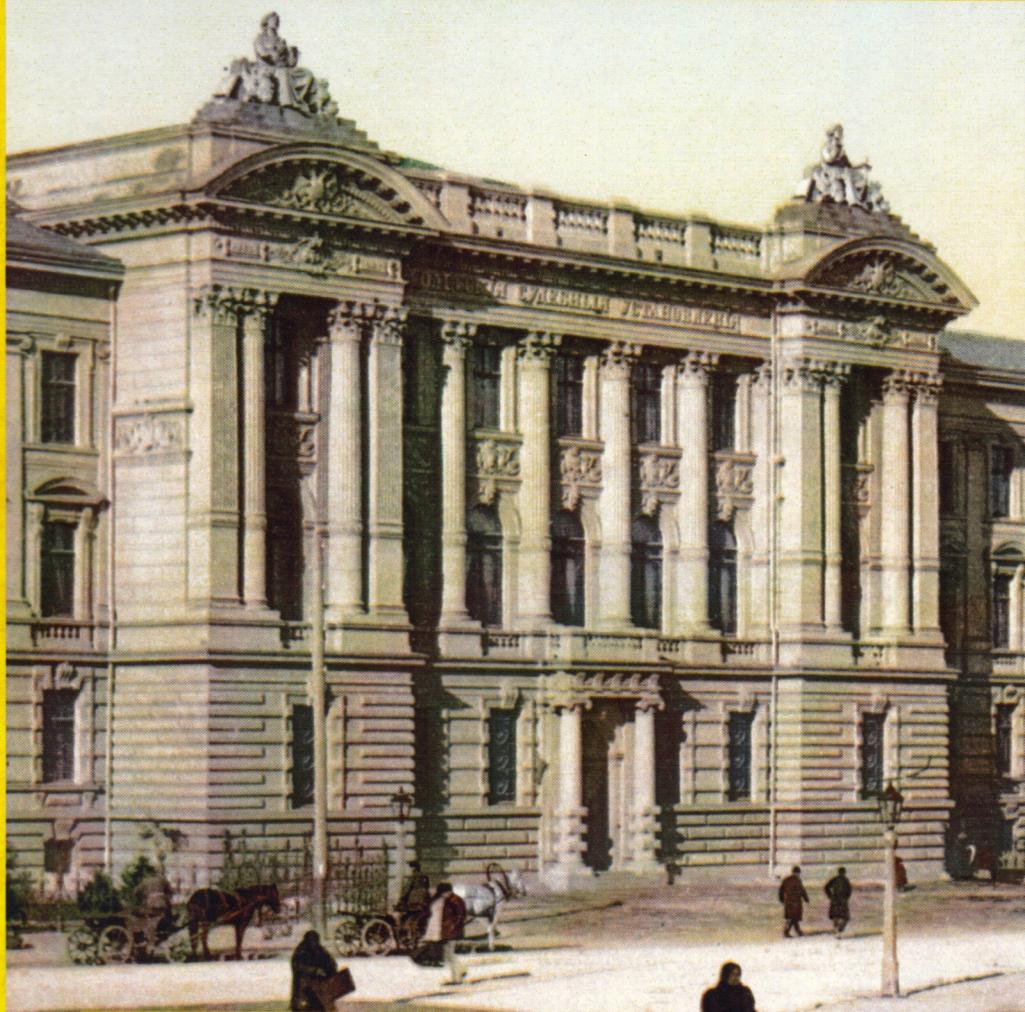


DANUBIUS

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2016



ECONOMY, SOCIETY,
CULTURE AND POLITICS
IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE
DURING THE XVIIIth-XXth CENTURIES



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Iryna PETRENKO*

**THE ROLE OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH OF
UKRAINE IN THE LATE XVIIITH CENTURY**

- Abstract -

The article deals with the influence of the church, customary and secular law on marriage and family relations, as revealed by the specifics of these relations. The author investigates the influence of the Church on the family relationships of the laity from the Southern Ukrainian lands in the 18th century. The empire had a significant impact on marriage and family relations. The intervention of secular power in this sphere of relations is shown. Since the beginning of the 18th century, the main source of family law was not only Nomocanon, but also the decisions of the Synod and the decrees of the emperor, which corrected canon law.

Keywords: marriage, family, marital relationship, divorce, wedding, the ecclesiastical court.

For centuries the family was the strongest link of society and most effectively preserved the culture of the people. In family life is stored and transmitted from generation to generation the social heredity, which plays an important role in public life. Family is a kind of a social microcosm, its structure is a smaller model of society. Family contains all human relationships inherent to society. Marriage and family relationships are the quintessence of political, economic, social and legal institutions. The evolution of the family is closely linked to the evolution of public relations. So the study of marriage and family is

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important for studies regarding the movement of the population, the study of legal relations, the development of economic and social systems.

Knowing the type of family that prevails in certain areas is possible to predict other characteristics of the region. Family is a kind of soil of history of the state, which opens to a careful researcher deep structures of our past.

Marriage and family relations are a very conservative type of relations in society. In the XVIII-th century there were important changes in the system of marriage and family law of the Russian Empire. The main role was given to the religious meaning of marriage, not to the property nature of the contract of marriage, as it was before. Marriage was recognized as one of the sacraments.

The methodological basis for this research is historical anthropology. This work was prepared in line with the new trends in modern historical research – social history, history of everyday life, micro-history and gender studies. A characteristic feature of this methodology is to focus on the daily practices of society, the shift of attention from the event history in the direction of the history of self-consciousness, of people, of past ages, their social value orientations in everyday practices and mentality.

The purpose of this article is the study of marriage and family relations in Southern Ukraine in the last quarter of the XVIII-th century, the Church's role in marriage and divorce, taking into account the features of the region.

The novelty of this research lies in the fact that it analyzed the sources which contain important information regarding the reconstruction of marriage and family relations, including legal, demographic, economic, social, interpersonal communications, as well as the tradition of marriage as the foundation of family formation. An important issue is the interaction of the customary, cannon and secular law in family relations, features of traditional society, the mechanisms of its regulation, the mixing of ethics and rules of conduct in dairy life.

Important methodological task was understanding the role of the Orthodox axiology in shaping patterns of behavior and moral attitudes in the mass consciousness of the people of traditional society and their impact on everyday family relationships. For the study of the history of marriage and family relations of the later part of the XVIII-th century it was necessary to use large range of published and unpublished sources. The sources of the research are materials of secular and religious origin.

The basics of the study of marriage and family relations of the later part of the XVIII-th century was the clerical documentation, in particular materials of judicial and administrative practices. This is due to the fact that the published

sources are mainly official. Archival documents and manuscripts contain material of individual level.

To archival sources that were used in the study of marriage and family relations of the laity of the Russia. To the Orthodox Church in the XVIII-th century belong the documents of the diocesan level. There are funds of spiritual consistory – higher collegial body in the diocesan administration and spiritual board – diocesan authorities of the districts.

Valuable sources for the preparation of this study were found in the funds of spiritual boards – local collegial church judicial and administrative institutions. They subordinate to the diocesan bishop and spiritual consistory. Spiritual Boards considered such cases: blasphemous, heretical, about Old Believers, divorce, and forced marriages. Spiritual boards were the subsidiary bodies of the diocesan administration. They were executive authorities and have the right to decide certain cases.

Spiritual boards were intermediate between the clergy of the diocese and consistory. Their functions were: to announce the orders of the diocesan authorities and monitor their implementation, to oversee the conduct of civil status (registration of marriages, births, deaths); to receive reports from churches, to conduct investigations into the affairs of the clergy, to solve the current issues of church life of their district. Spiritual boards were required three times a year to send to the consistory records of prosecutions, progress and results of investigations, as well as of the decisions.

In the funds of spiritual boards there are unique documents, based on which we can reconstruct the daily life of the man of the XVIII-th century, his life values and ideals, analyze marriage and family relations, to establish the preconditions of family conflicts, to investigate the causes and consequences of divorce.

Since the late 20s and early 30s of the XVIII-th century continues the colonization of the Southern regions of Ukraine, due to the spontaneous transition of Ukrainians organized for the resettlement of state peasants, Cossacks return to their old places, and the settlement of people from the neighboring Slavic states. The social and ethnic structure of the region was patchy. And this, of course, affected the customs, morality and rules of conduct. Due to the fact that the Southern Ukraine was an international area, peoples frequently intermarried. This contributed to the mutual influence of people in their culture and life¹.

In 1775, for the benefit of imperial policy, the Zaporizhzhya Sich was eliminated. Since that time, there began a new period in the relations between the

¹ Валентина Борисенко, *Нова весільна обрядовість у сучасному селі (на матеріалах південно-східних районів України)*, Київ, 1979, с. 22.

official church and the laity in Southern Ukraine. For a long time, the clergy in the lands of Zaporizhzhya Sich were subordinate to the metropolitan of Kiev and the Russian church hierarchy (since the end of the XVIII-th century), but in fact, the rule was many times broken².

The church was much more dependent on the local secular authorities and the Zaporizhia Army than on the highest state authorities of the Russian Empire. It kept focus on the interests of the congregation, not the state. The destruction of the Sich meant for Southern Ukraine a new level of integration in the empire-wide structure, as well as the orientation of the local clergy towards the new imperial policy. Ukrainian church loses understanding of the interests and needs of the people, becoming indifferent to everything except its own interests³.

The Russian government considered religiousness a criterion of loyalty of the population towards government policy and the means of controlling this population⁴. Autocracy has sought to transform the clergy of Southern Ukraine into the agents of its policies, into the cogs of the bureaucratic machine, the operation of which had to ensure the effective implementation of the plans of imperial power. But it was not done in full. It was prevented by a number of factors: the imperfection of legislative regulation of the functions of the clergy and the lack of training of the priests; the traditions and specifics of the southern region; the dependence of the clergy from the congregation, whose interests often did not coincide with the interests of authorities.

Laws that regulated marriage and family relations were so complicated that the clergy could hardly understand them. Priests adapted to the needs of the believers, they often had to use customary law in marriage and divorce, something which displeased the church hierarchy⁵. New laws in many cases did not simplify the situation and confused the priests.

Not only the complexity of the legislation was the cause of law violation. The transformation of the religious consciousness of the believers, especially those from the upper classes, took place. This process was influenced by government policy, it subordinated the spiritual authority to the secular power. The

² Валерій Ластовський, *Канонічне право: особливості еволюції в Україні в епоху феодалізму*, Черкаси, 2002, с. 5.

³ В'ячеслав Мордвінцев, *Російське самодержавство і Українська православна церква в кінці XVII-XVIII ст.*, Київ, 1997, с. 74.

⁴ Роман Шиян, *Особливості церковного устрою та релігійного життя південноукраїнського козацтва в останній чверті XVIII ст. (Міжконфесійні взаємини на півдні України XVIII-XX століття)*, Запоріжжя, 1999, с. 72.

⁵ Александр Фотинский, *К характеристике семейных и общественных отношений казачества в последние годы существования Сечи Запорожской* (Чтения в Историческом обществе Нестора Летописца). Киев, 1901, Кн. XV, С.3.

representatives of the lower classes felt freer than before the reign of Peter I in their relations with the clergy felt. For example, the Cossacks considered the clergy an equal, or even a subordinate. Also in the minds of migrants stuck idea of South-Ukrainian region as the free region, which gave them a reason to feel more free from certain formalities for marriage. The result was that the congregation, which according to the rules of the church and civil marriage law could not be husband and wife, thought it was possible to put pressure on the parish priests or offer them a reward for illegal actions⁶.

At the end of the XVIII-th century came a series of decrees that defined minimum age of young people who could marry. It confirmed as prohibition to marry before a certain age stipulated by the law. Such violations of the law occurred because of a material interest, because of ignorance of the law and under pressure.

In practice, there were cases when girls were married at 13-15 years old, boys 15-16 years old married. Synod issued a special decree on August 5, 1775 which opposed marriages between 13-15 years old children, and marriage of children without parental consent and serfs without the consent of the landowner. Synod decrees, issued July 31, 1779 and December 10, 1781 confirmed the ban to marry minors⁷.

Authority forbade parishioners to marry without the consent of the persons subordinate to which they were. So the decree of the Synod from 1783 confirmed the ban to marry without the consent (written evidence) of the military regimental commanders. However, there were cases of violation of this decree. For example, in 1786 a junior sergeant of the third Belarusian musketeer battalion Ivan Neumann married the girl Marina without permission from commanders. He gave money to the priest of Nikopol church from the village Pereshchepina, Matthew Tsugalovsky. When this case was transferred to Aleksopol spiritual board the priest justified by saying that Ivan Neumann assured him that he had received consent to marry from his commander Lieutenant Charles Abelimazow. It ended with the fact that Matthew Tsugalovsky was fined. He gave a written promise not to marry the military without written evidence of the regimental commanders⁸.

Several documents of the highest state authorities forbade marriages of persons staying in the relationship. The kinship system, which did not give the right to marriage, was very difficult. Priests were obliged to interview the bride and

⁶ Ігор Лиман, *Російська православна церква на півдні України останньої чверті XVIII – середини XIX ст.*, Запоріжжя, 2004, с. 282.

⁷ Виктор Гольцев, *Законодательство и нравы в России XVIII века*, Санкт-Петербург, 1896, с. 111.

⁸ Дмитро Яворницький, *До історії степової України, Дніпропетровськ*, 2004, с. 134-139.

groom, their family members and guarantors to examine written documents on the subject of the interference for the wedding. But such a procedure was not a guarantee of validity of a marriage.

In the South of Ukraine there were many violations in marriage. Many marriages were illegal, illegality which revealed accidentally after many years of marriage. The clergy had it very difficult to identify the circumstances that made it impossible to conduct a wedding, especially if the bride and groom tried to hide them. For South Ukraine this problem was more acute than for many other regions. Southern Ukraine was intensely populated. To the new settlements came immigrants from different parts of the state and from abroad. Therefore, in many cases, the priests knew little of their parishioners.

A big problem was how to prevent marriages between persons who were entered in the spiritual relationship with particular godparents. Such a relationship was difficult to defect, because during the baptism of a child there could be several pairs of godparents, not all of them were recorded in the register, so it was impossible to trace their kinship. It was more difficult to trace the lack of marriages among children of pairs of godparents, which were also prohibited by church.

In addition, there was a huge number of decrees and regulations that regulated the marriages of Orthodox persons of other faiths; regulated the right of soldiers' wives, eunuchs' wives, wives whose husbands were sentenced to life imprisonment; defined the rights of landowners to marry a serf; forbade wedding of treasury students before graduation and children of soldiers before their entry into military service, etc. So we can imagine a huge amount of problems and disputes that had priests in connection with the regulation of marriage and family relations in Southern Ukraine.

Some priests violated the law for personal gain or under pressure from secular officials. In general cases of illegal marriages, which were considered by the consistory and spiritual government of Southern Ukraine in the last quarter of the XVIII-th – the middle of the XIX-th century, constituted a significant percentage of other cases of violations by the representatives of spiritual department⁹.

Divorce was possible in the case of information that the marriage was illegal, or at the initiative of one of the spouses. Divorce was also allowed in the case of exile of one spouse to prison or settlement, if there is a request in the case of prolonged absence of the wife or husband, as well as the claim for divorce. The basis for such claims was physical inability to cohabit and adultery. In general, church and state were against divorce. They did everything to reconcile the

⁹ Ігор Лиман, *Російська православна церква на півдні України...*, с. 287.

spouses. There was even the notion «temporary divorce» until the case was decided under the law¹⁰.

In event of divorce because of physical disability to cohabitation, the relevant claim could be submitted only within 3 years after the wedding. At the same time, there was a mandatory medical examination. In 1784, Slavyansk spiritual consistory considered the case on the physical inability for married life merchant Athanasius Seleznev, who lived in the town Novoselitsy of Ekaterinoslaw County. With his wife Tatiana Egorova he was legally married 8 years. Tatiana's father married her when she was 14 years. After a medical examination doctors confirmed Seleznev's physical inability for marriage. T. Egorova divorced her husband and she was allowed to remarry¹¹.

