроспективні, логічні і системно-структурні методи, методи відбору, систематизації та періодизації історичних фактів, пошуково-бібліографічні методи, методи періодизації, узагальнення виявлених та оброблених матеріалів. **Висновок.** У всіх зонах німецької окупації України адміністрації організували професійне навчання місцевої молоді. Водночас домінуючими організаційними формами навчальних закладів професійно-технічної підготовки в МЗО та РКУ були колишні радянські заклади, технікуми та коледжі. Лише в Дніпропетровську відновили роботу єдиної окупаційної зони України в університеті. РКУ, німецька адміністрація не звертала уваги і не протидіяла впровадженню в навчальний процес предметів загального рівня, навіть історії України, хоча загалом це "не вітається". Таким чином, модель підготовки інженерних кадрів у цих зонах занять передбачала формування спеціаліста ширшого, а не вузького, як у ДГ профілю.

Ключові слова: окупаційний режим, заклад професійної освіти, інженерно-технічний працівник.

The Problem Statement. Qualified workers of the engineering and technical profile have always been the basis for a stable functioning of the system of production, and the economic growth of the state. Without these specialists it is impossible to do with the creation and provision of the work of any system of industrial and agrarian production, means of transport and communal infrastructures, and their management. These circumstances clearly manifested themselves during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944. Of course, Germany, occupying Ukraine had far-sighted plans for its future development and its transformation into German colony. "Life Space" for "the Aryans" to which Ukraine would

have been transformed, provided for the local population to be given the status of a slave labour force, deprived of the right to obtain a full-fledged education, and therefore to obtain a high professional status. But the illusory plans of the Nazi leadership of the Third Reich came into conflict with an objective reality. Firstly, that war still needed to be won, and secondly, the German occupation administration faced a catastrophic shortage of qualified personnel in almost all sectors of the economy and the municipal sphere of the occupied territory. The impressive and large-scale victories of the Wehrmacht in the summer and first autumn months of 1941 were of a tactical nature, and the military disaster was steadily approaching Germany. Under these conditions, the importance of the most valuable achievement to the Nazis, i. e., Ukraine, acquired a strategic tone, since the military fate of Germany depended on the food and raw material supply, which was predatorily pumped out of the occupied territory. And in this case, the Nazis' racist illusory ideas met with an "unpleasant" objective reality – in order to ensure the relevant needs of Germany and the Wehrmacht, it was necessary to organize certain production, develop logistics, etc. And without qualified engineering and technical personnel, it was impossible to accomplish this task.

Thus, the issue of this historical and pedagogical study is topical and can be considered in the context of professional training of engineering and technical personnel in the German occupation zones of Ukraine during the period of 1941 – 1944. The other part of the article is written the following way: materials and methods represented publications, whose authors consider various aspects of training skilled personnel in Ukraine during the Nazi occupation; the methodology and methods of research. Results and discussions are presented in the conclusion.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The training of engineering and technical personnel under conditions of vocational education institutions operation in the occupation zones of Ukraine is insufficiently researched and needs an additional study, since this issue has not become the focus subject of scholars-pedagogues. For the most part, it is studied by representatives of historical science, a specific subject and methods of which do not allow to analyze the training of engineering and technical personnel at vocational education institutions under occupation at the angle of view of the history of Pedagogy. Particularly historical works on this topic are written by P. Dobrov (Dobrov & Bystra, 2006), O. Goncharenko (Goncharenko, 2008; Goncharenko, 2011; Goncharenko, 2013; Goncharenko, 2014; Goncharenko, Kunytskyi & Goncharenko, 2014), V. Hinda (Hinda, 2001), B. Yerzhabkova (Yerzhabkova, 2008), F. Polyansky (Polyansky, 2010), O. Potylchak (Potylchak, 1998; Potylchak, 2006), G. Stefanyuk (Stefanyuk, 2004), I. Spudka (Spudka, 2002; Spudka, 2018), V. Masnenko (Masnenko, 2005), V. Borisov (Borisov, 2009), S. Mohyliuk (Mohyliuk, 2012). Only M. Haliv (Haliv, 2004), H. Bilavych (Bilavych, 2016) and O. Zhosan (Zhosan, 2013) consider this issue at the angle of vocational education institutions operation. Separate aspects of the work of Kyiv Hydrological Institute are analyzed in the dissertation of N. Schulga (Shulga, 2020). S. Riznychok (Riznychok, 2013) and V. Slipchuk (Slipchuk, 2018) studied the work of educational institutions at which pharmaceutical specialists were trained. However, the authors of these dissertations analyze the training of specialists in the pharmaceutical sphere during the occupation period quite schematically and in general. It is clear that the chronological limits of the research subject did not allow their authors to do it fully. Consequently, the issue of training engineering and technical personnel under the conditions of the Nazi occupation regime in Ukraine requires additional research efforts.

The Materials and Methods. The complex of general scientific and historical and pedagogical research methods was used to realize the purpose of the study. Thus, to analyze the state of the study issue, scholars' creative work there were used such general scientific research methods as analysis, synthesis, systematization, comparison and generalization. The analysis of scientific literature and archival sources was carried out on the basis of the use of retrospective, logical and systemic and structural methods. Methods of selection, systematization and periodization of historical facts allowed the actualization of the issue, to identify qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the process of establishing vocational education institutions in the German occupation zones of Ukraine. The content of archival funds and systematization of the contents of printed sources was based on the search and bibliographic method. Periodization method allowed to compare common and different features in the educational institutions establishment by the leaders of various occupation zones of Ukraine. At the stage of formulation of conclusions, the generalization method of found and analyzed materials was used.

The research materials are divided into three main groups. These groups include published research, which are mainly written by professional historians. In these, mostly small publications and individual monographs, historical aspects of vocational educational institutions establishment in the territory of occupied Ukraine are studied. In addition, the majority of them are written in the already traditional context of illustrating the criminal entity of the Nazi occupation regime and are purely criminatory. Therefore, the authors of this publication used purely factologic data on separate vocational education institutions establishment and their typologization was conducted. An important source of this study was the materials of the occupation periodicals of all zones of Ukraine. These are data on the opening of various educational institutions, the statistics of their contingent, personality of managers, a normative legal base. Specific reconstructions of educational and methodological, organizational aspects of work of vocational education institutions that trained by engineering and technical personnel were carried out on the basis of found and analyzed archival documents of the management of various occupation zones of Ukraine, internal documentation of the vocational education institutions.

The Results of the Research. As a result of the invasion of Germany to the territories of the Soviet Union, during the period of 1941 – 1942 several occupation zones were formed in Ukraine. The country was divided into: the District “Galicia” (hereinafter – the DG), the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” (hereinafter referred to as the RKU) and the military zone of occupation (hereinafter – the MZO) (Honcharenko & Potilchak, 2021; Honcharenko & Potilchak, 2021a). Each occupation zone had its own administration, borders and management system. The German authorities in order to ensure the growing needs of the district and the Wehrmacht had to organize production. But there was no enough personnel to perform this task. It should be noted that the Soviet evacuation influenced this problem, because, since the first days of the military conflict, the most skilled specialists were taken to the Eastern districts of the country or called up to serve in the army. The total extermination of the Jewish population, including skilled specialists only caused additional tension to this problem.

During the first months of occupation of Ukraine the German leadership encouraged the activities of vocational education institution (Salata & Tarnavskii, 2020). One of the most rational ways out of a catastrophic personnel problem, which faced the German authority was the organization of vocational training of the Ukrainian youth. The German authorities refused the Ukrainians in the right to obtain secondary education, but it was not possible for

the authorities to eliminate the Ukrainian youth from vocational education for quite objective reasons. At the same time, the affiliation of certain regions of Ukraine to the occupied zones also influenced the organization state of youth vocational training. In the best position there was a vocational education in the District “Galicia”. This area entered the general governorate and was considered to be attached directly to Germany, and therefore in it, in a certain way, in a restricted and extremely limited form, but the relevant system of vocational education and didactic approaches to the training of specialists was reproduced. The activity of the Ukrainian education organizations also contributed to this (Tron’-Radoms’ka, 2020). At the same time, the regional authorities organized separate vocational training for the Ukrainian and Polish youth (Haliv & Ohar, 2017). At a far worse level there was a vocational education in the RKU, whose leadership, unlike the administration of the MZO, stubbornly refused to take steps that seemed rational under those conditions to introduce vocational training among the Ukrainian youth. Even the military sought to eliminate young people from the harmful influence of street education and concentrate them in vocational education institutions, to teach them something useful. The local administration also tried to conduct similar measures.

The political leadership of Germany was unanimous in the creation of a vocational education system for the local population of the occupied regions of Ukraine. The largest loyalty to this issue was manifested by the head of the Reich Ministry of the Eastern occupied territories, a well-known theorist of Nazism A. Rozenberg. Unlike the Orthodox environment of A. Hitler, he suggested establishing University in Kyiv, other educational institutions of the vocational education system. However, the head of the RKU, E. Koch, resisted A. Rozenberg’s intensions in every possible way. Thus, in February of 1942, the Office of A. Rozenberg approved Directive on School Education in the RKU. This normative act, which was spread in the MZO, introduced a seven-year training. During four years, children went to people’s schools, after finishing which they could enter three-year vocational schools. Graduates could enter technical schools, the term of study at which was two years. Higher education was prohibited for the Ukrainians. However, at the same time, it was allowed to restore the work of medical, veterinary, agricultural and natural faculties of the former Soviet institutions. But even these restricted events caused the opposition of E. Koch. However, E. Koch resisted the normative acts of A. Rozenberg much, but in the end he had to admit the need for vocational educational institutions. In the end, E. Koch’s resistance to normative acts of A. Rozenberg led to the fact that the latter bypassing the central apparatus of the RKU sent them directly to the leaders of the General Commissariates (Goncharenko, Goncharenko & Kunytskyi, 2014, pp. 83–88). In general, this led to the functioning imbalance of the German management system, regional and local leaders of which did not take into account the position of E. Koch and made quite independent decisions. At the official level separate general commissaries protested against of E. Koch’s management decisions in the field of education (Stelnykovich, 2016, p. 16).

The military occupation administration, in general, treated the educational needs of the Ukrainians more loyal and acted in this regard pragmatically, opening those institutions of vocational education, whose graduates were needed by the occupied regions economy of Ukraine. As well as in the RKU in the MZO, the German authorities, contrary to the normative acts of their leadership provided permits for the establishment of secondary schools for men, women and real gymnasiums (Reconstruction, 1942, November 3; Reconstruction, 1942, November 5). Even in Rivne – the center of the RKU, “near by” E. Koch operated a natural and mathematical gymnasium, as well as several secondary vocational schools at which the Ukrainian youth gained professional education (Dobrochynska & Pivovarchuk, 2020, p. 139).

Despite the refusal to the Ukrainians in the right to obtain higher education diploma, the occupation authorities were forced, in a limited form, to give permits to establish vocational education institutions. Thus, in the spring of 1942, a medical, pharmaceutical, agricultural, law institutes, as well as construction, architectural, chemical, machine-building, electrotechnical faculties of technical universities, the forest studies department of the agricultural institute began to work (Pankivsky, 1959, p. 98). In the autumn of 1942, renaming of Lviv universities took place. From that time on, they received a formal name of state professional courses in Lviv. The German administration tried to avoid identification of these institutions as organizational structures of higher education. In the press it was recognized that the so-called professional courses are a “high school surrogate” (Krakow News, 1942, August 1). True, this renaming did not affect the quality of the educational process. The state technical professional courses operated in Lviv. Records of students’ surnames for studying were conducted in the first and subsequent semesters (Krakow News, 1942, July 31). At the same time, since mid-1942 in the educational institution there operated a two-year railway school (Krakow News, 1942, August 4). Also from September 1, 1942, agricultural, veterinary professional courses began to operate, and on October 1, pharmaceutical and medical courses (Krakow News, 1942, August 2). In 1943 in Lviv, a state higher trade school was established. As of the autumn of 1943, 500 Ukrainian students studied at medical institute, at pharmaceutical – 130, veterinary – 260, at the departments of technical institutes – 400 and agricultural – 100 (Pankivsky, 1959, p. 364). In general, in 1942 – 1943, 1776 Ukrainians were trained at higher professional courses (Kondratyuk, 2019, p. 365).

In general, the success of vocational schools in Galicia, in comparison with the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, can still be traced. According to official statistics, before the Soviet occupation of the region in September of 1939, in Galicia there was 1 state professional and 11 private secondary vocational schools, at which 1,270 students studied and 38 teachers worked. With the German occupation, there were 82 vocational schools in Galicia (not counting compulsory agricultural schools). They had about 10,000 students and 500 teachers. It was assumed that in 1942/1943 academic year another 58 new professional schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction would be created. Vocational schools were divided into industrial, commercial and agricultural schools for men and women.

One of the problems that was observed in the field of vocational education was the lack of qualified teaching staff. Therefore, in many districts of Galicia, despite permits, these educational institutions did not start operating. Therefore, the authorities launched the programme of courses where teachers of secondary and public schools were retrained as teachers of vocational education institutions. It was assumed that about 2,000 specialists would be trained in this way (Krakow News, 1942, August 5). But the RKU and the MZO did not even have this problem on the agenda. Usually, in educational institutions the positions of teachers were held by the former Soviet teachers or narrow specialists-practitioners found by the administration. There was out of the question of training teachers for vocational education institutions.

In the RKU and the MZO, in contrast to the DG, the situation with the renewal of work of higher education did not have such a purposeful and unified character. These measures were conducted chaotic and actually contradicted the Normative Basis of the department of A. Rozenberg, which was sent to local administrations at the beginning of 1942. Therefore, in many regions organizational measures to renew the work of the former Soviet universities began in the summer – autumn of 1941. This process was influenced by personal preferences of the heads of the military commandant’s offices of the Wehrmacht, the influence of the

Ukrainian public and the centers of the OUN, who at that time were trying, in many cases, and quite successfully, to take control of local administrations. The latter often became initiators of relevant appeals to the German administration, which at that time was identified as the “liberators” of the Ukrainians from the Bolshevik authorities. Thus, at the beginning of 1942, the military commanding in Poltava gave the permission to establish all industrial, agricultural and forest vocational schools (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, January 15). Similar measures were carried out by the military and in other regions of Ukraine.

The military occupation leadership, acting in unison with the political guidelines of the leaders of the Third Reich, restricted the access of the Ukrainians to higher education, but they could not completely eliminate it. Therefore, in some cities of occupied Ukraine, there were separate institutions of a technical profile, or their relevant faculties at the beginning of the occupation regime. Thus, in Dnipropetrovsk, in the autumn of 1941, the University was established at which the former profile institutions became faculties. In the city there operated the Institute of Transport Engineers, which included road-building, electrotechnical, operational and mechanical faculties (Spudka, 2018, p. 33). Its structure included a railway technical school, a craft school and there was conducted a course training of specialists in this profile (Mohyliuk, 2012, p. 140). Dnipropetrovsk Polytechnic Institute operated on the basis of united metallurgical, mining, chemical and technological and construction institutions which received the status of faculties (Borisov, 2009, p. 78). The Cooperative Institute operated in the city (Gubytsky & Melnyk, 2016, p. 120). In November of 1941, the only Hydromeliorative Institute in the whole country started operating in Kyiv. As of January of 1942, this educational institution consisted of two departments: research and educational. The educational department included hydromelior, peat mechanical and agro-mechanical faculties (Krakow News, 1942, September 15). On March 1, 1942, the fourth and the fifth-year students began their studying. The first and the second-year students were to begin their studying on September 1, 1942. The educational institution was subordinated to the General Commissariat, and there was lack of Hydro Department specialists. Therefore, the General Commissariat gave permission to renew the work of the only engineering and technical profile educational institution in Ukraine. The research marsh stations of Ukraine was subordinated to the Institute, and were directed by the Doctor of agricultural sciences, Professor M. O. Tiulenev. Educational practices of graduation students were held at Kyiv water supply stations, railway management and other economic institutions (New Ukrainian Word, 1942, August 2), in particular, in Supiysk research reclamation marsh station (Dovgoruk, 2018). In mid-1942, the administration of the educational institution organized entrance exams for applicants to become the first-year students (Goncharenko O., 2008, p. 60). In Kyiv, in mid-1942, an agricultural institute began operating. However, only the fourth and the fifth-year students studied at it. There operated the following faculties: agronomic, technological and agricultural machinery (Verkhnodniprovska newspaper, 1942, December 26). The renewed Kharkiv Agricultural Institute comprised agricultural, zootechnical, veterinary, forest-meliorative and technical faculties (Krakow News, 1942, August 19).

By initiating the establishment of vocational education institutions, the local administration based on the principles of the expediency of their creation, respectively, by immediate production needs, compliance with the available economic infrastructure. The dominant type of vocational schools in the countryside should be agricultural schools. In these educational institutions, teachers had to bring up students with love of village and agriculture. But in the cities there should dominate vocational schools, at which technical specialists were trained (Voice of Poltava region, 1941, 6 November).

Education in rural areas of the country envisaged the following structure: a compulsory school with a five-year term of training, a lower rural economic or forest studies school with a two-year term of study, a secondary agricultural school. The lower agricultural school should consist of the best elementary school graduates. At it, in the scope of seven years, teaching of general subjects was planned: Ukrainian and German, Physical Geography, Arithmetic, Natural Science and Chemistry, elements of Physics and Geometry. Each educational institution was given land plots, agricultural equipment and horses. Since these schools trained “an educated agriculture” a prominent place was occupied by teaching students Farming and Agronomy, Gardening, and Beekeeping (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, July 19). It should be noted that such schools, in particular, in Poltava, were established (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, August 28).

The basis of future education of the Ukrainian youth was vocational training, which was associated with the immediate practical needs of the country. This way there was achieved the adaptability of graduates to life. Thus, according to Pryluchchyna administration, in the district, vocational schools were established in agricultural sectors, medicine, processing of wood and metal. It was planned to establish a vocational school to meet the needs of the communal services. For this purpose, the city Starostat together with an electromechanical enterprise planned to establish electrotechnical school, which would train electrical engineering specialists (a three-year period of study) and master-plumbers. In entering these specialties, the advantage was given to men. People who finished the 4th – 5th grades of secondary school became the first-year students, and the 6th – 7th grades – the second-year students (News of Priluchchina, 1942, November 1). In mid-1942 the secondary automobile school operated in Dnipropetrovsk (Native field (Yagotin), 1942, August 11).

In Ukraine, on the initiative of the administration of A. Rozenberg, the so-called agrarian reform began. For its direct conduct, it was important to have a necessary number of specialists, in particular, surveyors. Therefore, in many cities of Ukraine, correspondent educational institutions were established (Constantinople new news, 1942, August 12). The German authorities recognized the need and importance of establishing appropriate educational institutions. One of them renewed its work in Poltava almost on the first days of the occupation. The land management technical school was provided with teaching personnel, including 6 professors and 8 associate professors. In particular, such educational subjects as Geodesy, Land Management Design, Agricultural Melioration, Drawings, Land Legislation were taught (Native field (Pyriatyn), 1942, November 4). And in Constantinograd, on the basis of former technical schools, an agricultural technical school was established, which trained agronomists. It was assumed that already in 1942 there had to graduate trained specialists (Bulletin of the Constantinople district and city administration, 1942, March 3). There was no enough amount of this profile specialists, and therefore, at technical schools a few monthly courses of land surveyors and land management were established. In Poltava, former students of specialty Agriculture and Agricultural Engineering were invited to these courses (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, May 3).

Quite often, educational institutions of vocational direction announced the admission of students to all courses at once. Thus, in August of 1942 Berezovo-Rudsky agricultural school announced the admission of students on the Ist year, the II^d year and the III^d year of studying. The full term of training for students who entered the agricultural school was 4 years. Entrants who had education certificates of the 7th – the 8th grades took entrance exams in the German and Ukrainian language, Mathematics. Entrants who had education certificates of the

9th and the 10th grades entered the II^d year and the III^d year of studying, but had to pass exams in professional subjects during the first half of the year. The the Ist year and the II^d year students started studying on September 1, but the third-year students – on August 1, 1942 (Native field (Yagotin), 1942, July 25). In August of 1942, 13 specialists graduated from the educational institution who were sent to practical work at state farms. Only after this practical work they could get diplomas (Native field (Pyriatyn), 1942, August 11). It is obvious that the introduction of a four-year term of training is explained by the obligatory practical work. Admission of students to all years of studying was observed in other educational institutions (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, January 15). Similarly, in the autumn of 1942 Sokyrenska Agrovetschool in Pryluchchyna announced the admission of students on the the Ist, the II^d, the III^d years of studying. Former students of local agro- and veterinarian schools or other related educational institutions who had a certificate of a successful completion of the Ist and the II^d years of studying were enrolled as the II^d year and the III^d year students. Graduates who finished the 9th and the 10th high school grades were enrolled as the II^d year students on condition of a successful compilation of professional disciplines studied during the Ist year. Entrants who entered the institution as the Ist year students had to take entrance exams in the Ukrainian language, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry (News of Priluchchina, 1942, September 11).

In July of 1942 Konstantynohrad Secondary Agricultural School announced entrance exams for students aged 16 to 20, who finished the 7th grade of a secondary school and were enrolled as the Ist year, the II^d year and the III^d year students. School, except of other typical specialties, trained technicians-mechanics of agricultural machines, tractors and cars. The term of study was 3 years. There were entrance exams in the Ukrainian language, Mathematics and Physics according to the secondary school programme (Konstantinohrad news, 1942, July 15). Also, in the autumn of 1942, a craftsman-vocational school was established in the city, which trained specialists at 4 departments: carpentry, electrical assembly and installation, metalworking, turning, shoemaking, weaving, and embroidery. Contingent amounted to 180 students (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, October 21).

The German leadership, giving permits for establishing vocational education institutions, organizationally tried to combine the training of specialists in single-specialty educational institutions. Thus, in Kharkiv on the basis of the established in winter of 1941 of the Secondary Polytechnic Railway School there was established Kharkiv Association of Technical Educational Institutions of Southern Railways. Polytechnic, lower technical schools and technical courses were part of the educational institution. Establishment of Association took six months. As of June 1, 1942, 350 students were trained in the educational institution (Konstantinohrad news, 1942, August 1). This education institution was established on the material basis of the former Kharkiv Railway Institute (Native field (Yagotin), 1942, July 25). In June of 1942, in Kyiv, a mechanical college began operating (Konstantinohrad news, 1942, August 5), and two handicraft schools and the German courses began operating as well (SAKR, f. R. 2356, d. 6. c. 2, p. 122). A similar situation was observed in Kherson to a maritime school, at which there was carried out training of navigators and captains of sea ships, diesel mechanics for the merchant marine fleet, a former technical college as the Ichthiological department was joined at which specialists in breeding and growing fish resources were trained (Voice of the Dnipro, 1942, April 8).

The state of educational institutions operation was influenced by the corresponding territories of the RKU administration, which was more intolerable than the military in

treating educational institutions issue. Thus, from September 1, 1942, part of the regions of Ukraine was transferred to the administration of the RKU. This change also affected the work of educational institutions. For example, enrollment of students to Berezovo-Rudsky Agricultural Technology college took place during the period when this territory was ruled by the military. But since September 1, 1942, this territory was under rule of the administration of the RKU. Therefore, the 1st year students did not start their studies. Only on October 24, 1942, there was the announcement on the registration of freshmen in order to send them to production practice (Native niva (Pyriatyn), 1942, October 24).

The educational institutions of the agricultural profile had a material base for practical training. Thus, the agricultural school in Viytivtsi, Vinnytsia region, had 156 hectares of land, educational workshops. Students, during having production practices, received a 75 kop. salary per hour (Gaisin News, 1943, September 19). To establish an agricultural school in Mariupol, there was also planned a certain land area (Verkhnodniprovska newspaper, 1943, July 3).

Usually, the German administration tried to reduce the educational status of educational institutions. Thus, on the basis of the former Soviet technical colleges, vocational schools were established. For example, at the beginning of 1942, on the basis of Poltava wood-working technical college, a school of mechanical processing of wood, at which were trained the same technicians of mechanical processing of wood was established (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, March 15). On the basis of Poltava technical college of land management, hydromelioration and fish farming land management school was established. The educational institution trained surveyor technicians and land managers, crop technicians and fish farmers. The specialty of crop technician, instead of the cancelled specialty of a water hydromeliotrator, provided for future work in the field of agricultural construction, arrangement of villages and carrying out hydromelioration works (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, March 29). School had operated since 1909. In the autumn of 1942, 450 students went to it (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, October 21). The only one in Ukraine, the technical college of beekeeping and silk production was renewed its work in Boyarka, located in Kyiv region, in the autumn of 1942 (Krakow News, 1942, September 12).

On the basis of Poltava Agricultural Institute in February of 1942, the secondary vocational school was established. The enrollment of students was carried out for all three years of studying. Former students of the Institute were enrolled to the last year of studying (Voice of Poltava region: 1942, October 30). For the most part, the German authorities renewed the former Soviet vocational educational institutions. However, there were other approaches. Thus, in mid-1942, in Novo-Sanzharshchyna, in the middle of 1942, a commercial school and agricultural vocational educational institutions were established on the basis of senior grades of secondary schools (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, April 12). Zinkiv Forest College trained specialists in forestry. In June of 1942, there were 32 first-year students (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, June 24). In mid-1942, in Hradysk, which is located in Poltava region an agrarian and cooperative technical college was established, which trained specialists for cooperative unions (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, June 26).

The inconsistency and contradictability of the approaches of occupational authorities to the issues of renewal of vocational training of the Ukrainian youth manifested itself in the fact that many educational institutions established by military authorities stopped their work after being under rule of the Administration of the RKU. For example, in the autumn of 1942, in Poltava, the system of vocational training established by the military, with the exception of the training of students in certain specialties that were under certain deficits under those

conditions, turned out to be curtailed. Thus, on November 11, 1942, in accordance with the notification of the Department of Education under Poltava Burgomaster, medical assistant and obstetrician students, dental, pharmaceutical, land management (agriculture and fish breeding departments), craft schools for men and women were instructed to appear at the labour exchange and receive documents (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, 11 November). As a result of these measures, only students studying to become land managers and students contingent of Poltava Agricultural School continued their studies (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, November 25; New Ukraine (Poltava), 1943, August 12).

The German-style approaches to vocational education introduced in occupied Ukraine provided for the training of specialists who mastered purely practical skills and abilities. Therefore, educational institutions administration undertook not to introduce the humanities subjects into the curriculum and to significantly reduce the hourly workload for students to study subjects of general education cycles (SAZR, f. R. 1433, d. 3. c. 1). However, such approaches were used exclusively in the DG. In other occupation zones, the situation was radically different from these instructions and was more similar to the Soviet model of training specialists in vocational educational institutions. Exceptions were only educational subjects with a clear ideological subtext. Thus, in the DG, in the training of specialists in the pharmaceutical sphere, subjects of the secondary cycle were removed from the curriculum (Slipchuk, 2018), and but in a similar educational institution in Rivne (the capital of RCU) there was studied Physics, History and Geography of Ukraine (SARR, f. R. 75, d. 1, c. 4, p. 1). The same, as evidenced by the internal documentation of vocational education institutions concerns other vocational education institutions (New Ukraine (Poltava), 1943, August 12, p. 22; SAZR, f. R. 1433, d. 3, c. 1, pp. 1–3; SARR, f. R. 75, d. 1, c. 4, p. 16; SARR, f. R. 33, d. 2, c. 21, p. 1; SARR, f. R. 295, d. 1, c. 10, p. 15). At the same time, in some educational institutions, for example, in Vinnytsia Energy Technical College, it was proposed to conduct vocational training of a narrower profile, in particular, training should be more closely combined with the practical experience of future specialists, reducing the time for acquiring purely theoretical knowledge (SAVR, f. R. 1312, d. 1, c. 137, p. 7).

The analysis of curricula of educational institutions that trained specialists in the engineering and technical profile convinces us that the real situation in this field contradicted the German instructions. The German authorities prohibited, but still did not control the creation peculiarities of educational institutions curricula by the administration for training not only engineering and technical specialists, but also specialists of other profiles. In mid-1942 even E. Koch personally asked the general commissioners to send his samples of typical curricula of individual vocational education institutions (Goncharenko, Kunytskyi & Goncharenko, 2014, p. 123). This action testifies to the fact that the Reichskommissar lost control over the educational process in the established educational institutions.

Internal documentation of educational institutions and publications in the local press prove the existence of certain discussions on this issue. Thus, in January of 1942, in the newspaper “The Voice of Poltava Region”, the article was published, the author of which categorically opposed the dominance of practice in the training of future specialists, expressing the opinion that these approaches corresponded to medieval craft training. Pupils of these schools had to master general education subjects as well, because they broadened their general horizons and contributed to a better mastery of the future profession (Voice of Poltava region, 1942, January 15).

Convincing ideas about the organization peculiarities of the educational process in vocational education institutions during the occupation period are provided by the original

documentation deposited in archival institutions. Thus, in Vinnytsia Construction Technology college, as of February 1943, 140 students studied and 18 teachers worked, 8 of whom taught such taught such non-professional, general education subjects as general subjects as the Law of God, History of Ukraine and Geography, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, the Ukrainian language and literature, German, Physical Culture (SAZR, f. R. 1433, d. 3, c. 1, p. 2). Professional subjects were: Architecture and Design, Geodesy, Resistance Materials, Reinforced Concrete Structures, Drawings. At the same time, secondary education subjects amounted to 100 hours, and professional – 58 hours a week. The largest number of hours – 33 was allocated to studying Mathematics, and the smallest – 4 for conducting Physical Education. Also, on the study of such subjects as Drawings and Architecture 18 hours of weekly load were allocated (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 4).

The occupational period with its extreme challenges and its own process of studying led to the reduction in the student contingent and changes in the organization of the educational process. Thus, if at the beginning of 1943, 140 students studied in Vinnytsia construction college, as of May 1, their number decreased and amounted to 103 people. The reason for reducing the contingent was expelling students who failed at the exams, poor discipline. Another 23 students were on temporary work on one of the local German enterprises. Due to the low filling of the course groups, the administration of the technical college combined the Ist year students with the IId year students in one group, without taking into account their professional division. And only the IIIId year students were to be divided into two groups, according to their chosen specialty. Of course, to make this division, it was necessary to make adjustments to the curriculum of specialists training (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 6).

Every day life under occupation made its corrections in the practical training of students of this educational institution. In winter, there was not enough fuel, and therefore students did not work in educational workshops. But in the spring of 1943, the premises of workshops and the entire second floor of the educational institution were used as housing to evacuated people. The institution administration planned that after the term exams, students of the technical college would undergo training at the local Todtu institution for three summer months. But the graduating 4th year students had to work on a diploma project (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 7).

In March of 1943 the reduction in the contingent also took place in Vinnytsia power technology college, whose students stopped studying for fear of being forced to work in Germany. The administration of the educational institution conducted an appropriate explanatory work with students' parents, but 43 students did not begin their studies. Therefore, they were expelled. In this regard, educational groups of electrical engineering and heat engineers were combined into one. This concerned only students of the 1st year, the others were not the subject to reorganization. In total, 141 students studied at the educational institution. The administration of educational institution was able to create a heat engineering laboratory in which in April and May of 1943 there was provided practical training for students. Also, in the technical college, a physical, chemical and electrical laboratories worked. For graduates, in agreement with the technical department of the district administration of the Sugar Industry, to which the educational institution was subordinated, individual diploma projects were approved (SAVR, f. R. 1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 8). In June of 1943, after the graduation of trained specialists and "labour mobilization" in the technical college there were only 50 students. Therefore, the administration of the educational institution planned to enroll 80 first-year students. It was planned to enroll 20 second-year students from the number of

high school graduates that had to take exams in Mathematics, Drawings and Technologies of Metals for the 1st year of the technical college. For the 3rd year and the 4th year, in the order of additional enrollment, it was planned to enroll people who already had the appropriate vocational education the 2nd and th 3rd years of mechanical technical college (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 9).

The director of Vinnytsia energy technical college took the initiative to issue technician diplomas only after the students completed a one-year work experience directly at production. During the examinations, the graduate had not only to certify relevant knowledge in professional disciplines, but also to illustrate success of his industrial internship (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 137, p. 7).

Usually, specialists of a certain profile with a higher education diploma were appointed managers of higher education institutions. Thus, the director of Vinnytsia construction technical college S. Bernard had practical job experience of 40 years and higher engineering education diploma, and the head of the educational department, V. Kravtsov – higher education diploma and a nine-year experience (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 3). Of the 18 teachers of this educational institution, 16 had a higher education diploma, and 2 had a special secondary education diploma. The latter occupied the positions of instructors. People who occupied the positions of an accountant, a secretary, a commandant and a librarian had a diploma of a secondary education (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 143, p. 4). Even in Vinnytsia craft school of 11 full-time teachers – 7 had a higher technical diploma and 3 humanitarian education diploma. All teachers had – from 3 to 30 years of pedagogical job experience (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 140, p. 2).

At the same time, in vocational education institutions, there were many teachers who did not have any pedagogical job experience, since they were engineers according to their specialty diploma (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 138, p. 15). Therefore, the administration of educational institutions attended the lessons conducted by them, provided appropriate methodological assistance. But the director of Vinnytsia power engineering college provided his own lecture notes on Theoretical Mechanics, Basics of Electrical Engineering, Electric Machines and Machines Tools. Employees of local enterprises also worked in the educational institution and taught Technology of Sugar Production (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 141, p. 14). The same situation was observed in other educational institutions. Sometimes, this situation created problems because these teachers did not work out all the number of teaching load complete their full teaching load because they were not able to leave their main place of work (SAVR, f. R. 1312, d. 1, c. 138, p. 20).

Control over the organization of the educational process in vocational education institutions by the local authorities consisted in the fact that their management demanded the submission of work plans indicating the educational topics provided for study with an indication of their summary, the used teaching methods and the content of practical works. A plan for the practical training of students was also submitted separately (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 138, p. 5).

As in any other system of vocational training, the educational process was completed by final exams. In many educational institutions, the main contingent of which was formed in the pre-war period the final exams were organized. In case of successful passing of the exams, the graduates were issued the relevant documents – diplomas and certificates, which gave the right to official employment in the position of the acquired specialty. The administration of educational institutions introduced representatives of the local economic

and management apparatus into the composition of these commissions (SAVR, f. R.1312, d. 1, c. 141, p. 6; Ukrainian voice. 1942, August 27). It should be noted that after the return of the Soviet power, diplomas issued by the German administration on the acquisition of a certain professional specialty were not recognized and were annulled. Instead, certificates were issued to the former graduates stating that during the occupation they studied at the relevant educational institutions.

The Conclusion. Consequently, in all German occupation zones of Ukraine, their administrations organized vocational training of local youth. At the same time, dominant organizational forms of educational institutions of vocational training in the MZO and the RKU, were the former Soviet institutions, technical schools and colleges. Only in Dnipropetrovsk, in one occupation zone of Ukraine the University operation was renewed. In the DG higher professional courses played the role of institutions of higher education, although the quality of professional training of students and pupils did not decrease as a result. The German authorities sought to reduce the status of vocational education institutions. As a result, secondary vocational schools of engineering and technical profile were established instead of the former Soviet institutes and technical schools. Only certain institutes operated, at which there was trained specialty personnel in acute shortage. At the same time, the authorities of the RKU and the MZO tried to concentrate the training of specialists of several educational levels in one educational institution. The main problem that managers of open educational institutions had to deal with was the low level of material and technical support of the educational process, the lack of textbooks and relevant manuals. At the same time, educational institutions were provided with high-quality teaching staff who conducted the educational process.

The basis of the pupils and students contingent amounted to people studying in these educational institutions during the Soviet period. At the same time, applicants entering the first year of studying also went through the admission procedure. There was also the opportunity to renew training for people who at one time acquired other specialties, but due to the war period they lost the opportunity to continue acquiring profession.

Educational and methodological support for vocational education institutions that trained engineering and technical personnel differed significantly depending on their belonging to certain occupation zones of Ukraine. In the DG, these institutions, according to vocational training in Germany, trained a narrow capacity specialist with a significant reduction of general education in curriculum. But in the MZO and the RKU, the German administration did not pay attention to and did not oppose the introduction of subjects of a general level into the educational process, even History of Ukraine, although in general, the German administration “did not welcome it”. Thus, in these occupation zones the model of training engineering and technical personnel provided for the formation of a specialist of a broader, and not a narrow profile, as in the DG.

Some of the educational institutions of higher and secondary vocational training were able to graduate only those specialists who started their studies during the pre-war period and for various reasons remained in the occupied territory of Ukraine. After the return of the Soviet power, documents issued during the occupation period on the acquisition of not only engineering and technical, but also other profiles of vocational education were not recognized and lost their validity.

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A FIGURE OF THE ORTHODOX BISHOP ON THE PAGES OF “THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHY” DURING THE PERIOD OF LATE STALINISM

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to analyze the publications of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” as a means of highlighting the figure of the bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, to elucidate his characteristic features and to study the methods of forming the bishop’s personality in the eyes of believers and clerics. **The research methodology** is based on compliance with the principles of objectivity and systematicity. To realize the goal and set objectives, general scientific methods have been used – analysis, synthesis, generalization, induction, deduction, as well as special methods of historical research – classification and criticism of sources, problem-chronological, comparative and historical. **The scientific novelty:** an attempt has been made to summarize the materials of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” theoretically, aiming at doing the research on the peculiarities of the bishop personality formation of the Russian Orthodox Church and highlighting his figure during the transformation period of state-church relations in the USSR. **The Conclusions.** Faced in 1943 with the problem of restoring the church structure, providing hierarchs, overcoming the effects of anti-church and anti-religious propaganda

and restoring authority in the eyes of society, the Russian Orthodox Church chose publishing activities on the pages of the official publication as one of the methods of achieving its goals. Among the mass of information, the coverage of the figure of the Orthodox bishop attracts attention. In addition to revealing the chronicle of activities and biographies, these publications were designed to form in the eyes of the clergy and believers a kind of ideal of the bishop, as the Church saw him under the Soviet conditions. In the materials of the magazine, the ideas of church service and state devotion, empathy for believers and cooperation with the totalitarian regime are intertwined. The peculiarity of these materials is the complete ignoring of the period of the 1920s and 1930s and the events connected with the Soviet persecution. At the same time, considerable attention is paid to the struggle with other Orthodox denominations. An important place is occupied by the description of the events of the Soviet-German war.

Key words: Russian Orthodox Church, clergy, bishop, Orthodoxy, Stalinism, biography, periodical press.

ПОСТАТЬ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО АРХІЄРЕЯ НА СТОРІНКАХ “ЖУРНАЛУ МОСКОВСЬКОЇ ПАТРІАРХІЇ” У ПЕРІОД ПІЗЬНОГО СТАЛІНІЗМУ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає в аналізі публікацій “Журналу Московської патріархії” як засобу висвітлення постаті архієрея РПЦ, у розкритті його характерних рис та дослідженні методів формування особистості владика в очах вірян і кліриків. **Методологія дослідження** базується на дотриманні принципів об’єктивності та системності. Для реалізації мети і поставлених завдань використано загальнонаукові методи – аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, індукції, дедукції, а також спеціальні методи історичного дослідження – класифікації та критики джерел, проблемно-хронологічний, порівняльно-історичний. **Наукова новизна:** здійснена спроба теоретичного узагальнення матеріалів “Журналу Московської патріархії” з метою дослідження особливостей формування особистості архієрея Руської православної церкви та висвітлення його постаті у період трансформації державно-церковних відносин в СРСР. **Висновки.** Зіткнувшись у 1943 р. із проблемою відновлення церковної структури, забезпечення ієрархії, подолання впливів антицерковної і антирелігійної пропаганди та відновлення авторитету в очах суспільства, Руська православна церква одним із методів досягнення поставлених цілей обрала публікаторську діяльність на сторінках офіційного видання. Серед маси інформації привертає увагу висвітлення постаті православного архієрея. Крім розкриття хроніки діяльності та біографії, ці публікації були покликані сформувати в очах духовенства та вірян свого роду ідеал єпископа, яким його бачила Церква в радянських умовах. У матеріалах журналу переплітаються ідеї церковного служіння та державної відданості, співпереживання вірянам та співпраці із тоталітарним режимом. Особливістю цих матеріалів є повне ігнорування періоду 1920 – 1930-х рр. та подій, пов’язаних із радянським переслідуванням. Водночас значна увага приділяється боротьбі з іншими православними конфесіями. Вагоме місце займає опис подій радянсько-німецької війни.

Ключові слова: Руська православна церква, духовенство, архієрей, православ’я, сталінізм, біографія, періодична преса.

The Problem Statement. In the mid-1940s, fundamental changes took place in the religious and inter-denominational policy of the Soviet authorities, which contributed to the revival and establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church. The clergy returned not only to the spiritual and religious life of society, it began to play a significant role in the social and political sphere. The period of late Stalinism is characterized by the ambiguity of state-church relations, however, the Russian Orthodox Church is turning into the only legal Church in the USSR, and the tendency of aligning the Church with the state remains. After the previous period of repression, the Russian Orthodox Church needed to form a certain image of the clergy, particularly the bishop, in the eyes of society, including the faithful. One of the means of such activity was publications in “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate”. These works depicted the figure of the bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church as the Church saw it or aspired to see it, and accordingly formed such image of the bishop.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Attempts to analyze the coverage of the position of the Russian Orthodox Church in religious publications were carried out outside the USSR, during the period of existence of the totalitarian state itself, when similar studies could not be conducted on its territory. One of such works is A. Johansen's intelligence (Johansen, 1983).

In modern European historiography, the disclosure of the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church during the period of late Stalinism occupies an important place. In addition to analyzing the state of the Church itself, scholars also focus on its printed organ – “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate”. The development trends of European practices in this direction reflect the works of K. Pawełczyk-Dura (Pawełczyk-Dura, 2014) and D. Kalkadjieva (Kalkandjieva, 2015), the Russian scholars, including A. Gorshkova (Gorshkova, 2001), V. Kalashnik (2018) and the others. The article by N. Demidova (Demidova, 2007) is devoted to the composition of the ROC episcopate. Socio-historical portrait of the Orthodox clergy of the 20th century. is at the center of scientific research by I. Maslova (Maslova, 2012). The problem of the history of the Church during the period of late Stalinism, the formation of its personnel and state-church relations is also relevant for the Ukrainian historical science, as evidenced by the publications of P. Bondarchuk (Bondarchuk, 2019), K. Nikiforov (2013), etc., on which we relied in a certain way, researching the coverage of the figure of the Orthodox bishop on the pages of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” during the period of late Stalinism. Yu. Danilec analyzed “The Moscow diocese journal” as source towards learning history of separate eparchy during the first decade after the war (Danilec, 2018).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the publications of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” as a means of highlighting the figure of the bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, elucidating the characteristic features and researching the methods of forming such figure in the eyes of believers and clerics.

The Main Material Statement. Since 1935, the tendency towards the destruction of the center of ecclesiastical administration of the Russian Orthodox Church was noted in the USSR. In 1937, almost all representatives of the clergy from the entourage of the superior Metropolitan Serhiy (Stragorodskyi) were repressed. After the occupation of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus by the USSR in 1939, in connection with the need to send law-abiding bishops to these regions, episcopal ordinations were allowed, and bishops loyal to the authorities who were at peace were involved. With the beginning of the Soviet-German war and with the change in state-church relations, part of the bishops of the Renovation Church and supporters of Patriarch Tikhon (Bellavin), who were repressed in the past, were accepted into the ROC. Since 1942, it has been possible to ordain a number of bishops who defended the principles of Patriarch Tikhon, as well as to restore the ministry of ruling bishops who returned from exile (Demidova, 2007, pp. 12–15). Such measures led to an increase in the number of active bishops. Already on September 8, 1943, 19 bishops were present at the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church. Created on October 7, 1943, the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church began to exert a major influence on the personnel policy of the Patriarchate. There was a further increase in the number of bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church.

After years of repression and massive anti-Church propaganda, the Church had to form a positive image of the bishop in the eyes of society and the faithful, highlight those aspects of his figure that it considered necessary, which were supposed to serve as a kind of example. One of the means of portraying the figure of the ROC hierarch was publication in “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate”, which resumed its work in September of 1943. The magazine was an official publication of the ROC, published once a month, covering the main events in the life of the Church.

The materials of the magazine, which reveal the figure of the Orthodox bishop, are characterized by different genres and information content. They can be divided into the following groups:

- 1) on the reunification of bishops of other Orthodox denominations with the Russian Orthodox Church;
- 2) about awarding;
- 3) about pastoral service;
- 4) essays about the ruling bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church;
- 5) articles devoted to service anniversary dates;
- 6) memories and obituaries;
- 7) on activities in the World Congress for the Protection of Peace.

After the legalization of the Russian Orthodox Church in September of 1943 and at the beginning of the liberation of the Ukrainian SSR from the Nazi occupation, the establishment of the church structure and its provision by bishops became an urgent issue. The transformation of the Russian Orthodox Church into the only Orthodox Church in the USSR also required clarification of the issue of Orthodox division. One of the ways of such a solution and provision by the ruling hierarchs was the acceptance of the clergy of the renewal movement, including bishops, into the clergy. This practice was covered on the pages of "The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate". Similar publications are typical in their content and structure. They describe the atmosphere of the official service, which was used to accept the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and provide the basic biographical information of the bishops. A special place in such articles is given to the repentance, including the written one, of the newly accepted for staying in the renewal movement. An important element of a repentant statement is awareness of the consequences of previous activities and regret for what had been committed, a statement about renouncing previous awards. Such publications were primarily intended not to inform about the fact of the transition, but to be of an ideological and propaganda nature. Based on their content, the archpastors of the Renewal Church appeared as people who consciously, on their own initiative, switched to the Russian Orthodox Church, renouncing all previous honors. The Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church appeared as a just, merciful and understanding superior who, despite his previous actions, accepted them in their true dignity. Based on the above narratives, this should have become one of the means of converting representatives of other Orthodox denominations to the side of the Moscow Patriarchate. Similar materials make up the first group of publications (Akt o vossoedinenii, 1943a, pp. 8–9; Akt o vossoedinenii, 1943b, pp. 10–11).

The second group consists of materials related to awarding. This group is not numerous, but it vividly demonstrates new conditions of the Soviet reality, the transition from the idea of a complete liquidation of the Church to union with it. The magazine almost did not cover the awarding of church awards, but there are publications about the awarding of state awards. A significant number of materials refer to the awarding of the medal "For valiant work in the Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945", which was awarded to both ordinary clergy and heads of dioceses. The awarding of Patriarch Oleksiy with the "Order of the Labor Red Banner" in 1946, which was widely covered by the printed body of the Church, attracts special attention. Publications of this nature were intended to mark the patriotic activity of the clergy during the German-Soviet war. They formed the image of a bishop who faithfully serves the Soviet homeland, helps the army and the people with his efforts. In the eyes of believers, such information legalized not only the Church, but also the Soviet state, and

showed the reconciliation of these institutions. At the same time, such messages served as an example for believers in their attitude to the state (K nagrazhdeniyu, 1946, pp. 3–5).

The third group of publications is represented by articles devoted to pastoral ministry. It partially continues the theme of the place of the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church in the life of the state during the war period. They emphasized that with the beginning of the war, the bishops undoubtedly took a pro-Soviet position, categorically negative to everything related to Nazism. The editors ignore the facts of the Church's activities in the occupied territories and cooperation with the occupation administration. It should be noted that in church rhetoric of that time, as well as in state rhetoric, the term "fascism" was used instead of "nazism". The editors especially emphasized the fact that the bishops not only took similar positions themselves, but also called on the faithful to do so, in particular through the spread of feedback. Among the merits of the bishops is the establishment of the patriotic work of the Church – collecting donations for defense, helping the wounded, etc. In these materials, the themes of the battle on the Kulykovo field, the personalities of Dmytro Donsky, Saint Sergius, that is, a kind of pillars on which the Russian monarchical thought was based in the previous period (Sergij, 1943 pp. 7–8) are pedaled. Such publications performed several tasks. Firstly, the importance of bishops in helping the army increased, which made it possible to count on the end of persecution and certain privileges for the Church in the post-war period. Secondly, the hierarchs had to confirm their loyalty to the Soviet state. Thirdly, there was a kind of separation of the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church from those representatives of the Church who carried out activities in the occupied territory.

In the matter of church service, the article of Metropolitan Bartholomew is indicative. The author reflects on the foundations of pastoral ministry based on the letters of the Apostle Paul and the works of theologians. The Bishop represents the priest, who must take care of the conversion of the faithful to the Church. For this he must lead a spiritual way of life, separating himself from sin. An important aspect of pastoral life is determined by mercy, humility, sacrifice and renunciation of wealth. For emotional elevation, the instructions of the saints of the Russian Orthodox Church and examples of the life and service of the first Christians are used. Along with instructions on spiritual life, this article does not touch on the problem of behavior in parishes, relations with the state, etc. (Varfolomej, 1950, pp. 43–50).

In the second issue of "The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" in 1945, a new section was launched – "Contemporary figures of the Russian Orthodox Church", in which essays about the life and activities of the ruling bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church were published. These materials represent the fourth group of publications. During the period from February of 1945 to May of 1946, five essays by A. Shapovalova were published in this column: about Patriarch Oleksiy (Shapovalova, 1945d, pp. 93–98), Exarch of Ukraine, Metropolitan Ivan of Kyiv and Galicia (Shapovalova, 1945c, pp. 56–63), Metropolitan Mykola of Krutytskyi (Shapovalova, 1945b, pp. 47–55), Archbishop Grigory of Pskov and Porkhovskiy (Shapovalova, 1945a, pp. 36–43), Archbishop of Simferopol and Crimean Luka (Shapovalova, 1946, pp. 48–54). The fact that the essays are published in accordance with the hierarchy of heroes attracts attention.

Although the number of these articles is small, they are quite voluminous in volume – from six to eleven pages each, which made it possible to highlight various aspects of the life and activities of the bishops. Analyzing the information content, it should be noted that all materials were prepared by one person. The structure, content, ways of presenting information, emotional colour and author's emphasis have a similar character. In the

introductory parts, A. Shapovalova highlights the peculiarities of behavior, character, archpastoral ministry or the relationship of parishioners with the hierarch, etc. A separate element of the publications is information about the period of childhood, the peculiarities of family upbringing and the practice of church service in childhood and adolescence. The author focuses on family upbringing, owing to which future bishops chose such life path. Two heroes of the essays were born in the families of churchmen – Metropolitans Ivan and Mykola, others – in different deeply religious families. All bishops, with the exception of Archbishop Luka, received a theological education by 1917, having graduated from spiritual educational institutions, and received priestly ordination. In some places, A. Shapovalova provides a detailed description of the circumstances that prompted future bishops to accept priestly or monastic vows, analyzes the reasons that influenced these decisions.

Characterizing the motives for choosing priestly service, the author presents future bishops as ordinary young people, whose formation was influenced by various factors and circumstances. In particular, the future Metropolitan Ivan, who was orphaned at the age of 10, was sent by his relatives to the spiritual school of the Pererven Monastery, which also had a boarding school. He wanted to study at the medical faculty of the university, but could not do so due to the status of society and difficult financial situation, so at the age of 14 he entered a theological seminary. After graduation, he did not intend to become a priest, but decided to work as a teacher, collect money and realize his dream of a university education. But after working as a teacher in the Ugresh monastery for four years and failing to raise funds for his studies, Ivan took holy orders, got married and started a family. In 1912, he received the title of a scientist archaeologist, and after the death of his wife in 1915, he was a priest for thirteen years, combining secular work and pastoral ministry, accepting monastic tonsure and episcopal rank in 1928 (Shapovalova, 1945c, pp. 56–63). Archbishop Luka, a physician-surgeon, took a similar path to the Church. Presenting his biography, A. Shapovalova focuses the main attention on the scientific work of the archbishop (Shapovalova, 1946, pp. 48–53).

In parallel, various life circumstances of other priests are cited. The biography of Archbishop Grigory is an example of church service and the desire to engage in pastoral care from childhood. The future bishop notes that this aspiration was formed in him under the influence of Bishop Paul, whom he served at the altar in the city of Petrozavodsk. After receiving spiritual education, this priest also did not immediately choose monastic life, creating a family. Only after the death of his wife and the death of his sons during the German-Soviet war, he responded to the offer of the patriarchate and accepted monastic tonsure and episcopal rank (Shapovalova, 1945a, pp. 36–42).

The future Patriarch Oleksii took monastic vows at the age of 25, striving for this since his youth. Having grown up in a religious family, he periodically visited his aunt, who was the abbess of one of the monasteries. It was there, according to the author, that he realized his vocation to the monastic life (Shapovalova, 1945d, pp. 93–96).

Thus, before the faithful, bishops appear in the usual image of ordinary citizens – ordinary people who have their own experiences, desires, life situations, which are no different from the life circumstances of other believers. A broad description of such life circumstances was supposed to bring the figure of the bishop closer to ordinary citizens, to show him from “his” position. This image was supposed to neutralize the negative consequences of the anti-church propaganda of the previous period. In our opinion, for the same purpose, a block of information related to the performance of secular functions during the Soviet period was submitted, emphasizing the loyalty of future bishops to the Soviet authorities. In this

context, a quote from an essay about Patriarch Oleksiy is indicative, in which it is noted that “during the years of church reforms – the separation of the Church from the state in the period after the October Revolution... His Holiness Oleksiy preaches a loyal attitude to the Soviet government, protects the congregation from unnecessary and hostile speeches, explains the great importance of church reforms” (Shapovalova, 1945d, pp. 96). In addition to their loyal attitude to the Soviet authorities, the publications emphasize that the future bishops remained loyal to the Russian Orthodox Church without joining other Orthodox denominations, and their patriotic activities during the war years are emphasized. In the essays, there is no information about the persecution by the Soviet authorities, no information is provided about service in the 1930s. Despite the fact that the column presented articles about active bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church, they minimally covered the episcopal service, which is characterized by general phrases at the end of the publications, the circumstances of episcopal ordinations, appointments to departments, etc. are not described.

The fifth group – articles dedicated to the jubilee dates of the hierarchs service, is close in content to the previous rubric, but is of a more official character. Unlike the previous one, in this rubric the authors focus on the bishop’s ministry. The articles provide information about the circumstances of ordination, characterize the factors that led to the election of the archpastoral ministry. The authors, in addition to describing the main milestones of episcopal activity, provide information about the peculiarities of traits of character and management of dioceses. Considerable attention is paid to the merits of His Holiness in the development of dioceses, relations with the clergy and believers. The articles contain reflections of the bishops about the service, feedback from the clergy and congregation. Despite the fact that this information is presented not in the form of quotations or conversations, but as the conclusions of the authors themselves, they are important for the vision of the main qualities of the bishop both on the part of the clergy and the faithful, and on the part of the magazine’s editors. The publications partially represent the position of the patriarchy, the official publication of which is the magazine that published the relevant information.

The largest number of articles in this group is five for the period of 1950 – 1953, dedicated to various jubilee dates of Patriarch Oleksiy. The beginning of the 1950s saw the celebration of a five-year anniversary of the patriarchal ministry (Vedernikov, 1950b, pp. 3–15), the fiftieth anniversary of service in the sacred rank (Nikonov, 1952, pp. 5–29), the fortieth anniversary of the episcopal ministry (40 let, 1953, pp. 15–18; Sokolovskij, 1953, pp. 19–23; Teplov, 1953, pp. 24–28). These anniversaries received a wide coverage on the pages of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate”.

Considering the fact that the largest number of publications is devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the episcopal ministry of Patriarch Oleksiy, it can be argued that the Church attached the greatest importance to this event. Episcopal ordination became the initial stage of Bishop Oleksiy’s ascension to the Patriarchate. The same opinion is expressed in the editorial article, where, describing the circumstances of the ordination, it is noted that “in this, as in everything that is done in the Church of Christ, one cannot fail to see the action of the Supreme Shepherd, who is invisibly in the Church” (40 let, 1953, p. 15). Thus, the idea of a mystical prediction and guidance of the future Patriarch to his service as the head of the Russian Orthodox Church is defended. The editors also emphasize the combination of the Patriarch’s deep faith in God’s providence with administrative abilities and spiritual qualities. The merits of Patriarch Oleksiy in overcoming schisms and establishing church unity are emphasized separately, which means joining the ROC of various Orthodox denominations

in the USSR and Europe (40 let, 1953, pp. 16–17). A priest P. Sokolovskiy, describing the foundations of milestones of the episcopal service, dwells in detail on the Leningrad period, in particular the blockade of Leningrad. The author notes that, having the opportunity to leave the city, Metropolitan Oleksiy, devoted to his own people, decided to stay and served in the besieged city, raising the morale of the residents and defenders of Leningrad. About 2/3 of the article is dedicated to the activity of the metropolitan during the years of the German-Soviet activity and the matter of patriotic service to the Church (Sokolovskij, 1953, pp. 20–23). Characterizing the patriarchal service, V. Nikonov, in addition to biographical information, highlights the merits of Patriarch Oleksiy in the development of the Russian Orthodox Church, strengthening its position within the state and on the international arena (Nikonov, 1952, pp. 5–29). A. Vedernikov, in addition to the description of generally accepted issues, by analogy with the articles described above, briefly covers the events related to the church celebration of the anniversary (Vedernikov, 1950b, pp. 3–15). Thus, readers are presented with the person of a deeply religious hierarch, devoted to church service and patriotically disposed, who shares all the trials of his flock, ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of improving the situation of believers.

Articles about other hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church published on the pages of "The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" differ somewhat in content. From the nature of the coverage of the jubilee dates of their ministry, it is noticeable that these essays were written by different authors who considered it necessary to focus attention on distinctive aspects. In addition, these publications are much smaller in volume compared to the patriarchal ones. Describing the fiftieth anniversary of Metropolitan Ivan's stay in the sacred rank of Exarch of Ukraine, the author provides brief biographical information, noting the characteristics of the character of the jubilee – will, endurance, patience, perseverance, tact, etc. Considerable attention in the publication is paid to the celebration of the event, organized with the participation of hierarchs in the patriarchate (Slavnyj yubilej, 1952, pp. 15–18). Archpriest S. Milovidov wrote an article in a similar spirit, dedicated to the sixtieth anniversary of service in the sacred rank of Metropolitan Bartholomew of Novosibirsk and Barnaul (Milovidov, 1953, pp. 6–8). In an article dedicated to the fifty-fifth anniversary of the priestly ministry of Metropolitan Grigory of Leningrad and Novgorod, Professor L. Pariyskiy emphasizes prayerfulness and faithfulness to the monastic vows of the jubilee, emphasizing the archpastor's observance of the canonical rules and church traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church, which allowed him not to join various Orthodox movements (Parijskij, 1952, pp. 37–39).

A. Shapovalova's article about the twenty-fifth anniversary of the episcopal service of the archbishop of the Crimea and Simferopol Luka stands out among the total number of messages devoted to the jubilee dates of service. After the traditional presentation of a short track record, the author notes that the future bishop became a monk at a mature age, monastic obedience and humility were not an easy task for him. A. Shapovalova, referring to the words of Archbishop Luka, writes about a significant influence of Patriarch Serhiy on the upbringing of the archbishop as a monk and bishop. She separately emphasizes that the favourite work of the bishop is worship and preaching, his commitment to selflessness, moderation in a material life and a constant desire to help the poor and disadvantaged (Shapovalova, 1948, pp. 5–9). A note dedicated to the thirty years of service in the episcopal rank of Archbishop Mykola of Alma-Ata and Kazakhstan attracts attention. Its peculiarity is that it is a short message about the celebration of the anniversary in the diocese. The note does not contain any biographical information or track record (A.I., 1950, p. 61).

Thus, this group of publications is represented mainly by essays about the most authoritative and influential bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church, the peculiarities of behavior and their views are elucidated, the ideals of the bishop's personality and bishop's activity were presented to the faithful and clergy. In fact, in all the notes, except for the mention of faith and prayer, attention is focused on the patriotic activities of the archbishops and information about the service in the 1920s and 1930s is kept silent. This period is mentioned only in the context of struggle against the renewalist church. Emphasis on patriotic activities was important in terms of building new relations with the state and was once again to convince of the church hierarchy loyalty to the Soviet government, which made it possible for the Russian Orthodox Church to function, conducting a spiritual service among people.

The sixth group consists mainly of obituaries, which include two memoirs, actually essays about late bishops – Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Serhiy (Aleksandr, ep., 1944, pp. 17–20) and the head of Russian Orthodox parishes in Bulgaria, Archbishop Seraphim (Sobolev) (Vedernikov, 1950a, pp. 21–28). Archbishop Seraphim led the Russian Orthodox parishes in Bulgaria from 1921. In the essay it was noted about his constant commitment to the Russian Orthodox Church, his refusal to participate in the Vienna Council, and attempts to prevent the Russian emigrants from joining the German armed forces. The majority of the essay is devoted to the scientific and theological activities of the bishop, which consisted in the struggle against the theological views of the head of the Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris S. Bulgakov, Sophianism, ecumenism, modernism in Orthodoxy, – according to the author of the essay – “for the purity of the Orthodox doctrine” (Vedernikov, 1950a, p. 22).

The obituaries published on the pages of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” are quite similar. They reported the date and circumstances of death – sudden or from illness. The burial process was briefly covered. It usually contained information about the solemn cathedral service of the funeral service and the place of burial of the deceased. A short track record was submitted. At the end of the obituaries, it was noted about the respect of believers for the deceased and a significant number of people present at the funeral (Fomichev, Valovskij, 1952, pp. 11–13; Gnatyuk, 1952, pp. 7–9; Koncevich, 1951a, pp. 11–12; Koncevich, 1951b, pp. 7–9; N.A., 1953, pp. 9–11; Strumenskij, 1953, pp. 33–35). Despite the basic biographical information contained in the obituaries, their main importance in highlighting the figure of the Orthodox bishop consists in the formation of the relationship to death. There is no tragedy in the obituaries, they simply state the fact of death. In the case of death from an illness, it was noted that the deceased endured it humbly and patiently. It is often noted that the dead departed “quietly, peacefully”. Such approach showed believers an example of humility and patience, for which God rewarded an “easy” death. From the information provided, a picture emerges of the inevitability of death, along with the absence of fear of it and belief in the afterlife.

The seventh group of publications does not cover the life of bishops, it concerns the activities of the World Congress for the Protection of Peace. These publications had the greatest ideological orientation. First of all, they demonstrated to believers the efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church and the USSR to end the confrontation and prevent military aggression. Both participation of the bishops and publishing activity in this direction were to defend the ideological interests of the USSR. The Russian Orthodox Church, on the one hand, like any other Church, definitely sought to contribute to the issue of peace-making activities of the Congress, and on the other hand, being a hostage of the situation, defended the interests of the state, which was the initiator of the bipolarity of the world and which itself carried out military aggression.

Articles on this issue mainly cover the participation of the Russian Orthodox Church delegation in congresses. In them mostly Metropolitan Mykola of Krutytskyi and Kolomenskyi is mentioned – his speeches, interviews. The hierarch voiced the position of the Russian Orthodox Church regarding a possible confrontation between the USSR and the USA, accusing Western countries of militarization and emphasizing that the “Russians” oppose such position. The opinion about the support of the Russian Orthodox Church from other churches, both Orthodox and Protestant, is proved. Excerpts from the telegrammes of superiors or representatives who were in the sphere of influence of the Russian Orthodox Church are cited to confirm such theses. The extraordinary authority and status of the ROC delegations is emphasized, as evidenced by the admiration of like-minded people at the meetings for the speeches of representatives of the delegations, special greetings, etc. (Nikolaj, 1949, pp. 17–24). The topic of a direct or indirect confrontation with the Catholic Church developed separately. One of the methods of anti-Catholic rhetoric was to accuse the Catholic Church of connections with political leaders, military propaganda. It was emphasized that, unlike the Christians who seek peace, the Catholics condemn the peace-making activities of the Russian Orthodox Church and its work at Congress (Vedernikov, 1951, pp. 14–15). Thus, this group was the most exposed to the state ideology influence, highlighting the figure of the archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church as an expression of the of the “Russian” people interests, a fighter for the rights of other peoples, a fighter against the negative influence of the West, a peacemaker who sought to build peace in the world despite various political factors and opposed persecution and military aggression.

The Conclusions. Thus, during the period of late Stalinism, the Russian Orthodox Church actively portrayed figures of hierarchs in publications on the pages of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate”, forming in the imagination of clerics and believers the image of a bishop that would correspond to the ideals of the Church. During the post-war period, the Russian Orthodox Church had to adapt to the new realities of state-church relations, to confirm its loyalty to the Soviet regime. For this purpose, the pro-Soviet activities of the bishops were actively disclosed, which occupies a significant part of the articles analyzed by us. As a result of highlighting the image of the bishop, quite often an ordinary citizen with his own views and beliefs appears before the readers, who at a certain moment makes a decision to dedicate his life to God through monasticism. In the columns of “The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate” it was written about the same bishops mainly – the most influential and authoritative ones in the church environment. The editors emphasized justice, humility, peacemaking, mercy, deep faith, and prayerfulness of church officials. An important element was devotion to the Church during the period of the 1920s – 1930s, which manifested itself in the denial of any Orthodox denominations, except for the Russian Orthodox Church. Information about the specifics of service during the specified period, suffering from the Soviet anti-church repressions was a certain taboo.

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IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE OF 1947

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to highlight the ideological justification of the Truman doctrine declared on March 12, 1947. The ideological prerequisites that changed the foreign policy of the USA after World War II have been elucidated. The issue of the theory and practice of American presidential rhetoric has been researched analytically. Elements of “crisis rhetoric” have been shown on the example of declaration of the Truman doctrine. The ideological contradictions of two superpowers: the USA and the USSR have been analyzed. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, and scientificity, which made it possible to analyze and characterize the evolution of the post-war American foreign policy course. The historical and comparative, historical and systemic method, and historical analysis have been applied. The scientific novelty of the article consists in the continuation of broad discussions in scientific circles concerning the issue of forming the conceptual foundations of the US foreign policy concepts. For the first time in the Ukrainian historiography, the ideological component of the Truman declared doctrine has been analyzed and preliminary conclusions regarding the reasons for its occurrence have been improved. The Conclusions. It has been proven that the Truman doctrine was aimed at opposing the ideology of two incompatible world ways of life. The special role of ideology and propaganda in the formation of the state policy of the United States during the Cold War period has been emphasized. The ideological aspect of the doctrine determined the content of the renewed foreign policy rhetoric of the United States. It has been determined that the phenomenon of Americanism and the idea of exclusive ideology played a key role on the European continent in the struggle between two ways of life: democracy and totalitarianism. It has been proven that it was the Truman doctrine that laid the foundation and led to the greatest ideological success in the matter of national security and foreign policy strategy of the USA in the second half of the 20th century.*

Key words: *the Truman doctrine, the US foreign policy, the Cold War, ideology.*

ІДЕОЛОГІЧНЕ ОБГРУНТУВАННЯ ДОКТРИНИ ТРУМЕНА 1947 р.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження полягає у висвітленні ідеологічного обґрунтування проголошеної 12 березня 1947 р. доктрини Гаррі Трумена. Показано ідеологічні передумови, що змінили зовнішню політику США після Другої світової війни. Аналітично досліджено проблему*

теорії та практики американської президентської риторики. На прикладі проголошення доктрини Трумена показано елементи “кризової риторики”. Проаналізовано ідеологічні суперечності двох наддержав: США та СРСР. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, об’єктивності, науковості, що дало змогу дослідити й охарактеризувати еволюцію післявоєнного американського зовнішньополітичного курсу. Застосовано історико-порівняльний та історико-системний методи, історичний аналіз. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у продовженні широких дискусій у наукових колах стосовно питання формування концептуальних засад зовнішньополітичних концепцій США. Вперше в українській історіографії проаналізовано ідеологічну складову проголошеної доктрини Трумена та вдосконалено попередні висновки щодо причин її виникнення. **Висновки.** Доведено, що доктрина Трумена була спрямована на протиставлення ідеології двох світових способів життя, несумісних між собою. Підкреслено особливу роль ідеології і пропаганди у формуванні державної політики Сполучених Штатів періоду холодної війни. Ідеологічний аспект доктрини зумовив зміст оновленої зовнішньополітичної риторики Сполучених Штатів. Виявлено, що феномен американізму та ідея виняткової ідеології відіграли на європейському континенті ключову роль у боротьбі між двома способами життя: демократією і тоталітаризмом. Доведено, що саме доктрина Трумена заклала підґрунтя і привела до найбільшого ідеологічного успіху у питанні національної безпеки та зовнішньополітичної стратегії США другої половини XX ст.

Ключові слова: доктрина Трумена, зовнішня політика США, холодна війна, ідеологія.

The Problem Statement. The ideological formation of one’s own image and the images of other countries is a natural process in the field of foreign policy of the United States. Firstly, the American leadership forms its own vision of subjects of international relations and policy towards them through the prism of images. Secondly, the US state system requires the approval of foreign policy decisions by the majority of the US population, presented at Congress, thereby forcing the country’s leadership to introduce certain images into the public consciousness. The ideological image of another nation not only contributes to the self-identification of a particular nation, but also determines the direction of the foreign and domestic policy of its government. This aspect of the special role of ideology and propaganda in the state policy formation of the United States during the Cold War period was not the subject of a separate study by the Ukrainian scholars.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The most convincing description of how ideologies functioned and function in the world’s leading countries is provided by M. Minakov, the head of the Ukrainian research programme at the J. Kennan Institute. The professor states that modern political scholars do not include the ideological function of the state into the list of basic and necessary state functions. However, the researcher assures, in the majority of countries, ideological control over the beliefs of citizens was and is being used inconspicuously. M. Minakov provides examples of the states with different political systems: the United States, Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, the Soviet Union, Iran and the post-Soviet countries, and Ukraine in particular (Minakov, 2020, p. 220). The research object of T. Hryshchenko, the Ukrainian Americanist, Doctor of historical sciences, is the ideological component of the American foreign policy and the history of the international strategy of the United States of America in the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. (Hryshchenko, 2016). He calls Harry Truman “a power locomotive that ensured the practical embodiment of the concept of compassionate deterrence” (Hryshchenko, 2014, p. 141). The source base of the research is the multi-volume edition of the US State Department “Foreign Relations of the United States”. The analysis of these documents allows us to analyze the formation mechanism of the post-war foreign policy of the United States (FRUS, 1971). The research works of historians M. Holm (Holm, 2013) and M. Hogan (Hogan, 1998) are focused on the issue of the ideological justification of the

renewed American foreign policy course. The Cold War memoirs are a valuable resource for studying the Truman Doctrine. The published memoirs of diplomats elucidate the position of the American and Soviet leadership regarding the new stage in international relations. There should be singled out the memoirs of Harry Truman (Truman, 1955 – 1956), the US Secretary of State in the administration of President Dean Acheson (Acheson, 1969) and the USSR Ambassador to the USA Mykola Novikov (Novikov, 1989).

The Purpose of the Article. In the article there has been elucidated the ideological component of the Truman declared doctrine and there have been supplemented the previous conclusions regarding the reasons for its emergence. It has been proven that it was the Truman doctrine that laid the foundation and led to the greatest ideological success in the issue of the national security and foreign policy strategy of the USA in the second half of the 20th century. It was the ideological aspect of the doctrine that determined the content of the renewed foreign policy rhetoric of the United States.

The Results of the Research. The promotion of two superpowers – the USSR and the USA – to the forefront of the post-war world politics led to their increased attention to each other. The prerequisites for the evolution of the image of the USSR in the United States were determined by the state of the Soviet-American relations, the economic and domestic political development of the United States, as well as the reception of their leadership and the ideological preferences of the American society. To a large extent, the most important normative elements that determine the content and direction of the belief system of people, including public figures who make political decisions, are provided by ideology. According to Professor L. Hubersky, ideology becomes a kind of “a flag of struggle” that reflects the interests of opposing classes – an ordered system of views and ideas in which a person’s attitude to reality, another person, and himself are understood and evaluated (Hubers’kyy, 2016, p. 44). National or state interest is the main determining force of foreign policy activity. Undoubtedly, the concept of national interest has an ideological content and is imbued with value norms. In the categories of interests formation and in a foreign policy strategy formation that should implement these categories, the system of value orientations, attitudes, principles and beliefs of statesmen and how they receipt the surrounding world and evaluate the place of their country among other countries that make up the world community are of great importance. According to L. Hubersky, the state ideology is the main dominant factor in the development of culture: regardless of a person’s belonging to one or another social stratum, in the process of cultural creation, he usually adheres to the state ideology. In the developed countries of the world, the culture-creating process is mainly statist in nature. It is based on another interest – national interest (Hubers’kyy, 2016, p. 48). The phenomenon of Americanism plays an important role in the ideological design of Washington’s foreign policy strategy. The idea of American exceptionalism and America’s special mission in world history was to some extent used by all post-war US administrations as the most important component of the ideological justification of the foreign policy course. That is why, in his memoirs, Harry Truman called his message “a turning point in American foreign policy” (Truman, 1955 – 1956, p. 106). When American President Harry Truman addressed the US Congress with his famous keynote speech, he recited the basis of American foreign policy for several decades to come. According to historians and political scholars, the majority of aspects of the doctrine remain topical nowadays. The general idea of the Anglo-Saxon unity continued to be preserved in the US foreign policy rhetoric, but this time it was about the need to unite the entire Western world. The Truman doctrine declared the struggle of

democracy against authoritarianism – against evil, against which democratic forces had to unite and act as a united front. In his speech, Truman mentioned the countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania and Bulgaria), which were called the main victims of Stalin's totalitarianism. The American president called on the West to take certain steps towards the protection of democratic states. Thus, the doctrine was based on the idea of protection. A feature of H. Truman's keynote speech was the promotion of certain values that were supposed to unite the Western world. In addition to democracy and freedom, Christian values that touched the ethical side of European society were adopted. The Americans supported the idea of condemning the Holocaust and genocide.