It was very difficult to get a divorce by filing a lawsuit with the charge of adultery. The church argued that the divorce on the grounds of adultery was not required. The couple could reconcile. Therefore, in cases of adultery priests should influence the couple all possible moral and religious means, so as not to come to divorce. Even if there was clear evidence of adultery, diocesan authorities considered a priority of preservation of the family, created as a result of a legal wedding¹².

In Southern Ukraine dioceses, as well as in the neighboring dioceses and in the whole country, the number of divorces was negligible. But there was the specificity of the region: here, in contrast to the situation in the whole Empire, most of the marriages were dissolved because of bigamy. Knowing about practical impossibility to get a divorce some people chose more effective way to dissolve a marriage – an escape. Then the new wedding took place in other town or village. It was very difficult to find fugitives and gave them a good chance to live in illegal marriage for a long time. Foundation of new settlements in Southern Ukraine, coming of immigrants from different parts of Russian Empire and from abroad, migration without serfdom for some period, big quantity of military detachments in this region made for the success of illegal marriages. For example, in 1778, Slavyansk spiritual consistory considered the case on the bigamy of Evdokiya Krivonosenko. She had one husband Ivan Krivonosenko – Cossack of Gadyach regiment. Evdokiya was legally married at the age of 15. Then she made an escape because of brutality of her husband and remarried Dmitry Boyko, who knew that

¹⁰ Михаил Руднев М., *Церковное судопроизводство по делам о расторжении брака* (Христианское чтение), 1902, № 1, С. 106-107.

¹¹ Дмитро Яворницький, *До історії степової...*, с. 89-92.

¹² Ігор Лиман, *Державна церква і державна влада: Південна Україна (1775-1861)*, Запоріжжя, 2004, с.122.

his wife already had one husband. At the time of consideration of this case the couple fled again¹³.

These considered sources of diocesan origin contain valuable and important information that give us possibility reproduce and preserve the collective memory of the people past centuries. Information of different groups of documents gives valuable material for detailed study of socio-cultural history and family relations. The sources are of different nature. Variety of historical sources their nature, origin and purpose undoubtedly adds value to the information fields, which they create.

So, at the end of XVIII-th century the Russian state paid much attention to the regulation of functions of clergy in marriage and family relations. The Russian Orthodox Church played an important role in public and state life. It should be emphasized that in Southern Ukraine traditions of regulation of marriage and family relations by customary law were preserved longer than in other Ukrainian regions. But over time, due to the increasing role of the Russian autocracy and the Orthodox Church in southern Ukraine, customary law died. Marriage, divorce and other matters of marriage and family relationships become the prerogative of ecclesiastical authority that regulated and sanctified them.

The influence of the Orthodox Church on family relations of laymen in the 18-th century was investigated; the conditionality of marriage-domestic relations by interests of the Russian empire was pointed out. The researcher showed the infringement of the secular authority into marriage-domestic relations. For example, the main source of marriage law during the 18-th century was not only Nomocanon, but also synodicons and emperor's edicts, which corrected canon law.

On the base of original sources the ethics of marriage-domestic relations and the standards of behavior were found out. The researcher paid special attention to conflicts in family life. The role of the clergy in the everyday practices of laymen was reconstructed. During the 18-th century, the laymen were drawn towards established marriage-domestic traditions. It was found out that sometimes parish priests not conscientiously attended to their duties, infringed marriage-domestic regulations and gave laymen negative examples to follow.

¹³ Дмитро Яворницький, *До історії стенової...*, с. 62-67, 72-74.

Olena BACYNSKA*

**THE RESTORATION OF THE COSSACK STATE BUILDING
TRADITIONS IN BUDJAK AND DOBRUJA AT THE END OF
THE XVIIITH – EARLY XIXTH CENTURIES**

- Abstract -

This publication offers a vision of the author on the causes of subsidence of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (Potkalı Kazakları) in the Ottoman Empire (Budjak and Dobruja) and how their status changed at the end XVIII century. Attempts to start thier own organization – Sich Zadunays'ka, while the Cossacks also perform military service. Based on archival documents, it was revealed that the Ottoman government welcomed the Cossacks to stay in the subordinate territory, but changed the potential place of establishment for their Sich. The Cossacks were dependent on the military-political situation in the Danube region. One of the factors were the Russian-Turkish wars and relations with Cossacks-nekrasivtsi (Ignat Kazakları).

It has been proven that one of the first organizations on the Danube, which had most of the attributes of the state building traditions of the Cossacks was a Sich in the village of Katyrlez (Sfântu Gheorghe). It was found that the Cossacks carried out various assignments and were local government officials, carrying protection with police service in the Danube fortresses. They also participated in the Russian-Turkish wars of the end XVIII - early XIX century, as part of the Turkish army.

Keywords: *Zaporozhian Cossacks, Ottoman Empire, Zadunays'ka Sich, Katyrlez (Sfântu Gheorghe), Dobruja, Budjak.*

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The demolition of the Zaporozhian Sich on June 3-5, 1775 resulted in the marching of a considerable part of Zaporozhian Cossacks to the boundaries of the Ochakiv region, the Dniestr and the lower reach of the Danube – i.e. the territories that belonged at that time to the Ottoman Empire. Another part of the Cossacks remained on Southern Ukrainian lands as a component of the Russian Empire. At that point they had to determine their place in the new conditions of life within the frames of two empires. It was not by chance that the Zaporozhians chose those lands – they had known the territory since the end of XVII century due to the Cossacks' crusades and Russian-Turkish wars. In the second half of XVIII century these territories of the Ottoman Empire most closely corresponded to the conditions of the steppe border zone being customary to the Zaporozhians, so they became the areas where it was possible to renew traditional economy and own organization – namely, the Sich lost in 1775.

The policy of the Ottoman Empire encouraged the setting of the Zaporozhians in Ochakiv, Budjak and Dobruja regions. In the XVIII century, the Turkish government was carrying out a specific policy as to these territories and their population for strengthening its power in these regions. That is why, local Turkish administration often closed eyes to the settling of fugitives from neighboring countries on the subject territories¹.

The immigration of the Zaporozhians caused a serious discomfort to the Russian government – according to the information of the border zone administration, the Sultan was inclined to consider the Zaporozhians as his subjects. In this way, the Ottoman Porte could exercise pressure on Russia. In the first place, by international community as a Muslim state that gave shelter to Orthodox Christians (according to Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774, Russia reserved the right to protect the Orthodox Christian population of the Ottoman Empire, which allowed intrusion in the internal affairs of the Porte); in the second place, the Ottoman government received support in its struggle with local feudal lords who opposed the state authorities and their reforms that began in 1774; in the third place, the Zaporozhians were familiarly acquainted with the terrain and in case of war with Russia could serve as an effective replacement for the Turkish army; in the fourth place, the existence of Zaporozhian Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire actually declared non-recognition of territorial acquisitions of Russia and it

¹ Bachyns'ka O., Istanbul colonization policy on the Danube lands in the XVIII century: Ukraine in the East-Central Europe (from the early times till the late 18th century), Kyiv, 2003, V.3, p. 243-252.

was considered by the Russian administration as a hostile act. The above mentioned circumstances determined the attitude of Russian authorities to the Zaporozhians, which was reflected in their name – in Russian documents “unfaithful” means Turkish or Zaporozhians from behind the Danube, in historic documents they received the name – “Zadunays’ki Zaporozhians” or “Zadunaytsi”. In this connection it can be marked that in Ottoman documents the Cossacks received the name of «Potkalı/Butkalı Kazakları», which distinguished them from other Ukrainian Cossacks - «barabashes», as well as from the Russian nekrasivtsi - «Ignat Kazakları». The name Butkal’ski or Potkal’ski Cossacks became widely spread from XVIII century.

In August 1778 the question of political status of the Cossacks was decided by the Sultan. Disregarding the protests of Russia, he officially admitted the Cossacks under his jurisdiction. In September 1778, Russian colonel P.Repninskyi informed that the Ottoman authorities intended to create a Sich on the Dniester, for which purpose a place was allocated between Bendery and Akkerman, and the Cossacks were given arms and horses². Taking into consideration these events, the Russian authorities gave instructions to O. Stakhiyev, the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, demanding to claim from the Sultan to turn over the Zaporozhians as Russian fugitives. In case of denial, O. Stakhiyev was allowed to offer to the Sultan’s government to move the Zaporozhians across the Danube in exchange for the recognition of Ochakivska region as belonging to the Porte. The Russian offer was accepted the Ottoman Empire³.

On the decision of the Turkish administration, the Zaporozhians were to settle in Rumeli “in the villages situated at the distance from the Black Sea shores, 3-5 men in one village”. The conditions in which the Zadunays’ki Zaporozhians found themselves, as well as a number of measures taken by Russian government, aimed at the call of the Cossacks to Russia (such as amnesty, propaganda of Russian agents) resulted in returning of separate groups of Zadunays’ Zaporozhians to the Russian territory. The declaration of creating the “Faithful Cossacks Troops” out of former Zaporozhians (later “The Black Sea Cossacks Troops”) also influenced the resettlement of the Cossacks to Russia. At the same time the Cossacks moved not only to Russia but also to Principality of Moldova and to the Austrian Empire (they served as frontier guards at the Austrian-Turkish border on both banks of the Tysa river⁴). Migration from the Ottoman domain caused serious

² Bachyns'ky A., *Sich Zadunays'ka. 1775-1828*, Odesa: Germes, 1994, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Kondratovych F., *Zadunays'ka Sich [po mestnym vospominaniyam i rasskazam]: Nevycherpni djerela pam'yati, t. II: Zadunays'ka Sich*, Odesa, 1998, p. 39-82.

changes in the attitude of the Sultan's administration to the Zaporozhians. The latter were most unwelcome in the situation of preparing to a new war with Russia. In this connection the Zaporozhians were again allowed their own military-administrative organization – Sich, which possessed certain autonomy. Probably, beginning from the middle of the 80's of the XVIII century it was situated in the village of Katyrlez in the Danube firth (now the village of Sfântu Gheorghe in the county of Tulcea (Romania)).

During the period of the Russian-Turkish War 1787–1791 the Zadunays'ki Cossacks took part in military activities on the side of Ottoman Empire. The Sultan mobilized the Cossacks and the firman thereof was read in Adrianopol to former Zaporozhian Cossacks “who are mostly fishing in the Danube now”⁵. The Zaporozhians avoided active participation in the military activities limiting their role to minor confrontations with brigades of Russian troops and the Black Sea Cossacks.

After the Russian-Turkish war of 1787–1791 the Zadunays'ka Sich continued its existence in Katyrlez. The majority of former Cossacks unsatisfied with their state in Russian, Moldavian and Austrian lands began to concentrate around this Zadunays'ka Sich in Katyrlez. The growth of Cossack population so close to the border provoked agitation with the authorities of Russia. As the result, the measures that had been tried in the past years, such as “amnesties”, “private invitations”, “infiltration of agitators”, were used again. Thus, in the 90's of the XVIII century, a merchant from Yelizavetgrad Ye. Klyonov repeatedly went to Katyrlez specifically with the purpose of moving Zadunays'ka Sich to Russia. Ye. Klyonov carried out negotiations with the Cossack chieftain, bought fisherman's boats to transport secretly the Cossacks to the Russian bank. “Zadunaytsi”, in their turn, demanded guarantees of safety and free lands in the vicinity of the city of Odessa⁶. However, not all Cossacks were glad to listen to the propositions of re-emigration. Thus, in the spring of 1794, Trohym Pomelo, the Cossack chieftain, who had occupied the position since 1791, was close to death due to his intention to transfer the Sich to Russia. The pro-Turkish Cossacks confronted him and besieged his house at night; having failed to find the chieftain they robbed the house⁷.

Active development of the Katyrlez Sich by Zadunaytsi and the re-distribution of land as a way of existence was bound to lead to a conflict with the

⁵ Bachyns'ky A., *Sich Zadunays'ka. 1775-1828*, Odesa: Germes, 1994, p.22-23.

⁶ *Nevycherpni djerela pam'yati, t. III: Khadjyby-Odesa ta ukrains'ke kozatsvo (1415-1797)*, Odesa, 1999, dok.V.39, p.28.

⁷ Bachyns'ky A., *Sich Zadunays'ka. 1775-1828*, Odesa, 1994, p. 29-32.

Nekrasivtsi (the Don Cossacks - Old Ritualists). In the quarrels between the two groups of Cossacks, the first and foremost subject was good land in the estuary of the Danube and fishing places, and only then different religious traditions. A crisis situation in the Ottoman lands in the 1780s up to the beginning of the XIX century in connection with the reforms of Sultan Selim III and grand vizir Alamdar Mustafa pasha (Bayraktar) in management, economics, army also influenced the relations between the two groups of Cossacks. Yilikoglu Suleiman-aga in Silistria, Osman Pazvand-oglu – in Vienna, Ibrahim Peglevan called Baba-pasha – in Izmail were among the opponents of the reforms. Zadunaytsi fought in the number of Turkish governmental forces with the specified feudal lords. Military units of Zadunaytsi were to submit to the governor of the fortress Braila. It is known that the brigades of the Cossacks from Braila were sent to settle quarrels between the forces of Terseniki-oglu and Yilikoglu Suleiman-aga⁸. One of such brigades consisted of more than 400 warriors: chieftain, clerk, one bash chaush (senior officer), two interpreters, 4 colonels, 4 chaushes, 3 artillerists and 400 Cossacks⁹.

According to the data of Russian scouts, the Zaporozhians who participated in the fight with Pazvand-oglu, received the permit to settle below the Old Kiliya in the dwellings of nekrasivtsi thrown from their homes by the Braila pasha. However, the Cossacks did not stay there long. According to the statement of Mykola Dibrova, one of Zadunaytsi, “when Pehlevan kept them on alert everybody moved from Seimen to Vilkovovo and Katyrlez to the lands allocated to them by the Braila governor”¹⁰. Between 1805 and 1806, the Nekrasivtsi in the structure of Pehlevan’s forces attacked Katyrlez, burnt the Cossacks’ homes and killed many of them. The Sich was ruined.

Facts prove the importance of Katyrlez existence for Zadunays’ Zaporozhians as a traditional Cossacks center. Though not much is known about this Sich because of the absence of sources, we shall consider the available information to determine its role and status both for the Cossacks themselves and for the Ottoman government. In our opinion, the Katyrlez Sich can be rightfully considered the center where the Zaporozhian Cossacks became institutionalized for the first time since 1775. It possessed all traditional components. Let us contemplate some of them. Sich traditionally was the place of residence of the management – the chieftain, privileged top leaders, kuren hetmans and only unmarried Cossacks. Married Cossacks used to live in villages and farms around the Sich. They were subordinated to the Ottoman

⁸ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BOA), fon adı: HAT, dosya № 50, gömlek №2355a, sof.1.

⁹ BOA, fon adı: C.AS, dosya № 409, gömlek № 16908, sof.1.

¹⁰ Kondratovych F., *Zadunays'ka Sich [po mestnym vospominaniyam i rasskazam]: Nevycherpni djerela pam'yati, t. II: Zadunays'ka Sich*, Odesa, 1998, p. 50-62.

administration in Silistria, Tulcea or Braila.

Kleynodes (attributes of power) were obligatory symbols of Sich. At that time, among such symbols were known a bayrak (badge-flag), bunchuk (horsetail - staff of Cossack hetman), pernach (Colonel's mace) and Seal. In the investigation of F. Vovk, the scientist, it was marked that Zadunaytsi used "Turkish bunchuk... each kuren had its own bayrak – a sort of sign made of red cloth with a white half-moon and 6 stars instead of the Sich flag. If a Cossack died, this bayrak was displayed in front of the kuren as honors of war to the deceased"¹¹. Besides, there is evidence of the the Zaporozhians themselves as to the flag and other symbols: "The flag was really and one pernach, ... flag ... was of yellow color with a white half-moon in the middle"¹².