The idea of an exclusive ideology and the struggle between two ways of life is analyzed in the research of Michael Holm, a historian at Boston University in the USA. The researcher interprets the postwar American foreign policy through the lens of the struggle for a way of life, national exceptionalism, and liberal political and economic ideals. In his opinion, Harry Truman sought to establish a unified world order based on the formation of the Western exclusive ideology in the struggle for the American way of life, democratic freedom against totalitarianism and repression. It was the Truman doctrine, the author believes, that laid the foundation and led to the formation of the greatest ideological success, turning European democracy into a managed and organized system in the American style. The ideology of the USA, the researcher is convinced, evolved the Western European continent beyond recognition as compared to any other period of history (Holm, 2013, pp. 204, 248). Thus, more than seven decades ago, the US government led by Harry Truman determined the main steps of the American foreign policy for many years to come. Of course, the Truman doctrine must be considered, first of all, in the context of the international circumstances that developed after the end of World War II. However, according to many researchers, the majority of the provisions of the Truman doctrine are still topical nowadays. There is an obvious continuity with the past. After all, even nowadays the USA defines itself as a world leader that popularizes its own values, principles and interests. Michael Hogan, a historian and editor of the magazine "The Diplomatic History", analyzes the development of military institutions in the context of a fierce ideological dispute within the United States. The author reports on the formation of a new ideology of the national security. In his view, President Harry Truman was at the center of a fundamental struggle for the political identity of the nation and the postwar goals of the United States. It was his efforts that determined the size and shape of the state's national security, which emerged finally (Hogan, 1998). The President called Greece and Turkey the countries, which were under the communist threat. To eliminate this threat, they were allocated financial assistance from the United States in the amount of 400 million dollars. The message also stated that the USSR posed a threat to the United States. Attention was focused on the impossibility of a peaceful coexistence and cooperation of countries with different social systems. The Truman doctrine was based on the concept of containment of the USSR. The United States, led by Harry Truman, understood that if Greece and Turkey fell into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, the geopolitical advantage of the USSR would be ensured. In this case, strategically important the Black Sea straits – the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles – would come under Moscow's control. All this would pose a threat to the US national interests. Harry Truman declared that we "must help free peoples so that they can decide their own destiny" (Truman, 1947). The President understood that one of the means that could prevent the spread of the Soviet influence in the world is to replace the ideals of communism with the American way of life. In his speech, the President stated:

“There are no perfect governments. One of the main virtues of democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and can be corrected through democratic processes... One of the main goals of the foreign policy of the United States is to create the necessary conditions in which we and other peoples of the world will be able to protect the way of life of people, free from any coercion... We must uphold free nations, their democratic institutions, and their national integrity against the aggressive intent of totalitarian regimes that undermine world peace through direct or indirect aggression, and thus, the security of the United States. Totalitarian regimes have recently been imposed on the peoples of many countries of the world against their will” (Truman, 1947). This meant that the US was offering its American standard of relations and governance. Harry Truman believed that the United States should be concerned about the lives of other countries only in order to help peoples under external threat in their struggle for a free way of life. It is necessary to note the economic aspect of the Truman doctrine. The USA was interested in the rapid economic recovery of post-war Europe. At the expense of economic partners in Europe, in the USA it would be possible to reduce unemployment, to increase its own exports, because it was necessary to restore the economies of leading European countries and integrate them into the international trade and financial system during a short period of time. Europe was important both as a potential source of labour and market for the sale of American products, and as a developed industrial center, the control of which could give Washington a great advantage over the USSR (Anistratenko, 2020). This presidential speech contained both Truman’s personal views and reflected the circumstances in the context of the external factors influence. After the end of World War II such factors can be considered as the bipolar structure of the world, the presence of political and ideological confrontation between the superpowers, the USA’s possession of atomic weapons, and the rapid spread of the ideas of communism and socialism. It should be noted that at the end of World War II, the USA reached a fundamentally new level of a military potential, as it became the only owner of nuclear weapons at that time, which were tested in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sol Landau, a senior researcher at the Institute for Political Studies of the United States stated that the realities of world politics, economics, and military power put the United States in a unique position after World War II. The postwar world undoubtedly provided the American leaders with the opportunity to shape it, the ideals of the United States won (Landau, 1988). The US Congress officially accepted Harry Truman’s idea to provide financial and economic aid to Greece and Turkey on May 22, 1947. The majority of the provisions of the Truman doctrine correspond to the realities of the US modern foreign policy. The same as in the past the US is a world leader in opposing totalitarian regimes that limit freedom and democracy. The researcher M. J. Heale focused on the ideological issue of the policy of anti-communism in the USA during the period of Harry Truman’s rule. The author traced and discovered the roots of anti-communism in the United States long before the Cold War. He notes that the “red panic”, which spread in American society at the end of the 1940s and at the beginning of the 1950s, was implemented by upper authorities and corresponded to the interests of various US political forces. And it was the representatives of Harry Truman’s administration who participated in the formation of anti-communist propaganda actively. Having penetrated into all spheres of social and political life, anti-communism found its manifestation in political struggle, espionage scandals, a programme for checking the loyalty of civil servants, and show trials. The author wrote that anxiety-mongering contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of a global “red threat”, which corresponded to the White House’s goal (Heale, 1990). Research works by Sh. J. Parry-Giles

(Parry-Giles, 2002) and T. O. Windt (Windt, 1991) focus on the verbal expression of the confrontation between Washington and Moscow. The authors state that the creation of a new reality was the goal of the official rhetoric of the United States at the beginning of the Cold War, which researchers consider, primarily, as the war of words. According to the authors, language is not just a weapon, but a part of reality. The authors, having analyzed the rhetoric of the US administration during the first five post-war years, concluded that anti-communism became the official American ideology under Harry Truman. Historians believe that in the postwar rhetoric of the United States the turning point was the speech of the President before the joint meeting of both Houses of Congress on March 12, 1947. In their opinion, this event was the starting point for the formation of a new political reality in the USA and led to the further transformation of the ideological beliefs of the entire American society. After declaring the Truman Doctrine, according to the authors, the rhetoric of the “Cold War” finally came into its own (Windt, 1991; Parry-Giles, 2002). After all, in the White House, which was headed by Harry Truman, as early as in 1945, they were aware of the impossibility of continuing allied relations with Moscow. The doctrine of “containment” of communism, declared by John Kennan in February of 1946, became a conceptual expression of the sentiments that were observed in Washington. Assistance to Turkey and Greece became the reason for the open declaration of containment of the USSR (Windt, 1991). A researcher Robert Frazer names two key documents that launched the renewed US foreign policy. This is a speech in which the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed and George Kennan’s article “The Sources of the Soviet Behavior” aimed at containing the Soviet Union. In his opinion, economic assistance to Greece and Turkey by the American government opened a new stage in the relations between these countries (Frazier, 2009, p. 4). Dennis Merrill, Professor of history at the University of Missouri, states that America was able to prevent Greece from slipping into a communist regime by adding it to its sphere of influence and increasing its influence in the region greatly. When the right-wing politicians resisted the reforms and tried to oust more centrist elements from the government, the United States forced them to stop their rhetoric. The US military advisers maintained and retrained the Greek National Army and developed the strategy for suppressing internal unrest. In some period of time the communist uprising was effectively suppressed and the Soviet Union no longer intervened in Greece or neighbouring Turkey after American military aid was sent to Ankara (Merrill, 2006). In the research work of Turkish historians, international relations Professors Dilek Barlas, Shuhnaz Yılmaz, and Serhat Güvenç there are analyzed the relations between Great Britain, the United States, and Turkey in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean region at the beginning of the Cold War. Focusing on the period of the Truman Doctrine, the authors argue that the transition from the decline of the British influence to the hegemony of the United States was long and multi-layered. In this context, Turkey had to pass a difficult diplomatic path (Dilek Barlas, Şuhnaz Yılmaz & Serhat Güvenç, 2020, p. 641).

An expert in the field of the Cold War history Sh. J. Parry-Giles believes that without analyzing the rhetoric of Harry Truman’s administration, it is impossible to understand the processes fully, which took place in the American society in 1945 – 1952. The author sees propaganda and psychological strategy as the key tools for understanding the actions of Harry Truman’s administration during the Cold War. The researcher notes that the propaganda that served the state made it possible to create a monolithic ideology of the USA in the 20th century. In the opinion of the author, the cooperation of the White House with the American mass media became the key to the successful penetration of the necessary ideas into the

Congress and public opinion of the United States. As the author notes, Harry Truman's administration successfully created and used the so-called crisis rhetoric by inciting anxiety, campaigning for the fight against world communism, and fighting for the democratic choice of one's own way of life. American propaganda, which became a powerful weapon in the "Cold War", fully reflected the processes taking place in the United States at that time (Parry-Giles, 2002). The research work of the Ukrainian philosopher, Professor V. Buhrov, is a national study of the category of a language in the context of problems of understanding (Buhrov, 1996).

It is worth noting that the Truman's doctrine was initially received with interest in the USSR. Moscow had high hopes for the American loans to rebuild the country. Stalin spoke about this many times. In April of 1947, at the meeting in Moscow with the American delegation, he expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the United States was refraining from providing a promised loan of 6 billion dollars. A participant at this meeting, N. Novikov, recalled that Stalin's harsh words shocked all the meeting participants, as it was known that the US government had not made such promises (Novikov, 1989, p. 382). At the same time, the Soviet leadership opposed the strengthening of the economic and political influence of the United States in Europe in every possible way. Ideology and real politics came into conflict with each other. Thoroughly Stalin vacillated between the desire to maintain cooperation with the allies and the readiness to enter a new period of confrontation. After all, Stalin considered the creation of the Soviet zone of influence to be the most important result of the difficult war. He was not going to make any concessions to the West in European countries. For the Soviet leadership of that time, the control over the European sphere of influence was important for both geopolitical and ideological reasons. When it became obvious to the leadership of the USSR that it was necessary to rely only on its own forces and look for internal reserves, all publications of the Soviet press began to boil down to the following accusations of the doctrine: its goal is the establishment of the economic dominance of the USA and Europe, penetration into the Soviet sphere of influence and isolation of the USSR (Anistratenko, 2020). Immediately historians of the USSR era began to focus their attention on the ideologizing of the renewed American foreign policy. The ideological nature of the American approach to foreign policy after World War II caused numerous discussions in the scientific and political circles of the USSR. In A. Kunina's research work it is emphasized that the ideological basis of the President Truman's course became an important component of the US state policy, and anti-communism was formed as an official policy (Kunina, 1973, p. 39). According to S. Apatov, the theme of the "Soviet threat" had the greatest weight in the ideological activity of the United States, in which the postulates of anti-communism, which became the basis of the ideology of the US foreign policy during the entire post-war period, found their concrete embodiment (Apatov, 1978, pp. 134–140). Undoubtedly, one of the results of the announcement and implementation of the Truman doctrine was the further aggravation of the Soviet-American relations. The policy of dividing Europe into spheres of influence was finally approved. The process of creating blocs by each side became a hallmark of the Cold War. The tension of the ideological atmosphere on the European continent was caused by both the USSR and the USA. Like the Soviet Union, initially the United States did not show much interest in the affairs of the Balkans during World War II. It was an area of the world which was considered peripheral to the US national interests. It was assumed that the British and the USSR would largely dominate the Balkan affairs and the US would stay out. Nevertheless, some far-sighted American politicians recognized that during the post-war period this view on the Balkan issue could completely

change. That's what happened later. Soon, the Truman administration began to consider Greece as a front line in an effort to contain the spread of communism. Indeed, J. Iatrides notes that George Kennan's famous idea of "deterrence" was first implemented by the Truman administration in Greece (Iatrides, 2005, p. 142). In February of 1947, in the memorandum to the President Truman, the Secretary of State George Marshall wrote the following: "Crisis of extreme importance has arisen in Greece and to some extent in Turkey. This crisis has a direct and immediate relation to the security of the United States. The time has come for a new American policy on Greece. But first, the President must be convinced that the new political course will be appropriate. If Greece starts a civil war, it is likely that it will become a communist country under the control of the Soviet Union. Turkey will be surrounded and the Turkish situation, I am reporting on now, will, in turn, become even more critical. Thus, the Soviet domination can spread over the entire Middle East to the border of India. The impact of this on Hungary, Austria, Italy and France cannot be overestimated. No panic, but we can say that we are dealing with the first manifestation of the crisis that can spread the Soviet domination in Europe, the Middle East and Asia" (FRUS, 1971, Doc. 65). In fact, George Marshall said that the victory of communism in Greece would have worldwide consequences for the American security and the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Taking into consideration the fact that all of Greece's neighbouring countries were controlled by the communist regimes, it became very important for Greece to remain anti-communist as resistance to a complete communist takeover of the Balkans. The situation required a quick and energetic action. Soon, H. Truman formulated the directions of the American foreign policy aimed at creating conditions for freedom, fight totalitarianism in the post-war world, and ensure the development of free democratic states. It is under such conditions of the world order the American security will become a reality. Conal Chambers appeals the classic of the Cold War to John Lewis Gaddis, who stated that the Truman doctrine did not represent an absolute change in the American foreign policy. The author concludes that sometimes the policy, which was declared for a certain period to achieve its goal, can have unforeseen and far-reaching consequences. And it was the concern about the Soviet domination and its subversive activities in Europe that greatly increased the desire of the Truman administration to come to the defense of the monarchical regime in Greece in its fight against the communist insurgency (Chambers, 2017). Denis Merrill, a researcher of the US foreign policy, is a supporter of this opinion. It was the President's administration concern about the domino effect of the communism that marked the emergence of modern US foreign policy (Merrill, 2006). Thus, both the USA and the USSR were guided by their own ideological and geopolitical motivations, and the plans and actions of these countries were part of their own foreign policy strategies. Signs of opposition between ideological and socio-political systems were demonstrated. Dualism of political sympathies and social attitudes was preserved both in Greece and Turkey. This contributed to the declaration of the Truman doctrine by the American administration in 1947. Greece is the only Balkan country, reported Dean Acheson, which, as well as earlier, is oriented towards Western democracies (FRUS, 1971). Dean Acheson, an American politician who served as the US Secretary of State in the administration of the President Harry Truman, said that the British were leaving everywhere and if we didn't come instead, the Russians would. He considered it an extremely difficult task to convince the Congress to allocate the necessary funding. D. Acheson noted that if there was no money, then the Middle East and France would become communist (Chace, 2007, p. 165). In order to pass legislation on aid to Greece and Turkey, the help of the Congress and the public opinion was

necessary. In order to convince the Americans of the need for emergency aid, as the American diplomat recalls, the adviser on the USSR issues Loy Henderson, it was decided to present the Greek issue in an ideological context, declaring the communist threat to the free world. It was necessary to change the American public opinion, portraying the Soviet Union not as an ally, but as an enemy. Henderson found Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton town, which he had delivered a year earlier, to be useful in this regard (Henderson, 1973, pp. 81–84). Professor John Handley, Vice President of the American Diplomacy Publishers, in his review on the research by Larry Haas, a senior fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council, agrees that the Truman administration achieved great results in the direction of foreign policy during the first years of his presidency. However, both researchers make it absolutely clear that no achievement would be possible without the support of the Republican Congress and Senator A. Vandenberg in particular. The authors assert that without the strong Republican support led by Arthur Vandenberg, the Truman administration would not have been able to pass any programme at the Congress (Handley, 2018). The Democratic administration of Harry Truman faced the difficult task of convincing the 80th Congress, with the predominance of the Republicans in both houses, to allocate funding to help Greece and Turkey. Dean Acheson presented the new US policy as a decisive struggle between good and evil and the salvation of free peoples from the communist aggression: "America has no choice: it must protect its security, it must protect the very freedom itself" (Acheson, 1969, pp. 165–166). On March 3, 1947, the Subcommittee on Foreign Policy Information of the Coordination Committee of the State Department recommended forming propaganda support for the aid programme to Greece and Turkey on the opposition of free peoples and totalitarian regimes, two ways of life – the first one based on the will of the majority with free institutions and guarantees of personal freedom; the second one – on the will of the minority, terror, oppression, control over the press and unfair elections imposed on the majority (FRUS, 1971). In the USA, a propaganda company was deployed in support of the Truman doctrine. According to a poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion in March of 1947, the majority of the Americans (56%) supported the aid bill. The number of the Americans who considered the USSR aggressive increased from 38% to 66% in 1945. At the end of 1947 the American community was firmly opposed to the Sovietization of Greece and Turkey (Gallup, 1972, p. 639). Thus, the international crisis concerning Greece and Turkey became an indisputable reason for substantiating the communism deterrence doctrine, which was nurtured in Washington for more than a year. The President used the state of affairs in Greece and Turkey to formulate the ideology of a renewed foreign policy that America would pursue in response to a threat that he considered serious. Harry Truman urged the Congress to extend economic aid to other nations in a dire need of it to maintain their territorial integrity and internal stability. The Truman doctrine was aimed at confronting the ideologies of two incompatible world ways of life. One is a democracy in which the majority rules with reliable political institutions established after free democratic elections and respect for civil liberties open to the outside world. The alternative was a country where a representative minority imposes its will on the majority, suppressing any attempts to express the will by means of violence and repression. H. Truman formed a binary model of the world and warned that if the future of Turkey and Greece became the state order of tyranny and violence, the entire region would be lost as a result. Therefore, he recommended that the Congress would adopt his policy to prevent such consequences.

Reflecting on the US foreign policy, the Russian doctor of historical sciences, professor V. Pechatnov claims that it is a multidimensional concept of the national security. The

content of this concept evolves historically, but its constants are geopolitical and ideological components. The author emphasizes that the concept of “national security” is approved in the key US doctrinal documents as an integral complex task, the implementation of which is the main goal of the American foreign and military policy. The main opinion of V. Pechatnov is that the combination of geopolitical, economic and political factors is the basis for determining the foreign policy course of the United States. Describing the current US foreign policy strategy, the Russian Americanist states that it is aimed at filling the power vacuum created after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The historian analyzes American foreign policy during the Cold War and the present period of time. In his opinion, the only significant difference is that during the Cold War it was about Germany, Poland, and the Balkans, relatively distant from the Russian core, and nowadays the struggle is for Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia, which largely explains the severity of the Russian reaction to the events in Georgia and Ukraine (Pechatnov, 2017, pp. 13–17). The Russian publicist O. Mosesov writes the following: “And whether the elements of the doctrine remained in the modern US foreign policy approach to European countries are best told by the facts: Greece and Turkey, which received aid in 1947, are still members of the NATO, and the rhetoric of the American establishment towards Russia and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe hardly changed” (Mosesov, 2017). Professor V. Zorin also believes that the policy of deterrence, which was proclaimed during the period of Truman’s presidency, is still being continued by America. In his opinion, after the collapse of the USSR, the ideological component of the Cold War went into the past, but the geopolitical component did not disappear anywhere (Zorin, 2019). A researcher N. Nikolayeva analyzes the ideological contradictions of the two superpowers: “Ideology played a greater role in the relations between the two great powers than during the previous years. The withdrawal of the British troops from Turkey and Greece opened the way for the Communists to come to power. The situation in the Mediterranean could change radically. There was a threat of establishing the Soviet control over the Suez Canal. The American leadership could not allow this situation. Thus, the Truman doctrine was born as the result of reluctance to spread communism and the desire to maintain the American influence on the markets in the countries that received aid” (Nikolayeva, 2004). This opinion is supplemented by the statement of the current Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Lavrov: “Ideology interfered in the relationship between the USA and the USSR. Because otherwise it is difficult to explain the Anglo-American slogan of “deterrence” of the Soviet Union – the strategy that involved not only blocking the “expansion of Moscow”, but also breaking the Soviet system itself as the ultimate goal of the Cold War” (Lavrov, 2006). It is worth noting that the modern Russian scientific elite does not deny and notes the harmfulness of excessive ideologization and expresses the opinion that one cannot be a hostage of ideology. As the history of the development of the Soviet-American relations has shown, excessive ideological indoctrination leads to confrontation. In the Soviet Union Harry Truman’s justification of the need for active American influence in the affairs of Greece and Turkey was considered as evidence of the final rejection of the US policy of cooperation and its intention to assume the functions of a world leader (Tolstuhina, 2017). According to L. Hubersky, traditionally a leading ideological form is political, which is more often called political ideology. In this form of ideology, the structure of ideology in general and all other ideological forms – economic, legal, moral, aesthetic, religious, etc. – are the most clearly visible (Hubersky, 2016, p. 93). Political ideology as a leading ideological form is confirmed by the opinion of Professor V. Zorin that the Cold War was not just a conflict of

two ideologies, but a geopolitical confrontation (Zorin, 2019). American researcher Elizabeth Spalding argues that for Harry Truman, at the end of World War II the United States was the only nation-state capable of shaping a new world policy. This policy was to protect the national security of America and its allies, support existing and potential liberal democratic governments, contain communist totalitarianism, and provide long-term prospects for lasting global peace. Harry Truman called the aid to Greece and Turkey an investment in world freedom and peace in the world, which would eliminate totalitarian regimes. After all, the basis of understanding the implementation of H. Truman's international policy lies in the difference between liberal democracy and communist totalitarianism. Thus, the doctrine publicly presented H. Truman's understanding of the Cold War and institutionalized the deterrence strategy (Spalding, 2017). The theses of the doctrine are viable enough and quite acceptable for American politicians today. This is evidenced by the words of Senator Tim Kaine: "We must strive to be an exemplary democracy in the world. Nowadays, world democracies need role models. Any democracy is always under influence and therefore always needs a champion, and we are the best suited to be that champion" (Kaine, 2017). Creating a theoretical and ideological basis for the post-war policy of the United States became the main task of the practical implementation of the Truman doctrine. The United States faced the task of developing specific tasks that would regulate the practical side of implementing the updated foreign policy course. "Ideology really has an overtly practical direction, because it is not only an expression of collective interest, but also of collective will. The laboratory of ideology is a real historical process" (Hubersky, 2016, pp. 74–75).

The Conclusions. Thus, the proclamation of the Truman doctrine became the cause and consequence of the change in the image of the USSR in the United States. The need for approval by representatives of both houses of the Congress and the population of the United States of the suggested programme made the White House organize a propaganda company in its support. By creating an anxious atmosphere inside the country, the US leadership formed the image of an aggressive enemy and danger, in the role of which the USSR acted. The anti-Soviet rhetoric of the White House in the spirit of the communist offensive ensured the support of the US foreign policy concept by congressmen, representatives of the press and public opinion of the country. The negative image of the USSR formed in foreign policy found its manifestation in domestic policy as well. Loyalty testing programme, pre-election campaigns did not just rely on the anti-Soviet rhetoric, but served as a real means of implementing the proclaimed updated ideology. The basis of this was the policy of the Republican Congress and the democratic government. Public opinion polls showed that the majority of the US population supported the foreign policy initiatives of the White House and believed in the aggressive intentions of the Kremlin, which were emphasized by the highest political figures of the state and the press. The main goal of the American foreign policy was the intention to stop Moscow's expansion, and it was the United States that were declared the defenders of freedom and democracy. Beginning in 1947, Harry Truman interpreted the actions of the Soviet government as hostile and thereby oriented the American community to a negative reception of the Soviet Union as a whole. Undoubtedly, the key role in forming the image of the enemy belonged to the presidential administration. There was a belief that the leadership of the USSR was governed by ideological fanaticism. The White House and the State Department clearly demonstrated the completeness and rigidity of their position concerning the USSR. In general, the formation of the anti-communist consensus became characteristic of the US public opinion. The policy declared by the White House was supported by the Congress, public organizations, businessmen, the military, the media, and

the US population. Many times the American mass media reproduced the image of the enemy, and representatives of the White House tried to attract them to their side by various means. Anti-communist rhetoric became the tool by which Harry Truman's administration found support for its foreign policy actions in the US public. The image of the USSR as a country that nullifies the rights of citizens, violates their freedom and free choice of lifestyle, formed during the era of Harry Truman's presidency, largely determined the foreign policy of the American administration for many years. The image of the USSR created to reinforce the foreign policy concept of the White House ideologically, it eventually became a permanent component of the US public life. Having established itself not only in the public consciousness of those responsible for the formation and implementation of Washington's foreign policy, the image of the USSR became a factor, that made the leadership of the USA form its line, taking into account the presence in the international reality of a country definitely ideologically hostile to them – the Soviet Union.

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**THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE SOVIET STATE
IN TRANSCARPATIA IN 1953**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to analyze the religious policy of the Soviet authorities in Transcarpathia concerning confessions in the region during the final stage of Stalinism and trace the beginnings of the intensification of the anti-religious campaign in 1953. To analyze the activities of the republican and regional commissioners (in the affairs of religious cults and in the affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church) in implementing the religious policy of the Soviet Union center, the reaction of certain denominations leaders to the authorities actions, (non)reception of atheistic propaganda and agitation by the population. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis,*

generalization), special and historical (historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the attempt to analyze one of the most difficult stages of the state-church relations of the Soviet period in the multi-confessional Transcarpathia. **The Conclusions.** The religious situation in Transcarpathia was difficult during the final period of Stalinism. In 1949, the Greek Catholic Church, one of the largest denominations in the region, was liquidated by the Soviet state by force. Part of the Greek-Catholic priesthood “reunited” with the Orthodox Church, part officially switched to civilian work, continuing to perform religious rites confidentially. More than a hundred priests were sentenced to long prison terms. Having resolved the issue with the Greek Catholic Church, the authorities tried to establish a complete control over the remaining denominations. At that time, in particular, the largest was the Orthodox denomination, which in 1945 left the Serbian Orthodox Church and came under the jurisdiction of the Ruska Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholic Church also maintained a fairly strong position. At that time the main task of the communist government was to “reduce the religiosity of the population”. Already at the end of 1952 and at the beginning of 1953, the authorities took active actions. At the regional, district, and local levels, lecturers conducted hundreds of lectures on natural and scientific, anti-religious topics, showed films, and held explanatory talks. The first anti-religious publications appeared in the regional press. It should be noted that there was some progress in anti-religious work (going to work during religious holidays, 100% school attendance), however, this campaign did not achieve the predicted results. The Bolsheviks never succeeded in transforming the worldview of the population of Transcarpathia into a purely atheistic one.

Key words: the USSR, Zakarpattia region, the Soviet power, anti-religious policy, church, priests, lectures.

(АНТИ)РЕЛІГІЙНА ПОЛІТИКА РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ НА ЗАКАРПАТТІ В 1953 р.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – дослідити релігійну політику радянської влади на Закарпатті стосовно конфесій краю завершального етапу сталінізми та прослідкувати початки активізації антирелігійної кампанії у 1953 р. Розглянути діяльність республіканських та обласних уповноважених (у справах релігійних культів та у справах РПЦ) у втіленні релігійної політики союзного центру, реакцію керівників окремих конфесій на дії влади, (не)сприйняття населенням атеїстичної пропаганди і агітації. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) і спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі дослідити один із найскладніших етапів державно-церковних відносин радянського періоду в багатоконфесійному Закарпатті. **Висновки.** Релігійна ситуація на Закарпатті завершального періоду сталінізми була складною. У 1949 р. у краї радянською державою силовими методами було ліквідовано греко-католицьку церкву – одну з найбільших конфесій краю. Частина греко-католицького священства “возз’єдналася” з православною церквою, частина офіційно перейшла на цивільну роботу, продовжуючи таємно виконувати релігійні обряди. Більше сотні священників було засуджено на тривалі терміни ув’язнення. Розв’язавши питання з греко-католицькою церквою, влада намагається встановити цілковитий контроль над рештою конфесій. Зокрема, найбільшою на цей час стала православна конфесія, яка в 1945 р. вийшла з підпорядкування Сербської православної церкви і перейшла в юрисдикцію Руської православної церкви. Доволі сильні позиції зберігала й римо-католицька церква. Тепер головним завданням комуністичної влади стало “зменшення релігійності населення”. Вже наприкінці 1952 р. на початку 1953 р. влада переходить до активних дій. На обласному, окружному та місцевому рівнях лектори читають сотні лекцій на природничо-науковій й антирелігійній теми, демонструють кінофільми, проводять роз’яснювальні бесіди. В обласній пресі з’являються перші публікації на антирелігійну тематику. Доцільно відзначити, що певні здобутки в антирелігійній роботі все ж були (вихід на роботу під час релігійних свят, стовідсоткова відвідуваність учнями шкіл), проте прогнозованих результатів ця кампанія не досягла. Трансформувати світогляд населення Закарпаття на суцільно атеїстичний більшовикам так і не вдалося.

Ключові слова: СРСР, Закарпатська область, радянська влада, антирелігійна політика, церква, священники, лекції.

The Problem Statement. Transcarpathia is known for its multi-ethnicity and multi-religiousness. The process of Sovietization of the region, which began in October of 1944 there, when the Red Army ousted the Hungarian-German invaders, entered its active phase in January of 1946, when Transcarpathian Region was created, a constituent administrative unit of the Ukrainian SSR (the USSR). The communist government made every effort to integrate the region into the Soviet Union as soon as possible. Religious policy was not an exception. We agree with the researcher D. Kostyuk that “during the existence of the Soviet Union, the authorities tried to control all aspects of a social life, including a spiritual one, and the Church was under the close attention of the state leadership” (Kostyuk, 2020, p. 80).

The Analysis of Recent Sources and Publications. Recently, the topic of the Soviet religious policy in post-war Transcarpathia has become the subject of research by historians of Uzhhorod University. They did research on the state-church relations with the Orthodox (Danylets' & Mishchanyn, 2011; 2013; 2013a), Greek Catholic (Pahirya, 2014, Fenysh, 2006), Roman Catholic (Kapitan, 2013) and Protestant (Leshko, 2008) denominations. The topic of anti-religious policy in Transcarpathia is presented in the research works of A. Tershak (Tershak, 2019; 2021). I. Datskiv and L. Kapitan (Datskiv & Kapitan, 2022) study the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in the Ukrainian SSR.

The embodiment of anti-religious policy during the entire post-war period in Soviet Ukraine was analyzed by A. Sychevskyy (Sychevs'kyy, 2018). There are scientific publications on certain southern regions of the Ukrainian SSR (Kostyuk, 2020; Tatarchenko, 2017). The process of conducting anti-religious agitation in the Western Ukrainian region became the subject of research by I. Shustak (Shustak, 2013). The specific facts of anti-religious and atheistic propaganda in Zakarpattia region are provided in the publications by Yu. Danylets (Danylets', 2015; 2016; 2018) and V. Mishchanyn (Danylets' & Mishchanyn, 2011; 2013; 2013a).

The majority of researchers share the same opinion that the anti-religious campaign began in 1954. Thus, on July 7, 1954, the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU was adopted “On Major Shortcomings in Scientific and Atheistic Propaganda and Measures to Improve it” (Postanovlenie, 1971), which launched the first wave of the anti-religious campaign officially. But already on November 10, 1954, a new resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU was issued “On Errors in the Conduct of Scientific and Atheistic Propaganda among the Population” (Postanovlenie, 1971a). According to P. Bondarchuk and V. Danylenko, the anti-religious campaign caused much dissatisfaction not only among the clergy and the faithful, but also among the majority of the population. Therefore, the leadership of the CPSU tried to shift the responsibility for “drawbacks” to the lower party and state bodies (Bondarchuk, 2012, p. 67).

However, a thorough study of the materials of the State Archive of Transcarpathian region gives us grounds to assert that at the beginning of 1953, a rather massive attack on religion began in the region. In the archival file, we find a 10-page summary of information by the representative of the Council for the Affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church under the Council of Ministers of the USSR on Zakarpattia region, A. Sherstyuk: “Information on the Situation of the Orthodox Church in the Region and the Course of the Struggle between the Orthodox Church and the Uniate Church”, dated March 4, 1953.

The purpose of the article is to analyze, on the material of documentary sources, the beginning, process, forms and methods of anti-religious propaganda in Zakarpattia Oblast in 1953. It was at that time that the state policy concerning religion and church began to change. After the death of J. Stalin, the state interfered in the life of religious communities more and

more actively. In 1954 M. Khrushchov's attempt to strengthen the anti-religious policy failed and was postponed until 1958.

The Results of the Research. Based on the materials of the republican census of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1930, A. Sherstiuk, Commissioner for the Affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church, provides statistics for Transcarpathian region (State Archives of Transcarpathia Region (SATR), f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 1): the Greek Catholics – 359 191 (49,6 %); the Orthodox – 112 034 (15,4 %); the Jewish religion – 102 542 (14,4 %); the Roman Catholics – 69 262 (9,5 %); reformers /evangelists/ – 74 173 (10,3 %); atheists – 492 (0,1 %); the Hussites /the followers of Jan Hus/ – 2 218 (0,3 %); the others /sectarians/ – 989 (0,2 %).

It is noted separately that before the rule of the Soviets, as of September 1, 1944, the Greek Catholic Church was the owner of 447 church buildings, in which 306 priests served, another 69 priests were retired or taught in gymnasiums. In addition, 4 for men and 1 for women monasteries of the Basilian order operated in Transcarpathia, and a theological seminary in Uzhhorod also operated.

At that time, there were 117 parishes of the Orthodox Church, which was the owner of 147 church buildings. Already with the establishment of the Soviet power, as of January 1, 1949, there were 250 churches, including 21 monasteries, and 144 priests.

A. Sherstyuk singles out “three main periods” in the history of the struggle of the Orthodox Church, enunciating the Bolshevik postulates, that “the struggle of the Ukrainian and Russian population of Transcarpathia against the Uniate Church and for the Orthodox Church was actually a struggle for joining the Russian and Ukrainian people. This age-old dream of the Transcarpathian people could only come true after the liberation of Transcarpathia by the Soviet Army” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 2).

The first period is the revival of the Orthodox Church from 1900 “until the liberation of the Transcarpathian people from the fascist slavery by the Soviet Army”. The party official defines the second period, i. e., from October of 1944, when “the Orthodox Church received equal rights with the Uniate Church. Immediately, the Orthodox Church uses its rights to attack the Uniate Church” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 2). Although, at the same time, he admits that in 1946 – 1947 the Greek Catholic Church did not lose almost a single parish. According to A. Sherstyuk, the third period began in February of 1949. It was the last massive attack on the Greek-Catholic Church in Transcarpathia by the Soviet state, which the party official tries to present under the guise of the struggle between the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics, without pointing out that the Orthodox Church became only a tool in the hands of the Soviet authorities, and the Greek-Catholic leadership of the church was under increased pressure of the authorities and state security agencies. Instead we read the following: “1. The decision of the Regional Council of Workers' Deputies agreed with the Council for the Affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church under the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the transfer of the premises of the Greek-Catholic Cathedral in the town of Mukachevo to the Orthodox is implemented. 2. In February of 1949, the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated December 27, 1947 on the transfer to the Orthodox Church of the Greek Catholic Cathedral premises and the premises of the residence of the diocesan administration of the Uniate Church in the city of Uzhhorod is implemented. 3. In connection with the transfer of the Greek Catholic Cathedral premises and the residence of the Uniate bishop to the use of the Orthodox Church, the Capitular Vicar Murani sent a message to all Uniate priests, that his activity as the Capitular Vicar ceased, and the chapter house also ceased to operate” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, pp. 3–4). In two more paragraphs of the document it

was noted that during the transfer of the premises “there were no misunderstandings”, and “the Uniate Church compromised itself among the masses of believers”.

In a separate block of the commissioner’s report there was singled out the item under the title: “On the Reunification of the Uniate Clergy with the Orthodox Church”. It was written that 127, i. e., “almost half of the Uniate clergy reunited with the Orthodox Church”. The rest declared openly that they did not want to “break the oath given to the Roman throne”. Some of them switched to illegal status, performed religious rites secretly, and also conducted “the anti-Soviet agitation against collectivization and other measures of the Soviet government”. The rest were looking for another job, as they believed that there was no point in reuniting, because “at this time, being a priest means barely existence. Parish premises built for priests by believers were taken away. Land is not given. Believers joined the collective farm and cannot give anything to the priest. The Orthodox priests also have nothing to live for. There are no privileges. Big taxes. It is better to go to the civil service. Salary and respect will be guaranteed” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 5).

As a result of the violent liquidation of Uzhhorod Uniate Church by the Soviet authorities, 229 Greek-Catholic parishes joined the Orthodox Church. Thus, after the “unification”, there were 346 parishes with 567 church buildings in the Orthodox Church. 254 priests served there: 144 Orthodox priests and 110 “reunited”. Commissioner A. Sherstyuk also noted that “in 1953, 512 church buildings belonged to the Orthodox Church, i. e., it decreased by 55 churches, of which 30 churches were closed in 1952. Religious communities decreased by 43. The clergy who served in parishes churches was reduced by 30 people” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 7).

For the party official one of the main issues was the decrease in religiosity among the population in Zakarpattia Oblast. He noted that although “religiosity dropped during the period of the Soviet power significantly”, it still “continues to be high and covers the absolute majority of the population”. Such decline could also be explained by the fact that part of the Greek Catholic faithful stopped attending church liturgies. Another part, especially the intelligentsia, began to attend liturgies at the Roman Catholic churches.

High religiosity among the population of Transcarpathia was also evidenced by strict observance of religious holidays by the majority of collective farm workers and loggers. Even if a priest urged them to go to work, few obeyed him.

A. Sherstyuk wrote the following words in one of the documents that “I have not yet carried out restrictions on the activities of the Orthodox Church, I mean that the activities of the more reactionary Roman Catholic Church and other communities are not restricted” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 9). He also mentioned the “Yehovist sect” among the reactionary ones, for the refusal of young men to serve in the Soviet army, the refusal to receive passports, state loans, and to participate in voting during deputies election of various levels. Restrictions on Orthodoxy, according to the party official, “would only facilitate the growth of more reactionary churches than the Orthodox Church” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 9).

The authorities took the first steps to liquidate the Orthodox monasteries. Thus, if in 1950 there were 17 Orthodox monasteries in Transcarpathian region, of which 10 were for women (258 nuns), 7 were for men (111 monks), then in 1953, 15 monasteries remained – 2 monasteries for men were liquidated (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 10).

In 1953, in accordance with the resolution in the affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church under the RM of the USSR, arrangements were made between regional city executive committees and religious communities of the Orthodox Church to transfer to the latter

“indefinite and free use of church premises /churches/ and objects of religious worship” (SATR, f. R-195, d. 8, c. 25, p. 157). On December 12, 1953, the head of the executive committee of the Transcarpathian Regional Council of Workers’ Deputies, I. Turianytsia, instructed local officials by sending them a confidential letter: “After the transfer of the church premises of the self-liquidated Uniate Church to the Orthodox Church, two or three Orthodox churches are considered to be operating in many villages. And that situation is observed during the period when the needs of believers are satisfied by one or two churches, and other churches are actually closed and church services are not held in them. In this regard, there are cases when religious communities complain that they are overburdened with state payments for church premises that are not used by them and in which church services have not been conducted for several years” (SATR, f. R-195, d. 8, c. 25, p. 158). It was recommended that the local authorities enter into agreements on operating churches, and the keys to churches, which are not in use, should be handed over to the district executive committee or village council. In some period of time, such premises were turned into farm buildings.

For example, at the beginning of 1953, a list of “houses of prayer closed with the sanction of the Council and handed over for cultural needs” was drawn up. These were 6 synagogues of Transcarpathian region, which were taken away from the Jewish communities. In particular, in 1947, Uzhhorod synagogue was transferred to the Philharmonic, in 1950, Vyshkovo synagogue – used “for economic needs”, and the Horinchevo, Drahovo, Sokyrnytsia, Svialiava synagogues were transferred to the “Kolhospnyk” society gymnasium” (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 72, pp. 1–2). However, “the synagogue in the village Horinchevo is not used in the village, in Sokyrnytsia is transferred to the school, half of the premises are classrooms, and the other half is a teacher’s residence. A minor reconstruction was carried out. In the village of Drahovo – the synagogue was transferred to the grain storage of the collective farm. A complete reconstruction was not carried out” (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 72, p. 7).

Synagogues continued to be taken away by the authorities. Thus, by the decision of the Executive Committee of the Transcarpathian Regional Council of Workers’ Deputies No. 2078 of December 25, 1952, the synagogue in Mukachevo on St. Uzhhorodska 7, was transferred “at the disposal of Mukachevo Town Council for cultural and educational needs” (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 72, p. 11).

From the first quarter of 1953, the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR introduced a new, approved by the Central Statutory Administration of the USSR, form of a statistical report on registered religious communities, houses of worship and ministers of worship (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 70, pp. 8–10). This new form of a statistical report, in our opinion, was done for the sake of a clear accounting and control of religious denominations.

From domes of church premises, which were not used for various reasons (the former Lutheran prayer house in the city of Uzhhorod on Gorky Square, of the former Reformed prayer house of Podvynohradovo, the Greek-Catholic monasteries of M. Berezny, Imstychevo) it was proposed to remove the bells and hand them over for remelting of non-ferrous metals (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 72, p. 3).

The issue of community registration was also under the special focus of the heads of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR (I. Poliansky) and the Ukrainian SSR (P. Vilkhovy). M. Rasputko, the representative of this organ in the Transcarpathian region, almost got a penalty for violating “the state discipline” because he did not submit the conclusions and decisions of the Regional Executive Committee on the

registration of the Reformed religious communities in Uzhhorod and Mukachevo and the Jewish community in Khust in time (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 71, p. 1).

In relations with the Soviet authorities, some denominations tried to show their commitment to it. Thus, on March 4, 1953, the regional dean of the Reformed Church, Adalbert Hanchi, addressed the priests of the Reformed Church: "On the radio, I learned about the misfortune – the sad news that our dear Leader and Teacher, Head of Ministers Comrade Stalin became very ill. I call on all the priests of Transcarpathian region to conduct the Divine Liturgy with the faithful and pray for the recovery of our beloved and dear Leader Joseph Vissarionovych Stalin" (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 73, p. 2). Even after the death of J. Stalin, A. Hanchi supported the political initiatives of the Soviet Union enthusiastically. In particular, on June 19, 1953, the dean supported the resolutions of the World Congress of Peace Supporters in Budapest officially: "Transcarpathian reformed believers, together with all the people of our Soviet Motherland, cast their vote for peace and give all their strength to protect and preserve peace" (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 73, p. 3).

On March 7, 1953, Mocharko, the senior presbyter of the Evangelical Christian Baptists, mourned the death of the Soviet leader publicly: "In connection with the death of the great leader of our state, Joseph Vissarionovych Stalin, please call on the faithful to unite around the government of the Soviet Union and honour the memory of the great leader by arranging a prayer meeting, a fervent prayer for our government and our Soviet country" (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 75, p. 1).

After J. Stalin's death, with the beginning of the rehabilitation of the victims of political repressions, M. Rasputko, the commissioner of religious cults in Transcarpathian region, had a certain problem, which he could not solve on his own, having asked for advice from higher authorities. On September 1, 1953, the administrator of the Roman Catholic Church appealed to him with a request to register J. Tovt as a priest in the village of Serednie, who had been convicted by a military tribunal in the fall of 1944, and at that time he was released prematurely (SATR, f. R-1490, d. 1, c. 74, p. 5). On September 6, 1953, the villagers of many neighbouring district villages collected signatures in support of J. Tovt, and P. Vilkhovy wrote back that if the Ministry of Internal Affairs authorities registered J. Tovt in the village of Serednie for a permanent residence, he did not object to it.

In 1953, the first feuilletons against the Orthodox clergy were published in the regional press. We mean the feuilleton published in the newspaper "Molod Zakarpattia" on April 5, 1953 under the title "Web" and in the newspaper "Sovietskoye Zakarpatie" on April 30, 1953 – "Baptism in Sokyrnytsia". They appeared on the initiative of their authors, because for some time the authorized representative of the Ruska Orthodox Church did not know how to react to them (SATR, f. R-544, d. 2, c. 32, p. 2).

The investigation of the facts described in the "Baptism in Sokyrnytsia" feuilleton lasted almost three months. The feuilleton was discussed at the Komsomol meetings in the district. The case of three Komsomol members was considered at the Bureau of the District Committee of the LKSU. The members of the VLKSM Holova and Monych received a severe reprimand with a note in the record card, and Reshylova – the reprimand only (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 42).

In the same year, the desecration of the Orthodox shrines was recorded. Thus, the priest of Nyzhniy Bystry, Khust district, reported the fact that in October of 1953, unknown people who drove the car, number plate 55-17 ZYS, tied a rope to the cross, broke the cross and dragged it 5 kilometers from the place. In a letter to the district prosecutor, the Commissioner

of the Council for the Affairs of the Ruska Orthodox Church interpreted this event as “a hooligan act that offends the feelings of believers” (SATR, f. R-544, d. 2, c. 34, p. 45).

At the end of 1952 – the beginning of 1953, anti-religious propaganda intensified. For example, from October of 1952 to April of 1953 in Uzhhorod, in artils, enterprises and organizations of the city 92 lectures were conducted by lecturers of the regional lecture bureau, by the members of the Society for the spread of political and scientific knowledge and by the lecturers of the city lecture group of the cultural and religious department. Let's name some of them: “Marxism, Leninism on Religion” (a lecturer – “comrade” Kulahin), “Science and Religion about the Origin of a Human Being” (“comrade” Kudienko), “The Irreconcilability of Science and Religion” (T. Sevbo), “The Uniate Church in Transcarpathia at the Service of Imperialism” (“comrade” Chubukov), “On the Origin of Religious Holidays and Rites and their Reactionary Essence” (“comrade” Butsko), “The Vatican at the Service of Reaction” (“comrade” Povch), “The Origin and Class Essence of Religion” (“comrade” Lustih) and the others (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 11).

As of April 15, 1953, 148 lectures were conducted in Berehiv district, which were attended by 14,208 people. Lectures were conducted at enterprises, collective farms and state farms, MTS, at seminars held in the district center. I. Sirko, the secretary of Berehiv District Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, noted that as a result of the anti-religious work carried out, “production work improved”, “during “Paska” holidays (Easter), the majority of collective farmers worked in collective farm fields”, “in such seven-year schools as Berehy, Ivanivka, Dobrosillia, Kvasovo, etc., there was 100% school attendance” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, pp. 12–13).

In the first quarter of 1953, in Velykoberezniansky District, a meeting “On the Importance of Natural and Scientific, and Anti-religious Propaganda” was held with the heads of village lecturers, lecturers of the district lecture group and lecturers of the department for the spread of political and scientific knowledge. Seminars of lecturers of rural lecture groups were held on the same issue. At the end of January and the beginning of February of 1953, a film festival was organized on scientific and natural topics at 6 cinema buildings, 36 times films were on, before the watching of which lectures were conducted. In total, in the first quarter of 1953, about 8,000 conversations were held and 83 lectures were conducted on the following topics: “Opposition of Science and Religion”, “Origin and Class Essence of Religion”, “Science and Religion about the Structure of the Universe”, “Sectarianism and its Reactionary Role” and the others (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 14).

Mishchenko, the secretary of the Velykoberezniansky District Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, noted that collective farmers often ask lecturers the following questions: “Why does religion teach about the origin of a human being?”, “Why is the church separated from the state?”, “Whose interests does the church protect in capitalist states?”, “Why is church ceremony allowed in our country?” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 15).

Especially on the eve of major religious holidays communists held amateur concerts in village clubs. The goal was to attract more young people here. Thus, in 1953, on the eve of Easter, 10 lectures on anti-religious topics were conducted in the villages of Velykoberezniansky district, 11 concerts were held, and dancing parties were organized in the majority of clubs.

On December 29, 1952, in Volivsky district, the plenum of the district committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine discussed the issue “On the State and Measures to Improve Lecture Propaganda in the District”. Chief focus was on the “production of anti-religious

propaganda among the population” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 20). Although the quantitative indicators of anti-religious measures were impressive, the head of propaganda and agitation department of the district was forced to state: “There is still a low level of anti-religious propaganda in the district, as a result of which many young people still attend churches” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 21).

The best lecturers received praise from party members at various meetings and seminars, and were noted in reports. Thus, the secretary of Irshava District Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Kapitan reported: “The best lecturers of the district lecture group V. I. Huz, V. P. Kerechany, Roman, Liakh, Matsak, Khodakovsky and the others systematically conduct lectures on scientific, natural and atheistic topics”. The personality of V. Huz, a lecturer, was mentioned as an example who conducted the lecture “Catholicism is the Enemy of Science” for collective farmers in Irshava. In the lecture, he “elucidated how modern Catholicism serves imperialism, fights against natural science and social sciences, that the Catholics are closely connected with the right-wing socialists” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, pp. 22–23).

The secretary of Mukachevo district committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted in the report that in some villages of the district (Kopynivtsi, Mykulivtsi, Horonda) scientific, natural and anti-religious propaganda had been launched. As a result, according to the party member, in Kopynivtsi a priest Chenheri used this to his advantage when a “miracle flower” appeared in the church. “Flower”, however, was “detected and measures were taken” to improve propaganda (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 25).

In Rakhiv district, when lectures were conducted by the party leadership of the district, drawbacks were recorded: there were cases when the lectures were conducted without a prior discussion or review; some lecturers did not connect the lecture content with local facts. But the biggest accusation was that some lecturers conducted lectures on a low ideological and content level. Thus, the freelance lecturer Kushnir “made many mistakes while conducting the lecture, and that is why, he was expelled from the lecture group” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 29).

The absence of anti-religious propaganda was noted in certain villages of Tiachiv district – Hanychi, Kalyny, Kalyny-Zarika, Hlyboky Potik, Tarasivka, Krychevo and Kolodne. Not a single anti-religious lecture was conducted in these villages, and there “many Komsomol members attend church liturgies, and in Hanychi, Kalyny, H. Potik sects operate” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, p. 36).

“Religious sects” (the Baptists) operated also found in Uzhhorod Region, in the villages of Antalovtsi and Khudliovo. Although it was noted that during the elections “almost all sectarians took part in voting”. The Department of Agitation and Propaganda of Uzhhorod District Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Hyria also pointed out that the district and political department newspapers did not publish much material on atheistic issues. Instead, the table book of Uzhhorod agitators became the pamphlet by P. Karmansky “The Vatican – the inspirer of obscurantism and world reaction” (SATR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 2281, pp. 38–39).

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research. Thus, during the final period of Stalinism, the religious situation in Zakarpattia Oblast was quite complicated. In 1949, the Greek Catholic Church, one of the largest denominations in the region, was liquidated by the Soviet state by means of forceful methods. One part of the Greek-Catholic priesthood “reunited” with the Orthodox Church, another part of it switched to civilian work officially, continuing to perform rites secretly. More than a hundred priests were convicted.

Having resolved the issue with the Greek Catholic Church, the authorities tried to establish complete control over the rest of the denominations. In particular, at that time the largest was the Orthodox denomination, which in 1945 left the Serbian Orthodox Church and came under the jurisdiction of the Ruska Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholic Church also maintained a fairly strong position. The reformists and various “sects” made a certain amount of trouble for the communists. At that time the main task of the communist government was “to reduce the religiosity of the population”.

At the end of 1952 – the beginning of 1953, the authorities took an active action. At the regional, district and local levels, lecturers of the regional lecture bureau, members of the society for the spread of political and scientific knowledge and lecturers of city and district lecture groups of religious and secular departments conducted hundreds of lectures on natural and scientific, anti-religious topics at enterprises, institutions and organizations, collective farms and state farms of Transcarpathian region. Thousands of discussions on atheist topics were also held. In order to encourage listeners to visit such events, the authorities organized watching films, amateur concerts, etc. The first anti-religious publications appeared in the regional press.

It should be noted that there were some gains in anti-religious work (going to work during religious holidays, 100% school attendance), but this campaign did not achieve the predicted results. The Bolsheviks never succeeded in transforming the worldview of the population of Transcarpathia into a purely atheistic one. Considering a rather thorough analysis of the topic of (anti)religious policy in Soviet Transcarpathia during Khrushchov period, we see further prospects in the study of the peculiarities of its implementation during the period of stagnation.

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**DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
OF THE WEST REGIONS IN THE UkrSSR: PLANS OF STATE AND PARTY
BODIES POWERS AND PERSPECTIVES OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION
(at the end of the 1960s – the first half of the 1970s)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the development scale of the agricultural sector and basic industries of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR at the end of the 1960s – the first half of the 1970s, to point out the planning drawbacks of the central state and party authorities in (a) determining the geolocation of enterprises, (b) their technical equipment, (c) implementation of progressive technologies, (d) use of a human potential, as well as to elucidate the course of discussions between regional party elites and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which related to a complex of socio economic issues. The methodology of research is based on a complex of*

problems related to socio-economic development of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR during the period under study and is determined by general scientific methods (comparative, dialectical, structural functional, etc.) and special historical methods (historical genetic, historical comparative, historical and typological, historical systemic, etc.). **The scientific novelty of the research:** in historical retrospect, the plans of state party authorities, aimed at increasing the industrial potential of the Western Ukrainian region, have been covered critically; the vision of the local party elite regarding the socio-economic development of each region has been shown; the contradictions that existed between regional committees and the State Planning Committee (the DerzhPlan) of the Ukrainian SSR in the process of planning industrial capacities, feasibility of capital investments, (ir)rational use of funds, etc., have been indicated. **The Conclusions.** The post-war reconstruction of the agro-industrial complex of the western Ukrainian regions was accompanied by the intentions of the central state party authorities to transform the region into a powerful industrial center of the Ukrainian SSR. However, the excessive concentration of management powers in the hands of the "center" often led to unjustified decisions from an economic point of view, provoked criticism from the local party elite, which usually tried to adjust the plans of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the State Planning Committee (the DerzhPlan) of the Ukrainian SSR unsuccessfully. The drawbacks of the command-administrative system of economic management became evident in the 1980s and led to a large-scale socio-economic crisis, the consequences of which reverberated in the political sphere and, ultimately, became one of the factors of the USSR collapse.

Key words: agro-industrial complex, Ukrainian SSR, western Ukrainian regions, CPU, State Planning Committee (DerzhPlan) of the USSR.

РОЗВИТОК АГРОПРОМИСЛОВОГО КОМПЛЕКСУ ЗАХІДНИХ ОБЛАСТЕЙ УРСР: ПЛАНИ ДЕРЖАВНО-ПАРТІЙНИХ ОРГАНІВ ВЛАДИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ ЇХ РЕАЛІЗАЦІЇ (КІНЕЦЬ 1960 – ПЕРША ПОЛОВИНА 1970-х рр.)

Abstract. Мета статті – дослідити масштаби розбудови аграрного сектору та базових галузей промисловості західних областей УРСР наприкінці 1960 – першій половині 1970-х рр., вказати на недоліки планування центральних державно-партійних органів влади при (а) визначенні геолокації підприємств, (б) їх технічної оснащеності, (в) впровадженні прогресивних технологій, (г) використанні людського потенціалу, а також розкрити перебіг дискусій між обласними партійними елітами та ЦК КПУ, які стосувалися комплексу соціально-економічних питань. **Методологія дослідження** комплексу проблем, пов'язаних із соціально-економічним розвитком західних областей УРСР упродовж досліджуваного періоду детермінована загальнонауковими (компаративний, діалектичний, структурно-функціональний та ін.) та спеціально-історичними ((історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний та ін.) методами. **Наукова новизна статті:** в історичній ретроспективі критично розглянуто плани державно-партійних органів влади, спрямовані на нарощування промислового потенціалу західноукраїнського регіону; показано бачення місцевої партійної еліти щодо соціально-економічного розвитку кожної з областей; вказано на суперечності, які існували між обкомами і Держпланом УРСР у процесі планування промислових потужностей, доцільності капіталовкладень, (не)раціонального використання коштів тощо. **Висновки.** Повоєнна відбудова агропромислового комплексу західноукраїнських областей супроводжувалася намірами центральних державно-партійних органів влади перетворити регіон на потужний промисловий центр УРСР. Однак надмірна концентрація управлінських повноважень у руках "центру" нерідко приводила до необґрунтованих з економічної точки зору рішень, викликала критику місцевої партійної еліти, яка, зазвичай безуспішно, намагалася коригувати плани ЦК КПУ та Держплану УРСР. Недоліки командно-адміністративної системи управління економікою стали очевидними у 1980-х рр. та призвели до масштабної соціально-економічної кризи, наслідки якої отримали відлуння у політичній сфері та, зрештою, стали одним із факторів розпаду СРСР.

Ключові слова: агропромисловий комплекс, Українська РСР, західноукраїнські області, КПУ, Держплан УРСР.

The Problem Statement. The agro-industrial complex of the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR during the post-war period of the XXth century developed within the framework of the planned command and administrative system of management with its inherent drawbacks. Taking into consideration the absence of market relations, the Communist Party of Ukraine carried out accelerated industrialization of the western region in “a manual mode”, which made it possible to turn the region into an important agro-industrial center of the Republic at the end of the 1960s. If in 1940 – 1968 the volume of industrial production in the Republic increased 7,1 times, then in Lviv region it increased 27 times, Rivne region – 17,1, Volyn region – 13,6, Ternopil region – 12,6, Ivano-Frankivsk – 10,7, Chernivtsi – 9,9 (Kosharnyj, 1974, p. 40). In 1946 – 1968 the production of industrial goods in Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia) increased 18 times (State Archives of Lviv Region (SALR), f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 6). In general, 8,6 billion karbovantsi were spent on the “national economy” development of the western regions of the Republic (without collective farms) during the post-war years, including more than 5,2 billion karbovantsi in 1961 – 1968 (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (CSAPAU), f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 2).

In the western regions of Ukraine there were built 18 coal mines, Rozdil sulfur and Novostebnyk potash plants, Burshtyn and Dobrotvir thermal power plants, Rivne flax plant, many sugar factories, light, food and dairy industries during the same period (Kosharnyj, 1974, p. 45). The automotive and electrical industry, machine tools and instrument making developed significantly. At the end of the 1960s, the construction of Kalush chemical metallurgical and Yavoriv sulfur plants, Rivne nitrogen fertilizer plant, Sokal artificial fiber plant and a number of other enterprises was completed (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 22).

At the end of the 1960s, Western Ukrainian regions accounted for 94% of the national production of sulfur, 27% of oil, 29% of natural gas, 94% of potash fertilizer production, 30% of cement production, 100% of forklift truck production, 93% of bus production, 22% – metal cutting machines, 96% – lighting electric lamps, 53% – televisions, 35% – furniture, 40% – paper, 23% – outerwear, 17% – leather shoes (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 18).

The employment of the working age population of Western Ukrainian regions in public production increased from 62,6% to 79,2% during the 1960s. The working age population, employed in personal household help, decreased in Ivano-Frankivsk region from 35 to 18%, Chernivtsi region – from 35 to 20%, Volyn region – from 34 to 18%, Lviv region – from 33 to 17%, Rivne region – from 36 to 19%, Zakarpattia region – from 45 to 32% (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 15). In general, a huge amount of the working age population, employed in household and personal household help, decreased from 25,3 to 12,6% in the Republic. In 1966 – 1968, industrial production in the Western Ukrainian regions escalated by 38,5%, while in the Ukrainian SSR as a whole it increased by 28%. There were produced industrial products by 776 million karbovantsi, more than it was foreseen by the established plan during the same period. It was planned to increase the volume of industrial production by 66,5%, including in Ivano-Frankivsk region by 94,7%, Rivne region – 79,4%, Ternopil region – 74,4%, Volyn region – 66%, Zakarpattia region – 62,8%, Lviv region – 58,2%, Chernivtsi region – 53,5% during the next five-year period (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 16).

In general, 3,320 million karbovantsi of capital investments were spent on the development of all branches of industry and agriculture in the Western Ukrainian regions in 1966 – 1970s (11% of the total republican volume) (State Archives of Ivano-Frankivsk region (SAIFR), f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 101). The party officials stated that “particularly large-scale construction was carried out in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Rivne regions”. As a result, at the beginning of a

five-year plan, there was a boost of the population's income in the region 10,7 – 15% against 9,5% in the Republic as a whole. It was expected that the turnover would increase by 61,6% over the next five years (totally in the UkrSSR – 51,6%) (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 4).

Nevertheless, despite a rather positive dynamics of the agro-industrial complex development in the western Ukrainian regions, the rate of industrial production development fell behind in comparison with the neighboring regions (the relative employment of the population in industry was lower than the national indicators). Due to the scarcity of the necessary base of the construction industry and the untimely supply of materials and equipment to buildings, a significant part of the capital investments was not developed from year to year, and the objects were erected with a great delay (for example, in 1966 – 1968, in the Western Ukrainian regions, capital investments in the amount of 64,6 million karbovantsi) (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 4). The state and party authorities planned to make some corrections concerning the outlined trends in the first half of the 1970s.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The study of socio-economic processes in Western Ukrainian lands was initiated by the Soviet historiography, whose representatives in every possible way gave eulogy to the achievements of the Communist Party of Ukraine in raising the “national economic complex” of the region. The scientific studies carried out by D. Shelest (Shelest, 1971), V. Romanczov (Romanczov, 1972), I. Kosharnyj (Kosharnyj, 1974), O. Malko (Malko, 1978), S. Makarchuk (Makarchuk, 1983) and the others, reflected the peculiarities of the working class formation in the Ukrainian SSR in general, and in the western Ukrainian lands – in particular, they praised the activity of the CPSU in the field of development of certain sectors of the economic complex against the background of being silent concerning the crisis phenomena in the economy. Marxism-Leninism methodology in scientific historical literature is a natural phenomenon for the Soviet scientific works on socio-economic issues, which was confirmed by the research of V. Petrenko (Petrenko, 1970), O. Nesterenko (Nesterenko, 1975), P. Kostyk (Kostyk, 1980), I. Loboda (Loboda, 1984), I. Lukynov (Lukynov, 1987), P. Panchenko (Panchenko & Chyshko, 1989) and the others. Their scientific works, which dealt with agriculture mostly, illustrated the disturbances in this field in the second half of the XXth century. The economic policy reassessment of the Central Committee of the CPSU in the 60s – 80s of the XXth century is an invariable feature of scientific works in modern Ukrainian historiography. In a number of studies carried out by V. Baran (Baran & Danylenko, 1999), V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 1999), S. Padalka (Padalka, 2002), L. Kovpak (Kovpak, 2003), O. Lisovska (Lisovska, 2010), and the others, a chief focus was on the drawbacks of the socio-economic life transformation in the Republic, in the context of the study on the features of the Western Ukrainian region industrialization. Interesting interpretations on socio-economic processes in the Ukrainian SSR in a somewhat broader chronological period can be found in the scientific works written by O. Malyarchuk (Malyarchuk, 2022), M. Borysenko (Borysenko, 2021), O. Stasiuk (Stasiuk, 2020), V. Dokashenko, V. Kotsur (Dokashenko & Kotsur, 2022), R. Popp, N. Cantor (Popp & Cantor, 2021) and the others.

The main purpose of the proposed research is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the agro-industrial complex development of the Western Ukrainian region at the end of the 1960s – the first half of the 1970s. The source base of the research is based on the materials of the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, State Archives of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions. The chronological framework of the article covers the period of the end of the eighth (1966 – 1970) and the ninth (1971 – 1975) the so-called a five-year plan – centralized Derzhplan for the development of the economy of the USSR.

The Results of the Research. At the end of the 1960s the socio-economic sector of the Western Ukrainian region was in a drastic need of new capital investments, modernization of production, redistribution of labour resources, taking into account a steady growth of state expenditures on the military and industrial complex under the conditions of the growing Cold War. The state and party authorities using methods proven for decades, tried to solve the “negative trends” in the agro-industrial development of the Western Ukrainian region. According to the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine “On Further Development of the National Economy of the Western Regions of the Ukrainian SSR” (1969), there was the need to agree with the project of the main directions of the national economy development of Volyn, Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian), Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Chernivtsi regions of the Ukrainian SSR developed by the State Planning Committee (the DerzhPlan) of the Ukrainian SSR for 1971 – 1975 (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 103). It was pointed out that the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR was in a drastic need to take into account the comments, made by the departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the development of the western regions of the Republic, as well as the regional committees of the Communist Party, when developing the plan for the development of the “national economy” of the Ukrainian SSR for 1971 – 1975 (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 5).

According to the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on the accelerated development of the economy of the western regions, the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR prepared the project of the main directions of the development of the “national economy” development of Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattia, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Chernivtsi regions during the years of 1971 – 1975. The total volume of industrial production of the region was planned to increase by 74% (in general, 46,9% in the Republic). Hence, it was assumed that the production of industrial products in Ivano-Frankivsk region would increase by 2 times, in Ternopil region by 85%, in Volyn region, in Rivne region – by 80%, in Zakarpattia region – by 69%, in Lviv region – by 65%, in Chernivtsi region – by 62% (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 20).

In 1971 – 1975, it was planned to increase the production capacity of cement by 600 thousand tons, slate – by 180 million tiles, soft roofing – by 125 million square meters, wall materials – by 547 million units, precast concrete – by 554 thousand square meters. The plan provided for the construction of glass factory with the commissioning of capacities in the amount of 10 million square meters, as well as an increase in the production of ceramic drainage pipes, limestone flour, sanitary and technical products, etc., materials due to the expansion and reconstruction of existing enterprises (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 6).

During the period of 1971 – 1975, in the Western Ukrainian regions, due to the intensification of agricultural production, the gross harvest of grain was expected to increase by 5,5 – 10,9%, sugar beet – by 3,2 – 8,1%, flax – by 8 – 15,6%, meat in live weight – by 16 – 42%, eggs – by 11,6 – 41%. The construction of vegetable bases was also foreseen, which would eventually allow “to improve the use of labour resources in rural areas of these regions” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 7).

Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, and Chernivtsi regional party committees and regional executive committees familiarized themselves with the directions for the development of industry and agriculture proposed by the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR and “basically agreed with them” (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 22). However, there were also comments that, in the opinion of the regional party elite, should be

taken into account when drawing up the so-called “five-year” plans. The suggestions of local regional committees were limited to constructing additional plants and factories, to expand / reconstruct a large number of existing enterprises (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 8).

In particular, the Bureau of Volyn Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Executive Committee of the Regional Council in the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine considered that the suggestions of the State Planning Committee “ensure mainly the further development of the economy and culture, create proper conditions for a better use of labour resources of the region”. It was established that the creation of new production facilities provided for in the project increased the number of workers by 35,200 people (1,6 times compared to 1968). The party elite of the region stated that the implementation of the project would allow to reformat the structure of agro-industrial production and increase the industrial production in the gross product (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 8). Hence, if in 1968 the expected production of industrial products per capita amounted to 470 karbovansti, then in 1975 the indicator should have amounted to 1042 karbovantsi (2,2 times more). In the region electricity consumption increased from 628 kWh in 1968 to 1,700 in 1975 (2,7 times). Merchandise turnover per capita was to increase over the outlined period from 370 karbovantsi to 632 karbovantsi (by 71%) (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 30).

At the same time, Volyn Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine prepared its own proposals for the project, which were supposed to help “to use the productive forces of the region fully”. The party officials insisted on the construction of a new coalmine with a projected capacity of 600,000 tons per year. Its construction was dictated by the need to employ 1,300 miners of Mine No. 6 “Novovolynska”, who were threatened with unemployment due to the lack of promising coal beds for development.

The Bureau of Volyn Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine made significant remarks, which concerned light industry. Hence, the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR for the production of products in natural terms envisaged the production of silk fabrics in the amount of 69,41 million square meters in 1975. However, there were no enterprises of such profile in the region, and they were not included into the list of construction in 1971 – 1975. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned reasons, a specially created commission proposed to construct the following enterprises:

- a spinning and weaving factory for the production of silk fabrics with a capacity of 60 thousand spindles and 23,5 million m.p. of raw silk fabrics per year in Kovel;
- a factory for the production of silk fabrics in Lutsk;
- a spinning and weaving factory with a finishing production capacity of 70 thousand spindles and 67 million linear meters of raw silk fabrics per year in Lutsk (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 190).

The party officials also drew attention to the shortage of certain construction materials, in particular bricks (in 1968, shortage in the region amounted to 70 million units). “If we maintain the projected growth rates of production of wall materials for 1971 – 1975, provided for by the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, then their deficit in 1975 will reach 96 million units only if centralized capital investments are ensured, without taking into account construction from other sources of financing”, – it was noted in a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Taking into account the above-mentioned factor, it was proposed to provide for the reconstruction of Kulchynsky Silicate Factory in the project with the increase of its capacity to 120 million units of bricks (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 192).

The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built in Volyn region (1971 – 1975)

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 11)

№	Name of the object	Approximate construction dates	Approximate cost (million KRB)	Approximate number of employees (people)
1	Tursky peat briquette plant	1974 – 1975	3,6	500
2	West Ukrainian factory of rubber engineering products (outskirts of Lutsk)	1972 – 1976	50	7500
3	Polisky chemical plant (Rozhishche village)	1975 – 1978	140	3500
4	Household chemicals plant (Lutsk)	1973 – 1975	4,5	800
5	Water meter plant (Lutsk)	1971 – 1975	5,9	2350
6	Lubricating pumps plant (Kovel)	1971 – 1972	6	3000
7	Plant of general purpose chains (Lutsk)	1972 – 1974	15	2000
8	House-building plant (Lutsk)	1971 – 1975	2,5	230
9	Flax mill (Kovel)	1973 – 1975	45	6080
10	Cotton and spinning factory (Novovolynsk)	1974 – 1975	25,3	2000
11	Leather goods factory (Novovolynsk)	1974 – 1975	3,2	1000
12	Rozhyshchensky flax mill	1971 – 1972	2,5	213
13	Meat processing plant (Kovel)	1972 – 1974	5,4	640
14	Brewery (Kovel)	1971 – 1973	3,1	462

Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian) Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the document “Remarks on the Project of the Main Directions of the Development of the National Economy of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian) Region for 1971 – 1975, Developed by the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR” believed that “the outlined volumes and rates of growth of industrial, agricultural production and capital construction will ensure, in general, further economic development of the region” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 196). However, according to the regional party elite, the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR still made a number of tactical mistakes when drawing up the project. The Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine proposed:

- to carry out the reconstruction of the Perechyn DOK trust of “Zakarpattbud” with an increase in capacity from 14,000 square meters to 100,000 square meters of carpentry with commissioning in 1972;
- to reconstruct Uzhhorod plant of reinforced concrete products with an increase in capacity from 21,5 thousand cubic meters to 35 thousand cubic meters of precast reinforced concrete with commissioning in 1971;
- to build and put into operation in 1972 a factory for bricks production with a capacity of 100 million pieces;
- to build and put into operation in 1975 a drainage pipe workshop in the town of Mukachevo with a capacity of 50 million pieces per year, etc. (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 198).

The local party elite considered it expedient to foresee 45 million karbovantsi of capital investments for housing construction in 1971 – 1975, which was explained by the “extremely unsatisfactory condition of the housing stock, the growth of the urban population, and the low supply of living space”. It was emphasized that in the regional center (Uzhhorod) there were

7,050 houses, of which 4,600 were one-storied buildings. It was “economically unprofitable” for the local authorities to repair them, due to which the number of emergency buildings increased from year to year. A feature of the region is a significant number of gypsies (1,500 people in Uzhhorod), who lived in uninhabitable shacks. Hence, the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine made the following conclusion, “10 million karbovantsi are needed during the period of 1971 – 1975 to carry out priority works on the improvement of the city of Uzhhorod” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 55).

It was also considered expedient to put on ice the start of construction of a cotton spinning factory in the village of Irshava from 1975 to 1974 and a low-voltage equipment plant from 1974 till 1973; to include in the construction plan a factory of household chemicals in Uzhhorod in 1971; to increase the volume of land drainage by pot drainage by 5 thousand hectares in a five-year plan; to reduce the volume of furniture production in 1975 by 14 million karbovantsi (not provided for by increased capacity due to allocated capital investments); to provide for the construction in 1971 of a polytechnic school with 1,200 student places and a vocational school for the training of light industry specialists (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 55).

The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built in Zakarpattia region (1971 – 1975)
(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 12)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	Approximate estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Estimated number of employees (people)
1	Plant of polyvinyl chloride films (Khust)	1971 – 1977	18	2000
2	Factory of equipment for saving and searching information (Uzhhorod)	1973 – 1976	35	3300
3	Woodworking machine repair plant (Irshava village)	1973 – 1976	4	800
4	Factory of ignition devices for cars (Berehove)	1971 – 1975	25	5000
5	Low-voltage equipment plant (Uzhhorod)	1974 – 1975	8	2400
6	Mukachevo ceramic pipe plant	1971 – 1973	4,2	250
7	Cotton spinning factory (Irshava)	1975 – 1977	27	1700
8	Salt factory (Solotvyno town)	1971 – 1975	4,4	419

Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine expressed its own considerations regarding the agro-industrial development of Prykarpattia. In 1971 – 1975, the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR provided for a 2-fold increase in the production of industrial products, grain – by 7%, meat – by 20% (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 103). It was planned to build a tire plant, a nitrogen fertilizer plant, a synthetic detergent plant, a fine organic synthesis plant, a chemical engineering plant, a spare parts plant for cars, two cotton spinning factories, etc. The above-mentioned plans got positive feedback from the local party elite (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 104).