At the end of 90s of the XVIII century there emerged a seal of Zadunaytsi. Its occurrence certainly witness the defined status of Cossacks. Thus, the above mentioned merchant Ye. Klyonov in January 1796 p. asked from the chieftain Yakym Gardovyi for "five plankets with a military seal for the Cossacks to pass across the border"¹³. The seal had no images, only the text "سرکرده قزاقلرینک پوتقالی" – "Potkalı kazaklarının ser-kerdesi koşovıy. 1217"¹⁴ – "Chieftain of Potkal'ski Cossacks. 1802/1803".

There traditionally was a square with a church, kurens (Cossacks dwellings), stores of foodstuffs, arms, etc. in the territory of the Sich. Cossack troops were formed by kurens, though in case of necessity they joined Turkish brigades as groups. Some documents allow suggesting that the territory from which taxes were collected for supporting the Cossacks was Wallachia (Eflak voyvodası)¹⁵.

An important fact that attests the status of Katyrllez Sich is the presence of married Cossacks and children born in the territory of the Sich. The majority of married Cossacks lived in clay houses, they were engaged in fishing and pursued a trade in the Danube estuary and applied for work. The majority of Cossacks in the Katyrllez Sich originated from the former Zaporozhian Sich, they preserved its military experience, spirit of freedom and traditions, while elements of non-Cossack origin usually were of no significance.

¹¹ Kondratovych F. *Zadunays'ka Sich [po mestnym vospominaniyam i rasskazam]: Nevycherpni djerela pam'yati, t. II: Zadunays'ka Sich*, Odesa, 1998, p.81, 87.

¹² Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv, f.245, op.1, spr.8, p.1, ark.345.

¹³ *Nevycherpni djerela pam'yati, t. III: Khadjyby-Odesa ta ukrains'ke kozatsvo (1415-1797)*, Odesa, 1999, dok.V.39, p.31.

¹⁴ Derzhavnyi akhiv Odes'koyi oblasti (The State Archives of Odessa Region (oblast), f.1, op.214, spr.11(1816), ark.150.

¹⁵ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, fon adı: C.AS, dosya №409, gömlek № 16908, sof.4; dosya №505, gömlek № 21087, sof.4; fon adı: Hat, dosya №50, gömlek № 2355a, sof.4.

After the Katyrlez Sich was ruined by Nekrasivtsi, it remained a consolidating center for the Cossacks. Zadunaytsi led by chieftain Gnat Koval moved to Braila under the protection of the governor Akhmed-pasha. Privileged persons, like clerk Danilo Bilyy and clergy were also in Braila together with the chieftain. It can be assumed that Zadunays'kyi kish (camp) was situated in Braila, while Katyrlez remained the center for Zadunaytsi, though it was not renewed as the Sich due to Russian-Turkish war that began in December 1806.

Before November 1806 almost two thousand Zaporozhians were transferred from Izmail to Braila. On the order of the governor of Braila, other Zadunaytsi, particularly from Kiliya, Vilkove, Galati, Balchik, Machin, began to concentrate in the fortress.

On the eve of the war, in addition to Brăila, military reservations of Zadunaytsi were located in Ruscuk, Galati, Izmail, Kiliya, on the islands of the Danube estuary, the Cossacks also served in the Turkish river fleet. They were distinguished by high combatant value and, what is most important, the knowledge of convenient places to cross the Danube. Based on the evaluation of Oleksandr Langeron, the General Officer Commanding on the Danube, about three thousand of Zadunaytsi stayed in the fortress of Braila, who could make more harm than the Turks and the Tatars, he also underlined that only Zaporozhians knew convenient places of floating in the Danube, which proved especially useful at the seizure of Izmail by Russian troops in 1790. There are other data attesting a large number of Zadunaytsi who supported the Braila governor at the beginning of the war. Particularly, the fact that he opposed the Ruscuk ajan, future Grand Vizir Mustafa pasha (Bayraktar) with 3-4 thousand of Zaporozhians. That was why the Russian military commanders had to use all means to attract Zadunays' Zaporozhians to their side by promising them benefits similar to those enjoyed by the Black Sea Cossacks in Kuban.

At the beginning of December 1806, General Ivan Mikhelson, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army suggested to the Braila governor to surrender. The latter replied that he was utterly surprised by this proposition because the Ottoman Empire was not in a state of war with Russia and he would defend the fortress. Having understood that Braila shall not be as easy a game as Akkerman, Khotyn, Bendery were earlier, the Russian troops took their time. Nevertheless, the main task of the Russian commanders was to dissociate the garrison of Braila which still despite the decampment of the Cossacks at the end of 1806, numbered more than 1500 Cossacks.

The replacement of the Braila garrison was realized not only on a centralized basis but by recruiting separate persons, generally of non-Cossack origin, by the Cossacks themselves. Specifically, Onysym Guba originated from

landlord's peasants of Poltava province, during four years he had been on long trips with his father as a chumak and he came to Akkerman as a barge hauler, then to Khotyn. After Khotyn was captured by the Russian troops (in November 1806) he went over to join the Poltava kuren. Yakiv Ponomaryov originating from state peasants of Poltava province made his living in Odessa, then by fishing in Akkerman; having learnt that Russian troops attacked the Moldavian principality, he went over to Braila and joined the Zaporozhians serving in Dyad'kivs'kyy kuren. In the same kuren under chieftain Lukyan served Yakiv Boychenko, a bondman from Yelizavetgrad region, who lived in Vilkovce and was fishing until he joined Braila Zaporozhians in 1806.

During 1809 there were several attempts to seize Braila, however, it capitulated on the 21st of November (3rd of December) 1809. The military commander Abdul Kakman Pasha signed the capitulation. 1100 horsemen, 4100 infantry soldiers, 11300 Muslim habitants left together with the governor. Zadunays' Zaporozhians that remained in the Turkish army moved from Braila to the Ruscuk fortress. This march to Ruscuk was led by chieftain Semen Kalnibolotskyy. Because the Braila governor Ahmet Pasha and the Ruscuk governor Omer Pasha knew the excellent combat qualities of Zaporozhians, their attitude towards them was very positive.

After the war ended and the Bucharest Agreement was signed in 1812, Dobruja remained the only territory where the Zadunays' Zaporozhians could recommence their Cossack traditions. They received replacement from Ukraine and in 1812 set out on the march against the Nekrsivs'ki settlements, began building a new church in Katyrlezi, though they never renewed the Sich. The new and the last Zadunays'ka Sich was founded by Zaporozhians in 1813 in the village of Verhniy Dunavets on the Georgiyevskyy estuary (now in Romania). The Dunavetska Sich like the Sich in Katyrlezi complied to traditional Zaporozhian pattern and management. It opened a new stage in the history of Zaporozhians.

Thus, in the territory of Ottoman Empire after 1775 Zaporozhians obtained a chance to renew traditional methods of economic and organizational life. Such indefinite status lasted for more than ten years and depended on the military and political relations between the Ottoman and the Russian empires. From the end of the 80s of the XVIII century, the Zadunays' Zaporozhians managed to obtain official recognition and renew their autonomous organization – Sich in the village of Katyrlez on the Danube, that had existed till 1813 and had the majority of attributes of a Cossack Sich of XVI-XVIII centuries. The Cossacks served in the structure of the state with Turkish troops during local governmental conflicts and Russian-Turkish wars at the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX centuries.

Galyna LEVCHENKO *

**THE PUBLICATIONS IN THE PAGES OF THE "ODESSA
HERALD" IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIXTH CENTURY AS
A HISTORICAL SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE
IMPERIAL NOVOROSSIYA UNIVERSITY**

- Abstract -

The article deals with the study of the information from the "Odessa Herald" that relates to the inauguration and to the activities of the first higher educational establishment in the Southern region, as well as with the intellectual biography of the professors and with their scientific works, published in the periodicals.

Keywords: press, historical source, the Imperial Novorossiya University, scientific works.

The periodical press as a historical source is a complicated and a heterogeneous element, which encloses many facts. At the same time, the press can be examined not only as a source for the history of a period (as an object of research) but also as one of the centers of the study of the past (as a subject of research). In particular, the article concerns the publications that facilitate the study of the history of the educational establishments. A good example is the newspaper "Odessa Herald" (1827–1894) – one of the first newspapers of the South of Ukraine that was the pioneer in this affair. For a long time, this newspaper was the only one of this region.

Ab initio, the periodical press was an important part of the epoch that it reflected. It paid attention to the current events. Certainly, the press could not run

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counter to the state power. The attempts to go with the times and to answer the burning questions can always be traced within it.

An important factor was the insertion, by the editors, of some historical and regional information, without excluding questions regarding the formation and the development of the regional education¹. Gradually, from occasional reports about different events in the field of education, the "Odessa Herald" developed to the level of a real chronicler. A broad spectrum of various questions of all areas of education was presented on its pages. Among these questions, the publications about the development of popular education in Odessa and in the whole region figured high. These publications were presented in various genres, such as items, reports, messages, announcements etc.

The publications about the history of the Imperial Novorossiia University were major on the pages of the "Odessa Herald". We can distinguish four groups:

- 1) the history of the inauguration and of the activities of the first higher education establishment in the Southern region;
- 2) the publications of the intellectual biography of the professors;
- 3) the research activities of the institutions in the Imperial Novorossiia University
- 4) the scientific works of the professors, published in the periodicals.

In the first group of materials, which is represented by 74 publications, we can distinguish the following themes:

- 1) the public discussions about the inauguration of the University in Odessa;
- 2) the documentary materials about the activities of the University;
- 3) descriptions of celebrations and of anniversaries.

The "Odessa Herald" wrote that the University inauguration speech became a vivid question. Since January 1859 and almost till the inauguration of the University (1st of May, 1865), the problem of the inauguration of the higher education establishment was actively discussed in the newspaper, in 18 items. From the newspaper information, we can learn that the scales weighted on behalf of Mykolaiv and that even a project of a statue at the Imperial Novorossiia University in this city² was approved but, at last, the government delivered a judgment in favor of Odessa. In March 1865, on the pages of the "Odessa Herald", the "Rules of admission to the universities of Odessa educational district" were

¹ I. S. Grebcova, *Periodicheskaia pečat v obshhestvennom razvitii Juzhnogo stepnogo regiona Rossijskoj imperii (vtoraja tret XIX v.)*, Odesa: Astroprynt, 2002, 407 p.

² *Proekt ustava i shtata Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta v gorode Nikolaeve / [Karl Karlovich Fojgt], Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1862, 74, [2] p.*

published. On the 4-th of May, that year, the newspaper reported about the inauguration of the Imperial Novorossiia University in Odessa³.

From its opening, the tradition of publications of annual reports on the pages of the newspaper was continued. This tradition existed in the Richelieu lyceum. Extracts from reports were published in the newspaper every year, at the beginning of September, and contained materials about the basic directions of activities of the University. From these published works we can learn how the memory of the eminent figures was honored within the walls of the University (V. Zhukovsky, N. Kostomarov), and also about the celebration of two anniversaries since the foundation of the University (twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries)⁴. Maintaining the traditions, the editorial staff continued to popularize burning questions and permitted to their readers to receive some precious and necessary information about the development of the educational process in Odessa and about the first higher education establishment.

The publications from the second group are related to the intellectual biography of the professors. There are profiles, necrologies and bibliographical reports, announcements about lectures or discussions. The newspaper materials give the opportunity to know about the intellectual activities of the outstanding figures who had worked within the walls of the University (V. Grigorovich, Ph. Brun, I. Mechnikov, M. Leontovych, O. Markevych, V. Yakovlev, R. Orbinskiy, G. Popryjkenko, V. Nadler, O. Kyrpychnykov et alias).

From the third group of publications, we can learn about the research activities of the establishments of the University. In the period of the publication of the "Odessa Herald", three societies functioned under the Imperial Novorossiia University⁵. The editors of the newspaper informed their readers about conferences, reports and research activities. From the newspaper columns, the readers could learn about the foundation of the Historical and Philological Society (1889–1923), which was engaged in the research of a wide range of historical issues and not only of archaeology⁶; the readers could also learn about the appearance of another historical and scientific publication in Odessa – the "Chronicle of the Historical and Scientific Society under the Imperial Novorossiia University". This newspaper became an original alternative to the "Transactions of the Odessa Imperial society of history and antiquities".

³ *Otkrytie Novorossijskogo universitet*, Odesskij Vestnik (dali – OV), 1865, 4 travnja.

⁴ *Prazdnovanie dvadcatiletija Novorossijskogo universiteta*, OV, 1885, 7 travnja; *K dvadcatipjatiletiju Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta*, OV, 1890, 1 travnja.

⁵ A. Markevich, *Dvadcatipjatiletie Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta: istoricheskaja zapiska i akademicheskie spiski*, Odessa, 1890, p.722–728.

⁶ *Novoe uchenoe obshhestvo*, OV, 1889, 24 bereznja.

The greatest quantity of publications about the history of the Imperial Novorossiia University is represented by the fourth group. It deals with the science works of the researchers of the University. Even since the "Odessa Herald" came into existence, the editor staff actively involved in the cooperation between the science circles of the city. A productive collaboration was between the "Odessa Herald" and the professors of the University. They published materials of different kinds, that cleared up various aspects of the historical problems. Among them, we can mention the works of G. Afanasiev⁷, O. Trachevskiy⁸, O. Kochubinskiy⁹, O. Kudryavcev¹⁰, O. Kyrpychnykov¹¹, Ph. Leontovych¹², D. Ovsyanyko-Kulykovskiy¹³, Ph. Uspenskiy¹⁴, V. Yakovlev, V. Modestov, O. Markevych, V. Nadler, at alias.

Among the above mentioned historians, we have already examined the cooperation of the professor V. Yakovlev¹⁵ with the "Odessa

⁷ G. Afanasjev, *Desjatiletie obshhestva sv. Kirilla i Mefodija (1870–1880 gg.)*, OB, 1880, 15 (27) travnja; Jogo zh, *Russkie kreditnye uchrezhdenija*, OB, 1890, 19 lystopada (1 grudnja); Jogo zh, *Obshhestva vzaimnogo kredita v Rossii*, OV, 1889, 23, 24 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Gniljakovcy i gorodskaja zemlja*, OV, 1889, 28 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Londonskaja stachka*, OV, 1889, 4 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Rost i naselenie Francii*, OV, 1889, 25 zhovtnja; Jogo zh, *Propala sovest*, OV, 1889, 10 lystopada; Jogo zh, *Brazilskij perevorot*, OV, 1889, 26 lystopada; Jogo zh, *Harkovskie dvorjane i majorat*, OV, 1889, 4 grudnja; Jogo zh, *Prodovolstvennye mery (K vyvozu hleba)*, OV, 1891, 4 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Prodovolstvennye mery. Dostavka i raspredelenie hleba*, OV, 1891, 8 serpnja ta in.

⁸ O. Trachevskij, *Vysshie zhenskie kursy v Odesse*, OV, 1879, 31 sichnja, 4 ljutogo; Jogo zh, *Nemeckij vopros vo Francii pri Ljudovike XVI*, OV, 1880, 11, 12 veresnja; Jogo zh, *Vittorino da Feltré (Ocherk iz istorii pedagogiki)*, OV, 1881, 24, 25 zhovtnja ta in.

⁹ O. Kochubynskij, *Pечатnik G. Ulrih*, OV, 1880, 7 travnja; Jogo zh, *V vidu tysjacheletnih pominek slavjanskogo samosoznaniya*, OV, 1885, 16 sichnja; Jogo zh, *Na rubezhe tysjacheletija*, OV, 1885, 6 kvitnja; Jogo zh, *O nashej katolicheskoi bratii na juge – horvatah*, OV, 1887, 9 bereznja; Jogo zh, *Eshhe svidetel slavjanskogo vozrozhdenija (Ja. F. Golovackij)*, OV, 1888, 7 chervnja; Jogo zh, *Moskovskij arhiv ministerstva justicii i nash jug*, OV, 1890, 26, 28 travnja ta in.

¹⁰ O. Kudryavcev, *Dve rechi na panhidah po Nikolae Ivanoviche Pirogove*, OV, 1881, 9 grudnja ta in.

¹¹ O. Kirpichnikov, *Dva slova ob I.S. Aksakove*, OV, 1886, 6 ljutogo; Jogo zh, *A. S. Pushkin (29 janvarja 1837 – 29 janvarja 1887 g.)*, OV, 1887, 29 sichnja; Jogo zh, *So svjatoj gory. II*, OB, 1890, 20 serpnja ta in. OV, 1890, 20 serpnja ta in.