The peculiarity of the region is that Ivano-Frankivsk region is rich in potassium salts. The State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR provided for prospecting in 1971 for reserves of potash salts by industrial categories in the amount of 400 million tons and on these reserves to start the construction of a new potash plant with a capacity of 1 – 1.2 million tons per year with the introduction of the first stage by 1980 (Kosharnyj, 1974, p. 56).

At the same time, the local party elite considered it necessary to increase the volume of exploratory drilling in Ivano-Frankivsk region to 15 – 20 thousand meters per year (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 107). In addition, “taking into account the fact that the main increase in oil and gas production in the region is connected with the introduction of new deposits into development”, it was proposed to increase the volume of exploratory drilling works to 120,000 m. (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 109).

The Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine pointed at the fact that the production facilities of Ivano-Frankivsk production association “Ukrholovmiaso” do not ensure the processing of livestock sold to the state by collective farms, state farms and population. In particular, in 1967, 8,500 tons of livestock in live weight were exported outside the region, in 1968 – 10,500 tons. It was vital to have production capacity of 75 tons of meat per day in order to process meat (animals, poultry). Instead, at the end of 1970, they amounted to 45 tons only. It was noted that in the perspective plan for 1971 – 1975 the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry of the Ukrainian SSR envisaged the construction of meat processing plant in the town of Kalush, however, in the project of the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, the construction of the above-mentioned object was not provided for (SAIFR, f. P-1, d. 1, c. 4048, p. 110).

**The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built
in Ivano-Frankivsk region (1971 – 1975)**
(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 12)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	Approximate estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Approximate number of employees (people)
1	Ivano-Frankivsk winery	1971 – 1976	125	7000
2	Kalush plant of nitrogen fertilizers	1974 – 1980	196	2500
3	Plant “Khim mash” (Kolomyia)	1973 – 1977	14	5000
4	Manometer factory (Ivano-Frankivsk)	1973 – 1975	2	960
5	Plant of standardized parts (Burshtyn)	1972 – 1974	6	600
6	Cotton spinning factory (Dolyna)	1973 – 1975	27	1700
7	Cotton spinning factory (Kolomyia)	1975 – 1977	18	1700
8	Knitted fabric factory (Ivano-Frankivsk)	1971 – 1973	17	2500
9	Leather factory (Bolekhiv)	1972 – 1973	3,5	800
10	Flax factory (Halych)	1972 – 1973	2,5	213
11	Brewery (Ivano-Frankivsk)	1973 – 1975	3,1	462
12	Factory of spare parts for cars (Ivano-Frankivsk)	1971 – 1975	17	4000

Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine made comments on the volume of central capital investments in the agro-industrial sector of the region. It was considered necessary “to ensure the expected level of production” in order to increase the amount of capital investments and construction and installation works by 479 million karbovantsi, including: mechanical engineering – 42,9 million karbovantsi; coal industry – 77 million karbovantsi, construction materials industry – 30 million karbovantsi; construction industry – 19,4 million karbovantsi; transport – 50 million karbovantsi; agriculture – 50 million karbovantsi; housing construction – 76,5 million karbovantsi; education – 40 million karbovantsi; culture – 3,3 million karbovantsi (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 8).

There was a small amount of funds for the construction of transport infrastructure, which was a matter of a particular concern. It was established that the trunk roads of national significance Lviv – Uzhhorod – Chop and Lviv – Mukachevo – the state border, in particular their sections on the Carpathian passes, do not provide a proper passage of cargo and military transport, which led to an “urgent need for the reconstruction of the mentioned roads within Lviv region” (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 9).

Regarding land reclamation, Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted that there were 517,000 hectares of swampy and waterlogged land in the region, of which 300,000 hectares need to be drained with pottery drainage. The party officials proposed to include additionally 261,000 hectares in the drainage plan during the years of 1971 – 1975, including 100,000 hectares with pottery drainage. It was also established that almost a third of agricultural land in the region was located in the floodplains of mountain rivers (their length is 931 km). Taking into account the above-mentioned factor, the annual losses to agriculture caused during spring and summer floods, ranged from 2 to 8 million karbovantsi. It is proposed to provide for 1971 – 1975 allocations for the regulation of river flows in the region in the amount of 29,9 million karbovantsi. (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 12).

**The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built
in Lviv region (1971 – 1975)**

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, s. 13)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Estimated number of employees (people)
1	Radekhiv Peat Briquette Plant	1973 – 1975	1,8	250
2	Hamaliivka Peat Briquette Plant	1972 – 1974	1,8	250
3	Carpathian Potash Plant (Stebnyk)	1974 – 1979	187	5500
4	Paint and Varnish Factory (Boryslav)	1973 – 1975	5,5	750
5	Household Chemicals Plant (Boryslav)	1971 – 1972	3	750
6	Plant of Low-power Electric Motors (Drohobych)	1974 – 1976	10	3800
7	Electric Welding Equipment Plant (Drohobych)	1974 – 1976	10	4000
8	Plant “Khimmarsh” (Stryi)	1974 – 1977	14	5000
9	Factory of Automatic Fire-Fighting Equipment (Sambir)	1975 – 1977	3,5	1400
10	Plant “Lvivprilad” (a branch in Stryi)	1974 – 1976	4	1500
11	Plant of Biophysical Devices (a branch in Drohobych)	1974 – 1976	1,5	1350
12	Plant of Technological Equipment (Stryi)	1974 – 1976	4	1500
13	Factory of Enamelled Wires (Sambir)	1970 – 1973	8	1500
14	Glass factory, first line (Lviv)	1971 – 1975	16,5	1000
15	Piskiv Gypsum Plant	1971 – 1972	4	580
16	Worsted and cloth factory (Stryi)	1972 – 1974	30	5000
17	Textile and Haberdashery Factory (Noviy Rozdil)	1973 – 1974	4,8	1500
18	City Milk Factory (Stryi)	1973 – 1974	1,2	50
19	City Milk Factory (Chervonohrad)	1971 – 1972	1,6	150

Rivne Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted that three branches of industry (food, light, woodworking) accounted for approximately 60% of all industrial production of the region (Kosharnyj, p. 170). For these reasons, the local party elite considered it expedient to develop other branches of industry, which was informed by the

State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR as early as in 1968. “These suggestions envisaged a significant reduction of the disparity between the number of men and women, who were involved in industrial production, and the improvement of the structure of the industrial branches of the region”, – noted the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 162).

In this context, Rivne Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine tried to convince the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of the need to establish a number of machine-building, electrical engineering, and instrument-making enterprises in the region, in 1971 – 1975. In particular, it was proposed to build 4 mechanical engineering plants with a total number of 13,000 employees, as well as 2 electrotechnical and instrument manufacturing plants with a total number of 4,000 employees in Rivne. “The feasibility of building these enterprises... is confirmed by the presence of a well-developed network of railways and highways, construction materials and the necessary number of labour resources,” – summarized the party officials (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 162).

The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built in Rivne region (1971 – 1975)

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 14)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	Approximate estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Estimated number of employees (people)
1	Western Power Station (Rivne)	1971 – 1977	280	1300
2	Berezyn Peat Briquette Plant	1974 – 1977	3,2	500
3	Peat Briquette Factory “Viliya”	1974 – 1975	3,6	500
4	Synthetic Fiber Plant (Rivne)	1972 – 1977	102	7500
5	Metal Products Plant (Rivne)	1974 – 1975	2,5	1000
6	Factory of Reinforced Concrete Products (Rivne)	1973 – 1975	3	290
7	Ukrainian Factory of asbestos-cement products (Rivne)	1973 – 1976	11	900
8	Brewery (Rivne)	1973 – 1975	3,1	462
9	Meat Processing Plant (Sarny)	1972 – 1974	5,4	640

Ternopil Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine “based on balance calculations” asked the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR to review its own proposals and accept comments related to the possible size of the city’s population. In order of “a further use of labour resources and more full employment of the working population”, (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 203), the local party elite made suggestions for additional construction in the region, in 1971 – 1975:

- a branch of the “Electroarmatura” plant with a capacity of 20 million products / year in the city of Ternopil;
- two workshops for the production of electrical products with a capacity of 45 million products in the village of Pidvolochysk and 20 million / year in the city of Terebovlia;
- skimmed milk powder plant with a capacity of 2,5 tons of milk powder and 6,5 tons of whole milk products in the village of Pidvolochysk and Kozova each;
- cannery of the Regional Kharchprom of the Ministry of Food Industry of the Ukrainian SSR with a capacity of 5 million / year in the village of Shumske;
- fruit and vegetable plant “Holovkonservu” with a capacity of 20 million / year in the village of Laitvsi;

– bread factory with a capacity of 40 t/day in Terebovlia, etc. (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 203)

Taking into account that “in the region, the volume of capital investments is increasing every year” (Kosharnyj, s. 104), Ternopil Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted the fact of growing demand for wall materials (in 1968 alone, the deficit amounted to 223 million bricks), which is why in 1971 – 1974 it offered to increase capital investment in the building materials industry by 64%. At the same time, “in order to satisfy the needs of the population with living space..., social and cultural institutions”, local party officials asked to review the outlined indicators and bring them into line with the development of the region’s industry (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 224).

The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built in Ternopil region (1971 – 1975)

(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 15)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	Approximate estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Estimated number of employees (people)
1	Secondary Aluminum Plant (Ternopil)	1971 – 1976	11	1000
2	Food Engineering Plant (Terebovlia)	1972 – 1975	10	2500
3	Refrigerator factory (Ternopil)	1972 – 1976	15	3500
4	Plant of Synthetic Detergents (Ternopil)	1972 – 1974	5	410
5	Berezhany Glass Container Plant	1973 – 1976	7	1500
6	Plant of Reinforced Concrete Products (Ternopil)	1971 – 1973	3,9	290
7	Factory of Gift Metal Products (Terebovlia)	1971 – 1973	2,5	1000
8	Factory of Non-woven Materials (Chortkiv)	1973 – 1975	20,5	1500
9	Ternopil Sugar Factory 9	1972 – 1974	14	608
10	Ternopil Sugar Factory 10	1973 – 1905	14	608
11	Brewery (Ternopil)	1972 – 1974	7	575
12	Meat Processing Plant (Lanivtsi village)	1972 – 1974	5,4	640
13	Factory of Engines for Mopeds (Ternopil)	1971 – 1975	25	10000

The communists of Chernivtsi region expressed critical considerations regarding the plans of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the development of the agro-industrial complex. In particular, the local regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted that there were many light industry enterprises operating in the region, where “women’s labour is mainly used”. At the same time, in a current five-year plan, the construction of new enterprises began, which employed women mainly. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned reasons, the local party elite insisted on cancelling the construction plans of a silk plant and a suit fabric plant in Chernivtsi, in 1971 – 1975. “It is impossible to locate them in district centers due to the fact that population is small there”, – the party officials noted (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 222).

Taking into account the above-mentioned, the local regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine offered to support the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR in the intention to build a bearing plant in Chernivtsi, “where it would be possible to employ men, who are not employed in production”. A specific attention was also drawn to the fact that many enterprises in the city of Chernivtsi were located in premises that, on the one hand,

were “unsuitable for the organization of technological processes, and on the other hand, were in an emergency state. It was considered appropriate to provide for the allocation of the necessary funds for the reconstruction of a leather goods factory, a factory of household chemicals, headgear, textile and art products, and a metal stamping factory given the above-mentioned reasons (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 224).

The list of the most important industrial enterprises that were supposed to be built in Chernivtsi region (1971 – 1975)
(CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 15)

№	Name of the object	Approximate terms of construction	Approximate estimated cost (million karbovantsi)	Estimated number of employees (people)
1	Bearing Plant (Chernivtsi)	1971 – 1975	119	12000
2	Tool Factory (Chernivtsi)	1974 – 1976	5,1	1000
3	Factory of Manual Construction Tools (Vashkivtsi)	1972 – 1975	5	2000
4	Metal Furniture Factory (Chernivtsi)	1971 – 1972	4	1600
5	Construction Materials Plant (Khotyn)	1975 – 1977	2,45	260
6	Sewing and Knitting Factory (Khotyn)	1972 – 1973	4,2	2000
7	Flax Plant (Storozhynets)	1973 – 1974	2,5	213
8	Experimental Plant of the Research Institute of Elements and Nodes (Chernivtsi)	1971 – 1974	9	2500

According to the commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR expressed its own considerations regarding the proposals of the regional committees of the western Ukrainian regions. In particular, if local party officials proposed to increase the estimated urban population of individual cities in Lviv region, in particular Lviv, by 50,000 people as of 1975, and to increase the total population in Ternopil region by 138,600 people due to mechanical growth, then the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR believed that at the stage of development of the main directions of development of the “national economy” for 1971 – 1975 “there is no reason to make changes in the estimated population size” (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 10). It was pointed out that the Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR limited the growth of the population of cities, in particular in Lviv (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, pp. 19–21).

Regarding the construction of new enterprises, the State Planning Committee proposed to solve the problem in stages. Hence, in the coal industry, this issue should be resolved “in accordance with the state of the irrigation balance of the Republic for 1971 – 1975, taking into account the possibility of increasing the specific weight of progressive types of fuel in this balance” (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 12). The proposal of Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to increase the primary processing of oil in the region was also not supported by economists. It was established that there will be the drastic need of petroleum products in 1975 and will amount to no more than 2.3 million tons in Lviv region. For the above-mentioned reasons, “it is impractical to increase the volume of primary oil processing to 3,9 million tons”. Furthermore, it was noted that Naddvirniansky and Drohobytzky oil refineries supplied the Western Ukrainian regions with oil products, and

the region did not have additional raw materials for increasing processing volumes (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 12).

The proposal made by Lviv regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding the expansion of Dobrotvirska DRES could not be supported, since its construction had already been completed to the design capacity, and the construction and assembly organization was transferred to the construction of Burshtynska DRES (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 45). Regional organizations requested to locate 16 enterprises in the field of mechanical engineering and metalworking in the Western Ukrainian region additionally. Warnings of local communists elicited positive feedback from the State Planning Commission, however, according to the planners, the issue required “additional study together with the Union ministries and agencies” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 203).

The State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR recognized the fact that the volume of production of building materials and structures in the Western Ukrainian regions did not meet the needs of construction: in 1968 the deficit of wall materials amounted to 375 million units in these regions (SALR, f. P-3, d. 13, c. 31, p. 56). The resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR dated June 19, 1968 approved a set of measures for the development of the building materials industry in the 1968s – 1970s, but the problem was not resolved. The development of light and food industry caused many questions from the local party elite, but there was a lack of sound technical and economic calculations, which made further development in these areas impossible (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2723, p. 12).

The State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR objected to the construction of another sugar factory in Rivne region. It was assumed that the production capacity of the operating sugar plants in 1975 would be 121,5 thousand tons of beet processing per day, and harvesting of sugar beets – 13,8 million tons. Such amount of beets could be processed in 122 days, which was significantly less than the average duration of production in the Republic (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 24).

Despite the well-founded proposals of regional committees of Western Ukrainian regions to increase the volume of capital investments in the economy of Western Ukrainian regions (1971 – 1975), the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR considered it inexpedient to increase the financing of these regions from 6 billion to 7,3 billion karbovantsi, because “at the same time, the growth of capital investments in comparison with a current five-year plan will be twice as big and is not real”. At the same time, it was proposed to take into account “if possible, separate additional proposals”, especially those of them that related to the development of construction materials enterprises (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 9).

The departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine also considered the main directions of further development of the economy of the western regions of Ukraine for 1971 – 1975 and additional proposals of the regional committees of the western Ukrainian regions and believed that “with the tasks of increasing industrial and agricultural production and the volume of capital construction in these regions planned by the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR can agree” (Kosharnyj, 1974, p. 98). In turn, it was suggested providing for the construction of complexes of cultural services for the population – palaces of culture, cinemas, etc. “It is necessary to pay attention to raising the level of material and technical base of cinema services for the rural population of the western regions”, – noted the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 9). It should be added that the materials of the departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine were sent to the members of the Politburo

Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in March of 1969. The First Secretary P. Shelest “approved the work done by the departments and agreed with the proposals of the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR” (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 24, c. 2721, p. 17). However, as reality showed, the lack of a sufficient number of production capacities, low labour discipline, and drawbacks of long-term planning did not allow the plans of the state and party authorities to be implemented fully.

The Conclusions. At the end of the 1960s – the first half of the 1970s, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine developed large-scale plans for the development of the agro-industrial complex of the Western Ukrainian regions on the basis of increasing industrial production, development of virgin lands, and urbanization. Decisive in this context was the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine “On the Further Development of the National Economy of the Western Regions of the Ukrainian SSR” (1969), in which it was proposed to agree with the project of the main directions of the national economy development of Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, and Chernivtsi regions of the Ukrainian SSR for 1971 – 1975, developed by the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR. While generally approving the long-term plan of the central state-party authorities, the local party elite expressed their own comments related to the amount of capital investments, expediency of modernizing individual enterprises, distribution of labour resources, etc. Suggestions of regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine of the western Ukrainian regions were based on an objective assessment of a socio-economic potential of each of the regions, however, in the vast majority, they remained without due attention of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR. The outlined trend, which was observed in the future, led to numerous “negative consequences” in the agro-industrial sector of the region, deepened the contradictions between local and central state-party authorities, contributed to the slowdown of production pace, accelerated changes in the social structure of the population

A promising direction for **further research** is the analysis of working conditions and material support of workers and peasants of the Western Ukrainian region during the so-called developed socialism.

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UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES IN INFORMATION AND ANALYTICAL MATERIALS OF THE KGB OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Abstract. *The aim of the research is to analyze the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) which attracted chief focus of the Committee of State Security (KGB) of the Ukrainian SSR and are accordingly reflected in its information and analytical materials. The research methodology is defined by an interdisciplinary approach and is based on general scientific and special scientific methods, first of all, retrospection and historical comparison. The scientific novelty of the research is that on the basis of declassified documents of the Soviet secret services the problems of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which were of most interest to the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, have been determined. The intelligence obtained information about the UCC's plans and initiatives was used in campaigns against the Canadian Ukrainians to "disintegrate" the Ukrainian Diaspora. The Conclusions. The UCC's activities, aimed not only at preserving Ukraine's cultural heritage overseas but also at uniting emigrants around the idea of liberating Ukraine and representing the world, contradicted the official Soviet ideology and undermined Moscow's propaganda efforts. As a result, the UCC's activities*

came to the forefront of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, whose staff recorded key moments of its actions in the form of information and analytical materials. The greatest interest of the KGB, which had unconditional practical significance, was caused by: the history of the UCC and its structural development; resolutions adopted at congresses; international campaigns (for example, related to systematic human rights violations in the Ukrainian SSR, honoring the victims of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, etc.); the participation of the Canadian politicians in the UCC's activities (any support for the Canadian Ukrainians by the government or individual politicians was seen as cooperation with Western intelligence services); existing differences and measures to discredit the organization. Taking into consideration the fact that the UCC consisted of more than three dozen organizations, the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR was interested in deepening the differences between them, and thus complicating the activities of the UCC. The Soviet special services carried out operations to spread disinformation or the so-called “profitable” material in Canada, trying to cause a split among the Canadian Ukrainians, to create the atmosphere of mistrust and mutual suspicion. The KGB's “active measures” were designed to minimize the effects of the UCC's anti-Soviet measures. The perspective direction of the research is the study of the peculiarities of the work of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR with foreign agents and the conduct of special operations aimed at “disintegrating” the Diaspora.

Key words: Diaspora, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Committee for State Security (KGB), information and analytical materials, discrediting.

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ КОМІТЕТУ УКРАЇНЦІВ КАНАДИ В ІНФОРМАЦІЙНО-АНАЛІТИЧНИХ МАТЕРІАЛАХ КДБ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ РСР

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – встановлення питань / напрямів діяльності Комітету українців Канади (КУК), які привертати найбільшу увагу Комітету державної безпеки (КДБ) Української РСР і відповідно відображені в його інформаційно-аналітичних матеріалах. **Методологія дослідження** визначається міждисциплінарним підходом і базується на загальнонаукових та спеціально-наукових методах, передусім ретроспекції та історичного порівняння. **Наукова новизна дослідження** полягає у тому, що на основі розсекречених документів радянських спецслужб визначено проблематику діяльності Комітету українців Канади, яка найбільше цікавила КДБ УРСР. Отримана агентурна інформація про плани та ініціативи КУК використувувалася у кампаніях проти канадських українців, завданням яких було “розкладання” української діаспори. **Висновки.** Діяльність КУК, що була спрямована не лише на збереження української культурної спадщини за океаном, але й нагуртування емігрантів навколо ідеї визволення України і здійснення представницьких функцій перед світовою громадськістю, суперечили офіційній радянській ідеології, підважуючи пропагандистські заходи Москви. Відтак, діяльність КУК опинилася в центрі уваги КДБ УРСР, співробітники якого у формі інформаційно-аналітичних матеріалів фіксували ключові моменти функціонування цієї організації. Найбільший інтерес КДБ, який мав безумовне практичне значення, викликали: історія КУК та його структурна розбудова; ухвалені на конгресах резолюції; міжнародні кампанії (наприклад, пов'язані із систематичними порушеннями прав людини в Українській РСР, вшанування жертв Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. тощо); участь канадських політиків у заходах КУК (будь-яка підтримка канадських українців з боку уряду чи окремих політиків розцінювалася як співпраця із західними спецслужбами); наявні розбіжності і заходи з компрометації організації. Враховуючи той факт, що КУК склався із понад трьох десятків організацій, КДБ УРСР був зацікавлений у поглибленні розходжень між ними, а відтак ускладнення діяльності КУК. Радянські спецслужби здійснювали операції з поширення у Канаді дезінформаційних або так званих “вигідних” матеріалів, намагаючись спричинити розкол поміж канадськими українцями, викликати атмосферу недовіри і взаємної підозрілості. Проведення “активних заходів” з боку КДБ було покликане мінімізувати наслідки антирадянських заходів КУК. Перспективним напрямком дослідження залишається вивчення особливостей роботи КДБ УРСР із закордонними агентами та проведення спецоперацій, покликаних “розкласти” діаспору.

Ключові слова: діаспора, Комітет українців Канади, Комітет державної безпеки, інформаційно-аналітичні матеріали, компрометація.

The Problem Statement. The Ukrainian diaspora in Western countries, in particular in Canada, was a special focus object of the special services of the Soviet Union, primarily the State Security Committee (KGB). One of the priority tasks of the Soviet Union was to prevent the consolidation of diaspora organizations, especially those that were given the propaganda label “nationalist” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 10, p. 195). However, in 1940, despite all the efforts of Moscow, on the basis of the five biggest emigrant organizations of the Canadian Ukrainians, namely the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Union of Ukrainian Independence, the Ukrainian National Association, the Union of State Hetmans and the Ukrainian Workers’ Association the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was formed. Soon, it included the majority of diaspora associations of the Ukrainians, such as the League for Liberation of Ukraine, Ukrainian Women’s Association of Canada, the Brotherhood of the Former UPA Soldiers, and the others (more than thirty organizations in total). And although the UCC was created for the sake of more effective interaction with the Canadian government and the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Ukrainians, one of its tasks was to unite for the idea of fighting for the freedom of Ukraine (Makar, 2009, p. 435). Thus, in the memorandum of the UCC to Canadian Prime Minister William Mackenzie King dated March 23, 1943, it was emphasized that “the Ukrainian people aspire to be considered as an equal nation. The Ukrainian people believe that in the post-war world order, their aspirations for an independent, free state in free Europe should not be abandoned” (MFAU SSA, f. 1, d. 1, c. 95, p. 89).

The aspirations of the UCC announced in the above-mentioned memorandum became clear and unambiguous as a result of the arrival in Canada after World War II of representatives of the third wave of the Ukrainian emigration. This third wave of the Ukrainian emigration, apparently, prompted the Soviet special services to pay more attention to the UCC, asserting that its “true goals and practical activities... are fully subordinated to the task of consolidating the anti-Soviet nationalist elements and coordinating the hostile activities of organizations... against the USSR” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 20). Therefore, the UCC began to be attributed to: 1) the coordination of the Canadian anti-Soviet emigration; 2) development of a unified political position against the Soviet Union; 3) conducting the anti-Soviet campaigns aimed at discrediting the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR; 4) the organization of hostile actions against the Soviet institutions on the territory of Canada, as well as against delegations and individual Soviet citizens who arrived overseas. At the same time, the Soviet propaganda claimed that the UCC was “at the service of imperialist reaction” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, pp. 20–21).

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The issue raised in the article is elucidated in historical research works insufficiently. However, certain aspects of it, primarily the role of the diaspora in the restoration of Ukraine’s independence, were discussed by Yuri Neduzhko in his research (Neduzhko, 2009) and Vitaliy Makar (Makar, 2009). Undoubtedly, the research works of Serhiy Zhuk (Zhuk, 2017), Liubomyr Luciuk (Luciuk, 2020) and Olha Bertelsen (Bertelsen, 2021) are important, in which the activities of the KGB on the decay of the diaspora were analyzed. Some constituent issues, in particular, the role of the KGB in having contacts with the Canadian tourists, and implementation of a cultural exchange as infiltration method of the Soviet agents into the diaspora environment were studied by the author of this article (Siromskyi, 2019; Siromskyi, 2020).

The research is based on declassified documents of the Security Service of Ukraine Sectoral State Archive (hereinafter – the SSU SSA), Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine Sectoral

State Archive (hereinafter – the FISU SSA); materials of the former First Main Directorate of the KGB, responsible for foreign intelligence and sabotage and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Sectoral State Archive (hereinafter – the MFAU SSA). Informational and analytical documents of the KGB, written for the highest authorities and management of the USSR/UkrSSR, give an idea of what exactly interested the KGB in the activities of the UCC. These documents (summaries, analytical notes, references) contain data on various aspects of the life of the Ukrainians abroad (Viatrovych, 2016, p. 31), in particular, about the social and political activities of the UCC. The state security bodies made these documents for the state top political and party leadership and submitted them to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine or the CPSU in the form of “Information Notices” marked “Top secret”. Informational and analytical summaries of the KGB, as a rule, are classified by affiliation (in our case, these are documents of the KGB in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR), period of origin and subject of presentation (Birchak, 2018, pp. 153–154). Information on the activities of the UCC was obtained by the Soviet special services from open sources (for example, the press of the Ukrainian émigrés), as well as by their agents (in the documents analyzed by us a number of such agents are mentioned, such as “Havrylov”, “Berezin”, “Savva”, etc.) (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 52). In case of certain gaps in the messages received from Canada, the KGB reported “taking measures to obtain additional information” by means their channels (SSU SSA, f. 16, d. 1, c. 977, p. 395).

The Purpose of the Article. The purpose of the publication is to elucidate the main issues of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), which were covered in the information and analytical materials of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Results of the Research. If we analyze the documents of the KGB, we can single out several thematic blocks/directions in the activities of the UCC the Soviet special services focused on, in particular: 1) history of the organization and its structural development; 2) resolutions and programme documents adopted at congresses; 3) the UCC campaigns (both domestic and international); 4) participation of the Canadian politicians in the UCC events; 5) disagreements and measures to compromise the organization.

1) History of the formation of the organization and its structural development. It may sound paradoxical, but the KGB employees studied the history of the formation of the UCC carefully, necessarily emphasizing the involvement of the Canadian government. The Soviet special services obtained information about the organization from various sources, including the official Canadian ones. Thus, the translation of the Guide of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on the organizations of the Ukrainian emigrants, in particular the UCC, dated June 13, 1983, deserves special interest (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 1, pp. 140–153). In departmental archives, we also come across excerpts from the history of the UCC, made both on the basis of the Ukrainian diaspora newspapers and commissioned publications of “progressive” (pro-communist) historians and journalists.

In the context of the study of the history of the UCC by the Soviet special services, the conclusions made by the analysts of the First Main Directorate of the KGB are important. One of the most important is the recognition of the growing role of the Ukrainian Canadians, compared to the American Ukrainians, let alone the Ukrainian diasporas in Western Europe. At the same time, in an analytical note dated 1959, the KGB employees focused on the fact that, owing to the post-war emigration, the UCC expanded the range of its activities, paying more attention to political issues. In particular, the Soviet special services noted “a sharp interest growth in the liberation of Ukraine”. At the same time, the growth of the “negative”

influence of the UCC on the Canadian Ukrainians was noted (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 15708, vol. 1, p. 144).

It was quite natural that the structure of the UCC grew and became broader, in particular, new commissions appeared (such as, for example, the commission on human rights), whose activities did not escape the attention of the KGB. The Soviet special services closely followed the re-election of the UCC leadership: sometimes the information was limited to a simple list of candidates or elected heads of the Presidium, but mainly their characteristics were prepared, with an emphasis on the attitude towards the Soviet Union. Another feature – the desire to find at least some involvement with the Nazis during the war years. For example, in the report on the candidate for the post of president of the UCC, Yaroslav Kalba (1971), it was stated: “From July of 1941, he was the deputy head of the youth education department of the Sonderkommando, since November of the same year, he was an official employee of Abvergrupa-204, engaged in the recruitment of agents” (SSU SSA, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1026, p. 111). Such data, sometimes completely unverified, could be used by the KGB not only against a specific person, but also against the entire organization.

2) *Resolutions and programme documents adopted at the Congresses of the UCC.* The KGB monitored and analyzed the course of the UCC congresses carefully, preparing analytical reports based on the results of each meeting. In the spirit of the communist propaganda and superiority, the congresses of the organization were often called “meetings of reactionaries” (SSU SSA, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1119, p. 300). Since the plan of action for the near future was discussed at such meetings, it was extremely important for the KGB to have all the information. In a similar way, the Soviet special services were interested in changes to the UCC documents. For example, during December of 1970 – October of 1971, the KGB closely followed the process of making changes to the Statute of the UCC, highlighting the differences between individual organizations concerning “a limited number of representatives in the management of the UCC” (SSU SSA, f. 16, d. 1, c. 1026, p. 110). In an every possible way the Soviet side tried to prevent the unification of the Ukrainians in the diaspora, fueling strife by its agents and defending the development of interstate cultural exchange, which acted as “an instrument of ideological struggle” and “propaganda of the socialist culture” (Siromskiy, 2020, p. 86). Obviously, this was understood by both the Canadian special services and the majority of the Ukrainians in the diaspora (this is evidenced by the decisions of the UCC Congress), which ultimately resulted in limited cultural and scientific cooperation between Canada and the USSR/UkrSSR. The scientists, who nevertheless received the opportunity to work overseas were accepted, according to the definition of a researcher Serhiy Zhuk, as “the KGB agents” (Zhuk, 2017, p. 166).

In the same way as the cultural exchange, tourist trips to the Ukrainian SSR caused an ambiguous treatment among the Canadian Ukrainians. In October of 1971 the 10th Congress of the UCC requested that the Canadian government provide legal support for the Canadian tourists by establishing a consulate in the Ukrainian SSR. However, the issue of the Canadian consulate in Kyiv was blocked in every way by the Soviet side, and foreign tourism was used by Moscow to deliver “necessary” information and create an attractive image of the communist regime in the international arena (Siromskiy, 2019, p. 688).

3) *The UCC campaigns (both domestic and international).* The Soviet special services paid considerable attention to the activities of the UCC at world exhibitions (Expo-67), major sports competitions (Olympics in Montreal in 1976 and Calgary in 1988), review conferences within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1977 –

1978, 1980 – 1983, 1986 – 1989). Special services tried to get copies of memorandums, petitions, letters of the UCC sent to Canadian, British or American politicians. They were also interested in various scientific events, historical symposia (in documents often referred as “pseudo-scientific”), political events, and commemorative evenings. The KGB was quite wary of the UCC’s intentions to appeal to one or another international institution or state authority of a certain country. This was the case, for example, when the XIIIth Congress of the UCC (1980) appealed to the Polish Parliament in solidarity with the Poles who rose up against the authoritarian regime (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 6, p. 59). The availability of information obtained by the KGB about the intentions of the UCC in the international arena gave the diplomats of the Soviet Union the opportunity to act in advance.

Almost all campaigns initiated by the UCC were given definitions of “anti-Soviet” and “enemy” from the KGB. The Soviet side was especially outraged by the support of the dissident movement in the Ukrainian SSR, the publication of books by Viacheslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz and other dissidents banned behind the “Iron Curtain”, as well as “letters of representatives of the intelligentsia arrested and persecuted in the Ukrainian SSR” (MFAU SSA, f. 1, d. 2, c. 1824, p. 116). In order to discredit these persons, the KGB tried to “send” to Canada all kinds of “incriminating materials” aimed at reducing support for the dissident movement.

The resolutions of the UCC, concerning honoring the victims of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, became irritating for the Soviet side (Neduzhko, 2009, p. 402). In April of 1983, a number of scholars from Canada founded the Fund for Research on Famine in Ukraine, later reorganized into the Committee for Research on Famine in Ukraine, and later – into the Ukrainian-Canadian Research and Documentation Center, which collected source materials on the history of the Holodomor. References to an artificial famine in Ukraine were regarded by the Soviet leadership as spreading false information and slander. The KGB “due to operational abilities” tried with all its might to spread information in the Canadian public space, aimed at undermining the credibility of the Ukrainian diasporic and Western historians, and on the other hand, “to prevent information from leaking abroad that can be used in a provocative campaign about “artificial famine”” (Danylenko, 2017, p. 424). However, a paradoxical situation arose when in Canada it was much more known about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 than in Ukraine (Kulchytskyi, p. 219). In response to the campaign commemorating the victims of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Western countries, primarily the USA and Canada, the KGB launched Operation “Pharisees”, trying to disprove the artificial nature of the famine of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine and to compromise researchers and witnesses of the Holodomor. At the same time, in order to divert public attention, the Soviet special services, as part of “Operation Retribution”, intensified a campaign to accuse a number of the Canadian Ukrainians of crimes against humanity during World War II (Luciuk, 2020).

4) *Participation of the Canadian politicians in the UCC activities.* The Soviet side was outraged by the fact that “condescending to the anti-Soviet and anti-communist activities of the UCC, the Canadian government treats it as the only representative of the Ukrainian emigration in the country” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 22). On July 12, 1959, Lester Pearson, the leader of the Liberal Party, a diplomat, who became the Prime Minister of Canada a few years later, addressed the VIth Congress of the UCC. The General Assembly of the SZRU contains the English-language version of his address, in which the politician noted the contribution of the Ukrainians to the development of the federation, the diversification of its culture, etc. Certain fragments of the text are underlined with a blue pencil, in particular those when L. Pearson mentioned “the great Ukrainian hero Mazepa, who symbolizes an

incorruptible spirit of freedom... and became a banner for thousands of fighters against the communist tyranny in Ukraine and everywhere in the world” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 10791, vol. 1, p. 125). Obviously, someone from the KGB considered such phrase as the threat to the state security. Of course, the phrase “communist and Muscovite empire ... in the old reactionary sense” was not overlooked. Undoubtedly, such definitions did not impress the Soviet side at all and were interpreted as hostile (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 10791, vol. 1, p. 127).

Similar tendencies were observed during the following years. Thus, in the autumn of 1972, the Xth Congress of the UCC was in the epicenter of attention, at which its leader Fr. Vasyl Kushnir handed over the powers of the president to Petro Kondra. The KGB studied the welcome speech of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau carefully, who, however, was cautious in his statements, speaking about the cultural heritage of the Ukrainians mainly. Instead, P. Kondra’s statements about the “impoverished situation and enslavement of the Ukrainian people on their native land”, as well as calls to “influence domestic and foreign policy”, did not escape the attention of the KGB employees (Danylenko, 2017, p. 262).

The KGB carefully recorded all appeals of the Canadian Ukrainians to local politicians and public figures regarding the release of political prisoners (John Diefenbaker, Pierre Trudeau, Brian Mulroney). As an example, we can mention the telegramme to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada, Donald Jamieson, dated July 5, 1977, in which the UCC called on the Soviet Union to protest against the sentences of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyi, “to seek their release and permission to leave the USSR” (MFAU SSA, f. 1, d. 2, c. 3502, p. 68).