¹² F. Leontovych, *K voprosu ob uchashhihsja v kommercheskih uchilishhah*, OV, 1888, 18 serpnja.

¹³ D. Ovsyanyko-Kulykovskij, *K voprosu o vysshem zhenskom obrazovanii*, OV, 1889, 24 serpnja.

¹⁴ F. Uspenskiy, *Arheologicheskij sezd (Pismo iz Moskvy)*, OV, 1890, 16 sichnja.

¹⁵ Jakovljev Volodymyr Oleksijovych (1840–1896) – historian, literary historian. He studied at the St. Petersburg and Kiev universities. He taught at Tartu, Warsaw and Odesa (Novorossiysk) University. In 1893 he defended his doctoral thesis. He worked as head of the Odessa City Public Library. He was elected secretary of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. See details G. Levchenko, *Jakovljev Volodymyr Oleksijovych*, Odeski istoryky. Encyklopedychnye vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskij dim, 2009, P. 463–465.

Herald"¹⁶ and, as the result of a frontal examination of the "Odessa Herald", we can draw the conclusion that V. Yakovlev paid more regard to lighten up the history of Odessa in his publications. He handed on the lamp to such famous researchers, such as M. Murzakevych, A. Skalkovskiy, K. Smolyaninov.

V. Yakovlev worked with the "Odessa Herald" at the end of 1880¹⁷. Under the heading "From the Antiquity of Odessa", he published four articles about various historical questions. The historian pointed at the necessity of disclosing the sources¹⁸. V. Yakovlev mainly comprised in his publications the documents dedicated to the history of the city of Odessa. He set to himself the task to give to the inhabitants of Odessa the possibility to get knowledge from the original sources.

From June 1889, the "Odessa Herald" was edited by W. Kirchner, who became one of the owners of the newspaper and hoped for the continuation of its editorial activity. The authorities hadn't approved him as an editor but they proposed him to nominate another editor. Among three candidates, the name of V. Yakovlev figured on the list¹⁹. He also figured among those people who cooperated with the newspaper. The editor staff informed their readers about this situation in the first issue of 1890²⁰.

The oldest newspaper of the region dedicated the lead story to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Imperial Novorossiia University²¹. The story of the University and of its importance for the city were discussed in the article. In this issue, the article of V. Yakovlev occupied a whole page, with four portraits of the first chancellors of the University, with some explanations. In the next two issues, a historical writing dedicated to the anniversary appeared. It was also read by O. Markevych at the ceremonial university act²². Thus, the circles of their scientific

¹⁶ G. Levchenko, *Jakovljevič Volodymyr Oleksijovyč*, Odeski istoryky. Encyklopedyčne vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskyj dim, 2009, P. 463–465; Ii zh, *Istoryk V. O. Jakovljevič (1840–1896): realizacija naukovogo dorobku u periodychnij presi*, Pivden Ukrainy: etnoistorychnyj, movnyj, kulturnyj ta religijnyj vymiry: Zb. nauk. prac II Mizhnar. nauk. konf., 10–11 kvitnja 2009 r., Odesa / Vidp. red. M. I. Myhajluca, Odesa: VMV, 2009, P. 152–158 ta in.

¹⁷ V. Jakovljevič, *K istorii zaselenija Hadzhibeja (1789–1795). K stoletiju zavoevanija Hadzhibeja*, Odesa, 1889, 57 s.; Jogo zh, *Iz Odesskoj stariny. II. Razdacha zemel v Gadzhibee i ego okrestnostjah. 1792–1794*, OV, 1889, 21 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Iz Odesskoj stariny. Podpolkovnik Kes Oglu*, OV, 1890, 19 lystopada; Jogo zh, *K dvadcatipjatiletiju Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta*, OV, 1890, 1 travnja.

¹⁸ Jogo zh, *Otvjet arhivariusam (Pismo v redakciju)*, OV, 1889, 30 serpnja.

¹⁹ Rosijskyj derzhavnyj istorychnyj arhiv, f.776, op. 5, spr. 81b, ark. 146–148.

²⁰ *Ob otkrytii podpiski na OV na 1890 g.*, OV, 1890, 1 sichnja.

²¹ *K dvadcatipjatiletiju Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta*, OV, 1890, 1 travnja.

²² O. Markevych, *Imperatorskij Novorossijskij universitet (Istoricheskaja zapiska, chitannaja prof. A. I. Markevichem na torzhestvennom akte universiteta 1 maja)*, OV, 1890, 2,3 travnja.

interests crossed and we can trace some rivalry in the scientific work of these two researchers. So, after "The History of Colonization of Khadjibey 1789–1795" by V. Yakovlev was published, in 1889, O. Markevych published his own work, 5 years later. His work was dedicated to the same problem but with wider chronological borders and, among others works, O. Markevych used the work of V. Yakovlev²³.

The newspaper publications reveal to us that the area of the scientific interests of V. Yakovlev was diverse. He admired the figure of A. Pushkin, paying attention to the influences of the regional aspects of the South of Ukraine in the life and in the activities of the poet. The scientist wrote an article in the "Odessa Herald" about the short-term residence in Crimea of M. Lermontov, using the documents of the French version of the newspaper²⁴.

Thus, during the last years of his life, V. Yakovlev actively cooperated with the "Odessa Herald"; he was one of its contributors and he published the greatest part of his works in its pages. We can agree with the idea of O. Markevych, that "if we take all the publications of V. Yakovlev about the history of Odessa, we can consider his name, along with the names of P. Brun and A. Skalkovskiy, as one of the prominent historians of Odessa"²⁵.

Two more famous historians were notable for their cooperation and great scientific works published in the pages of the "Odessa Herald". They were Oleksiy Ivanovych Markevych²⁶ and Vasil Karlovych Nadler²⁷.

²³ Jogo zh., *Gorod Kachibej ili Gadzhibej – pedshestvennik goroda Odessy, Zapiski Imperatorskogo Odesskogo obshhestva istorii i drevnostej*, T. 17, Odesa, 1894, 73 p.

²⁴ V. Jakovljev, *Jepizod iz zhizni Lermontova*, OV, 1891, 15 lypnja.

²⁵ O. Markevych, *Pominki po Vl. Al. Jakoveve*, Odesa, 1896, S. 7.

²⁶ Markevych Oleksiy Ivanovych (1847–1903) – historian. Higher education in Odesa (Novorossiysk) and Kiev universities. Master's (1879) and doctoral (1888) thesis dedicated to the problems of regionalism. He taught at the University of Odesa (1880–1895). In his writings, he studied Ukrainian history. In 1895, for political reasons, he was dismissed from the university. After his dismissal, he involved in the popularization of the historical aspects of the past of the Ukrainian people. Educational activities carried out in the form of public lectures. See: O. O. Synjavskaja, *Markevych Oleksij Ivanovych*, Odeski istoriky. Encyklopedychnye vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskyj dim, 2009, P. 226–229.

²⁷ Nadler Vasil Karlovych (1840–1894) – historian. He graduated from Kharkov University. He taught at Kharkov and Odessa University. He was an active member of many scientific societies. His research interests were very broad. The main criteria of scientific creativity is a critical approach to the study of the historical sources. Great scientific achievement reached in the field of natural history research. See: T. Goncharuk, L. Novikova, *Nadler Vasyl Karlovych*, Odeski istoriky. Encyklopedychnye vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskyj dim, 2009, P. 259–262.

In the second half of the XIXth century, the reading of public lectures became popular. After two public lectures dedicated to the Ukrainian history under Peter I, O. Markevych published the materials in the "Odessa Herald". The material of the lectures cleared up in details the historical events from the elections of the hetman I. Skoropadsky till P. Polubotok and included the history of a range of Cossaks problems²⁸.

The insertion of bibliographical reviews became popular and O. Markevych put some reviews in the magazine the "Kyiv antiquity". At first, he gave a short analysis of the materials of the magazine about the history of the Southern region and, particularly, of the Novorossiia. The author underlined that on the pages of that magazine, the real lovers of history of the Southern region of Ukraine could find a great deal of information. O. Markevych thought that the positive fact was that "The editor staff includes objective facts to the exclusion of polemic on its pages. These materials show the ground for a peace treaty – the development of the national consciousness of the people of the South of Ukraine"²⁹.

It is interesting to know that the editor staff of the newspaper published rather quickly the materials where the authors were engaged in polemics or responded critically to some materials. In this way, professor Vasyl Ivanovych Modestov³⁰ drew the attention of O. Markevych to the problem of the first teaching staff of the Imperial Novorossiia University. He critically remarked that professor O. Verigo became a lecturer only in 1866 and he wasn't among the first lecturers of the University³¹. O. Markevych reacted brilliantly to this critical remarks. In the next issue of the "Odessa Herald", he mentioned that he completely agreed with these remarks and, regarding his own mistakes, he explained them simply, by claiming that he hadn't had enough time to look through the text of the article which had been published, as he had had arranged before with the editor. O. Markevych thanked for these remarks mentioning at the end that "only those who do nothing don't make mistakes"³². This article gives us the opportunity to

²⁸ Jogo zh, *Juzhnaja Ruspri Petre Velikom*, OV, 1891, 8, 10, 15 kvitnja.

²⁹ Jogo zh, *Bibliografija. «Kievskaja starina» 1883, t.VI, kn. VII, OV, 1884, 8 bereznja.*

³⁰ Modestov Vasyl Ivanovych (1839–1907) – historian, antiquity, historian of ancient culture. A graduate of St. Petersburg State University (1860). In 1865, he defended his master's thesis of St. Petersburg State University. He taught at the Odessa, Kazan, Kiev and St. Petersburg State University. In 1880, for political reasons, he was suspended from teaching. The main subject of scientific studies was the study of the Roman historian Tacitus. A lot of time he devoted to the journalistic activities. See: S. Je. Berezin, *Modestov Vasyl Ivanovych*, Odeski istoryky. Encyklopedychne vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskyj dim, 2009, P. 239–241.

³¹ V. Modestov, *Nelishnjaja zametka (Iz pisma v redakciju)*, OV, 1890, 5 travnja.

³² O. Markevych, *K «nelishnej zametke» prof. Modestova*, OV, 1890, 6 travnja.

understand how the editor staff treated the published works. Altogether, according to our calculations, O. Markevych published ten works in the pages of the "Odessa Herald"³³.

One more regular author from among the scientists of Odessa was V. Nadler, who had been appointed ordinary professor and dean of the Faculty of History of the Imperial Novorossiia University, on the first of January, 1891. His historical interests were astoundingly various. He was interested in local history and he called himself a follower of V. Yakovlev and O. Orlov. He considered their works as "a new, really scientific approach of the history of Odessa"³⁴. The historian had paid much attention to the investigation of the first years of Odessa's existence and to the activities of its first leaders. The editor staff of the "Odessa Herald" wrote about V. Nadler that "he was a respectable contributor"³⁵.

Scientific literature was often mentioned in the pages of the "Odessa Herald". Thus, in 1916, the complete works of V. Grygorovych³⁶, edited by

³³ Jogo zh, *Imperatorskij Novorossiiskij universitet (Istoricheskaja zapiska, chitannaja prof. A. I. Markevichem na torzhestvennom akte universiteta 1 maja)*, OV, 1890, 2 travnja; Jogo zh, *Obshheslavjanskije uchrezhdenija (Rech, proiznesennaja prof. A. I. Markevichem v torzhestvennom godichnom sobranii odesskogo slavjanskogo blagotvoritel'nogo obshhestva, 11 maja 1890 g.)*, OV, 1890, 14–16 travnja; Jogo zh, *Juzhnaja Rossija pri Petre Velikom*, OV, 1891, 14, 16, 18 bereznja; Jogo zh, *Juzhnaja Rossija pri Petre Velikom (Lekcija vtoraja)*, OV, 1891, 8, 10, 15 kvitnja; Jogo zh, *Pisma iz Jaroslavlja*, OV, 1887. 13, 14, 17, 19–22, 24, 25 serpnja, 21 veresnja; Jogo zh, *Vilenskij IX arheologicheskij sezid*, OV, 1893, 5 serpnja; Jogo zh, *IX Vilenskij arheologicheskij sezid. II*, OV, 1893, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 serpnja ta in.

³⁴ T. Goncharuk, L. Novikova, *Nadler Vasyl Karlovych*, Odeski istoriky. Encyklopedyčne vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – sereidyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskij dim, 2009, P. 259–262.

³⁵ *Borba jellinov za nezavisimost (Publichnaja lekcija professora Nadlera)*, OV, 1891, 2 kvitnja; V. Nadler, *Inspekcionnaja poezdka djuka de-Rishele (Iz proshlogo Novorossiiskogo kraja)*, OV, 1892, 11, 13 sichnja; *Publichnaja lekcija prof. Nadlera*, OV, 1892, 13 (25) sichnja; Jogo zh, *Iz proshlogo Novorossiiskogo kraja. Odesskoe vesele v nachale nastojashhego veka*, OV, 1892, 28 sichnja; Jogo zh, *Iz proshlogo Novorossiiskogo kraja. Krymskaja idillija*, OV, 1892, 14, 15, 18 ljutogo; Jogo zh, *K istorii Djukovskogo sada*, OV, 1892, 18, 19 chervnja; Jogo zh, *Nashestvie i chuma (Jepizod iz odesskoj stariny)*, OV, 1892, 6, 11, 18 serpnja; Jogo zh, *Djuk de-Rishele v lagere knjazja Potemkina (Istoricheskij rasskaz)*, OV, 1892, 30 grudnja, 1893, 5 sichnja; Jogo zh, *K izucheniju istorii goroda Odessy*, OV, 1893, 24 ljutogo; Jogo zh, *Djuk de-Rishele na Kavkaze. Osnovanie Novorossiiska*, OV, 1893, 22–24 chervnja.

³⁶ Grygorovych Vasyl Ivanovych (1815–1876) – philologist, historian. Higher philological education in Kharkov and in the University of Dorpat. He taught at the Kazan and Odessa universities. His scientific activity was concentrated at the intersection of philology, history, ethnography and archeology. Most of the works on history were written during his stay in Odessa. The highlights in the study of the history of the Slavs were the cultural and social issues. See detailed: O. Je. Muzychko, *Grygorovych Vasyl Ivanovych*, Odeski istoriky. Encyklopedyčne vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – sereidyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskij dim, 2009, P. 108–111.

M. Poprujenko³⁷, were published, and the volume contained an article, published in 1870, in the "Odessa Herald", that we have already mentioned in the introduction³⁸. In the introductory article of M. Poprujenko, "Viktor Ivanovych Grygorovych in Odessa", it was pointed that one can read about V. Grygorovych's last months of life and about his funerals in the article of M. Zavadskyi who, on the 30-th of January 1876, presented to the "Odessa Herald" the abridged speeches of professors O. Kochubynskyi and I. Nekrasov³⁹. Owing to this, the materials of the newspaper can serve to the scientists as a precious source for writing the biographies of famous scientists from the field of Slav languages and literatures. The library list of V. Grygorovych's works⁴⁰ contains information about his publications in the "Odessa Herald". In particular, V. Grygorovych's jubilee speech "In remembrance of Boris-Mikhail, forefather of the Slavic enlightenment" (1870) is mentioned. It is devoted to the Byzantine church – Slavic church relationship, in the IX-th century, and its text is inserted *in corpore* in the complete works of V. Grygorovych, edited by M. Poprujenko⁴¹. Another bibliography guide dedicated to F. I. Leontovych was published in 2005. It contained information about the collaboration between the scientist and the periodicals from Odessa, but his publication in the "Odessa Herald" wasn't mentioned⁴². Thus, the aims of this survey is an ascertainment of the collaboration between the professors of INU and the editors of the "Odessa Herald".

From the foundation of the University (1865) till the closure of the "Odessa Herald" (1894) – for 29 years – twenty four professors of the University published their works on its pages. The main part of them is represented by the works of the historians (15 lecturers) fourteen of them being the professors of Novorossiia University. From one hundred twelve articles – one hundred two articles – are the articles of the historians (public lectures, speeches, public addresses, archaeology

³⁷ Popruzenko Myhajlo Georgijovych (1866–1944) – historian, specialist in literature. He graduated from the University of Odessa (1888). He taught at the Odessa University (1891–1919), University for Women (1912–1919) and Sofia University (1820–1941). He was an active member of various scientific societies. He headed the Odessa City Public Library (1896–1919). His scientific interest was limited to the study of the history of the Slavic peoples. A significant part were his works on the history of the Bulgarian people. In 1919 he emigrated to Bulgaria. Academician of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1941). See: O. D. Makmillan, *Popruzenko Myhajlo Georgijovych*, Odeski istoryky. Encyklopedychne vydannja. Tom 1 (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa: Drukarskyj dim, 2009, P. 314–316.

³⁸ *Sobranie sochinenij Viktora Ivanovicha Grigorovicha* (1864–1876), Odesa, 1916, 450 p.

³⁹ *Sobranie sochinenij Viktora Ivanovicha Grigorovicha* (1864–1876), Odesa, 1916, P. XXIV.

⁴⁰ *Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich: Bibliograficheskij ukazatel* / OGU. Nauchnaja biblioteka; Sost. M. H. Grojsman; Red. V. V. Samodurova, Odesa, 1991, 54 p.

⁴¹ *Sobranie sochinenij Viktora Ivanovicha Grigorovicha* (1864–1876), Odesa, 1916, P. 162.

⁴² *F. I. Leontovych (1833–1910): biobibliografichnyj pokazhchyk* / uporjadnyk, avtor peredmovy ta vstupnoi statyi O. Je. Muzychko, Odesa, 2005, 148 p.

publications, bibliographies, reports, announcements, correspondence with the editor staff, obituaries etc). It is worth to mention that other professors (of chemistry, philology, mathematics, physiology, zoology, philosophy, theology etc) published in the pages of the newspaper generally one article (maximum three), and the works of the historians (usually about ten or more articles) indicate their active collaboration with the "Odessa Herald". This can be explained by the politics of the newspaper and by the high interest of the readers towards the historical materials.

The originality and singularity of the "Odessa Herald" as a historical source had been already mentioned by its contemporaries who accentuated the great services of the newspaper as a popularizer of historical documents and of scientific researches. The factors which influenced the concept of the newspaper and the facts that confirm its originality give the possibility to talk about the importance of using the newspaper publications to light up various researches, including the history of the Imperial Novorossiia University.

Olena FEDENKO*

THE ACTIVITY OF THE ITALIAN MERCHANTS IN ODESSA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- Abstract -

This article is dedicated to the analysis of the activity of Italian merchants in Odessa in the XIX century. More specifically, the prerequisites, general principles, directions of development and results of this activity in connection with the trade policy of the Russian Empire are explained. Factors that influenced the choice of Odessa by Italian merchants as the place for carrying out their business are determined. Specific characteristics of activity of Italian commercial firms and their contribution to the development of foreign trade in the region is revealed. It is proven that Italians have exercised substantial influence on the development of commercial shipping in the Black Sea. It is established that Italian merchants actively participated in public and cultural life of the city and elaborated projects for the improvement of business conditions in Odessa.

Keywords: Odessa, Italian merchants, Black Sea, grain trade.

When it comes to the European integration of Ukraine, the previous experience of economic cooperation with Western Europe is not of little significance. In the nineteenth century Odessa was the economic center and the largest city in Ukraine, and due to government measures it quickly became the main commercial port of the Russian Empire on the Black Sea. Trade benefits, free port and the lack of competition from local merchants in the late eighteenth century

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led to the formation of powerful segments of foreign merchants, especially Greeks, Italians, Englishmen, French and others.

The activity of merchants from the Apennine states in various aspects of life of Odessa is first viewed fragmentarily in a monograph by K. Batsak¹. His research covers the period from the end of XVIII century to the 1830s. The fourth chapter of the monograph is dedicated to shipping and grain trade between the North Black Sea Coast and Italy during this period.

An important stage in the study of the Italian community of Odessa during the nineteenth century was marked by the publishing of two monographs by a professor from the University of Toronto, A. Makolkin². Despite the fact that A. Makolkin drew upon new sources and presented a new perspective on the problem of Italian emigration to Odessa, her work is riddled with methodological errors that undermine the authenticity of its reasoning and conclusions. It usually ignores the principle of historicism. A. Makolkin, describing the social composition and economy, regards them as something sustainable and discards the fact that they repeatedly changed during the nineteenth century. A. Makolkin represents Odessa as a purely Italian city, and denies the importance of any other ethnic group in the formation of the European culture of the city, stating that "none of the later settlers can stand comparison with the taste, elegance and contribution of the Italians." The researcher ignores the fact that during the second half of the nineteenth century Italians did not make any significant contribution to the development of the city and the major role in creating the original image of the city was played by the Jews. Makolkin assigns a leading role to Italian merchants in the economic prosperity of Odessa, and considers the Odessa free port to be a continuing tradition of Italian cities.

The analysis of the level of development of the topic leads us to the conclusion that in the works by modern historians there are no specific studies of the activities of Italian merchants. The elucidation of this matter has a fragmentary nature.

The aim of the article is to highlight the role of Italian merchants in the life of Odessa during the nineteenth century, based on archival sources, periodicals and statistics. The material in the article is represented chronologically according to two periods: the first period begins at the end of the XVIII century when the first merchants from the Italian states (the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States) arrived in Odessa; the second period begins in 1861 with the

¹Batsak, Kostjantyn, *Italiyska emihratsiya naprykintsi XVIII - u pershiy polovyni XIX stolittya v Ukrayini*, Kyiv: ZnannyaUkrayiny, 2004.

²Makolkin A, A history of Odessa. The last Italian Black Sea Colony, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004; Makolkin A., The Nineteenth century in Odessa. One hundred years of Italian culture on the shore of the Black Sea (1794-1894), Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

formation of the unified Italian kingdom and significant changes in the midst of the Italian merchants in Odessa.

The victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774, and, consequently, the beginning of the domination of the Russian Empire in the Black Sea coincides with the establishment of diplomatic and trade relationships with the Italian states, primarily with the Kingdom of Naples (from 1816 the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) and the Kingdom of Sardinia.

The founding of new cities on the Black Sea by Russia excited the interest not only in the Italian governments, but also among merchants, sailors, military men and other segments of the population. The arrival of Italians was stipulated by government measures of Russia, caused by the lack of experience of the local Russian merchants and the growing volumes of international trade. This led to the formation of a populous Italian community in Odessa. In the early years of the founding of Odessa, Italians already made up a tenth of the city's population - 800 people out of the total population of 7-8,000. In 1827 the city's population was 32,995 people, including 3,498 foreigners (10.6%) amongst whom 0.96% (334 people) were from different Italian states: the Kingdom of Naples - 100 people (0.3%), the Kingdom of Sardinia - 68 people (0.2%), Italy - 159 people (0.45%), Tuscany - 7 people (0.01%)³. In 1834 the number of foreigners amounted to 5,174 people, including 1,016 Italians (28%) out of the total population of 61,899 people⁴. Within three years about 1,600 people from the Apennine Peninsula resided in Odessa⁵. According to the Italian Consul General Salvatore Castillo, 1,850 Italian people lived in Odessa in 1871, in 1872 - 1,178 people, in 1873 - 1,213 people, in 1874 - 1,316 people, in 1875 - 1,386 people, in 1876 - 1600 people⁶. Italians constituted more than half of the crew of merchant ships, who in 1877 amounted to 3,600 people.

An important factor that contributed to the strong influx of immigrants from the Apennines was government measures. The first step in this direction was the Decree by Catherine II of May 27, 1794 "On opening a free entry for merchant ships to the harbor of Khadzhibei."⁷ This paved the way for regular commercial sailings from the countries of Europe and contributed to the establishment in the city of foreign trade offices, including Italian ones. The number of foreign merchants was much higher than that of the Russians, therefore 1797 saw the

³Dianova N.M., *Formuvannya naseleennyia mist Pivdennoyi Ukrainy u doreformennoyi period (kinets XVIII st. – 1861 r.)*, Odessa, 2003, p.159.

⁴Batsak, Kostiantyn, *Italiyska emihratsiya naprykintsi XVIII - u pershiy polovyni XIX stolittya v Ukraini*, Kyiv: ZnannyaUkrayiny, 2004, p. 108

⁵Skal'kovskyy A.A., *Pervoe trydtsaty let y eystoryy Odessy. 1795-1825*, Odessa, 1837, p.155.

⁶Immigrazioni, emigrazioni e colonienella Russia meridionale. *Gazzetaufficiale del Regnod'Italia*, No. 237, 13 ottobre, 1877

⁷*Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossyyskoy impery*,1, Saint Petersburg, 1890, p.519.

establishment of the Magistrate for Foreigners, which was chaired by Italians Vittorio Amedeo Poggio, Manuel Grimani, Bizilli. The newly created Magistrate facilitated and accelerated the social adaptation of the merchants coming from abroad.

In addition to the measures attracting foreigners, the late XVIII century was marked by a legal registration of merchants as a separate estate leading to the formation of merchant guilds, which was settled by the Manifesto of Catherine II on March 17, 1775. According to the decree of the Senate on May 25, 1775 "On the collection of levy from merchants, one percent of the declared capital instead of the poll, and on their subdivision into guilds" merchants were exempted from the poll tax, and now they were under the obligation to pay a special guild tax of 1% from the declared sum of the capital. Those who owned the capital of more than 10,000 rubles joined the first guild, those owning 1,000-10,000 - the second, and those with 500-1,000 - the third.

"Letters patent to cities" of 21 April 1785, which secured the legal status of the urban population, regardless of professional activity, declared only one bourgeois estate, which subdivided all the urban population into six categories: 1) "real urban inhabitants" who owned a house and other real estate; 2) merchants who were registered in the guild (now the property qualification considerably increased: for the 1st guild from 10,000 to 50,000 rubles, the 2nd - 5,000-10,000, 3rd - 1,000-5,000 rubles, but the tax rate remained the same (1%) 3) craftsmen who belonged to workshops; 4) nonresident and foreign merchants; 5) eminent citizens (capitalists and bankers who had the capital of not less than 50,000 rubles, wholesalers, ship owners, who were in the city administration, scientists, artists, 6) other urban populations.

Belonging to a particular guild determined the scale of commercial and industrial activity of a merchant. The merchants of the 1st guild were granted the right to wholesale and retail foreign and domestic trade, whereas the merchants of the 2nd guild - only domestic wholesale and retail trade. The representatives of these guilds were allowed to establish industrial enterprises. The members of the 3rd guild were entitled to "retail trade in the city and county."

The provisions of the manifesto of 1 January 1807 were developed in the "Additional resolution on the establishment of guilds and on trade of other estates" of November 14, 1824, which reduced the duties imposed on merchants. At the same time the rights of the merchants of the 2nd guild were significantly expanded. They were allowed to conduct foreign trade, although its volume was restricted to the sum of no more than 300,000 rubles. The merchants of the 3rd guild were allowed to establish light industry enterprises with the number of workers of up to 32 people. It was confirmed that the merchants of the 1st guild who conducted only wholesale or foreign trade, were called "first order merchants" or "merchants".

Such division and the conditions of admission to merchantry also applied to foreign merchants. As a result of the legislative activity of the government merchantry was completely formed as an estate in Ukrainian cities by the middle of the XIX century.

The first ethnic Italian, who began forming wealthy Italian merchantry in the city, was Stefan Venturi. Within the next four years, he founded a small company for the production of grape vodka. The turnover of his company amounted to 5,000 rubles in 1798⁸.

Following Venturi trade enterprises in the city were founded by Carlo Servio, Silistrio del Sasso, brothers Vincenzo and Luigi Lorovici, Giacomo Tassara, M. Giustanni, Pietro Reguccio, Marco Caronio and Naples Consul General Gaetano Gugliemucci⁹.

During the period from 1800 to 1813 the number of Italian merchants of the first guild in Odessa increased from 1 to 8 people, and during 1813-1833 it almost doubled and amounted to 17 people¹⁰. In 1833 the most affluent citizens of Odessa were Bartolomeo Ponsio (Pontius) (net worth 1,692 rubles), Pietro Sartorio (1,518 rubles), Iacovo Porro (1,446 rubles) brothers Moberli, Elias Trabotti, Camillo Vivani and Elias Galani (had a capital of between 500,000 and 1 m. rubles), Agostino Gattorno and Giorgio Avverino (between 250,000 and 500,000 rubles), Costantino Francesco, G. Sarro, Adolfo Bellino and A. Muzzo (between 100,000 and 250,000 rubles)¹¹.

The economy of the Mediterranean countries, including Italy, given the low level of its own agriculture and the resulting high cost of crops, started to focus on cheap imported agricultural raw materials, the powerful exporter of which became the south of Ukraine, particularly Odessa. Therefore, most merchants were a group of Italian grain exporters. Besides wheat, they exported barley, rye, peas, wool etc. The main goods, which were imported at the same period from the Mediterranean countries to the Black Sea ports, were spices, coffee, fruit, Sicilian wines, natural dyes. In terms of imports, the report by consul N. Schitti in 1902 indicated that 85.28% of all the citrus fruit was exported from Italy to Odessa (from Catania and Messina), 60.27% of olive oil (from Gallipoli and Genoa), 21.94% of lead (Genoa), 17.58% of coffee (Genoa), 1.16% of rice (from Venice)¹².

The Italian merchants themselves regarded the rates of the grain trade as relatively high, indicating that during that period only the port of Livorno weekly

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹ Skalkovskyy A.A., *Pervoe trydtsatylet y eystoryy Odessy. 1795-1825*, Odessa, 1837, p. 290.

¹⁰ DAOO, f.4, op.1, spr.428, ark.1-3.

¹¹ *Odesskii Vestnik*, 1834, No.16, p. 61.

¹² Squitti N., *Le colonie italiane nel distretto consolare di Odessa. Emigrazione Colonie. Raccolta di rapporti dei RR. agenti diplomatici e consolari*, Roma, Vol.1, parte 3, 1903, p. 171-184.

received 5-6 vessels loaded with grain from Odessa¹³. According to the statistics provided by Tuscan scientist and diplomat Luigi Serristori in his "Notes of the Traveler" during 1822-1828 470 merchant ships of the Italian States (464 Sardinian and 6 Neapolitan) arrived at the Odessa port, which accounted for 14% of their total number, only Austrian, Russian and English ships were more numerous¹⁴. In 1847 with 1237 ships arriving at the port of Odessa, 582 vessels belonged to the Italian states: 255 - the Kingdom of Sardinia, 45 - the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 11 - the Duchy of Tuscany, 4 - the Papal States and 267 the Italian territories that belonged to Austria¹⁵.

Most of cargo transportation of Ukrainian-Italian trade was serviced by Greek and Italian companies. Most of these companies operated in Odessa, the local port exported 60% of all the wheat through the Black Sea¹⁶. Together with the Greek merchants, who quickly secured the leadership in the market of export deliveries of grain, the Italians initially founded in the Black Sea ports their representative companies that were based in the Apennines, eventually turning them into separate commercial centers.

In order to open branches of sales offices the Italian merchants moved to the Black Sea ports a share of their capital which was invested in real estate, the purchase of grain and other exports. Thus, a family member of Genoese merchants Bartolomeo Pontius, who settled in Odessa shortly after the fall of Napoleon's Empire, 1818 turned to the mayor of Odessa O.F. Langeron with the request for admission to the first guild of merchants, in which he indicated that in Odessa he had real estate and the capital in the amount of 5,100 rubles, which he invested in grain trade. In 1815 G. Avverino (288,946 rubles), N. Trano (178,362 rubles) and a number of other merchants transferred their capital to Odessa and invested it in grain trade. In the 1830s four Italian grain trade merchant firms operated in Odessa. They belonged to I. Trabotti, B. Pontius, G. Porro and P. Sartorio receiving millions of annual profit¹⁷. At this time A. Gattorno, C. Nicoli, C. Viviani, F. Lauro, A. Mozzo, A. Bellino and G. Sarro began their activity in the grain market.