5) *Existing disagreements and measures to compromise the organization.* One of the established directions of the KGB’s work was the identification and strengthening of disagreements in the Ukrainian diaspora (Antoniuk, Trofymovych, 2021, p. 124). For this purpose, they used the capabilities of “foreign units”, in particular, the distribution of “useful” materials with the compromise of leading figures of the UCC (Bertelsen, 2021, p. 268). Most often, attention was drawn to differences in the methods of the anti-Soviet activity, ties with the Ukrainian SSR, perspectives of the struggle, and interreligious relations. For example, emphasis was laid on the fact that the LVU denies the right of the UNRada to call itself a government-in-exile, while the UNO and BUK defend this point of view, of course, the Soviet special services paid special attention to the confrontation between the people of Bandera (LVU) and the people of Melnyk (UNO), their desire to play a decisive role in the leadership of the UCC (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 24). This situation forced diaspora communities to act in advance, realizing who benefits from internal disagreements (Seheda & Viedenieiev,, p. 189).

The KGB tried in every possible way to use certain facts from the biography, personal attitudes towards certain representatives of the dissident movement in Ukraine (for example, around the figures of Valentyn Moroz or Leonid Pliushch) to compromise the leadership of the UCC. During the XIIth Congress of the UCC, the Soviet special services noted disagreements concerning the invitation of the dissident L. Pliushch to participate in the meeting, who was accused of “Marxist and atheistic views”. As a result, the UCC cancelled the invitation of L. Pliushch to the meeting, but in the organization the atmosphere did not improve. At the same time, discussions about changes to the statute of the UCC, concerning the procedure for electing members of the Presidium of the organization, took place (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 51). In the end, the KGB stated: “A characteristic feature of the internal life of this group (the UCC – The authors) is the fierce struggle among its members-organizations for leadership positions, efforts to impose their tactics

of struggle against the USSR, being at the reactionary forces service, and in the end, in general, considerable material benefits which are given by occupying the leading positions in nationalist activities” (FISU SSA, f. 1, c. 16310, vol. 4, p. 23).

The Conclusions. Therefore, in its informational and analytical documents, the KGB focused on the history of the UCC and changes in its structure, the topics of resolutions adopted at congresses, international campaigns of the Canadian Ukrainians, the participation of the Canadian politicians in the activities of the UCC, existing disagreements and measures to compromise the organization. Collected information, both from open sources and by agents, allowed to act ahead of time, to reduce the effectiveness of individual initiatives of the UCC. Owing to “active measures”, the KGB tried to discredit the leaders of the UCC and the organization in general, to introduce permanent disorganization into the ranks of the Ukrainian community in Canada, contributed to disagreements and political strife, the spread of an atmosphere of excessive suspicion, which ultimately led to the limitation of the anti-Soviet campaigns overseas.

A perspective direction of research remains the study of the peculiarities of the KGB work with foreign agents and the conduct of special operations aimed at causing “decay” of the diaspora.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ACTIVITIES OF THE RED ARMY AND WEHRMACHT BODIES ON THE STUDY AND USE OF THE COMBAT EXPERIENCE DURING WORLD WAR II

Abstract. The purpose of the research – the goal of the article is to elucidate the main scientific and cognitive, scientific and organizational factors of formation, epistemological and substantive features and specific achievements of the leading directions of historiography of the analytical bodies system to study and generalize combat experience of the main participants of World War II to improve the activities of the existing generalization system of combat use of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness and integrity, systematicity and, in addition to basic research methods, it is also based on the methods of historiography as a special historical discipline that studies theoretical and epistemological, social and institutional foundations of the process of scientific knowledge of the past (historiographical institutional, historiographical conceptualization, historiographical synthesis, historiographical

source studies, etc.). **The scientific novelty** consists in doing an in-depth analysis of the historiography created by military historians of the formation and operation of the system of studying and generalizing combat experience during World War II, which contributed to the development of martial arts and improved training of personnel of the warring parties. **The Conclusions.** The article focuses on the analysis of the main stages of historiography research process: the first – from the beginning of World War II to the 90s of last century and the second – modern, which dates back to 1990. There have been identified, systematized and characterized the main groups of historiographical sources covering the activities of the bodies on the study and use of combat experience during World War II. The results of the work of these bodies are a valuable factual array for research. In order to improve the functioning of the existing system of study and use of experience in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the authors suggest implementing in its activities the dissemination of generalized combat experience gained in the anti-terrorist operation / Joint Forces operation by means of special periodicals.

Key words: historiography, World War II, historical experience, military art, history of science, military history, military research.

ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОРГАНІВ ЧЕРВОНОЇ АРМІЇ І ВЕРМАХТУ З ВИВЧЕННЯ ТА ВИКОРИСТАННЯ БОЙОВОГО ДОСВІДУ У РОКИ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. **Мета дослідження** – розкрити основні науково-пізнавальні та науково-організаційні чинники формування, гносеологічно-змістові особливості та конкретні здобутки провідних напрямів історіографії діяльності системи аналітичних органів з вивчення й узагальнення бойового досвіду основних учасників Другої світової війни з метою удосконалення діяльності чинної системи узагальнення бойового застосування Збройних Сил України. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності і цілісності, системності та, окрім базових методів дослідження, спирається на методи історіографії як спеціальної історичної дисципліни, яка вивчає теоретико-гносеологічні та суспільно-інституційні засади процесу наукового пізнання минулого (історіографічний інституційний, історіографічної концептуалізації, історіографічного синтезу, історіографічного джерелознавства тощо). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що зроблена спроба поглибленого аналізу створеної військовими істориками історіографії становлення та діяльності системи вивчення й узагальнення бойового досвіду у роки Другої світової війни, яка сприяла розвитку військового мистецтва і поліпшенню підготовки особового складу протиборчих сторін. **Висновки.** У статті проаналізовано основні етапи процесу дослідження історіографії: перший – від початку Другої світової війни до 90-х рр. минулого століття та другий – сучасний, який бере свій початок з 1990 р. Виявлено, систематизовано й охарактеризовано основні групи історіографічних джерел, що висвітлюють діяльність органів з вивчення та використання бойового досвіду в роки Другої світової війни. Результати роботи цих органів становлять цінний фактологічний масив для наукових досліджень. З метою удосконалення функціонування напрацьованої системи вивчення та використання досвіду у Збройних Силах України авторами пропонується впровадити у їх діяльність розповсюдження узагальненого бойового досвіду, набутого в антитерористичній операції / операції Об'єднаних сил, у війська (сили) через спеціальні періодичні службові видання органів військового управління.

Ключові слова: історіографія, Друга світова війна, історичний досвід, воєнне мистецтво, історія науки, воєнна історія, воєнно-наукові дослідження.

The Problem Statement. Historiography of World War II includes a significant number of publications: documentary publications, scientific and memoir literature. A characteristic feature of a modern stage of the Ukrainian historical science development is the search of new approaches and methods in the study of World War II issues by scholars. The activities issues of the bodies on the study and use of combat experience of the warring parties during World War II is of a considerable interest to domestic researchers. The organization of their work is of

a practical importance under modern conditions. This is primarily due to the need to generalize and introduce into the activities of the components of the security and defense forces of Ukraine the combat experience acquired in the anti-terrorist operation and the operation of the Joint Forces. After all, combat experience is necessary for the development and implementation of the latest methods of combat fight, the organization and conduct of military operations, the improvement of the content of the combat (service) training of personnel of the military formations of Ukraine (Hrebeniuk, Hrytsiuk & Shchypanskyi, 2020, p. 190).

From this point of view, undeniable interest is an in-depth analysis of a rather solid historiography of the formation and activity of study and generalization system of combat experience created by domestic military historians, formulation on this basis of innovative principles of military art (at the highest levels of generalization of combat experience), which emerged during World War II (Hrytsiuk, Lysenko & Kydon, 2020, p. 58).

The mentioned military and analytical system in the Red Army (which worked under the auspices of the General Staff of the RSCA and improved during the war) included a relevant regulatory framework, a clear hierarchy of information processing and generalization bodies (at the level of the General Staff, headquarters of military branches and military units – departments, divisions, authorized specialists, etc.), staff of appropriately trained and experienced professionals.

The system was able to process and summarize a large array of combat and operational documents, information and analytical materials of the Active Army. At the final stage of the war there was Department for the use of war experience of the General Staff, the journal “The Military Thought” was published, and combat experience was disseminated, the relevant experience was exchanged by holding of relevant conferences and meetings in the troops, which contributed to increasing the hostilities effectiveness, the military art development (Hrytsiuk & Yevsieiev, 2020, pp. 92–99; Lysenko, Sehedra & Fyl, 2020, p. 176).

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The study of this issue was highlighted in the scientific works of modern domestic scholars: V. Hrytsiuk (Hrytsiuk & Yevsieiev, 2020), S. Sehedra (Sehedra, 2012), B. Semon and O. Skriabin (Semon & Skriabin, 2014), foreign researchers – D. Glanz (Glanz, 2009). Among the Soviet and Russian scholars, there are the works of M. Alekseev (Alekseev, 1980), V. Valkov (Val’kov, 2013), M. Vasyliiev (Vasil’ev, 2013), S. Gladyshev (Gladyshev, 1987), V. Golubovich and M. Lomov (Golubovich & Lomov, 1981), E. Grakina (Grakina, 1989), V. Dashichev (Dashichev, 1967), E. Korshunov (Korshunov, 2013; Korshunov & Rupasov, 2016), E. Krynyko (Krynyko, 2012; Krynyko & Kropachev, 2012), S. Kropachev (Krynyko & Kropachev, 2012), M. Ryazanov (Ryazanov, 2000), N. Tarkhova (Tarkhova, 2005), A. Tolmacheva (Tolmacheva, 2006), A. Kharkov (Har’kov, 1990), S. Shtemenko (Shtemenko, 1968; Shtemenko, 1981), as well as several fundamental collective works and monographs.

The scholars’ focus on this issue is quite natural and is due to the fact that modern military art, especially its theory, is primarily the result of generalization of the previous wars experience. However, in many of the presented scientific works, the historiography of the activities of the bodies on the study and use of the combat experience during World War II is covered superficially and contains isolated references to scientific sources and archival materials only. In addition, the study of the Soviet period was characterized by ideological stereotypes that interfered with an objective assessment of the combat experience.

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the main scientific and cognitive, scientific and organizational factors of formation, epistemological and substantive features and specific

achievements of the leading directions of historiography of the system of analytical bodies to study and generalize combat experience of the main participants of World War II to improve the activities of the existing system of generalization of combat use of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

The Results of the Research. The content of the works, in which researchers referred the activities of the bodies for the study and use of the combat experience, differs significantly depending on the period of society development, changes in the methodology of military and historical research, the emergence of new sources, including declassified archival materials, etc.

The historiography of the study of the activities of the corresponding bodies of the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army (hereinafter referred to as the Red Army) and the Wehrmacht can be conditionally divided into two stages: the first stage – the period of World War II (from 1939 to the beginning of the 1990s); the second stage is post-Soviet or modern (from the beginning of the 1990s to the present time). Each stage has certain historical conditions; objectives, forms and methods of scientific research; the state of the source base and the degree of accessibility to archival materials; ideological orientation and the others (Vidnianskyi, Hrytsiuk & Lysenko, 2019, p. 6).

At the first stage, the problem of sources became one of the most important factors influencing the development of the historiography of the specified problematics. For a long time, a huge array of the Soviet sources was closed to domestic and Western researchers of military history. At their disposal scholars had official Soviet publications mainly, in which published memoirs of the Soviet military leaders began to be added from the end of the 1950s. Such materials were quite biased and subjective (Gluharev, 2015, p. 61). They, as a rule, reflected the actual side of the events of the war years and are characterized with heroic and patriotic pathos in relation to the sacrifice of the Soviet citizens during the war (Lysenko & Pyliavets, 2019, p. 94).

One of the first scientific works of this stage, elucidating the work of the Red Army bodies for the study and generalization of the combat experience during World War II, was the collective monograph “The Defeat of the German Forces near Moscow”, which was published in 1943. The authors of the monograph highlighted the work of a group on the study of the combat experience, which on a temporary basis included representatives of the Red Army General Staff and scholars of the Military Academy of the Red Army General Staff. The task of the group was to study combat experience of the Red Army during the initial period of the Great Patriotic War (from November 16, 1941 to January 31, 1942), to generalize it and to develop practical recommendations for the troops (Shaposhnikov, 1942, p. 6).

In 1965, the Soviet scholars of the Great Patriotic War History Department of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute completed their work on a six-volume edition “History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union 1941 – 1945”. The authors of the last, Volume 6, assign an important role in generalizing the experience of war to the institute of officers of the General Staff under the command of fronts and armies (this structure was actually called the Group of Officers of the Red Army General Staff (The Central archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, f. 4, d. 11, c. 70, pp. 428–430), as well as to the bodies for the use of the combat experience created in the central departments of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the command staffs of the military branches (Istoriya Velikoj, 1965). The use of a sufficiently large array of the source base of the study allowed the authors to elucidate the work of the Red Army bodies on the use of the war experience more deeply than in other publications at that time.

Among the memoirs of the first stage, the work of the former head of the Operations Directorate of the General Staff of the Red Army during the war S. Shtemenko “The General Staff during

the War” stands out. In detail S. Shtemenko writes about the activities of the Group of Officers of the General Staff of the Red Army (Shtemenko, 1968, pp. 138–140) and the heroism of the representatives of this group, about important decisions made on the basis of their reports on the study and generalization of the war experience, however, the memoirs lack a critical analysis of the work of officers of the General Staff of the Red Army, contained in the works of other authors.

At the beginning of the 1960s, materials of the German historians, war diaries and memoirs of direct participants in World War II began to be published in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1962, a complete list of directives and orders of the Supreme High Command of the Wehrmacht was published. Based on these sources, V. Dashichev, at that moment the head of the Foreign Military History Department of the Editorial Board of the Military and Historical Journal, in the scientific work “Top Secret! Only for the Command” notes that the journals on military actions and military diaries were systematically kept in the staffs of military units, formations, branches and types of the Wehrmacht. These documents were supplemented with directives, orders, combat reports, etc. Generalized documents of the combat experience were transferred to the archives of the armed forces branches, whose work was coordinated by a special department “History of the Wehrmacht”, which was established in 1940. Due to the importance of this department in writing history and generalizing war experience, in 1942 it was subordinated directly to A. Hitler (Dashichev, 1967, p. 12).

From the 1980s onwards, in scientific journals on military topics, in particular in “The Military Historical Journal” and “The Military Thought” magazine, articles began to be published on the research issues of the activities of the Red Army bodies on the study and generalization of the combat experience during World War II. In the course of the historical description of the hostilities, some authors included excerpts from archival documents of the generalized combat experience in their publications, which were processed during the war by the appropriate structures. For example, M. Alekseev, describing the East Prussian operation, cited in his work the excerpt from a short summary of generalized experience dated February of 1945, prepared by the head of the department on the use of the war experience of the operations department of the 47th staff of the Red Army (Alekseev, 1980, p. 45).

Scholars V. Golubovych and M. Lomov, in their research analyzing the organization and methods of work of the General Staff of the Red Army in 1939 – 1945, single out the study and generalization of the war experience, the dissemination of experience to the troops and the development of recommendations, instructions and manuals as one of the main of its activities. The authors also focused on the editorial and publishing activities of the General Staff of the Red Army for the dissemination of the combat experience based on reports and newsletters (Golubovich & Lomov, 1981, p. 13).

A well-known Soviet military historian A. Kharkov in his article “Historical Experience in the Development of Military Science” considers the activity of studying the war experience as a component of military scientific research (Har’kov, 1990, p. 30).

In the monograph “Scholars for the Front”, E. Hrakina, a scholar of the history department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, briefly mentioned the military command bodies studying the war experience in the context of studying the history of the Great Patriotic War (Grakina, 1989, p. 196).

The scientific article by S. Hladysh “Generalization and Use of the Combat Experience during the First Period of the Great Patriotic War” was very informative for specialists who study directly the problems of generalizing combat experience. In this article the author tells in detail about the methods of activity of the bodies on the study and generalization of the combat experience, in particular on the example of the Western Front (Gladyshev, 1987, pp. 18, 19).

At this time, the memoir literature about the events of World War II was supplemented by the second edition of S. Shtemenko "The General Staff during the War", in two volumes. In the second edition, the author examines the problems of the war more broadly, in particular, focuses on the establishment of the department for the use of the war experience in 1942, in the General Staff of the Red Army, and writes about one of the areas of its work in detail – the dissemination of the generalized combat experience to the troops based on the official publications of the General Staff of the Red Army (Shtemenko, 1981, p. 283).

At the second stage of historiography, against the background of glasnost and democratization of the society in the post-Soviet space, declassification of documents and materials of military units, formations and associations, including fronts and military districts, stored in the archives, began. Scientific works and memoirs of foreign authors, in particular, participants in the events of World War II, became more accessible. Pluralism in approaches to research and absence of the party control should be considered the main features of this stage.

During this period a significant achievement in the study of these issues was the article by M. Vasylyev "The Work of the General Staff for the Generalization of the War Experience in 1941 – 1945", published in 1994 in "The Military Thought" journal. In the article, the author analyzed the principles of the activities of the bodies on the study and use of the war experience, considered the content of the work of the General Staff of the Red Army for generalization of the combat experience and its dissemination among the troops in 1941 – 1945, reflecting it in the form of a table (Vasil'ev, 1994, pp. 69–73). In 2013 the scientific achievements of this scholar were supplemented by the article "When the Storm Thundered" posted on the website of one of the Russian electronic media. In this article, for the first time the author tried to describe briefly the three stages of creating a centralized system of generalization and use of the war experience in the Red Army (Vasil'ev, 2013).

The collective scientific work "General Staff of the Navy: History and Modernity. 1696 – 1997" became unique at that time. The authors of the research mentioned the work of the department for the study and generalization of the war experience in the structure of the General Staff of the Navy, created at the beginning of 1943 (Kuroedov, 1998, pp. 86, 97). On the other hand, V. Valkov, in his study on the activities of N. Kuznetsov, the People's Commissar of the Navy of the Soviet Union, mistakenly assumed that the objective of generalizing and disseminating the combat experience in fleets and flotillas during the Great Patriotic War was performed only by the department established at its beginning (Val'kov, 2013). This contradicts the assertion of the authors of the above mentioned monograph, who in their research referred to archival sources.

Another collective publication "The Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945. Military Historical Essays", was written by the scholars of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Institute of General History, Institute of Russian History, Institute of Economics), Military University of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation in 1998 – 1999. The authors of the publication in the 1st book "Severe Trials", referring to the German sources, claim that a special department for the study of foreign armies of the East was functioning in the General Staff of the Wehrmacht Ground Forces, which, based on data provided by the Finnish party in 1940, prepared a review "According to the Experience of the Soviet Finnish War" and sent it to the army up to the divisional level inclusively (Velikaya Otechestvennaya vojna, 1998, p. 48).

However, in the last, 4th book of the collective publication, the authors note that not a single military charter was revised in the Wehrmacht during World War II. They also note

that according to the materials of captured documents and the testimony of captured officers, it was possible to establish the facts of the publication by the German command of only individual memos and directives for the study and use of the combat experience (Velikaya Otechestvennaya vojna, 1999, p. 60). However, there are reasons to disagree to the above mentioned conclusions. The German command in advance sent to its units and subunits the instructions containing combat experience in difficult conditions, in particular in special terrain (mountains, steppe, forest, etc.). Moreover, the German commanders in a short time generalized the combat experience of the battles and operations carried out and brought it to the attention of the troops. At the meeting for the study of the war experience, which took place on May 9, 1943, a representative of the intelligence department of the Southern Front staff (from October 20, 1943 – the 4th Ukrainian Front) made a report on this using the example of Motorized Division 16 of the Wehrmacht (The Central archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, f. 64, d. 505, c. 2, pp. 273–310).

In 1999, after declassification of the materials related to the events of the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939 – 1940, in 2000 a collective scientific work was published, prepared by the employees of the Institute of Military History of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation and the Russian State Military Archive, “Secrets and Lessons of the Winter War. 1939 – 1940”, which contains archival documents and materials elucidating the events of this war and the actions of the Soviet leadership after its end, in particular, the suggestions of the People’s Commissar of Defense regarding an attempt to create on a temporary basis special commissions for generalization of the war experience and making appropriate changes and additions to the military regulations and manuals (Zolotarev, 2000, p. 447). Another scientific publication of a set of documents (archival materials) related to the development of recommendations for improving the Red Army based on the experience of the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939 – 1940 (hereinafter – the winter campaign) is the collection “Winter War: Work on Mistakes (April – May of 1940)” was compiled by researchers of the Russian State Military Archive and presented to scholars in 2004. This collection elucidates in detail the chronology of the temporarily created commissions and sub-commissions for the generalization of the war experience and the course of decision-making based on their work (“Zimnyaya vojna”: rabota nad oshibkami (aprel’–maj 1940 g.), 2004).

It should be noted that at the second stage, these topics were openly discussed at scientific conferences. Thus, N. Tarkhova, in her scientific research, examines the activities of specialized commissions and sub-commissions on the generalization of the experience of the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939 – 1940 in terms of introducing their results into the combat activities of the Red Army and updating the existing structure of the People’s Commissariat of Defense, General Staff and Red Army (Tarkhova, 2005, pp. 203, 204).

Here it should be noted that the above mentioned publications devoted to the events of the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939 – 1940 are not thorough scientific research works. However, they provide scholars and other specialists with access to declassified archival documents and materials collected in one publication for studying the problems of generalizing the experience of this war.

At the beginning of the 2000s, publications by foreign authors began to appear, based on researching the activities of bodies for the study and use the war experience during World War II, in particular in the Red Army. In 2009, the work of the leading American historian D. Glants “Risen from the Ashes. How the Red Army Turned into the Victory Army in 1941” was presented to a wide range of readers. The author of the work, referring to the scientific

Soviet and Russian publications, indicates that the study of the war experience was one of the most important functions of the General Staff of the Red Army during World War II. Separately, the author focused on functioning in the structure of the General Staff of the Red Army of the department (administration) on the use of the war experience and its interaction with the military history department (Glantz, 2009).

At that time, active dissertation research on this topic began. Thus, M. Ryazanov, in his dissertation research on the road troops of the 2nd Belorussian Front, notes that in order to study, generalize and disseminate the combat experience among the troops, separate posts and staff units on the study of the war experience were established in the logistics, fronts, armies and formations staffs. Directly at the logistics staff of the Red Army, there was a department for the study of the war experience, which, based on the materials of the generalized experience, issued a corresponding collection. The accumulated logistics experience was reflected in manuals and instructions (Ryazanov, 2000, p. 12). In another dissertation study, A. Tolmacheva, having analyzed the materials of the official publications of the General Staff of the Red Army, issued by the department (directorate) on the use of the war experience, claims that information on the combat and numerical strength, losses of the armed forces of the opposing sides in these publications is limited (Tolmacheva, 2006, p. 4).

The last decade is characterized by the emergence of new fundamental collective scientific works, monographs, scientific articles related to the activities of bodies on the study and use of the war experience during World War II. Special attention should be paid to Volume 11 of the 12-volume collective scientific work “The Great Patriotic War of 1941 – 1945”, prepared in the research center (fundamental military and historical problems) of the Military University of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, with the participation of the Research Institute (military history) of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, other scientific historical institutions and the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. This publication summarizes previous studies of the Soviet and Russian scholars on the functioning of the centralized system on the study and use of the war experience created in the Red Army and the Navy during the Great Patriotic War, as well as it presents new declassified archival sources (Velikaya Otechestvennaya vojna, 2015). At the same time, the study lacks a critical assessment of the activity of this system; in addition, it is limited to the period of the Great Patriotic War.

The authors of Volume 1 of the collective 15-volume scientific work “Great Victory”, prepared at Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University), believe that the management of military operations during World War II was unthinkable without creative scientific work on the preparation of reasoned decisions, the development of instructions, orders summarizing everything advanced in the war experience. According to them, such work was carried out by the department (directorate) on the use of the war experience of the General Staff of the Red Army, and in the staffs of the fronts (armies) – by the corresponding departments (divisions) (Velikaya Pobeda, 2015).

The monograph by S. Kropachev and E. Krynko, the scholars of the Institute of Socio-Economic and Humanitarian Research of the Southern Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who analyze the demographic losses of the Soviet population in 1937 – 1945, looks quite interesting. In their study, they touch upon the work of special research structures of the Red Army and the Navy, created in the General Staff of the Red Army, the staffs of the fronts and armies for the purpose of generalization of the war experience during World War II (Krynko & Kropachev, 2012, pp. 46, 47). In addition, a scholar E. Krynko in another scientific

work also recalls the work of the bodies on the study and use of the war experience in the Red Army and the Navy and refers at that to archival materials – official publications of the General Staff of the Red Army during World War II (Krinko, 2012, p. 249).

A thorough research describing the role of the Group of Officers of the General Staff of the Red Army in the study and generalization of the combat experience in the Red Army in 1941 – 1945 is the work of E. Korshunov, a scholar from the Research Institute (Military History) of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. Based on archival documents, the author analyzed the work of these structures objectively, drawing attention to a low level of training of some officers who turned out not to be prone to analytical work at the fronts (in the armies) (Korshunov, 2013).

In another scientific work, the authors E. Korshunov and A. Lupasov focus on the fact that the activities of the bodies on the study of the combat experience in the Red Army were performed directly by the Head of the General Staff and at the same time the Deputy People's Commissar of Defense for the study and use of the war experience in the troops and staffs of the Red Army, Marshal Vasylevskiy O.M. (Korshunov & Rupasov, 2016, p. 269).

Modern Ukrainian scholars of the National Defence University of Ukraine named after Ivan Cherniakhovskiy V. Hrytsiuk, I. Yevsieiev, S. Sehed, B. Semon and A. Scriabin made a significant contribution to the research issues of the study and use of the combat experience during World War II. In particular, S. Sehed in his monograph "Creation and Development of the Ukrainian Military Press (the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries)" clarified the issue of covering the combat experience in the course of researching the activities of the magazines of the UPA and other Ukrainian armed formations as the reflection of the essence of partisan war (Sehed, 2012, pp. 246–272).

V. Hrytsiuk and I. Yevsieiev, relying on the archival sources point out that during the war in the staffs of formations, armies and fronts, the General Staff of the Red Army and directorates of the People's Commissariat of Defense there were groups, divisions, departments and directorates for the study of the war experience, which prepared generalized materials on the combat experience and developed practical recommendations for the troops (Hrytsiuk & Yevsieiev, 2020, pp. 92–99; The Central archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, f. 4, d. 11, c. 76, pp. 233–239; The Central archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, f. 4, d. 11, c. 77, pp. 282–283; The Central archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, f. 236, d. 2673, c. 130, pp. 105–115). However, the author draws attention to the fact that this work had its own characteristics and difficulties. The completeness and level of events analysis in the literature, especially in the open literature, were limited by the wartime conditions sharply.

Special attention should be paid to the scientific work of researchers B. Semon and A. Scriabin, which contains a historical analysis of the activities of the Red Army bodies on the study of the combat experience during the Great Patriotic War. The authors note the close interaction and cooperation of the department on the use of the war experience, the military history department and the Group of officers of the General Staff of the Red Army (Semon & Skriabin, 2014, pp. 46–49).

The Conclusions. Thus, the study of the activities of the bodies on the use of the combat experience during World War II was reflected in special scientific works, which mainly elucidate the issue of generalization of the experience in the Red Army and in the Navy in the Soviet Union and the Wehrmacht. The researchers analyzed the structure, purpose, objectives, focus, principles of work and effectiveness of these bodies activities generally.

The first stage of historiography (the Soviet era) was characterized by the process of accumulation of sources, the primary processing of factual material, which resulted in scientific periodicals and monographs.

In modern historiography, the second stage in the study of the topic begins in the early 1990s: in the wake of publicity and democratization of society in the post-Soviet space, scholars were given access to previously classified archives, which contributed to the introduction of a number of new previously unknown sources. This led to a gradual liberation of historiography on this topic from the influence of ideological rhetoric and rigid party-political regulations.

In historiography it is possible to allocate four basic types of researches: source studies and memoirs; works of general content, which focus on the study of combat experience during World War II; analysis of the functioning of structures on the study and use of war experience; publication of archival materials that provide researchers with access to primary sources.

The scientific achievements of researchers proved the existence during World War II in the armed forces of the warring parties of effective centralized systems for the generalization of combat experience. In particular, it was found that an integral part of the functioning of these systems was the dissemination of generalized combat experience among the troops (forces) by means of special periodicals of military authorities (collections, bulletins, magazines, etc.). According to the authors of the study, the introduction of this form of generalization of combat experience in the Armed Forces of Ukraine will significantly contribute to measures to ensure national security and defense, repel and deter armed aggression in Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

Thus, the growing scientific significance of the problem of generalizing combat experience makes it necessary to conduct monographic and other military historiographic research works on the activities of the bodies on the study and use of the combat experience in wars and armed conflicts. Since they must ensure the evolution of domestic historical research on this issue to a new scientific and educational level.

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**PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTARY SOURCES IN UKRAINE
IN THE ERA OF INDEPENDENCE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to summarize the experience of independent Ukraine in publishing collections of historical documents in the main areas and periods. The research methodology is based on comparison strategies, typology, principles of historicism. The logic of the presentation of the material is based on the problem-historical principle, which allows to reveal the main topics and directions of the published collections of documents on the history of Ukraine in a chronological order. The Scientific Novelty.* The article covers archeographic publishing activity for 30 years of our state independence. Emphasis is focused on joint publications of archives with academic institutions and universities, regional centers, public organizations, foreign institutions and researchers. It has been shown that the volume of documentary materials published during the independence of Ukraine is quite large and has created thematic blocks with a very broad chronology in the information space

of Ukraine. The authors single out two main periods: the 1990s and the 2000s, which differ in their thematic areas, accents and approaches to covering historical issues, involvement in publications of central, regional, foreign scientific and public centers, the use of modern information technology. **The Conclusions.** Historians and archivists generally cope with the task of showing an objective picture of historical events, but the issues of methodological plan, a qualified use of the latest information technologies, new types of sources remain topical. It is necessary to respond more quickly to the urgent information requests of the population, topics that are discussed actively, including in the world, and especially saturated with clichés, myths, and where there is an external informational influence on Ukraine. This response will increase the presence of the Ukrainian archeographic product in the national and global information space.

Key words: documentary editions, state archival institutions; collections of documents and materials.

ПУБЛІКАЦІЯ ДОКУМЕНТАЛЬНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛ В УКРАЇНІ У ДОБУ НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ

Анотація. Метою статті є узагальнення досвіду незалежної України щодо видання збірників історичних документів за основними напрямками та періодами. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на стратегіях порівняння, типології, принципах історизму. В основу логіки викладу матеріалу покладено проблемно-історичний принцип, що дає змогу в хронологічній послідовності розкрити основні теми і напрями опублікованих збірників документів з історії України. **Наукова новизна.** У статті висвітлено археографічну видавничу діяльність за 30 років незалежності нашої держави. Акцентовано увагу на спільних виданнях архівів із академічними установами і вишами, регіональними центрами, громадськими організаціями, зарубіжними інституціями та дослідниками. Показується, що обсяг документальних матеріалів, виданих під час незалежності України, досить об'ємний і створив в інформаційному просторі України тематичні блоки з дуже широкою хронологією. Автори виділяють два головні періоди: 1990-ті та 2000-ні рр., які відрізняються своїми тематичними напрямками, акцентами та підходами до висвітлення історичних проблем, залученням до публікацій центральних, регіональних, зарубіжних наукових і громадських центрів, застосуванням сучасних інформаційних технологій.

Висновки. Історики й архівісти загалом справляються із завданням показу об'єктивної картини історичних подій, проте актуальними залишаються питання методологічного плану, кваліфікованого використання новітніх інформаційних технологій, нових типів джерел. Варто оперативніше відповідати назрілим інформаційним запитам населення, темам, які активно обговорюються, у тому числі в світі, та особливо насичені кліше, міфами, і де є наявним зовнішній щодо України інформаційний вплив. Це буде збільшувати присутність українського археографічного продукту в національному та глобальному інформаційному просторі.

Ключові слова: документальні видання, державні архіви установи, збірники документів і матеріалів.

The Problem Statement. The process of gaining independence by Ukraine and the democratic society formation caused a great interest of citizens in their historical heritage. This interest was accompanied by the large-scale declassification of archival funds, the data banks formation and the publication of prohibited documents. The period from the mid-1990s was called “the archaeographic explosion”. Thus, descriptive articles on 6,928 funds declassified from 1986 till 2003 were included into “Register of Declassified Archival Funds of Ukraine” (Zvorskyi, 2013, p. 9). Nowadays, this issue does not lose its topicality, because in the national and global information space there is a significant concentration of various interpretations of historical processes, which often contain unverified or falsified data, which lead to manipulation of public consciousness. Researchers point at a new significance of the social function of a historical document as a regulator of modern processes in society

(Kozlov, 2017). This new significance of a historical document sets the task for historians and archivists to satisfy the information needs of citizens more fully by means of publication of documentary sources, as well as to search for modern forms of representing them to the population. The above mentioned issue makes it topical to analyze the main tendencies in the publication of archival documents on the history of Ukraine during the period of independence.

The Analysis of Sources and Publications. A number of disciplines deal with the study of the publication history of documentary sources, in particular, Archeography, Source Studies, Archival Studies, etc. H. Boriak, L. Dubrovina, O. Zhurba, Ya. Kalakura, O. Kupchynsky, N. Myronets, V. Nimchuk, V. Ulianovsky, V. Shandra and the others made a significant contribution to their development. The works of P. Sokhan (Sokhan, 1992; 2001) and O. Mavrin (Mavrin, 2008; 2017) are of great importance, in which the current issues and directions of work of the Ukrainian archeography are defined. In a number of works by the Ukrainian scholars, the publishing activities of individual institutions in certain directions and periods are covered in detail (Papakin, 2010; Ukhach, 2021; Yakubovskyy, 2021 тощо). It is worth noting the works of foreign scholars on the related issues (Kozlov, 2017; Nestsiarovich, 1997; Sabennykova & Khymyna, 2016). The analysis of scientific work on the specified issue allows us to assert that the history of the publishing activity of documents and materials on the history of Ukraine, which covers the period since 1991, has significant achievements, and at the same time it needs further progress, clarification of assessments, in particular the selection of development stages.

The purpose of the article is the experience generalization of independent Ukraine regarding the publication of collections of historical documents according to main directions and periods.

The Results of the Research. The Ukrainian historical heritage continues to be in a state of formation and awareness by the society. It cannot be complete without the constant involvement into the scientific circulation of new or little-known documentary sources of various directions and complement them with a professional commentary. It is worth mentioning that in the history of Ukraine, the documentary heritage has undergone significant distortion and destruction, as well as silencing, banning, and removal. A significant volume of archival documents, manuscripts, library and other collections disappeared due to a careless treatment of them. The archival documents were burnt or exported, in particular to other countries, during wars, fires and other tragic events.

Some examples should be provided. At the beginning of the 1920s, during the establishment of the Soviet management apparatus in the Ukrainian SSR, which was accompanied by a strict economy of resources, a low-quality yellow paper, sometimes wrapping paper or cigarette paper, was used in clerical work; the ink was diluted. Over several decades, in the archives these documents began to deteriorate, fall apart, the ink faded and the text was lost rapidly. During World War II (from June of 1941 till October of 1942), the management of archival institutions evacuated the documents, however, due to the lack of vehicles, it was not possible to remove everything and a significant number of them were burned. Thus, the Central Party Archive of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U lost about 70% of documents (Zhurzha, 2018, p. 180). At the end of 1942, the Regional Administration of Archives, Libraries and Museums under the Reich Commissar of Ukraine was established in occupied Ukraine, and the following year the mass export of valuable documents to fascist Germany began (Gamaliia, Dovzhuk & Sichkarenko, pp. 82–83, 89).

The active process of the documents declassification, access to archives, special storages began at the end of the 1980s. This process was facilitated by the decision of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine to renew the work of the Archaeological Commission in 1987 and to establish the Institute of Ukrainian Archeography on its basis in 1991 with the publication “Ukrainian Historiographic Yearbook”. The opportunity to acquaint the scientific community with foreign editions of the Ukrainian Studies centers in Europe and America, in which valuable sources on the history of national movements, spiritual life, social and political thought in Ukraine were published actively, expanded. This expansion made it possible to start an active preparation and publication of documentary sources.

The Ukrainian public had the opportunity to get acquainted with the documents that covered unknown or little-known events, and to deepen understanding of historical processes. In particular, this concerns such phenomena as the survival of the civilian population under the conditions of the fascist occupation, the life of the population of the western and southern regions that became part of Ukraine in 1939 – 1940, industrialization of the Ukrainian SSR, famine, activities of law enforcement, censorship, other authorities, etc. Large arrays of documents were discovered in dozens of state archives, special storage facilities, etc. Their study was facilitated by the order of the State Archives Committee of Ukraine “On the Preparation of the Register of Declassified Funds (1991 – 2000)” No. 17 dated March 21, 2001. Nowadays, three volumes (5 books) of “The Register...” have been published. The presentation of information on each declassified archival fund is structured in the form of a descriptive article in accordance with the requirements for accounting and reference documents.