Along with the grain exporters another segment of Italian merchants was formed in Odessa. It was engaged in selling various kinds of goods delivered from

¹³ Batsak, Kostjantyn, *Italiyska emihratsiya naprykintsi XVIII - u pershiy polovyni XIX stolittya v Ukrayini*, Kyiv, 2004, p. 188.

¹⁴ Serristori Luyidzhi, Podorozhni zapysky // *Skhid-Zakhid: Istoryko-kulturolohichnyy zbirnyk*, Vol. 6, 2004, p.141.

¹⁵ Navigazione. Movimento della navigazione nel porto di Odessa nell'anno 1847. *Annali Universali di statistica economica, pubblica, storia, viaggi e commercio*, Vol. XVII, No. 49, luglio 1848

¹⁶ Zolotov V., *Vneshnyy ayatorhovlya Yuzhnoy Rossyy v pervoy polovyni XIX veka*. Rostov-na-Donu, 1963, p. 76

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1829, p. 32-106.

Western Europe. In 1828, the Italians in Odessa began to focus on trading in Italian wines (this involved Giuseppe Venturi), pictures and sheet music (Carlo Riccardi)¹⁸.

Before the Crimean War there were 32 Italian trading houses. The largest among them were the firms of Jacob Porro, Elijah Trabotti, brothers Rocco, brothers Bubba, Luigi Rossi, brothers Casaretto, C. de Azarto, Napoleon Rossi et al.

The most significant figure of this period was Carl Rocco. His business interests were also focused on the organization of urban development and improvement of infrastructure to create better business conditions. Carl Rocco was the co-owner of the bank and trading firm "Brothers Rocco", famous both in the Russian Empire and abroad. He came from a family well-known in business circles of Genoa, who owned one of the oldest Casa del Commercio - the prototype of the trading house in Odessa. Carl Rocco came to Odessa in the 40s of the XIX century and established a merchant office, engaged in the export of grain to Western Europe and which was situated in Preobrazhenska street in a private-owned family house¹⁹. Brothers Rocco together with another Italian Jacob Porro were the largest grain traders in the city, whose ships delivered grain to Naples, Genoa, Marseille and London²⁰.

In 1856, Italian merchants Jacob Porro, Carlo Rocco and Elias Trabotti turned to Novorossiysk Governor-General with the request to set up a telegraph line between Odessa and Galati at their own expense. The Russian government found it impossible to leave telegraph lines in private ownership, but since it offered the exclusive benefit to Odessa merchants, it also had to pay for its construction, allocating 60,000 rubles in silver. When the telegraph line was built, the maintenance was to be carried out by the Russian government. If the merchants would not agree, both could construct and maintain the line, but its management should be determined by the government, and the latter had the right to redeem it at any time. Despite the wealth owned by the Odessa merchants, they refused the offer referring to the lack of funds²¹.

When the telegraph line was built the government was going to keep it. If the merchants didn't agree, they might build and keep the line, but its administration had to belong to the government and the government had the right to buy the line at any moment. Though Odessa merchants were wealthy, they denied the offer, referring to lack of money.

¹⁸*Odesskii Vestnik*, 1828, No.54, p. 134.

¹⁹*Novovrossiiskii Kalendar'*, 1854, p. 328.

²⁰Moshensky Sergey, *Finansovye centry Ukrainy irynok cennyx bumag industrial nogoobshhestva*, London, 2014, p. 261.

²¹Derzhavnyiakhiv Odeskoyioblasti (DAOO), f.2, op.1, spr.466, ark.1-3.

The first independent project of Carlo Rocco was connected with the building of “steam lines” for goods transfer through railless roads to Kherson, Kyiv and Podolsk provinces and the Bessarabian region. With the idea C. Rocco applied to Novorossija and to the Bessarabia governor-general O.G. Stroganov with a letter in January 1860, claiming that it could be economically useful for the South of Russia²².

O.G. Stroganov turned to Odessa mayor with a request to find out what place belonged to C. Rocco among the local entrepreneurs. The answer to the request was given by the chairman of Odessa commercial council Fedor Rodokanaki. He wrote that the firm of C. Rocco, which was the successor of a similar firm in Genoa, was held in respect at Odessa and foreign exchanges. Fedor Rodokanaki himself considered the idea of C. Rocco useful not only for trading, but for the whole economy of the South of Russia. Taking into account the recommendation, O.G. Stroganov interceded for the mayor helped C. Rocco to realize his intentions²³.

Minister of Finance and Chief manager of the Railways, whom the Home Secretary consulted with concerning the C. Rocco project, agreed to let C. Rocco deliver steam engines and railway coaches duty-free and also spare parts in number authorized by the Head Railway Office; to let him transport passengers for 15 years exclusively, without hindering the existed ways. If the project in each of its branches was not realized during three years, C. Rocco would lose his right²⁴.

Another project of the enterprising Italian dealt with water supply to Odessa from the Dniester. In his letter to Novorossija and Bessarabia governor-general O.G. Stroganov from 28.12.1859 C. Rocco wrote that the southern part of Kherson province was suffering from dry weather because of which agriculture, gardening and cattle-breeding always experienced damages as well. Besides, because of the lack of water often suffered Odessa, which depended upon sudden landslides, which might damage the only city water supply “Kovalevsky”. That’s why C. Rocco offered to build a water supply from the Dniester. Governor-general liked the idea – he assured the Italian, that he and the local authorities would support the realization of the project. He ordered C. Rocco to make a technical plan of the water supply system. For that purpose C. Rocco addressed to the Sardinian engineer Henry Baletto²⁵. The further destiny of that and a previous projects is unknown as well as the reason why it had never been realized.

One of the possible reasons was grain export crisis after the Crimean war (1853-1856). The crisis touched first of all trade unions and banks, which total

²²DAOO, f.2, op.1, spr.559, ark.1.

²³*Ibid.*, ark.5.

²⁴*Ibid.*, ark.7.

²⁵DAOO, f. 2, op.187, spr.625, ark.1-7.

amount of loss from 1857 till 1862 was 8 millions of silver rubliv²⁶. During that time there were closed more than 20 trade unions, among them the firms of Charles Deazart, Ivan Zagrandi, Konstantin Rally, Carlo Rocco, Luigi Rossy, Dmitri Sugruri, Domeniko Tubino, which owners moved their business to other countries²⁷. That's why at the time of economical crisis in Odessa and moving of the business abroad C. Rocco didn't believe those project to be profitable.

Having great income from the commercial activity, the wealthy merchants worked for charitable causes. For example, in the period of 1831-1833 the biggest sums of money for the Poor Nursing House were given by such merchants as B. Pontio (420 rub.), J. Porro, P. Santorio (each 300 rub.), A. Gattorno (210 rub.) , K. Vivani (200 rub.), I. Trabotti (150 rub.). Altogether the account of the Poor Nursing House received during three years from the Italians of Odessa a donation of 2 652 rub.

The merchants were members and donated to Italian Charity Society, that was founded 12.06.1863. The aim of the Society was to provide with money its poor nationals, who lived in Odessa temporary or constantly, until their moral and financial state improved. In addition to the financial help, the Society could help them to go back to their Motherland it needed, and to bury the dead without money and help of the near relatives. The biggest payment was made by brothers Antara.

The Italians are closely connected with music and theatre history of Odessa, i.e. with Italian opera with the center of which during the nineteenth century in Odessa Opera and Ballet Theatre. It was possible owing to the activity of Italian impresarios, who supplied the city with a theatrical troupe. As a rule, they were well-known merchants and actors. Italian merchants dealt with that business be cause of some economical profit: the local authorities allocated the the money in advance and the merchants could first use it for their personal commercial needs. The union between the municipality and the Italian merchants supported the theatre with the best actors and musicians and finance during the whole period. In 1809 Giovanni Mantovanni became impresario of the Odessa theatre. With the help of Odessa impresario it was possible to supply the theatre with stage props and musical equipment. For instance, in 1830 there were delivered 7 opera scores, music paper, brocade for making theatrical costumes and stage decorating as well.

The Crimean war showed economical and military backwardness of the Russian Empire and the need of immediate changes. The new trade-industrial policy of the authorities directed at creating the conditions to activate the rise of the industry and trade, caused changes in the legal status of merchants. With the laws from 1.01.1863 "About taxes and commerce power and other kinds of fields" 28

²⁶*Odesskii Vestnik*, 1863, No.1, 1st of January.

²⁷Moshensky S., *Finansovye centry Ukrainy i rynek cennyx bumag industrialnogo obshhestva*. London, 2014, p. 276.

and 9.02.1865, which included some specification, was carried out at a reform of the industry and trade. According to the document, merchants' rights were given to the citizens, who had paid patent and ticket trade-industrial tax: "The merchant and industrial licenses can be given to Russian citizens of both sexes and of any class, to foreigners as well". Since that time, the number of merchant guilds was shortened to two. Trade licenses were divided into three groups depending upon the kind of trading: wholesale, small wholesale and retail. In addition to that, the new tax laws 1863-1865 abolished merchants obligation to announce the sum of their income. But the phrase "to announce income" was in use later as well. To start and hold trade and industrial houses was only possible after getting the guild license.

After the closing most of Italian and Greek trade companies, the ethnic structure of the merchants changed in favor of the Jews and only some few Italian firms would still play role in Odessa export.

In 1877 there existed in Odessa 4 Italian firms of the 1st range. The first one – "Brothers Dal Orso", belonging to Francesco Dal Orso, was founded in 1849 and dealt with oil and grain trading. The medium yearly turnover was 1 mil. rub. That family owned firms of the kind in Genoa and Marcel. Another firm belonged to a Genoa citizen Gerolamo Asseretto. But the most known among them was the firm "Brothers Anatra".

The history of the Anatras started in 1830, when a poor sailor Angelo Anatra arrived in Odessa from Sicily. Grasping that there was lack of floating facilities to unload Ukrainian bread, he started building small boats and delivering merchants' goods with their help. Doing that, A. Anatra became rich with time and turned to a merchant.

Six sons of the enterprising Italian helped him in the work. They inherited his business after his death in 1860. The forth son, Angelo Anatra (1848-1910), possessed his father's trading skills and great love to the sea. After finishing Italian Skipper School, he organized his own navigable company, and in 1867 together with his brother Bartholomew – Anatra Trading House. At the same time they built their first steamer in England. A. Anatra ran it on his way to Odessa, performing duties of a skipper and sometimes of a simple able seaman, because the hired team was not ready to work at a steamer. Some time later, Anatra Trading House (since 1875 four brothers united in one firm "Brothers Anatra": Angelo, Bartholomew, Antony and Joseph) owned already one of the biggest private steamship lines at the Black Sea²⁸. Besides, their firm continued to export bread and banking operations, and built a big steam mill in Peresip.

²⁸DAOO, f.16, Op. 54, spr. 348, ark. 1

The leading role in the firm still belonged to Angelo Anatra. He took active part in the social life of the city: he was elected several times as member of the city council, merchants' representative in Odessa commercial court, head of arbitration board as well. A. Anatra was one of the founders of Odessa water rescue department and built a first aid house for drowners out of his money. In addition to that, A. Anatra was a honorable curator of Odessa Gymnasium №4, a member of the board of Marian asylum and other charity societies.

In 1860-70s there continued its existence a trading house "Trabotti and Co.", having been founded in 1823 by an Austrian national Elias Joseph Trabotti, who came to Odessa from Trieste. He was interested in grain export as well as in credit and financial services. When, in 1862, Trabotti firm was inherited by his sons, Alfred and Alexander, the role of financial operations rose. In 1874 there was created a banking office "Trabotti and Co." with the capital in 720 000 rub.

In 1890 banking operations turnover of the Trabotti firm reached 68,1 mil. rub. At commodity operations A. Trabotti took the 11th place in Odessa with the turnover in 1,417 mil. rub. (1,8% of the total amount of Odessa grain export). As in other banking houses of Odessa, the important part of turnover belonged to currency exchange operations (though Trabotti Trading House wasn't a leader in that kind of activity, focusing mainly on getting Italian liras)²⁹.

Thus, Italian merchants successfully used the conditions of development in Odessa and within a short time have gained multimillion profits by wholesale trade in agricultural products. In 1800, in Odessa there was only one Italian merchant of the top guild, while in 1812 - 8 persons, in 1833 - 17 persons. Among the main components of the success of Italian merchants were significant capitals and great experience in commercial matters and shipping in the Mediterranean region, as well as the creation of a network of representations in the territories crossed by commercial trading routes.

Trading houses were a wide spread form of organizing commercial activity of Italian merchants. A whole system of trading houses was based on strong family connections, it included multiple branches subordinate to the central office. Offices of the firms Rocco, Trabotti, Porro, Pocchi, etc. appeared in Odessa in the first half of XIX century. They were the representatives of Italian families having sufficient capital who tried to extend the sphere of activity of their enterprises and develop new markets, including Odessa. In 1833, the number of Italian trading houses reached 32. Export of grain was the main direction of activity of the majority of these trading houses, though commercial branches were attracted to trade in other goods, and to the creation of insurance companies.

²⁹Moshensky S., *Finansovye centry Ukrainy i rynek cennyx bumag industrialnogo obshchestva*. London, 2014, p. 276.

The existence of great capitals and large land lots created quite favorable starting conditions both for financing industrial projects and for direct organization of production. Italians in Odessa invested in the construction of infrastructure in the region, food manufacturing industry, they took part in the creation of credit and financial institutions.

The strong financial positions of the Italian merchants in Odessa led to the formation of a powerful local economical elite. The merchants were members of various partnerships, trustees of schools, public schools, hospitals, and orphanages. Care for their compatriots took the shape of creating the Italian Charitable Company in Odessa and was marked by a series of social events.

Natalia DIANOVA *

**THE SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE
GRADUATES OF THE KIEV SPIRITUAL ACADEMY IN THE
SOUTH OF UKRAINE**

- Abstract -

The article describes the main directions of scientific and educational activities of members of the clergy in Southern Ukraine, who received education in the Kiev Theological Academy. It was found that among them were prominent scientists, doctors of divinity, philosophy, and Greek literature, honorary members of leading Russian universities and academies. They had diverse research interests, including history. The concept about ponderabilities of a contribution of clergy to the development of historical science and its cooperation with various scientific institutions, first of all – the Odessa society of history and antiquities, is considered.

The place of the studied category of clergy in teaching and in the educational process of spiritual and secular educational institutions is defined.

Keywords: *clergy, Kiev spiritual academy, historical science, education, Southern Ukraine.*

190 years since foundation of the Kiev Spiritual Academy were celebrated in the autumn of 2009. The Kiev spiritual academy was opened on September 28, 1819 on the place of the former Kiyev-Mogilyansky Academy. It was the important scientific and spiritual center which occupied one of the leading places in the Russian empire. Among graduates there were famous scientists, teachers of higher education institutions, priests who worked in different regions of the country. A lot of them were given assignment to the Kherson and Tavriysky

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diocese where they made a big contribution to development of science and education.

The historiography devoted to the Kiev Spiritual Academy (KSA) for a long period was presented only by works of historians and religious figures of the 19th century, namely, B. Titlinov, F. Titov, V. Askochenskiy, I. Malishevskiy, L. Maceevich and others. During the Soviet period this subject, as well as others which had relations to religion, in the majority were held back. Only at the end of the 20th century there were works of researchers in which the problem of the development of spiritual education in Ukraine and scientific and educational activity of orthodox clergy was considered. The big contribution to development of research of this problem was made by researches of N. Ship, N. Mozgovoi, G. Stepanenko. The question of influence of the Kiev spiritual academy on activity of the highest orthodox clergy of the Kherson and Taurian diocese separately wasn't investigated that causes relevance of this subject. The basis of publications is made by the published documents and materials of funds of archive of Odessa region.

The bright trace in the history of development as to the Kiev academy and Kherson and Tavriysky diocese was left by Innokentiy (Borisov). He was one of the best pupils of this educational institution. After he graduated he was given assignment to St. Petersburg (1823), where achieved an impressive career. At first, he was an inspector professor of church history and Greek of the St. Petersburg theological seminary, then professor of the St. Petersburg spiritual academy.

The Kiev metropolitan Evgeny (Bolkhovitinov) put a lot of effort for Innokenti's (Borisov) return to Kiev. He returned in 1830 and received the position of rector of the Kiev spiritual academy. The talented young professor, during 10 years managed to raise considerably the level of science and education in academy. He proved to be an innovator in theological science and carried out a number of reforms in education. Teaching theological and philosophical subjects was transferred from Latin into Russian. Innokentiy (Borisov) was the first who began to use a historical or historical and comparative method in divinity¹. It became a new milestone in religious science.

Innokentiy (Borisov) considerably intensified the teaching of historical disciplines in the academy and gave them a new direction – in learning the history of the state and of the orthodox church. He improved the teaching of philosophy on the highest level. He introduced the new disciplines: the church science and the church legislation that laid the foundation to teaching the initial right in spiritual educational institutions of the Russian Empire.

¹ Mozgova N.G., *Kiev spiritual academy. 1819-1920 : The Philosophical Legacy*, Kiev: Knuga, 2004, p. 48.

During his stay in Kiev, Innokentiy was fond of studying national history. It was promoted by his friendship with the rector of Kiev University H. Maksimovich and the metropolitan Evgeny (Bolkhovitinov) who were engaged in historical and archaeological researches. In 1840, the Odessa society of history and antiquities, according to the recommendation of his Honourable president count M. S. Vorontsov, elected Innokentiy (Borisov) to the status of full member². Perhaps it inspired Innokentiy and N. Maksimovich to found historical and archaeological scientific organization in Kiev. Documents and the charter of future society were issued and sent to St. Petersburg. But the government finally considered this case only in 1843 and allowed to found scientific organization under another name – "The temporary commission for analysis of ancient acts". Innokentiy according to the order of the Holy Synod had already left Kiev at this time and headed for the Kharkov diocese.

In the 21st of December 1843, the Kiev governor general D. Bibikov wrote the letter to the archbishop in which he asked him to accept the rank of Honorary member of the Commission, considering its successful scientific and historical activity³.

In 1848, Innokentiy headed the Kherson and Taurian diocese and moved to Odessa where there was a cathedral temple. There he successfully continued his historical and archaeological activity. The clergy of the diocese also were attracted to this process. Under his management in 1850 the special committee for creation of the church and historical and statistical description of the diocese was created. The former pupils of the Kiev spiritual academy, the professor S. Serafimov and archpriests G. Popruzhenko entered there. Members of the committee had to carry out serious research work which consisted in searches of materials and sources which were stored in libraries of the Kherson spiritual consistory, cathedrals and monasteries. Only after that it was possible to start writing the history of the diocese⁴.

Thanks to Innokenti's efforts, the archive of the Kherson spiritual consistory was put in appropriate order. It considerably facilitated the work of researchers⁵.

The idea of revival of ancient Christian shrines in the Crimea and formations there of an independent metropolitanate occupied the important place in the plans of the archbishop. He was surprised by the contrast between a glorious past and modern abandonment of Christian temples in Crimea. Innokenti's note dated 1850 which testifies to a certain implementation of his plans remained. In

² Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 167, op. 1, spr. 3, ark. 2.

³ Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 167, op. 1, spr. 3, ark. 7.

⁴ Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 37, op. 1, spr. 1646, ark. 1-3.

⁵ Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 37, op. 1, spr. 1749, ark. 1-6.

particular, the Uspensky monastery near Bakhchisarai which was an old Christian shrine was reopened. On the ruins of the Chersonese, the small temporary church consecrated to the sake of St. Vladimir was reconstructed. Ancient temples in the Inkermansky rock and in the Genoa fortress were restored and the temple of St. Vladimir in Sevastopol was built⁶. Further implementation of plans of the archbishop was prevented by the Crimean war (1853-1856).

His former pupil – the archbishop Dimitrii (Muretov) became Innokenti's (Borisov) successor at the position of rector of the Kiev spiritual academy and subsequently and at the head of the Kherson and Taurian diocese. In 1840 he was blessed by Innokentiy and became the rector of Academy which he led during 10 years. He continued the work of his teacher with great honor. Dimitriy made an important contribution to development of theological science. He relieved it of outdated scholasticism, applying a historical method of research. The new system of divinity which has been created by Dmitriy was so perfect that at once was approved and accepted by clergy. The rector concentrated the main attention on high-quality training of future priests. With huge responsibility he treated lecturing which struck students with the perfection. Dimitriy was the authoritative scientist and a recognized master of theological science. By the way he differed in unusual modesty and high insistence on work. Therefore, he did not leave any published scientific works & texts of his lectures. In 1857, Dimitriy headed the Kherson and Taurian diocese. There he realized the knowledge and experience received in the Kiev spiritual academy. During management of the diocese he proved as the good administrator and the kind pastor. Sermons of the archbishop were result of his deep reflections and sincere belief. They always attracted a lot of people. Thanks to the activity of the archbishop since 1860, the diocesan periodical – "The Kherson diocesan sheets", began to publish in Odessa. It promoted the improvement of diocesan management and rapprochement with believers. Interesting materials from life of the diocese, the sermon of bishops, the publication on stories of orthodox church in the south of Ukraine and other actual materials were published in the edition.

Dimitriy paid considerable attention to the question of the development of education in the southern region. He often visited spiritual and secular educational institutions. In particular, he sponsored the Odessa theological seminary and kept in touch with students.

⁶ Dianova N., Zhuttya ta diyalnist arhiepiskopa Hersonskogo i Tavriskogo Inokentiya (Borisova) // Istoriya religii v Ukraini. – Naukovui shorichnik, kn 1, Lviv: Logos, 2015, p. 219.

The archbishop aimed at obtaining a high educational level and spirituality, educating by himself, patience, readiness for self-sacrifice & service for the benefit of neighbors⁷.

In Odessa the archbishop proved as the active scientific figure and on September 20, 1857 he was elected as full member of the Odessa society of history and antiquities. During 1870-1875 he fulfilled duties of the vice-president of society⁸.

In Southern Ukraine one more pupil of the Kiev spiritual academy – Mikhail Karpovich Pavlovsky worked productively. After the completion of the Academy (1833) he, on the recommendation of the tutor, got Innokentiy (Borisov) setting in Odessa. There he worked as the teacher of Divine Law in society educational establishments. On teaching position he worked in the flow of forty years. He was the teacher of Divine Law simultaneously in a few educational establishments of the city: in the district school, the Institute of noble maidens, the municipal girl school and in the Rishlevskiy lyceum. In the lyceum he was simultaneously the abbot of the lyceum church⁹.

With a lyceum (since 1865 by the Novorossisk university) at M. Pavlovskiy there were the most warm and fruitful relations. In 1838, the lyceum council chose him as the professor of divinity. He received an appointment to manage the department of divinity. During 1851/1852 a professor read psychology and logic yet, that was entered in educational establishments instead of philosophy. After completion of teaching activity in 1873, Mikhail Karpovich remained on position of archpriest of the church of Alexander Nevskiy at the Novorossisk University being the deserved member of university.

A professor M. Pavlovskiy, caring of spiritual education in university, did not put primary and middle schools aside. In 1848, he was appointed by head master of Orthodox teachers that worked in industry of society education in Odessa. He supported the contact with them and often visited the examinations of the pupils.

Michil Pavlovskiy managed to realize his scientific capacity the foundation of which was laid during training in the Kiev spiritual academy. During 1859-1889, he was censor of "The Kherson diocesan sheets". Under his edition, a number of articles of the moral and religious contents which were translated from French were

⁷ Slovo Vusokopreosvayshennogo Dimitriya, arhiepiskopa Hersonskogo i Odesskogo po slychay darovaniya Ego velichestvom shedrogo posobiya na ylichsheniya dyhovno-ychebnuh zavedeniy 7 aprelya 1860 g., Odessa, 1866, pp. 2-8.

⁸ 165 zasedaniya Odesskogo obshestva istorii i drevnostey. 18 noyabrya 1874 g. – Odessa, 1875, p. 2.

⁹ Pyatidesyatiletie svyashenstva zaslyzennogo professora i pochetnogo chlena Imperatorskogo Novorossiskogo yuniversiteta, protoiereya Mihaila Pavlovskogo, Odessa: Slavyanskaya tipografiya, 1886, pp. 12-13.

published. Two letters of the patriarch Photius were published with M. Pavlovsky's preface. In "The Kherson diocesan sheets" and "The Odessa messenger" more than 60 of his sermons which concerned different events of public life of the city were published. In 1877, "Materials for the history Of Kherson diocese" dedicated to the 40 year of foundation were published¹⁰.

Mihail Pavlovskiy enjoyed in Odessa big authority as the preacher publicist. In 1851 "Words and speeches" were published. This edition received an approving comment and the positive review. About Mikhail Pavlovsky it was written as about the outstanding preacher who enjoyed great authority within the orthodox population¹¹.

After the termination of the Kiev spiritual academy in 1844, Arseny Gavrilovich Lebedintsev was given assignment in the Odessa theological seminary. It possesses an important role in the history of the Southern Ukraine. In the beginning he was the teacher, and then professor of a theological seminary. Subsequently, he received a curacy of the Odessa cathedral Transfiguration Cathedral. In 1848, the rank of archpriest, A. Lebedintsev appointed rector of Sevastopol Peter's Church and the dean of the church district of Sevastopol, where he actively assisted the diocesan leadership in restoring Christian shrines Chersonese and Inkerman, for which he received numerous awards and gratitude to Archbishop. During the Crimean War he was in Sevastopol, where he showed special zeal and great courage, raising the morale of the defenders of the city. For special merits during the Crimean War, A. Lebedintsev received a gold pectoral cross on St. George ribbon and a diamond ring from the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, a bronze cross on Vladimir ribbon for the defense of Sevastopol, a silver medal at the St. George ribbon and medal at the St. Andrew's tape. In 1857 A. Lebedintsev moved to Odessa, where he became the steward of the Odessa Cathedral¹².

Along with the performance of his church and religious duties, he continued to engage in historical research of the southern region. In 1860 on the pages of "Kherson Diocesan Gazette" appeared his works: "Description of the Odessa Cathedral", "Churches of St. Catherine in Odessa" and "Khan Ukraine." The last of these was reprinted in 1913 by the Odessa Society of History & Antiquities, which is a full member of Archpriest was for 1881-1898 years. This work represents a significant potential of A. Lebedintsev as a scholar. It was

¹⁰ Pavlovskiy M., Materialu dlya istorii Hersonskoy eparhii // Pribavlenie k Hersonskim eparhialnim vedomostyam, 1877, № 16, pp. 436-437; 1879, № 12, pp. 357-364; № 14, pp. 461-466.

¹¹ Retsenziya na knigy «Slova i rechi protoiereya Mihaila Karpovicha Pavlovskogo» // Odesskiy Vestnik, 1852, № 93.

¹² Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 37, op. 2^a, spr. 553, ark. 7-10.

written on the basis of church documents and represented the socio-economic and religious history of the population that lived between the Bug and Dniester rivers of the Kiev Rus up to the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, the author placed 15 documents which were found in the archive of the Kherson consistory that added a scientific value to the work. Post mortem archpriest (in 1898) OTIC published the obituary written with the professor of the Novorossisk university O. Kochubinskiy. An author marked not only important landmarks in his life but also scientific achievements in industries of history and close collaboration with those, who divided his fascination historical researches¹³.

Among the graduating students of the Kyiv spiritual academy of setting Mykola Ivanovich Sokolov (in 1831) got to the South Ukraine. The religiously-elucidative activity he began in Kherson, where he became an archpriest and abbot of the Assumption cathedral and teacher of the Low is Divine in Kherson school of mercantile fleet. From 1838 on, he continued the pedagogical activity in Odessa: in the Institute of the Noble maidens, the theological seminary and gymnasium at Rishilevskiy lyceums, where the Divine read Law. For prominent successes on the elucidative field, he was the recipient of an award of the Golden Cross. Considerable successes were attained by M. Sokolov during work in the Kherson spiritual consistory, for what got the orders of St. Ann of 3th and 2th degree and St. Volodymyr 4th and 3th degrees. In 1851, an archpriest became the abbot of the Odessa cemetery church of All Saints. Once more, a student of the academy was a priest in this church since 1868- archpriest Havrylo Yakiv Seleckiy served as yet, what considerable period of time worked as teacher of the Low divine in different educational establishments of the Kherson and Taurence diocese¹⁴.

The Great contribution to the development of the southern region made Georgiy Ivanovich Popruzenko. After finishing the Kiev theological academy, he was assigned to the Odessa theological school (1843). Soon he became a Professor of the Kherson spiritual Seminary, where he taught Russian, Latin, Hebrew & New Greek languages and was on the Board of seminary of learning. Successful educational work of G. Popruzenko harmoniously combined with Pastoral Ministry in different parishes. From 1857, he received San Archpriest Odessa Sretens'koï Church, where he was engaged in activity. In 1862, by the order of Diocesan hierarch, he was appointed a member of the Odessa Statistical Committee for the fruitful work which received the order of St. Anne 2nd degree¹⁵.

It is necessary to pay attention to the figure of Joseph H. Mihneviča, who soon after graduating from the Kiev Theological Academy received the post of

¹³ Kochybinskiy O. O., Na pamyat o deystvitelnom chlene obshestva protoieree A. G. Lebedintseve // Zapiski Odesskogo obshestva istorii i drevnostey, Odessa, 1900, T. 12, pp. 65-76.

¹⁴ Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 37, op. 2^a, spr. 577, ark. 41-45.

¹⁵ Derzavnii arhiv Odesskoi oblasti, f. 37, op. 2^a, spr. 577, ark. 56-60.

Inspector and Professor of philosophy at Odessa Richelieu Lyceum (1839), which gave 20 years of tireless work. In 1857, by order of the Board of the Lyceum, he wrote "A historical overview of its fortieth anniversary of the Richelieu Lyceum from 1817 to 1857". This research saved the scientific value until now. The author exposed activity of all subdivisions of lyceum, did the detailed analysis of scientific and educational activity of all teachers and presented the list of graduating students of lyceum for forty years¹⁶.

In Odessa, Mihnevič actively cooperated with M. Pirogov who at that moment was a trustee of the Odessa educational district. He admired the progressive activity of M. Pirogov and fully supported his freedom-loving looks. This collaboration was not limited only by Rishchelevskiy lyceum. No less fruitfully collaboration showed up in Odessa society of history and antiquity, where Joseph Grigorievich was an actual member and secretary. The work of the society interested by M. Pirogov which in November 1856 was elected a full member and in may 1857 – vice president of the Society¹⁷.

The Odessa period was extremely fruitful in the scientific activity of I. Mihnevich. In the second volume of "Messages" of the Society was published his work "On Hebrew manuscripts" that were stored in the museum of the Odessa society of history and antiquities. At that time, a separate edition came out with some of his works: "Biography of the Duke de Richelieu" (1849) and "The experience of the gradual development of the main action of thinking as a guide for the initial teaching of logic" (1848). Quite different in their scientific direction, the works showed the full talent of the author which he demonstrated in various branches of his activities. It is impossible in one academic article to reflect the significant contribution that was made by the students of Kiev theological academy in scientific, educational and cultural development of the southern Ukraine while serving the Kherson-Tauride diocese. However, even on the basis of the above facts, we can draw a conclusion about their important role in the history of the development of the southern region.

¹⁶ Mihnevich I.G., *Istoricheskiy obzor sorokaletiya Rishel'evskogo litseya s 1817 po 1857 god*, Odessa: Tipografiya Nitche, 1857.

¹⁷ Mozgova N.G., *Kiev spiritual academy. 1819-1920 : The Philosophical Legacy*, Kiev: Knuga, 2004, p. 114.

Valery LEVCHENKO*

**THE REPRESSIVE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS
THE SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENTSIA OF THE JEWS IN ODESSA
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XXTH CENTURY**

-Abstract-

The article deals with the history of repressive actions of political regimes in Odessa towards the scientific intelligentsia of the Jews in the first half of the XXth century. A wide array of historical sources and academic literature is used. An analysis for causes and merits of the repressions towards the representatives of the traditional Jewish intellectual community was performed. Short biographical data of victims of shootings, expulsions, deportations, and convictions is mentioned.