Analysis of publications of central and regional archives, academic institutes, public organizations and Ukrainian centers abroad, etc., as well as historiography of the above mentioned issue gave the authors the opportunity to single out two main periods in the thirty-year archeographic publishing activity. It should be noted that at each stage of the country’s development, different goals and priorities were set before the sphere of documentary publications by the state administration bodies, the public, and scholars. At the same time, any periodization of social processes is conditional, it has its own logic of development, because certain processes intersect or go beyond the boundaries of an outlined stage.

The first period: from 1991 till 2000 is characterized by the so-called archival revolution (which began at the end of the 1980s), and was followed by the “archaeographic revolution”, which in its turn is characterized by the public interest boom in the publication of declassified or little-known documents of the country’s history. At first the documents were published in magazines and newspapers.

The second period: from the beginning of the XXIst century till the present time, is marked by a deeper theoretical understanding of the problems of archeography, an active involvement of the Ukrainian studies centres abroad, regional state institutions and public organizations into the publishing activity, expansion of the topics of publications. This period is characterized by the widespread use of modern information and communication technologies concerning publications on the Internet, which, meanwhile, is of a rather controversial nature.

In historical retrospect, looking at the topic of documentary editions of the first period, we notice the emphasis not only on the publication of declassified or little-known documents, but also on the inheritance and continuation of certain editions from the Soviet period. Central state archives, including cooperation with academic institutes, continued publishing traditional collections of documents and materials according to the plans elaborated in the 1940s – the 1980s (Mavrin, 2017, p. 33).

In the first place there are collections summarizing the legislative activity of the Verkhovna Rada and executive bodies of the state: the Bulletin of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, published since February of 1941, and the Collection of Resolutions of the Government of Ukraine, which was published from 1938 till 1996. In 1997, "The Official Gazette of Ukraine" was launched, and in 1998 – "Collection of Governmental Regulations Acts of Ukraine". The tradition of publishing documents on the history of Ukraine during the Soviet era was started in 1939 by the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The series of documentary collections "History of Ukraine in Documents and Materials" included a wide range of thematic publications. The majority of the documentary publications of the Institute of History of Ukraine and other academic institutes are characterized by adherence to the rules of texts publishing accepted in science with maximum preservation of their content and form, and significant comments.

The picture of document making by state institutions is complemented by the research of the source base of the Archive Fund of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which has been carried out by the Institute of Archival Studies of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine since 1989. This research of the source base of the Archive Fund is reflected in the series "Sources from History of Science in Ukraine" – collections of documents and other sources of the history of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. During the years of 1993 – 2012, materials were published about the activities of the Academy in 1918 – 1955. In 1997, 2004 and 2007, the publication "Collection of Copies of Documents and Materials on History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine" was published. Publishing house "Naukova Dumka" also published a number of collections of documents on the participation of academic institutes in minimizing the consequences of the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

Since the end of the 1980s, documentary sources about such a terrible page of our history as the famine during the interwar and postwar years began to be published. At first in foreign historiography (Conquest, 1986; Carynyk, Luciuk & Kordan, 1988) and among domestic researchers there were publications of documents on the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. These are the publications of S. Kulchysky, A. Perkovsky and S. Pyrozkhov, R. Pyrih and the others. Since 1991, the number of collections of documents has rapidly increased not only due to the unprecedented declassification of documents of the state archives, but also due to the possibility of collecting evidence. The first important collections of documents published by scholars of the Institute of History of Ukraine were: "Collectivization and Famine in Ukraine 1929 – 1933" (Kyiv, 1992), "Famine of 1921 – 1923 in Ukraine" (Kyiv, 1993), "Famine in Ukraine in 1946 – 1947" (Kyiv, 1996), etc. The Ukrainians in Canada published the following documents: "The Famine of 1921 – 1923 and the Ukrainian Press in Canada" (Toronto, 1992). Although, the highest intensity of publication of documents on this issue was achieved in the 2000s, in the bibliographic index "The Holodomor in Ukraine. 1932 – 1933" (Odesa – Lviv, 2001) there were illustrated about 600 items of various publications of the 1990s.

Historical science, along with the requirements for the publication of previously unknown documents, faced the issue of revising the methodological principles concerning their evaluation. Thus, in the editions of the 1990s, a considerable attention was paid to the events of the 1917 – 1921 Revolution, which were read in a new way. These are collections of documents and materials in 2 volumes "The Ukrainian Central Council" (Kyiv, 1996), "Peace Negotiations between the Ukrainian State and the RSFSR in 1918" (Kyiv, New York, Philadelphia, 1999) and the others.

The most important publications of historical sources in multi-volume editions started to be published from the mid-1990s. Among them are the publications: “Universals of Bohdan Khmelnytsky 1648 – 1657” (Kyiv, 1998), “Archive of Kish of New Zaporizhzhia Sich: Corpus of Documents, 1734 – 1755” (Vol. 1. Kyiv, 1998), “Chronicle of the UPA. New Series” (Vol. 1. Kyiv, 1995) and documentary publications about the attributes of the Ukrainian state: “Awards of Ukraine: History, Facts, Documents” in 3 volumes (Kyiv, 1996) and “Money in Ukraine: Facts and Documents” (Kyiv, 1998).

Since the 1990s, the publication of little-known documents on the tragic pages of the history of national minorities representatives has also begun in Ukraine in the XXth century. In particular, this is the collection “The Germans in Ukraine. The 20s – 30s of the XXth century” (Kyiv, 1994), “The Deported Crimean Tatars, the Bulgarians, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Germans: Collection of Documents of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (1989 – 1999)” (Kyiv, 1999), etc.

Under the new historical conditions, documentary publications which dealt with the class struggle, workers and peasants movement in Ukraine no longer attracted researchers as before. At this stage, only the documents “Peasant Movement in Ukraine: 1569 – 1647” were published (Kyiv, 1993), during the following period, the role of the working class was considered only at the level of an individual enterprise: “Historical Memory of Dnipropetrovsk Region: Events, Facts, Names”, in 5 volumes (Dnipropetrovsk, 2015).

A considerable informative material about the tragedy at the Chornobyl NPP in 1986 is reflected in collections of documents beginning in 1995: “Chornobyl: Problems of Public Health”, in 2 chapters (Kyiv, 1995), “Chornobyl Tragedy” (Kyiv, 1996). Beginning in 2001, collections on this topic continued to be periodically published by academic institutions, state and departmental archives, in particular by the SBU archivists: “Chornobyl KGB Dossier” (Kyiv, 2019; Kyiv, 2020).

Thus, in the collections of documents published during the first post-Soviet period of the 1990s there were formed thematic blocks with a broad chronology, and the issues and concept of documentary publications changed significantly. Along with new topics of publications, traditional ones (history of the revolution, the civil war, etc.) they also gained significant scientific objectivity and comprehensiveness. To a sufficient extent, the publications of documentary sources were coordinated by M. S. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. In 1992, the founder and director of the Institute, P. S. Sokhan, in the programme article “The State and Prospects of the Development of Ukrainian Archeography” named the priority and the first-priority objectives: publication of sources on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks; publication of documents of the 1920s and 1930s about famine and political repression in Ukraine; publication of monuments of the Ukrainian historiography, in particular, the creative heritage of outstanding figures; publication of foreign sources on the history and culture of Ukraine, etc. (Sokhan, 1992). The Ukrainian archeography developed in this direction mainly.

During the second period: in 2000 – 2020, we observe, on the one hand, the continuation of the publication of documentary sources on the topics covered in the 1990s, on the other hand, the emergence of new thematic directions and much wider involvement of regional and foreign researchers and institutions in the publishing activity.

Collections about military events during World War II are among the thematic areas that began to appear in our millennium actively. Among them: “Sources on the History of F. M. Mykhailov Partisan Unit” (Kyiv; Chmelnytsky, 2015), “Magazines on Combat Operations of the Troops of

the 3rd and 4th Ukrainian fronts. October of 1943 – 1944” (Cherson, 2015), “Burned Villages and Towns of Chernihiv Region in 1941 – 1943: Crimes against the Civilian Population” (Chernihiv, 2013), “War through the Eyes of Children” (Kharkiv, 2013), etc. Their peculiar feature is a wide involvement in the publications of not only the central state, but also regional and city archives, regional councils, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, Search Agency for the creation of scientific documentary series “Book of Memory” and “Rehabilitated by History”, Podillia History Research Center, Union of Archivists of Ukraine, etc. Participation of regional archives, public organizations, foreign partners brought an element of concreteness, comprehensiveness, and novelty concerning the involvement of unknown layers of documentary sources. This concreteness allows you to analyze historical events thoroughly, with the involvement of sources of various levels. Scholars began to write about a new type of documentary publications – “cascade” (Kozlov, 2017; Sabennykova & Khymyna, 2016).

Publication of collections of documents on famine during the interwar and postwar years continued in the 2000s with a greater intensity as compared to the previous period. These documents were prepared by scholars of academic institutes and central archival institutions: “We strike the Big Bell...”, “The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 through the Eyes of the Ukrainian Diaspora” (Kyiv, 2008), “Famine of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine as Genocide” (Kyiv, 2008). A feature of this period was also the widespread involvement of regional researchers in publications and documents of the region, district, and village levels: “Neither a Grave nor a Sign of the Cross: the Holodomors of 1932 – 1933 and 1946 – 1947 in Chornukhynsky District of Poltava Region” (Chornyhy; Kyiv, 2004), “Famine and Holodomor in Podillia of 1920 – 1940” (Vinytsa, 2007), “Rozkurkulennia, Collectivization, Holodomor in Dnipropetrovsk Region (1929 – 1933)” (Dnipropetrovsk, 2008), “Famine of 1932 – 1933 in Kirovohrad Region” (Kirovohrad, 2008), “Kherson Region. The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933” (Kherson, 2008), “The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Chernihiv Region” (Chernihiv, 2009), “Famine of 1946 – 1947 in Mykolaiv Region” (Mykolaiv, 2010), “Collectivization and Holodomor in Slavutchyna in 1928 – 1933” (Kyiv, 2013). Documentary evidence was also published about the social and political situation during this period, as well as about cynicism of higher authorities with the involvement of the National Center for Scientific Research of France: “The Party-Soviet Leadership of the UkrSSR during the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933” (Kyiv, 2013). It should be noted that the vast majority of publications are devoted to the events of 1932 – 1933, the famine in Ukraine in 1946 – 1947 was covered much less.

Documentary publications are related to the above mentioned issue, which testify to the resistance of peasants to forced collectivization, to the actions of the authorities: “Tragic Past: Documents Testify”, in 5 volumes (Dnipro, 2018), “Anatomy of Peasant Uprisings: The Horodnia Uprising of 1931 led by Ya. Riabchenko” (Chernihiv, 2015).

During the period of the democratic Ukrainian state development, the issue, deformed by the Soviet system, regarding the coverage of the Ukrainian resistance movement and the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II turned out to be particularly painful. It was necessary to study and bring to the interested public documents and materials related to the history of the OUN and the UPA. They began to be actively published during the 21st century: “National Reconciliation or Confrontation” (Kyiv, 1999), “Materials and Documents of the Security Service of the OUN (b) in the 1940s” (Kyiv, 2003), “The OUN and UPA in 1945” in 2 parts (Kyiv, 2015), etc.

Painful issues deformed by the Soviet policy include falsified cases against representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the events of the civil war. Collections of documents

and materials are dedicated to this issue: “According to the Scenario of the DPU: Criminal Case “The Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Union” (Kyiv, 2004), “The Great War of 1914 – 1918 and Ukraine” in 2 books (Kyiv, 2015), “Battle near Kruty in National Memory” (Kyiv, 2013), “The Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 in Prydniprov'ia” (Dnipro, 2016), which highlight the events from new methodological approaches.

Since Ukraine gained independence, there has been a public demand for a comprehensive coverage of such a heroic page as the Cossacks. Historians' answer to this was the publication of eight volumes of the corpus of documents of the Kash archive of Nova Zaporozka Sich of 1734 – 1775, with the participation of foreign centers of Ukrainian studies during the period of 2000 – 2019. Historians prepared the publication dedicated to the events of Koliivshchyna in 1768 – 1760 based on the documents of Kash of New Zaporozka Sich (Kyiv, 2019). The events of the period of B. Khmelnytsky, the liberation war and the so-called reunification of Ukraine with Russia were an extremely politicized page of history. A comparison of the approach of the compilers of the 1946 and 1953 collections to the selection of documents on these issues, and editions of 2003 and 2009 is illustrative: “The Pereiaslav Rada through the Eyes of Historians” and “Baturyn: Pages of History”.

The cultural component of the life of the Ukrainian society is elucidated in a number of documents collections, the majority of which appeared in the 2000s. These are: “Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in Ukraine (1917 – 1918)” (Kyiv, 2008), “The Ukrainian Identity and the Language Issue in the Russian Empire: an Attempt of State Regulation (1847 – 1914)” (Kyiv, 2013).

During the Soviet period, there were no documentary publications on the history of the Orthodox Church. At this stage, a number of collections of documents regarding various aspects of the churches activity appeared: “Documentary Heritage of Sviato-Mykhailivsky Zolotoverkhy Monastery in Kyiv, the XVIth – the XVIIIth Centuries” (Kyiv, 2011), “State-church Relations and the Situation of Dnipropetrovsk Diocese of the Ruska Orthodox Church (1945 – 1953)” in 2 books (Kyiv, 2011), “Foundation of the Galician Metropolis in the Light of Diplomatic Correspondence between Austria and the Holy See of 1807 – 1808” (Lviv, 2011), “Documentary Heritage of the Sviato-Preobrazhensky Maksakiv Monastery, the XVIIth – the XVIIIth centuries” (Kyiv, 2015), etc.

Research and publication of documents on the life of certain population groups, namely the Crimean Tatars, the Germans, and the Jews in Ukraine, continued: “The Crimean Tatars: the Road to Return: the Crimean Tatar National Movement (the second half of the 1940s – the beginning of the 1990s) through the Eyes of the Soviet special Services” in 2 chapters (Kyiv, 2004), “The Crimea under the Conditions of Socio-political Transformations (1940 – 2015)” (Kyiv, 2016), “Zaporizhzhia Archive. Studies on the History of the Jews of Zaporizhzhia Region (the XIXth – the 1st half of the XXth century)” (Zaporizhzhia, 2010).

During this period, many documents were published about iconic personalities whose lives reflected the historical era. These collections of documents are dedicated to the activities of the military scribe Andriy Tovstyk (Kyiv, 2010), Taras Shevchenko (Kyiv, 2015), an apostolic visitor in Germany, Father Peter Verhun (Kyiv, 2016), Oleksandr Shulhin (Kyiv, 2016) and the others.

Collections of documents about tragic events in Kyiv with previously unknown facts formed a separate direction of publications. The following publications are meant: “Memory of Bykivnia” (Kyiv, 2000), “Kyiv during the Days of the Nazi Invasion” (Kyiv, 2003), “The Kurenivska Tragedy of March 13, 1961 in Kyiv” (Kyiv, 2012) and the others.

An important feature of the 2000s was documentary collections compiled and published in the regions or focused on them. The documentary collections illustrate various thematic directions and periods of the Ukrainian history without the Soviet political colouring, in particular those that developed during the time of independence. The study of the Middle Ages and the early modern era are meant: “Lutsk Castle Book of 1560 – 1561” (Lutsk, 2013), “Acts of Volyn Voivodeship of the End of the XVth – the XVIth centuries” (Kyiv, 2014), “The Ukrainian Everyday Life of the Early Modern Era. Issue 1: Volyn in the XVIth century” (Kyiv, 2014), “Acts of Poltava Regimental Court of 1668 – 1740” (Kyiv, 2017), “From the History of Kherson Province. 1803 – 1920” (Kherson, 2013). The period of World War II and the struggle against dissidents during the pre- and post-war period provided significant material of the history of the regions: “Zaporizhzhia Archive. People’s War. 1941 – 1944. The Anti-fascist Movement of the Resistance in Zaporizhzhia Region” (Zaporizhzhia, 2005), “Kherson Region at the Beginning of the Great Patriotic War (June – September of 1941)” (Kherson, 2011), “Life under Occupation. Slavuta and Slavutychyna in 1941 – 1943” (Kyiv, 2014), ““Special Notes” of Stalin and Molotov about the National Liberation Struggle in Western Ukraine in 1944 – 1948” (Lviv, 2010), prepared with the participation of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta, etc. A number of regions contributed to the popularization of modern historical material: “The Struggle for Independence of Ukraine in 1989 – 1992: Chernihiv Regional Organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika” (Chernihiv, 2009), “Poltava Region is 75 years old” (Poltava, 2013) and the others.

The period of the 2000s is characterized by the widespread use of information technologies for mass publication of historical documents on the Internet. A number of publications are devoted to this mass publication on the Internet (Boriak, Lobuzina, & Yurkova, 2021; Papakin, 2021). However, they are of a rather ambiguous nature. The scope of the article does not give us the opportunity to analyze consider this mass publication on the Internet. On the one hand, such publications duplicate publications on paper media, simplify processing, and make the process of making documentary sources public for the general public cheaper. On the other hand, documents posted on the Internet by users, sometimes far from professional knowledge of history and norms of publishing activity, can distort historical facts and events, and consciously or unconsciously contribute to the manipulation of the public opinion. Such phenomenon is called “folk archeography”. The publication of historical documents on the Internet turns into the publication of an average information product. Therefore, it does not undergo scientific analysis and appropriate preparation for publication. The lack of scientific analysis and appropriate preparation often lead to the spread of surrogates, fakes and counterfeits.

Therefore, the publication of historical documents during the 2000s is characterized by a greater variety of topics due to the expansion of cooperation between the state archives and scientific institutions of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, by higher education institutions, public organizations, foreign partners, as well as the focus on the development of previously inaccessible documentary sources for ideological reasons. This focus explains the politicization of the subject of a number of publications. Regional archives in joint publications with central archives, local scientific, educational institutions, public organizations reflected the specifics of historical events at the local level, which contributed to the comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of historical events.

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research. Thus, in the information space of Ukraine important changes take place after gaining independence. The amount of

documentary publications is quite significant, it has specific thematic blocks with a broad chronology and can be divided into two periods: the 1990s and the 2000s. The majority of the documentary collections were devoted to topical and painful issues of the history of Ukraine, which were deformed during the Soviet period or were silenced, and also responded to new requests of the society. Publications are of mostly scientific and popular science nature. The main type of publications is thematic, as a rule, based on the funds of one archive or region in the format of a collection of documents or a series.

In addition to academic institutions, especially the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, central and regional archives, public organizations, foreign researchers and institutions, etc., were actively involved in the publication of documents and materials collections. Thus, the enormous efforts of scholars in Ukraine and the diaspora made it possible to fill the gap in the coverage of famine during the interwar and postwar periods and during the years of independence. This was done not only by central scientific institutions, but also locally – in the regions, districts, and villages. Documentary collections prepared in the regions began to be published in large numbers from the beginning of our century and focused on various topics and periods of the history of Ukraine, in particular, those that began to develop only during the post-Soviet period. Thus, in general, historians and archivists cope with the task of providing the Ukrainian society with an objective picture of its history, in particular, by means of the publication of documents reflecting the opposite positions of the parties to the conflicts.

At the same time, it can be stated that the publication of documentary sources has significant reserves for its progressive development. Issues of methodological aspect, work experience generalization of the previous years, competent use of modern information and communication technologies, involvement of new types of sources for processing and publication remain topical. It is necessary to respond more quickly to urgent information requests of the population, topics that are actively discussed, in particular, in the world, and are especially rich in clichés, myths, and where there is an external informational influence on Ukraine. This response will contribute to increasing the presence of the Ukrainian archeographic product in the national and global information space.

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**“UNCONVENTIONAL HISTORIES”: THE POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY
IN SEARCH OF NEW SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to determine the importance and place in modern Polish academic reflection concerning the historical science role issue in the life of the society of a number of new research directions and ideas, the historical knowledge social significance of which is in focus. The methodology of research is based on the application of historiographical analysis and synthesis methods. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that, for the first time in historiography, the contribution of the newest directions of the Polish professional historiography (the so-called “unconventional histories”) to the enhancement of its social role has been considered, the specific ways in the aspect of giving historical knowledge a practical meaning have been pointed out, probable limitations of such knowledge have been discussed. The Conclusions.* In modern Polish historical science, a whole spectrum of innovative approaches and directions was noted, one way or another oriented to the presentation of historical knowledge in the public space more broadly than it has been done before. These are “unconventional histories” that exist within the framework of “the new Humanities studies”, “the post-humanities studies”, “public history”. Each in its own way manages to strengthen the presence of historical knowledge in the public space. However, the question that is often asked by the representatives of the traditional part of the academic community of historians, including in Poland, remains open: concerning the ability of this type of “histories” adhere to the Truth about the past. As it seems, the supporters of the analyzed above “unconventional histories” do not attach as much importance to this issue as it is recognized in academic historiography. Hence, the cognitive function of historical knowledge (to acquire true knowledge about the past), from which the society can receive purely practical gains, is called into question.

Key words: “unconventional histories”, the social role of historical knowledge, modern Polish historiography, academic community of historians.

**“НЕКОНВЕЦІЙНІ ІСТОРІЇ”: ПОЛЬСЬКА ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ
У ПОШУКАХ НОВИХ СОЦІАЛЬНИХ ПЕРСПЕКТИВ**

Анотація. *Мета дослідження – встановлення значення і місця в сучасній польській академічній рефлексії над проблемою ролі історичної науки в житті суспільства низки нових дослідницьких*

напрямів і пропозицій, у фокус уваги яких винесено соціальну значущість історичного знання. **Методологія дослідження** базується на застосуванні методів історіографічного аналізу та синтезу. Його наукова новизна полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії розглянуто внесок найновіших напрямів польського професійного історієписання (так званих “неконвенційних історій”) у підвищення його соціальної ролі, вказано на конкретні шляхи, які запропоновано ними в аспекті надання історичному знанню практичного значення, обговорено ймовірні обмеження такого знання. **Висновки.** У сучасній польській історичній науці відзначається цілий спектр інноваційних підходів та напрямів, так чи інакше орієнтованих на ширше, ніж це було раніше, представлення історичних знань у суспільному просторі. Це “неконвенційні історії”, які існують в рамках “нової гуманітаристики”, “постгуманітаристики”, “публічної історії”. Кожній по-своєму вдається посилювати присутність історичних знань у суспільному просторі. Проте відкритим залишається питання, яке часто ставлять представники традиційної частини академічної спільноти істориків, у тому числі і в самій Польщі: про здатність такого типу “історій” триматися Істини про минуле. Як здається, прибічниками проаналізованих вище “неконвенційних історій” не надається настільки вагоме значення цій проблемі, як це визнано в академічній історіографії. Отже пізнавальна функція історичних знань (здобувати істинне знання про минуле), з якої суспільство може отримувати її сучасні практичні здобутки, ставиться під сумнів.

Ключові слова: “неконвенційні історії”, соціальна роль історичного знання, сучасна польська історіографія, академічна спільнота істориків.

The Problem Statement. In recent decades, historical science underwent some transformations that change its usual image completely. In particular, the processes of fragmentation and blurring of the traditional disciplinary field of academic historiography and, at the same time, the loss of its usual high place both in the system of the humanities (and science in general as a way of understanding existence) and in public life are evident (Yaremchuk, 2020, pp. 165–166). It is obvious that the mentioned crisis phenomena are related to each other in a certain way. For example, the growing importance of new forms and ways of reflecting on the past (audiovisual history, non-anthropocentric history, “public history”, etc.) indicates that the “traditional historiography” loses “ground under its feet”, gaining powerful competitors, which, in turn, alongside with other factors, work to force out science from its usual place as the main social institution that takes care of the past.

Contemporary Polish historiography undergoes similar transformations. On the one hand, in the special literature there is noted the “national specificity” of the social status of Polish historical science, which consists in the excessive presentation of history in politics and politics – in academic history primarily (Dudek, 2011; Machcewicz, 2012; Wojdon, 2021, pp. 13–49; Pomorski, 2020). At the same time, we are talking about the Polish experience of a global trend – a dramatic decrease in public demand for academic history and profession prestige. Modern Polish researchers state about “falling from a high pedestal” (Brzezińska, 2021, p. 44; Kruszyński, 2016, pp. 149, 321), “clumsy and inefficient historians” and “impotent historiography” (Muchowski, 2021, pp. 32–33), about the reduction in the number of applicants to History departments at Polish universities (Wojdon, 2015, pp. 26–27). The social, cultural, intellectual reasons / prerequisites of the above-mentioned situation can be also traced. In particular, we are talking about the lack of direct benefit from history in the circumstances of the dominance of the applied understanding of science on the part of the government and society, the priority of natural sciences over the Humanities; about the false neoliberal methods of state policy regarding the Humanities studies, which discourage the study of history; technological innovations (personal computers that radically simplify processing, transmission, and presentation of historical information); democratization of historical knowledge (nowadays everyone can create historical sources and describe the past at their own discretion); demographic changes (a sharp increase in life expectancy, which,

in particular, turns ordinary people – the witnesses of historical events, into competitors of academic historians); finally, modern mass culture with its mediatization (which makes the media, primarily electronic, drivers of historical discussions, allows to raise some, more “attractive”, topics, and not attach importance to the others), commercialization with emphasis on entertainment, not educational purpose (history becomes part of the heritage industry), replacement substitution “language” culture with a visual one, which encourages the mind to work less and emotions – more (Domańska, 2014, pp. 19–36; Řezník, 2017, pp. 11–26; Stobiecki, 2021). It was noted that modern penetration of history into “broad masses” (from computer games to historical reconstructions) gives society “a rather vague idea of the past”, and “entertainment” component of historical presentations undermines authorities and replaces them with irony. It should be mentioned that the latter one releases modern “consumers of history” from epistemological rules, and this opens up space for “alternative facts” and “post-truth” (Řezník, 2017, pp. 25–26).

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. A discussion of probable answers and scenarios for the development of scientific historical knowledge unfolds against the background of the modern world interaction in its new, previously unknown images, with professional historiography. It seems that in modern Poland historians and representatives of other fields of the humanities studies offer a diverse range of reactions to new challenges, in particular, to the challenge that concerns the vision of the role of a historian in a society. First of all, the above-mentioned issue is in the center of attention of historians, related to theoretical methodological and historiographical issues professionally, who are committed to go beyond the traditional standards of acquisition from the XIXth century and ideas about the social roles of historical knowledge. Instead, they offer an alternative in the form of “unconventional histories” (we will talk about the essential features of such an alternative in detail a bit later). Despite the presence of numerous reviews of individual texts or conceptual proposals of individual Polish supporters of “unconventional” historiography (Sklokin, 2012; Witek & Solska, 2017 and other) or individual statements of a predominant critical direction from the “camp” of “traditional” historians, nowadays there is no analysis of their contribution to the understanding of new social perspectives of history in modern world.

The purpose of the article is to determine the importance and place in the modern Polish academic reflection concerning the historical science role issue in the life of the society of a number of new research directions and ideas (“unconventional histories”), the historical knowledge social significance of which is in focus. The topicality of posing such research issue is due to the lack of systematic reflection in both Polish and other historiographies.

The Results of the Research. All trends of this type, despite their discrepancy, have a common denominator – they aspire to provide a new, fresh impetus to the development of scientific and historical knowledge. They consider one of the decisive means of its “acceleration” to be the renunciation of historians from their traditional ethos of “a dispassionate scholar” detached from modernity, proposing instead the model of a thinker consciously “involved” in social processes, who changes the world for the better by history. Another common feature of “unconventional histories” is the vision of traditional historical science developed on the basis of positivism only as one of the ways of reflecting on the past (at the same time, the place of academic historiography in the hierarchy of various forms of historical knowledge for various “new” historians is different – from preserving the idea of his exclusive place to the critique of “a privileged status”). The supporters of new approaches suggest (with the possible exception of E. Domańska), along with professional historians,

involving in such reflection non-historians – ordinary people, amateurs, popularizers, etc., to a much greater extent than is considered “decent”, giving such in the way of knowledge about the past again of a more “involved”, social nature and meaning. That is, it is not only about the purposeful inclusion of historians in solving pressing social problems, but also about a new approach to communication with the society. More symmetrical relations should emerge instead the paternalistic “expert-recipient” relations. For example, in one of the texts, its author, pondering over the appropriateness of such “demonopolization of history”, rhetorically declares the following: “Perhaps a historian, who sees himself in the role of a conductor should switch to the role of a listener? Do you realize at least that the basis of a conductor’s profession is the ability to listen?” (Brzezińska, 2021, p. 56).

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, the outlined innovative phenomena the term first introduced into the Polish historiography by E. Domańska in 2006 – will be called as “unconventional histories” (the historian herself borrowed it from a number of Western publications (Domańska, 2006). Actually, we consider such kind of a verbal definition to be the most appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, it emphasizes for the “histories” collected into a single whole “under the roof” of the research perspective of our studio, the common point of lack of full academic legitimacy (in different spectra – from complete rejection to skepticism or partial agreement) on the part of “traditional” historians, which are currently the absolute majority in Poland. Second of all, it is necessary from a purely applied point of view – in view of the use of other terms (primarily the term “alternative histories”) in order to emphasize solidarity in quite different approaches. Third of all, it was E. Domańska with her famous book about “unconventional histories”, who initiated the Polish discussion concerning the drastic need to revise the usual ideas about the social role of historical science and remains an active participant to this day (Witek, 2016, p. 10; Muchowski, 2021, p. 27; Brzezińska, 2021, p. 42).

In addition to the “objective” decline in the role of professional historians in the modern world, which bothers all of them without exception, it is obvious that any intellectual trend, including the one associated with the appearance of “unconventional histories” in the Polish professional environment with their emphasis on the social role of historical knowledge, inspired by purely subjective factors that prompted relevant intellectual interests in the Polish context. Of course, we cannot state with certainty that historian X began to deal with the history of Y for the following reasons: and then he presented all of them without exception. Some of them, of course, are unspoken and unarticulated.

The “first place” is given to the relatively high level of reflexivity of modern Polish historiography among them. We mean the comparative interest of “practicing” historians in discussing “theoretical” issues (although the Polish colleagues often complain about the gap of the “theoreticians” from the practical history and, as Robert Traba once made a witty remark, while mentioning the theory of history squint condescendingly, (Domańska, 2014, p. 319)), as well as the fact of the exceptional status and prestige in the corporation of the Polish historians of such a historical subdiscipline as the methodology of history (and not only against the background of its complete absence in modern Ukrainian historiography, but also in comparison with the situation in the historical sciences of the East-Central European region) (Domańska, 2012, p. 186). For example, there are three purely “methodological / theoretical” journals published in Poland nowadays – “Sensus Historiae. Studia interdyscyplinarne”, “Historyka: studia metodologiczne”, “Historia@Teoria”, as well as a number of “hybrid” or serial publications related to theoretical history.

Probably, few people recognize the influence of intellectual fashion on his work. In this case, as we will cover later, the Western thinkers had and remain the obvious influence on the Polish “unconventional” historians, who are considered to be among the leading representatives of the widely understood so-called postmodernist thought (Hayden White, Frank Rudolf Ankersmit and the others). At the end of the XXth century in the world and in Poland by the middle of the “zero” years (millennium), it lost its importance as an intellectual mainstream, and in Poland its influence was limited almost exclusively to the methodologists of history and historians of historiography, nevertheless, the named sub-disciplinary group drew a lot from the long-time influential intellectual phenomenon (Domańska, 2012, pp. 20–21; Domańska, 2019). First of all, H. White is meant, who was in Poland several times, had quite fruitful contacts with some of Polish historians (primarily with E. Domańska), and, according to the observations made by the researcher of the ideas reception of the American theoretician of historiography in the works of his Polish colleagues, inspired almost all renowned Polish history methodologists (it is interesting that H. White is completely “not present” only in the texts of Wojciech Wrzosek) (Domańska, 2019, p. 88; Domańska, & La Greca, 2019). Taking into consideration the above-mentioned generalization about the “Polish” context of H. White’s activity and from his own observations, the influence of his ideas on “unconventional” historians was manifested primarily in the fact that, putting emphasis on the closeness of academic history to fiction, he caused a critical attitude to traditional vision of the academic narrative as unique in its ‘scholarship’, encouraged the exploration of ‘non-academic’ forms of historical representation, seeing them as equivalent to professional historical writing, and finally with his latest book “The Practical Past” (White, 2014) (by the way, his collection of essays with the same title, although largely with a different content, was also published in Poland in the same year) highlighted the importance for the historians to focus on those aspects of the past that are of practical importance in the present (Ahlskog, 2016).

It is likely that the Polish colleagues relatively serious interest (primarily the representatives of the younger generations) concerning the issue of the social role of history in the modern world was also related to the relevant discussions of a global level and resonance. In particular, a noticeable Polish echo of the so-called “Appeal from Blois” (2008) published by a group of renowned modern European historians, directed against legislative restrictions on the freedom of historical discussions (see: (2019) and the others)) and the eminent “The History Manifesto” (2014) by American historians Jo Guldi and David Armitage, the leitmotif of which was a call to return a vital role in the life of mankind to the professional historiography (Muchowski, 2017 and other). The fact that the issue concerning raising the social status of historical science is on agenda of the Polish colleagues can also be evidenced by the recent publication in one of the above-mentioned journals of a programmatic article, written by three famous American historians with a message about the drastic need for the history, which is being engaged in public discussions and political conflicts openly and consciously, which supports the building of a better future (Kleinberg, Scott & Wilder, 2019; Kleinberg, Scott & Wilder, 2020).

As it was mentioned above, the issue concerning the change of the traditional approach to the social role of history was first raised by E. Domańska in the work called “Unconventional Histories. Reflection on the Past in the New Humanities” (Domańska, 2006). The researcher is known as one of the leading spokespeople in Poland for the involvement of the Polish Humanities studies into the world historiographical discussions. The starting point of her

conceptual vision of “unconventional histories” is their consideration as a component of “the new Humanities studies”. It should be mentioned that the latter is considered as a spectrum of disciplines and approaches in the Humanities knowledge, which are designed to “rewrite” the traditional vision of the world with its support of European ideas and models of knowledge. The above-mentioned paradigm is of an “emancipatory, interventionist and often insurgent nature”; “is characterized by an instrumental approach to the practice of science, its politicization, consideration of its status in the categories of relations between knowledge and power, the involvement of the researcher, an ideological focus on participation in social changes and the struggle for justice, on unmasking the practices of power” (Domańska, 2018, p. 23). What is really important for “the new Humanities studies” – is its practical suitability for the implementation of projects to destroy all forms of oppression, but not so much the epistemological persuasiveness of knowledge (Domańska, 2018, p. 23). Hence, “according to the definition, neither it is about positively understood objectivity in the Humanities research, nor about the neutrality of a researcher, nor about the search of the truth as a research goal” (Domańska, 2018, p. 25). (It should be stated that the above-mentioned research paradigm was and remains, as we will show below, the basis for a number of other directions that we will analyze in this article). In particular, “unconventional histories” describe the experiences of diverse oppressed and excluded groups (sexual, ethnic minorities, “inferior classes”, disabled, etc.), and defend their subjectivity purposefully. Describing the victims, they intervene in the course of a social and political life directly, considering historiography as “a form of struggle against various forms of oppression” (Domańska, 2006, pp. 54–55).

Since the beginning of the 2010s, the researcher has adjusted her research priorities slightly. Attention is refocused, firstly, to the universal human values defense (and not the oppressed groups’ values) as an applied goal of the Humanities studies and historical science in particular (especially, it is reflected in the title of her next major work “Existential History” (Domańska, 2012)), searching for inspiration in French existentialism (Domańska, 2012, p. 11). The following issues emerge for the researcher “providing a reflection on the history of the search aspect of wisdom”, (Domańska, 2012, p. 11), “giving the opportunity of creation and strengthening the sense of a human community, [...] strengthening the desire to be a person” (Domańska, 2012, p. 189), “adapted to the realities of modern world of science concerning living together” (Domańska, 2012, p. 190). Second of all, it seems that the researcher had already disapproved of the postmodernist historiography relativism and “the new Humanities studies” openly. The researcher emphasized, in particular, that the importance of historical science as a reservoir of knowledge “for the individual and communities survival [consists in] that history, on the one hand, interprets changes, but on the other hand – shows constancy, and as such can give hope simultaneously (nowadays it is so, but tomorrow it could change, be different), and a sense of security (*there are universal truths and values* (our italics – V. Ya.), and it allows us to plan the future))” (Domańska, 2012, p. 12). Third of all, from that time until nowadays, under the influence of another turn in the Western Humanities studies, E. Domańska tried to build and promote the value of a new paradigm, which was in a state of creation and contained a number of trends, approaches and perspectives, outlined by her as “the non/post-anthropocentric Humanities studies”, “the post-humanities”, “the ecological Humanities studies”, “the bio-Humanities studies”. The above-mentioned paradigm is characterized by opening the doors to an extra-human level of analysis, interest in extra-human manifestations of existence on our planet (animals, plants, inanimate objects). In particular, the researcher spotted in it an opportunity “to make our

research work a part of future-oriented humanitarianism, which restores a sense of security and supports interpersonal and interspecies connections, trust and respect for other people and other forms of life (ethics of care, ethics of solidarity, ethics of respect and reciprocity), harmony with nature, ultimately the idea of a social life, which is understood in terms of a collective of human and non-human subjects” (Domańska, 2018, p. 32). At the same time, it is interesting that the value of such reorientation for the Polish historian lies not so much in the plane of new possibilities of knowledge, but in increasing the social significance of scientific knowledge. Furthermore, the researcher, declared herself a “supporter of the emancipatory Humanities studies” as before, and the corresponding historiography (“rescue history”, “history with potential / affirmative history aimed at the future”) (Kruszyński, 2016, pp. 217–221, 225).

At the end of a brief presentation of E. Domańska’s views in terms of the topic of this article, it is worth adding that the researcher herself (whose scientific interests, we remind you, lie mainly in the field of methodology and history of historiography) not only noted/notes and summarizes certain trends in the Humanities / historical knowledge, suggests interesting and non-trivial ideas about their role in modern world. Recently, E. Domańska has published her own original not only “theoretical” but also purely “practical” research in the field of “the post-humanities studies” (Domańska, 2017).

One more not only interesting, but also fruitful direction in the field of “unconventional histories” is the activity of a group of researchers from Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Lublin), Jan Pomorski’s students, the renowned Polish specialist in the field of theoretical history. In 2011 modern research credo of Lublin methodologists was formulated in an extensive collective work, which was written by other renowned Polish specialists from other universities of the country (Witek, 2011). The authors for the first time substantiated theoretically the issue of heterogeneity of modern representations of the past in the collective work. They called their current interests “alternative histories” (Witek, 2011, p. 9), and began to impose their activities on the category and term “unconventional histories” and the trends of “the new Humanities” initiated in the Polish context by E. Domańska (Witek, 2011, p. 9; Witek, 2016, p. 10). In this manifesto of “Lublin methodologists” it was stated openly that owing to the “linguistic means” and creativity of a number of Western sociologists of science (Thomas Kuhn, Paul Feyerabend, etc.) Clio was “disappointed”, because, in their opinion, “it turned out that both science and conceptual language, which is its cognitive tool, are not so much neutral means of discovering the objectively existing world, but are largely culturally determined by existing methods of construction and modelling of social reality” (Witek, 2011, p. 10). Hence, according to one of the most prominent spokesmen of this milieu, Piotr Witek, their reflection on the past “is characterized by criticality regarding the dominance of institutional science, which excludes other, non-academic ways of creating knowledge”; thereby, it “supports alternative types of knowledge in relation to official science, created in various areas of culture – literature, film, computer games, theater, photography, comics, etc.” (Witek, 2016, p. 10). Already in the book of 2011, the research programme of this group of historians was outlined, which involved both theoretical understanding and practical research of such “secondary” / “non-scientific” methods of historical representation in the view of academic science, such as audiovisual / visual history, multimedia, virtual and interactive history, various forms of oral history, commemorative history, performative history, historical writing (Witek, 2011, pp. 11–12). In fact, on the pages of the above-mentioned collective work, the approaches of this collective to the theoretical foundations of “alternative histories”

were outlined and the above-mentioned “subdivisions” of them in the Polish context were analyzed.

It seems that the researchers of audiovisual / visual history work most fruitfully in the outlined direction. In particular, P. Witek’s latest work on the historical cinema of Andrzej Wajda is noted for its high level of theoretical culture and the involvement of a large amount of empirical material (Witek, 2016), as well as the work of Poznan-based researcher Dorota Skotarczak on the theory of visual history (Skotarczak, 2013).

Instead, Lublin historian Andrzej Radomski develops actively the issues of the so-called historiography 2.0, or historiography, which is created in the virtual space, and which exists in the context of the so-called “digital Humanities” (Radomski, 2006; Radomski, 2012; Stańczak, 2021). In his latest works, he emphasized that, in his opinion, “the digital Humanities” “integrates all new trends” of modern humanitarianism, including “the engaged Humanities that work for certain social changes” (Stańczak, 2021, p. 130). According to the researcher, the main advantages of such historiography as the absence of a sharp divide between ordinary people and professional historians, “this approach uses the potential of the collective intelligence and has a partnership character”, because in the network “everyone can be a historian”, “to be involved in the development of attitudes towards the others – generalize, to comment, to be a participant in joint research projects”, doing this “from the general conviction: no one knows everything, everyone knows only something” (Radomski, 2012, p. 135). Historiography 2.0 creates new opportunities for professional historians as well – “it makes their work more dynamic, on the other hand – it gives an opportunity to find out how it is evaluated and what the general public expects” (Radomski, 2012, pp. 139–140). It is essential to understand (recognize?) A. Radomski that it performs “partially other social functions: a significant part of it (computer games, digital visualizations, multimedia or films) belongs to the components of a new field of activity – the entertainment industry” (Radomski, 2012, p. 139).

The so-called “university studios” and scientific culture in general in the modern world are the focus of attention of another Lublin historian, Ewa Solska (Solska, 2011; Solska, 2019). One of the leading ideas of her research is the need to return to science the educational ideal of the practical value of knowledge. If we talk about her own historical knowledge, then the researcher positions herself as a supporter of those trends in historical reflection that allow “to put history into practice” (Solska, 2019, p. 130). In particular, with regard to the connection of historiography with a practical life, the researcher sees the two most common positions, which, in her opinion, should be revised: 1) “positivist-Rankean”, which is characterized by the desire to be free from values; 2) “narrative”, according to which the historian “must be in society in the role of an informer, a reporter”, always ready for the “revision of established idealizations” and “exposing the fraud committed by the authorities with history” (Solska, 2019, pp. 130–131). Instead, E. Solska offers the third way, which is based on the idea of the “axiological reflection” of the researcher (i. e., his attachment to certain values). It is about “the dialectic of loyalty and nonconformism in the social sense, traditionally defined as commitment to liberal democracy” (Solska, 2019, p. 131). Such dialectic, according to E. Solska, should be more specifically expressed in “a researcher’s loyalty” (“observance of political correctness”, “corporate loyalty” – not opposing the conventions of one’s research environment, but also the possibility of changing these conventions) and “a researcher’s non-conformism”, which should consist “in something opposite, in what we can generally call a revisionist and / or alternative discourse”, which “has already turned out to be the most unconventional in history [...]” (Solska, 2019, pp. 132–133). Among such stories, which are

important in the sense of giving historiography a practical meaning, E. Solska highlights the role of “public history” as a new research trend in the Polish historiography (Solska, 2019, pp. 197–198).

Thus, another innovation on the market of socially oriented histories in Poland is a new subdiscipline (?) in the system of recognized components of professional historical knowledge, often known here as “history in the public space” (*historia w prześci publicznej*), “applied history” (*historia stosowana*), and in the Western professional and didactic tradition – as “public history”. For the first time, the importance of this direction of modern thinking concerning the role of history in the society was signaled by the Polish historian and public intellectual Robert Traba at the end of the 2000s, and in 2014 he published the first thorough research with the analysis of the place of “applied history” (in his terminology) in the system of modern historical knowledge and its prospects in Poland (Domańska, 2014, pp. 143–164). In particular, there were two reasons why the researcher saw the need for it: “openness of communication space in which all the Humanities function” and the modern “demand for storytelling, visualization and museum representation of the past” (Domańska, 2014, p. 144). His restrained attitude towards the thesis of some Western researchers about the ability of “public history” to contribute to the harmonization of relations between both forms of creating history – academic and social – is interesting. Based on the personal experience of “a public historian”, he believes that it may rather be about “the skeptical tension that arises from observing too many populist trends and the play of local interests in their cooperation” (Domańska, 2014, p. 157).

From the mid-2010s, the foundations of the infrastructure of “public history” began to be created in Poland, and the discussion of its disciplinary face continues to this day. The actual definition of the concept of “public history” remains, according to the author of a number of special publications on this direction, Joanna Wojdon, “a serious difficulty for both theorists and practitioners of this discipline and is considered one of its weaknesses” (Wojdon, 2015, p. 29). The researcher supported the outline of the American historian Barbara Franco, who offered to consider “the history for the public, by the public, with the public and about the public” as “public history” (Wojdon, 2015, p. 30; Wojdon, 2018, p. 12; Wojdon, 2021, p. 7). In addition, Joanna Wojdon also emphasized rather transparent boundaries of “public history”, because it “can be considered any history that is made outside of academic circles and schools, at least to the extent that these two institutions play their traditional role in the transfer of knowledge from professionals to professionals and from teachers to students/pupils”; it is “a *sui generis* umbrella covering research and activities from various other sub-disciplines such as history didactics, museology, cultural heritage, public archives, oral history, historical tourism or visual history” (Wojdon, 2021, p. 7). In one of her latest publications, J. Wojdon emphasized the relevance of involving the issues of historical memory and historical politics in the research field of “public history” (Wojdon, 2021, p. 7). In 2018, the first Polish textbook on “public history” was published under the editorship of Y. Wojdon (Wojdon, 2018), and in 2021, the collective work of a group of Polish specialists was published under her editorship in a leading world scientific publishing house, which summarized the first achievements of the Polish historians both in the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon and in the understanding of individual manifestations of history presence in the public sphere of modern Poland – from the historical policy of government circles after 1989 and its public reception towards the movement of historical reconstructions and board games with historical themes (Wojdon, 2021).

The Conclusions. Therefore, we can note a whole spectrum of innovations, one way or another, oriented to a wider, than it was before, presentation of historical knowledge in the public space in modern Polish historical science. In our opinion, all of them, especially when it comes to “public history”, will have prospects for establishing themselves as scientifically legitimate directions or subdisciplines of historiography, because each responds in its own way to modern challenges to professional history. Each in its own way manages to strengthen the presence of historical knowledge in the public space. However, the question that is often asked by the representatives of the traditional part of the academic community of historians, including in Poland itself, remains open: concerning the ability of this type of “histories” to hold on to the Truth about the past. As it seems, the supporters of the analyzed above “unconventional histories” do not attach as much importance to this issue as it is recognized in academic historiography. The spokespeople of certain areas deny its objective existence, insisting on a complete cultural / social construction of historical knowledge (like some Lublin methodologists), while the others assert that “familiarity with the specifics of historical periods” is the issue that “is in the sixth place” among competencies, at which the historian must be good (in this case “public”) (Wojdon, 2015, pp. 34–35). Hence, the cognitive function of historical knowledge (acquiring true knowledge about the past), from which the society can receive purely practical gains, *volens nolens*, is called into question. Instead, the past as a narrative acquires the features of a field for obtaining a single practical benefit in order to satisfy the demand for the entertainment concerning certain “innovative trends” implementation.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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A NEW RESEARCH OF THE PTOLEMAIC KINGDOM IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (review of the monograph: From the Basileis-Pharaohs to the Pharaohs-Basileis: the First 100 Years of the Ptolemaic Monarchy: a monograph / Zelinskyi A. L. Vinnytsia; Kyiv: LLC "WORKS", 2020. 648 p.)

НОВЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЦАРСТВА ПТОЛЕМЕЇВ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРИОГРАФІЇ (рецензія на монографію: Від басилевсів-фараонів до фараонів-басилевсів: перші 100 років птоlemeївської монархії: монографія / Зелінський А. Л. Вінниця; Київ: ТОВ "ТВОРИ", 2020. 648 с.)

In 2020, Kyiv researcher Andrii Zelinskyi published the monograph "From the Basileis-Pharaohs to the Pharaohs-Basileis: the First 100 Years of the Ptolemaic Monarchy". The previous monograph on this topic was published by the author ten years earlier under the title "The Alexandrian Pharaohs and Their Subjects. Strengthening the Power of the First Ptolemies

/ Zelinskyi A. L. Kyiv: Akadempriodyca, 2010. 664 p.” (Александрійські фараони та їхні піддані. Зміцнення влади перших Птолемеїв / Зелінський А. Л. Київ: Академперіодика, 2010. 664 с.). It was then the first Ukrainian monograph devoted to Hellenistic issues in general, and the history of the Ptolemaic state in particular. In 2021, Andrii Zelinskyi defended his dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Historical Sciences (World History) on the topic: The evolution of the Ptolemaic monarchy as the social-political institution (end of IV – end of III cent. BC). It could therefore be stated that the author of the reviewed monograph, who is currently a staff member of the State Institution “Institute of World History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine”, is well-versed in the subject of research.

The topic of the scientific research of Andrii Zelinskyi is in the mainstream of modern Hellenistic studies. In recent years, scholars have actively studied and compared Egyptian and non-Egyptian elements that coexisted in various spheres of the Ptolemaic state: socio-political, socio-economic, religious and ideological. This monographic study was carried out in the same vein. The author focused on the study of the evolution of the Ptolemaic monarchy from the end of the 4th – to the end of the 3rd century BC. The starting point for the research was the dualism of the Ptolemaic monarchy stated in modern historiography: each ruler, to one degree or another, appears both as a Greek-Macedonian basileus and as an Egyptian pharaoh. On this basis, A. Zelinskyi considers the Ptolemaic monarchy as a socio-political institution; he traces the dynamics of changes in the ratio of Greco-Macedonian and Egyptian elements during the first hundred years of the dynasty's existence. Many problems, explicitly or implicitly researched by the author of the book, are the subject of academic discussions nowadays. Consequently, the study of the Ptolemaic monarchy as a coherent system combining Egyptian and Classical antiquity elements determines the validity and importance of A. Zelinskyi's monograph.

The structure of the work is well thought out, which allowed the author to elucidate the research topic. In the first chapter the author gives a brief overview of the historiography of the problem and gives a description of the research base of the study. In particular, the author notes that “modern historiography does not try to consistently trace not only the evolution of the Ptolemaic monarchy as a socio-political institution, but also research the impact of this evolution on shifting the power priorities of the Ptolemaic dynasty” (p. 17). The author analyzes the importance of different types of sources for the study of certain aspects of the problem, characterizes the main typological groups and content categories into which the source base of the study is divided. The author considers it appropriate to classify the “Parian Chronicle” and a number of other such monuments in the narrative group of sources (p. 18). Inter alia A. Zelinskyi quite reasonably distinguishes onomastic sources (p. 27). This is fully consistent with the research methods used by the author, including historical and comparative, historical and genetic ones. The author's use of the methodology of historical institutionalism with its neo-institutional component (p. 32) seems to be quite reasonable. A. Zelinskyi defines two main elements of the Ptolemaic monarchy, which, in his opinion, are the most characteristic, respectively, of the institutions of basileus and pharaoh. In the first case it is a permanent personal military activity of the monarch in the Mediterranean region, which cannot be separated from the essence of the Greco-Macedonian, and later – the Hellenistic *basileia*; in the second – the ritual and material support of the cosmic order (*Maat*) on which the legitimacy of the power of each pharaoh was based (p. 31). The following four chapters of the monograph are devoted to the trends in ratios of these components.

Each of these chapters is associated with the figure of one of the four Ptolemies, starting with the founder of the dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter, then Ptolemy II Philadelphus,

Ptolemy III Euergetes and Ptolemy IV Philopator. In each chapter, a certain system is traced, which can be designated by three blocks: 1. conditions for the formation of personality and personality traits of the respective monarch; 2. the analysis of his foreign policy; 3. the study of his domestic policy. The author elucidates the subjective factors associated with the figure of a particular representative of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the complex processes that took place within the evolution of the Ptolemaic monarchy; he analyzes the scale of the representation of a particular king as a warrior-basileus; and finally, the author determines to what extent each of the four Ptolemies corresponds to the expectations of the indigenous Egyptians. Chapter 5 is slightly different and ends with a paragraph devoted to the influence of the evolution of the Ptolemaic monarchy during this period on the further historical development of Hellenistic Egypt.

The concept of A. Zelinskyi, by and large, can be summarized as follows: the study of the first hundred years of the Ptolemaic monarchy enables us to speak of the gradual refusal of the rulers of that dynasty to actively perform the functions of Basileis and to intensify their activities as pharaohs. Ptolemy I Soter spent almost his entire life in war campaigns and acted as a full-fledged basileus, while his pharaoh functions were rather an imitation. Ptolemy II Philadelphus eventually refused to participate in wars directly; his activity as a pharaoh was fulfilled, first of all, through regular temple tours. Ptolemy III Euergetes eventually completely rejected the military component of foreign policy, and that, according to the author, was a premise of the impending catastrophe in foreign policy; at the same time, owing to many targeted measures, his internal political positions were strengthened. The decision-making biases related to the personality of Ptolemy IV Philopator caused a systemic crisis of power institutions that undermined the authority of the Ptolemaic monarchy. However, the emphasis of his predecessor on the performance of the functions of the pharaoh helped to maintain the power of the Ptolemies in Egypt, although Ptolemy V Epiphanes was forced de facto to abandon “external possessions”, the acquisition, maintenance and expansion of which were completely associated with the functions of the Basileus. The choice of Ptolemy V and his successors for the Egyptian component, made at the cost of abandoning expansionist foreign policy, was due to the gradual change in the nature of the Ptolemaic monarchy, which took place during the reign of the first representatives of the dynasty.

In the monograph, A. Zelinskyi put forward a number of interesting hypotheses, proposed a number of reconstructions, and expressed his own idea for a wide range of issues related to the foreign and domestic policy of the Ptolemaic state. He proposed, inter alia, his own interpretation of the events of the Third and Fourth Wars of the Diadochi (pp. 44-47, 72-73), the First, the Second and especially the Third Syrian Wars; a new understanding of the principles of Egyptian foreign policy during the time of Ptolemy IV (pp. 191-200). The author presented new arguments in favour of the historicity of the Egyptian coronation of Ptolemy I (pp. 265, 292); considerably expanded the history and geography of visiting Egyptian temples by Ptolemies (pp. 113-114); established the stages of the formation of the Egyptian version of the personal lifetime cult of the ruling monarch during the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes (pp. 147-175); made a number of remarks on the content of the Raphia Decree (pp. 206-207); gave arguments in favor of the effective participation of the Theban priesthood of Amun in the Great Rebellion (207/206 – 186 BC) (pp. 208-209, 515).

A. Zelinskyi made every effort to draw his own conclusions on certain aspects of the problem under investigation, based on the widest possible range of historical sources. Besides the author proved ability in the scope of methodology for investigating the historical sources,

including papyrological, numismatic and epigraphic ones. A. Zelinskyi is well grounded in the field of classical languages as can be seen from his translation of an Athenian poet Philemon's epigram about Magas and Ptolemy II (p. 329), the translation of the epigram of Callimachus about the Cretan archer (p. 404), the original interpretation of the fragment by Livy (p. 502), the analysis of the epigrams of Posidippus of Pella (pp. 373–374, 403), etc. It should also be noted that some A. Zelinskyi's translations of ancient texts were already published since 2005.

A. Zelinskyi knows the historiography of the problem thoroughly. The book's bibliography contains 1720 items (pp. 533–647).

Appreciating the scientific work of A. Zelinskyi's, let us make a few remarks. We fully approve of the principles and research methods used by the author, including the method of philological criticism, which is absolutely correct in the context of the study of this topic, but not very popular with historians. We consider the terminological principle of the research also deserves attention. The author does not discuss this principle directly, but applies it many times, in particular referring to the meaning of the term "Hellenism". Apparently, some other terms ought to be defined and clarified, for example – "*basileia*" (pp. 31, 517, 518), used in the phrases "*Greek-Macedonian basileia*" (pp. 30, 31), "*Hellenistic basileia*" (pp. 31, 33), "*pre-Hellenistic basileia*" (p. 33).

The author emphasized that he chose "historical institutionalism" as a methodological basis for his research (p. 32). Therefore, as far as we are concerned, it may be worth clarifying the essence of the concept of "institution", which is repeatedly used by the author, but has its own specifics depending on the context: economic, legal, historical, etc. By broadening this point, we think it would be worthwhile to provide an explanation of some terms in a "glossary of terms" or in the notes. For example, the author used the terms "republic" and "republican", as well as a number of phrases with them. Of course, the definition of "Republic" has different meanings in phrases the "Roman Republic" (pp. 210, 213, 223), the "Island Republic" and the "Merchant Republic" when it comes to Rhodes (p. 59, 61, 197, 397) or the "New Republic" in the case of Cyrenaica (p. 109). In some cases, it would be appropriate to put these terms in quotes. In our opinion, it was unfitting to render Greek terms in Roman alphabet: "*βασιλικοί παῖδες*" – "*basilikoi paides*" (p. 257), "*ἀπό μέλιτος*" – "*apomelitos*" (p. 97), etc.,

Summing up, it should be noted that A. Zelinskyi's monograph made a valuable contribution to the development of Ukrainian historiographies of antiquity; it might interest a wide range of professional historians, students and connoisseurs of ancient history.

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FROM WORLD WAR II TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION: A NEW VISION OF RECENT HISTORY OF UKRAINE (review of the collective monograph: Ukraine at the Epicenter of World Systems Confrontation (1939 – 1990) / NAS of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine. Kyiv: Akadempriodzka, 2021. 544 p.)

ВІД ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ ДО РОЗПАДУ РАДЯНСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ: НОВА ВІЗІЯ НОВІТНЬОЇ ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ (рецензія на колективну монографію: Україна в епіцентрі протистояння світових систем (1939 – 1990) / НАН України, Ін-т історії України. Київ: Академперіодика, 2021. 544 с.

Last year, a collective monograph “Ukraine at the Epicenter of World Systems Confrontation (1939 – 1990)” was published at the Academic Publishing House “Academicperiodyca”, the authors of which are known Ukrainian historians, scholars of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine: Viktor Danylenko, Viktor Krupyna, Stanislav Kulchytsky, Oleksandr Lysenko, Olena Stiazhkina, Larysa Yakubova.

The monograph contains 16 chapters, combined into two large chronological blocks: “Battle Field of Communism-Bilshovyzm and Nazism” and “Ukraine in the Age of World Systems Confrontation”. It should be noted in advance that individual sections of the work are written in the field of global history and contain the reasons of the authors about the place and role of Ukraine (or the “Ukrainian issue”) in the history of Europe and the world from the interwar period to the collapse of the USSR.

Chapter 1 “Continuous War Regime: Mobilization, Militarization and Practice Maintaining of Unannounced State of Emergency in Soviet Ukraine in 1920 – the beginning of the 1940s” (the author: Olena Shtiazhkina) focuses on the analysis of the Ukrainian society on the eve of the Global War – World War II. Professor O. Stiazhkina uses the concept of “a continuous war” to characterize historical conditions in which European countries were found after the Versailles Treaty of 1919. The state of “a continuous war” was characterized by the following signs: expansion of the arsenal and scope of “emergency measures” tools, social mobilizations, repression and terrorism, local armed clashes and local wars, militaristic rhetoric and propaganda (p. 8).

Analyzing “the Ukrainian realities”, the researcher states that in the 1920s – the 1930s mobilization and militarization were an organic state of the Soviet power policy, and the majority of components of emergency and martial law were the norm of a daily life and formed a special, unannounced state of a continuous war long before the official introduction of “martial law” on June 22, 1941. In her opinion, the most large-scale and consistent in their policy of destruction of the Ukrainian people was the war with the peasantry, whose apogee was the Holodomor in 1932 – 1933 (pp. 10–11).

Describing various manifestations of “wars without war”, Olena Shtiazhkina, even talks about everyday aspects of life, emphasizing that a total control over the population movement, restriction of the living space of every citizen, the establishment of rules of apartment residence, even transformed a home of a person into a “regime territory”. The researcher even focused on the system of education and upbringing of children in the USSR, which became of a militaristic nature. The ideology of bringing up children-warriors, who will be in defense of the Soviet homeland at any moment, was skillfully implanted into curricula, fiction for children, mass culture (p. 27). Summing up, O. Stiazhkina cites Hannah Arendt’s words: “The Stalinist War against Ukraine was twice as effective as a terribly bloody German invasion and occupation” (p. 36).

Professor Oleksandr Lysenko is the author of the next five sections. Writing about the mobilization measures of the Soviet authorities at the beginning of World War II, the researcher provides interesting information: in September of 1939, a hidden mobilization was carried out, which caused panic among population; on September 8 – 9, in several large cities, people overcrowded the railway stations, trying to leave the country, escaping from the war. Police attempts to disperse the exalted crowd were unsuccessful. Then an order was issued to shoot unarmed people (p. 41).

Oleksandr Lysenko analyzed the mobilization measures of the Soviet authorities during the so-called “liberation campaigns” of the Red Army to Western Ukraine, Northern Bukovyna and Bessarabiya. Therefore, he analyzed the number of the Soviet troops, weapons and equipment in the first half of 1941 and compared these forces with the capacity of Germany and its allies. The historian states that the USSR had been preparing for a great war for a long time, and leadership was aware of the power of potential opponents, whose intentions were also not a mystery to the USSR. Therefore, the thesis of “treacherous”, unexpected attack of

Germany and its allies cannot withstand any criticism. It arose to justify the mistakes of the USSR military and political elite and catastrophic defeat of the Red Army at the initial stage of the war (p. 51).

In Chapter “The Holocaust in Ukraine” Oleksandr Lysenko initially tried to outline the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, the origins of which date back to pre-Christian times (p. 98). The scholar emphasized that the Nazi propaganda machine launched systemic anti-Jewish propaganda on the territory of occupied Ukraine. He agreed to the opinion of the Dutch historian Karel Berkhoff, which indicated that the ultimate goal of the German occupation policy was depopulation of Ukraine as a result of a partial physical destruction, deportation and assimilation of local population. In this regard, the genocide of the Jews took place in occupied Ukraine in the context of a permanent terror of the SS and Wehrmacht units against representatives of all ethnic groups (p. 102).

Professor O. Lysenko provides many known data on the apparatus of violence, writes about the role of the Wehrmacht, SS, Orpo in the extermination of the Jews, gives many examples of mass executions of the Jews, including the killings in Kamianets Podilsky. The researcher focuses on the difficult issue of the local population participation in killings of the Jews (pp. 120–122). At the same time, the historian cites a large number of examples of rescue of the Jews by residents of Ukraine who were guided by universal values. As an example, he quotes the response of the director of Lviv City Library O. Masliak when he was asked by a relative, why being at risk he provided help to the Jews: “I was born a human being, and only later I became aware of being Ukrainian” (p. 122). It is important that the author also writes about the existence of the Jewish resistance movement, for example, he indicates that in the second half of 1942 there were only 30 – 40 Jewish combat groups in Volyn, in which almost a thousand people fought against the Nazis (p. 128).

Analyzing the deployment of the Ukrainian liberation movement during World War II, O. Lysenko notes that in September of 1939, the Ukrainian nationalists raised the uprising against the Polish authorities. Almost 8,000 people participated in September clashes. As a result of scattered, sporadic attacks, they seized eight aircraft, seven cannons, a tank, 23 machine guns and 80 automatic rifles, 3 757 rifles 3 345 pistols, 25 cars. The Ukrainian nationalists took in captivity 3 610 soldiers of the Polish Army and Police (p. 138). However, the scholar acknowledges that the hopes of nationalists of an independent Ukrainian state formation in Western lands did not only come true not only because this did not meet the goals of the invaders (Germany and the USSR), but also because the Organization of the Ukrainian nationalists (OUN) at that time did not prove to be a self-sufficient force capable of mastering the political situation and achieving the goal (p. 142).

The scholar emphasized that during the first days of the German-Soviet War, in all western regions of Ukraine operated the armed departments of the OUN members, who captured settlements, important objects, released prisons in Lviv, Kremianka, Berezhany, Zolochiv and other cities. During the period of June 24 – 28, the clashes of the Ukrainian nationalists with the Red Army continued. By the end of the month, the insurgents took control of the territory of Bibrka and Zhovkva districts of Lviv region. Fierce battles lasted for three days in Dubno, and in Lutsk and other cities, guerrillas controlled bridges, railway stations, and other objects. The Ukrainian formations controlled the cities of Dolyna, Kosiv, Kolomyia (Stanislavivshchyna), and the regional center (p. 144) controlled for two days. The historian criticizes the insinuations of involvement of the soldiers of the “Nachtigal” battalion in the killings of the Polish intelligentsia and the Jewish pogroms in Lviv (p. 146).

The author of the section describes in detail the attempt of the OUN members to restore the Ukrainian state in the summer of 1941, the repression of the Nazis against the Ukrainian nationalists, the transition of the latter to the underground and the beginning of the OUN armed struggle against the German invaders, the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), its fight against the Soviet partisans. The researcher does not conceal large-scale losses of the UPA, especially in the battle near Hurby (April of 1945). At the same time, he emphasizes: if at the peak of activity (1944) the UPA had up to 40,000 soldiers, then, in general, through various military and political structures that stood on an independent platform, several hundred thousand Ukrainians passed through during the war and during the post-war period. This is a convincing evidence that the Ukrainian independence movement of the wartime period was a continuation of a long struggle for Ukraine's independence in previous centuries: not brought on someone else's bayonets, but an organic product of the socio-political development of the Ukrainian political nation (p. 174).

Analyzing the complex problem of the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation during World War II, Professor O. Lysenko characterized the complex knot of contradictions on the Ukrainian-Polish border, a short-term policy of the Polish authorities towards the Ukrainians of the Polish Republic during the interwar period, outlined the loyalty problem of the Ukrainians to the Polish state. The researcher also pointed at the interests of Nazi Germany and the USSR, which actively used the "divide and rule" policy, harassing ethnic groups against each other. However, the scholar admits that the main responsibility for the flow of contradictions into "a hot phase" lies with the extremist part of the Polish and Ukrainian nationalist underground, for whom the idea of statehood weighed immeasurably more than the life of the enemy and their own (p. 187).

At the same time, O. Lysenko emphasized the difficulty of counting the victims of the Ukrainian-Polish interethnic conflict, pointing out the dubiousness of the statements of the Polish researchers Vladyslav and Eva Symashkiv, who estimate the Polish losses in Volyn at 33,000 people (almost 19,000 of them are known by name), and the total at 100,000. It is known that Volyn archivist Ya. Tsaruk personally visited all 97 settlements of Volodymyr-Volyn district and owing to a yard survey, it was determined that 1,454 Ukrainians were killed by "the Polish military formations" (1,244 with determined surnames), and 430 Poles died as a result of the Upiw actions (Siemashky give a different figure – 1,915). Ya. Tsaruk's research revealed a number of gaps, shortcomings and even distortions of facts by these researchers (pp. 201–202). It is important that O. Danylenko was against the use of the term "holocaust" by historians in relation to the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. In his opinion, only professional lawyers can draw conclusions about the existence of genocide. We, as reviewers, want to emphasize this opinion, because nowadays one of the popular Ukrainian historians resorts to using the scientifically incorrect term "mutual genocide" of the Ukrainians and the Poles.

In Section "Occupational Regimes on the Ukrainian Lands: Emergence and Destruction / Stabilization, Similarities and Differences", Professor Olena Stiazhkina noted, that unlike the occupied states and territories of Western Europe, where the invaders tried and/or were forced to comply with certain laws, the Ukrainian lands turned into a continuous territory of bloody arbitrariness, which was caused both by attitudes of aggressor countries leaders and by the behaviour of perpetrators of terror and lawlessness in the occupation zones. The occupiers "divided and conquered", designating groups and communities of enemies to be exterminated and groups and communities of those to whom life was offered in exchange for loyalty. Choosing between evil and evil, the occupied accepted the offer to survive under any

conditions and collaborated with the regimes both passively and, in some places, actively, becoming perpetrators of crimes organized by occupiers. All occupation regimes resorted to the same forms of humiliation and a physical or symbolic destruction of “enemies”: arrests, executions, hostages, deportations, terror by hunger, concentration camps absorbed and killed both “enemies” of the Nazi regime and “enemies” of the Soviet occupation. Being “in the shadow” of great criminals – Nazi Germany and the Stalinist USSR, the rest of the occupiers, in particular the Romanians and the Hungarians, committed the same evil (pp. 253–254).

The second part of the collective monograph contains chapters that cover the history of Ukraine in 1945 – 1990. It also begins with a chapter written by Olena Stiazhkina, who reflects on re-radianization and consequences of the “unfinished war”. The researcher interprets mass repressions against peoples in the USSR and Ukraine in 1944 – 1953 as a sign of the Russian Empire rebuilding, especially taking into account the change in the vector of Sovietness – from the state of classes to the state led by the Russian people. The researcher showed the persecution of the Jews in the USSR as an ethnic group of “traitors” who opposed the Soviet system (pp. 273–284). At the same time, the scholar pointed out the main components of the Soviet memory policy regarding World War II, in particular, the introduction of a single, Moscow-victorious view and the denial of trauma, inflicted on the national communities (the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Jews, the Germans, the Hungarians, etc.) precisely by the Bolshevik regime. The entire complex and systematic process of acquiring the historical memory of the war, the government’s monopolization of the interpretation of its experience and its transformation into a myth about the “Great Patriotic War” – determined its mental continuity on the Ukrainian territory in the form of historical wars. According to the President of Estonia Kersti Kaljulaid, World War II ended in 1994, “when the last echelons with the Soviet equipment left the country”. According to Professor O. Stiazhkina, World War II is still going on for Ukraine (pp. 318–319). We agree to this opinion and note that only the victory of Ukraine in the modern Russian-Ukrainian war will put an end to the wars of memory about World War II, which continued on the territory of our country during all the years of its independence.

The following four chapters were written by historians Viktor Danylenko and Viktor Krupyna. They describe the political system of Soviet Ukraine from the death of J. Stalin to the fall of the USSR, an everyday life of the population is characterized, the state of Ukraine’s economy in the coordinate system of the resource economy is elucidated. The sections of the monograph dedicated to joining of the Crimea to Ukraine and the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for rehabilitation and return to their historical homeland became important and new in the field of the Ukrainian historiography (we mean scientific syntheses) (the authors: Stanislav Kulchytsky and Larysa Yakubova). The researchers, in particular, noted that as a result of the mass deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944, the region once again experienced the destruction of the civilizational layer that had been built up for centuries. The post-war ethno-national history of the Crimea began practically from scratch. The fatal thing was that it took place in the Soviet extra-national context against the background of the formation of the Soviet myth about the Great Patriotic War. The post-war colonization of the Crimea turned into one of the largest demographic projects, which was carried out by the hands of the party-Soviet nomenclature and law enforcement agencies at an alarming pace under conditions of complete disregard for the interests and ethno-cultural requests of the population. As a result, during the 1940s and the 1950s, the youngest territorial community of Ukraine began to form in the Crimea, which appeared not as a result of the commonality

of historical, territorial and ethno-cultural origin, but was the embodiment of an artificial demographic project (p. 454).

In the section “Proclaimers of National Identity and Sovereignty”, Professor S. Kulchytsky talked about the phenomenon of the Ukrainian sixties and the dissident movements in Ukraine, and elucidated it in the context of the Ukrainian culture history of the second half of the 20th century. In particular, the scholar talked about the reaction of the Soviet authorities to Oles Honchar’s novel “The Cathedral” (pp. 487–490).

The monograph concludes with an intellectual historiosophical article by Professor S. Kulchytsky “The Leninist Commune State as a Tool for Building Communo-Socialism: Ontology of the Soviet Era”. The scholar denied Stalinism as a unique phenomenon in the history of the USSR, emphasizing its natural origins in Lenin’s policy of building the state-commune. In our opinion, the following thesis of the historian is important: “Russia still cannot recover from the consequences of Lenin’s experiment with the state-commune. The bulk of its citizens are, as before, economically, politically and spiritually dependent on state structures” (p. 499).

Despite the positive aspects of the monograph, it also contains certain shortcomings characteristic of collective scientific syntheses: episodic eclecticism, repetition of plots, lack of general conclusions. A certain problem is that the authors go beyond the chronological framework of the monograph many times (1939 – 1990). In our opinion, the year of 1991 should have been recognized as the upper limit of historical constructions – the year of independence declaration of Ukraine and the collapse of the USSR. We do not consider the title of the work to be entirely correct, because not only Ukraine, but also Poland, the Czech Republic, and East Germany were at the “epicenter of world systems confrontation” during the period under study. However, we believe that the peer-reviewed scientific study is a significant contribution to the formation of the latest historical visions of Ukraine’s past, the need for which is especially relevant at the current stage of development of the Ukrainian society and national historical science.

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