Keywords: Odessa, scientists, Jews, power, political repression, totalitarianism.

In the first half of the XX century Odessa was under the control of various political regimes and each of them established relations with the scientific intelligentsia in a different way¹. Undoubtedly, the policy of the Soviet government was characterized by the greatest antipathy towards intellectuals. The distrust of the political regimes towards the scientists was emphasized in speeches of state and party leaders of different coloring and quality and in the documents of various character throughout the period. The inevitable conflict between the representatives of the scientific intelligentsia of the Jews and the Soviet government was based on the very essence of the totalitarian state and the nature of the Jewish problem. In

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¹ *Istoria Odesy* / Editor in chief of V. N. Stanko, Odesa, 2002, p. 275–425.

practice, this resulted in mass purges of scientific institutions, staff and dismissal of many scientists because of the social origin, politics, and disagreement with the proclaimed ideas and afterwards to the arrest of many of them, followed by the physical destruction. It became a norm to fake criminal cases about the existence of various scientific organizations and institutions ostensibly created for carrying out counterrevolutionary struggle.

Among an ample quantity of works devoted to the theme of political repressions, the research of repressive actions towards the scientific intelligentsia of the Jews of Odessa is given short by the scientists. In this context, only isolated works are devoted to the Jewish scientists² or to the particular periods of the repressive actions of political regimes in the first half of the XXth century where we can find the mentioning of this theme³. Altogether, the synthetic research of the announced problem does not exist in the historiography.

² E. P. Petrovskiy, *Z istorii istorichnogo fakultetu Odeskogo universytetu u 1930-ti roky: dekan Izrail Davydovych Sieroglazov*, *Zapysky istorichnogo fakultetu*, 15 (2004), p. 509–520; L. Shevchenko, *Naum Isakovych Mezhberg*, *Znevazhena Klio*, Kyiv 2005, p. 345–351; V. Chaplin, *Zapiski «muzejnoj krysy»*, *Migdal-Times*, 84–85 (2007); V. V. Levchenko, *Trychi zasudzhenni Emmanuil Oksman (1899–1961): do 110-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia*, *Pivdennyi zahid. Odesyka. Istoryko-kraieznavchyi naukovyi almanah*, 7 (2009), p. 242–257; V. V. Levchenko, E. P. Petrovskiy, *Isaj Pavlovich Shmidt (1895–1975): pervyj rektor Odeskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, *Pivdennyi zahid. Odesyka. Istoryko-kraieznavchyi naukovyi almanah*, 14 (2012), p. 266–290; V. V. Levchenko, E. P. Petrovskiy, *Professor Isaj Pavlovich Shmidt (1895–1975): odesskie jetapy zhizni, intelektualnyj i industrialnyj potencial regionov Rossii*, 2 (2012), p. 12–19; V. V. Levchenko, *Odeskyi istoryk-ukrainist Oleksandr Petrovych Pogrebenskyi (1905–1979): naukova rehabilitaciia*, *Istorychna ukrainistyka v Odeskomu universyteti: vyznachni vihy, personazhi, dorobok*, Odesa, 2013, p. 96–111 and other.

³ M. I. Myhailuca, M. B. Burundukova, *Represii u vuzah ta tehnikumah Odesy 1937/1938 navchalnyi rik (Za materialamy Derzhavnogo arhivu Odeskoi oblasti)*, Odesi – 200, I (1994), p. 82–84; V. Fajtelberg-Blank, V. Savchenko, *«Professorskaja kontrrevoljucija» v Odesse*, *Porto-Franko* 42 (1999); V. I. Marochko, G. Hillig, *Represovani pedagogy Ukrainy: zhertyv politychnogo teroru (1929–1941)*, Kyiv, 2003, 304 p.; E. P. Petrovskiy, *Kadrova sytuaciia na istorychnomu fakulteti Odeskogo derzhavnogo universytetu v 1930-h rokah*, *Problemy istorii Ukrainy: fakty, sudzhennia, poshuky*, 13 (2005), p. 260–273; V. A. Smirnov, *Represii 30-tyh godov sredi evrejskoj intelligencii v Odesse*, *Odesa i evrejskaja civilizaciia: VI mezhdunarodnaja nauchnaja konferencija*, Odesa, 5–7 November 2007 year / Resource access: <http://www.migdal.org.ua/migdal/events/science-confs/6/17483/>; V. V. Levchenko, *Stanovlenie iudaiki v kontekste transformacii istoricheskoi nauki v Ukraine (1917–1930-e gg.)*, *Materialy Shestnadcatoj Ezhegodnoj Mezhdunarodnoj Mezhdisciplinarnoj konferencii po iudaice*, 2 (2009), p. 475–482; D. P. Ursu, *Uchenye Odessy – zhertyv ideologicheskikh kompanij 1946–1953 godov*, *Pivdennyi zahid. Odesyka. Istoryko-kraieznavchyi naukovyi almanah*, 10 (2010), p. 114–173; V. V. Levchenko, *Stanovlenie iudaiki v Odesse v 1920–30-e gg.: centry, personalii, tradicii*, «Mama gorodov izrailevyh...», Odesa, 2011, p. 79–86; V. V. Levchenko, *Evrejskoe vysshee obrazovanie v Odesse (1917–1930-e gg.): istorija, opyt, tradicii*, *Iudaika v Odesse*, 2 (2013), p. 6–27 and other.

The purpose of the article is to research the factors of repressive actions of political regimes in Odessa in the first half of the XX century; to determine relations of the government to the scientists; to analyze the motives, directions, forms and methods of ideological work of special organizations on creating public opinion about carrying out political terror against the Jewish scientists.

Historically, the problem of the relations between the government and the representatives of the Judaic religion has deep roots. Even in the Russian empire the Jews were limited in many rights⁴. There were various obstacles to enter universities and engage in research and pedagogical activity at high school (teachers of Judaic religion were not supposed to work in high schools)⁵. At the turn of the XIX–XX centuries in the scientific environment of Odessa the names of the Jewish scientists were mentioned only sporadically, and as a rule these people were forced to change their religion.

Despite the difficulties created by the imperial government, at the end of the XIX century some Jews managed to join the teaching staff of leading high schools of the Russian empire, including the Odessa ones. For this purpose they had to join the Orthodox religion. For example, in the Imperial Novorossiysk University (1865–1920), only after the change of religion, the positions of private-assistant professor were occupied by a historian M. I. Mandes⁶ (1894)⁷ and a mathematician V. F. Kagan⁸ (1897)⁹. Though another mathematician – S. I. Shatunovsky¹⁰, without changing the religion and with no full high education, but thanks to scientific researches and the support of famous professors, at the age

⁴ D. I. Raskin, «*Evrejskij vopros*» v dokumentah vysshih gosudarstvennyh uchrezhdenij Rossijskoj imperii XIX – nachala XX v., Istorija evreev v Rossii. Problemy istochnikovedenija i istoriografii, Sankt-Peterburg, 1993, p. 60–77; G. Bjekon, *Polozhenie evreev v Rossii posle razdelov Polshi*, Glavy iz istorii i kultury evreev Vostochnoj Evropy, Tel-Aviv, 1995, p. 248–253; V. V. Goncharov, *Pravovoe polozhenie evrejskogo menshinstva v Ukraine k. XIX – n. XX vv.*, Etnichna istorija narodiv Jevropy: Nacionalni menshyny. Etnoarheologija, Kyiv, 1999, p. 19–23 and other.

⁵ A. E. Ivanov, *Vysshaja shkola Rossii v konce XIX – nachale XX veka*, Moskva, 1991, p. 228.

⁶ Mandes Myhajlo Illich (1866–1934) – historian of antiquity. A graduate of History and Philology of the Novorossiysk Imperial University (1891). He taught at the Novorossiysk Imperial University (1894–1901, 1907–1920), Nizhyn Historical and Philological Institute (1901–1907), Odessa University for Women (1907–1920), Odessa Institute of Education (1920–1930) and other.

⁷ S. E. Berezin, *Novorossijskij universitet na pravom flange ideologicheskogo fronta grazhdanskoj vojny. Prolog: konec XIX veka*, Novik: trudy po voennoj istorii, II (2009), p. 166.

⁸ Kagan Veniamin Fedorovyč (1869–1953) – mathematician, founder tensor differential-geometric school in the USSR.

⁹ O. Yu. Notkina, *Veniamin (Beniamin) Fedorovyč (Falkovyč) Kagan*, Profesory Odeskogo (Novorosijskogo) universytetu, 3 (2005), p. 6.

¹⁰ Shatunovsky Samuil Josypovyč (1859–1929) – mathematician, his works belong to the rationale basic mathematical concepts.

of 45(!) was allowed to take the Master's examination, and in 1905 as a private-assistant professor he was admitted to lecturing at the university¹¹. In the beginning of the XX century, despite numerous obstacles from the authorities, the participation of the Jews in the scientific and pedagogical lives of Odessa was gradually increasing.

In 1917 after the February revolution which had liquidated the shameful "line of settled way of life" and had created unprecedented possibilities for the Jewish culture to rise, for the first time in its story there was an absolute freedom for cultural and social development¹², including the development of a network of national high schools. At first, the liberal laws of the Provisional government and then of the Ukrainian Central Rada policy made it possible for the scientists of Judaic religion to join the scientific community. For example, I. G. Klauzner¹³ became the first Jewish scientist at the high Odessa school (without changing his religion), at the age of 43 he was selected as a "freelancer" (non-staff) teacher of the History and philology faculty of Odessa high female courses¹⁴.

The situation in this area changed considerably with the establishment of the Soviet government. And if the first half of the 1920s can be characterized as the period when the state supported the education system in Yiddish while implementing the policy of indigenization, increasing the popularity of the Soviet school in Yiddish in the Jewish environment and funding it from the budget, the next years can be called "the period of decline" which resulted in gradual elimination of high schools and research establishments, in the realization of the policy "merger of the nations", the policy of Russification and repressive actions.

In the mid-twenties, the employees of the security forces not only exercised control over the activities of the scientists, but also organized show trials. So, in November, 27, 1926 on a charge of "indoctrination of students towards Mensheviks» the officers from Odessa district department of the State Political Directorate of the Ukrainian SSR arrested L. G. Hoffmann¹⁵, the secretary of Odessa Regional Studies Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

¹¹ A. P. Nechajev, *Shatunovskij Samuil Josypovyč*, Profesory Odeskogo (Novorosiiskogo) universytetu, 4 (2005), p. 409.

¹² *Očerki po istorii evrejskogo naroda* / Edited by S. Jettingera, Tel-Aviv, 1972, p. 637.

¹³ Klauzner Joseph Gedaliah (1874–1958) – historian, shidnoznavec, hebraist, semitolog. One of the founders of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1947).

¹⁴ D. P. Ursu, *Klauzner Josyp Lvovyč (Josyf Gedalin)*, Odeski istoryky. T. I (pochatok XIX – seredyna XX st.), Odesa, 2009, p. 162–164; D. P. Ursu, *Odessa v evropejskom i kulturnom prostranstve (XIX–XX vv.)*, Odesa, 2014, p. 79–98 and other.

¹⁵ Hoffmann Lev Georgievich (1896/7–1938) – historian, secretary of the commission of the Odessa regional studies at Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He was arrested on November 27, 1926 and January 27, 1938. April 20, 1938 sentenced to death. December 17, 1956 rehabilitated

(UAS). In January, 7, 1927 by the resolution of the Special Meeting of the United State Political Administration of the USSR he was sent to Vyatska province for three years where he lived in the town of Halturinske being under surveillance. After serving his term, in November, 4, 1929 he was deprived of the right to live in big cities and regional centres of RSFSR and the Ukrainain SSR and sent to a certain residence for a period of three years¹⁶.

Since the early 1920s, in the atmosphere of ideologically-theoretical and political dictate there was a formation of a new generation of scientists - representatives of the Soviet system. Acting as sincere supporters of the ideals of communism, they worked selflessly developing various problems of a science on the basis of new methodological positions. These scientists were convinced that the Marxism-Leninism (or dialectic materialism) was the unique universal methodology of scientific research. Among these scientists it is necessary to mention the Jewish historians such as S. H. Belov¹⁷, A. I. Buzhevich¹⁸, J. Y. Merzon¹⁹, N. I. Mezhberg²⁰, I. D. Seroglazov²¹, I. P. Schmidt²² and others²³.

In the second half of the 1920s, the Marxist ideology became dominating in Soviet science and social life. In the late 1920s, when the totalitarian system was being implemented, there was an aggravation of the struggle between the Bolshevik government and academic organisations. Changes of the general aim of science at the turn of 1929–1930 resulted in reorganization of research institutes of history of the Jews. So, after two years of existence, on August, 1, 1930, by the resolution of the Council of People's commissioners of the Ukrainian SSR concerning a network of research establishments, the Odessa section of the Jewish

¹⁶ Galuzevyj derzhavnyj arhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy, Odesa, Fond PS, spr. 28591-p, ark. 54, 78, 146.

¹⁷ Belov Solomon Haimovich (1888–1949) – the historian of Jewish literature and theatre. Fellow of Jewish Soviet literature and language at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1936 he arrested and soon released.

¹⁸ Buzhevich Abraham (Abram) Iosev-Berov (Josipovic) – historian, Fellow Museum of Jewish Culture named after Mendel-Moyher-Sforyma and Odessa Museum of Local History.

¹⁹ Merzon Jacob Yekusovych – historian. He taught at the Odessa Institute of National Education (1924–1930).

²⁰ Mezhberg Naum (Naim) Isakovich – historian. Deputy Head of the Odessa istpartu (1927). He taught at the Odessa State University (1933–1935).

²¹ Seroglazov Israel Davidovich – historian. He taught at the Odessa State University (1934–1939). In July 1938 he was arrested, imprisoned for 5 years. In November 1955 rehabilitated.

²² Schmidt Isay Pavlovich (1895–1975) – historian. Rector and professor of Odessa State University (1933–1936).

²³ V. V. Levchenko, *Stanovlenie iudaiki v kontekste transformacii istoricheskoi nauki v Ukrainie (1917–1930-e gg.)*, *Materialy Shestnadcatoj Ezhegodnoj Mezhdunarodnoj Mezhdisciplinarnoj konferencii po iudaike*, 2 (2009), p. 480.

culture department of the UAS stopped working, and the majority of its staff was transferred to the Institute of the Jewish proletarian culture²⁴. Some scientists had an alternative choice of a research institution – the cabinet of the Jewish Soviet literature and language at the UAS. Such possibility was used by Odessa scientist S. Belov – in 1936 he became a researcher of the Cabinet of studying the Jewish Soviet literature, language and folklore. With the growth of the Stalin terror, the Institute of the Jewish proletarian culture was closed in early 1936 and some officials were arrested on charges of Trotskyism. At the end of the same year, in the reduced variant, the Institute was restored under the name of the Cabinet of the Jewish language, literature and folklore at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The problems of the cabinet were narrowed to studying problems of the Jewish grammar, literary language (Yiddish), lexicology and translation.

At the turn of the 1920–1930s they started to confiscate from libraries books which, according to the bodies of political education, “were not necessary for the majority of readers”. To look through the funds of the Jewish libraries special commissions were formed; their specialists of different areas of knowledge were to select everything that, in their opinion, could be «unnecessary and harmful». As a result of such "cleanings" all Jewish literature of the XIX century was as a rule destroyed. The more resolute method of intervention of the Soviet government representatives in the development of culture of the Jewish people was a liquidation of the Jewish academic library in Odessa at the end of the 1920s. In June, 1934 as a result of the party government struggle against «bourgeois-nationalist influence» the Ukrainian Mendel-Mojher-Sforim museum of the Jewish culture became the following "victim"; it was closed but continued working until August, 9, 1940.

In the 1930s, all signs of Jewish public life and national culture were forcibly minimized. The policy of the Soviet government was aimed at the destruction of institutes of the traditional Jewish community and led to its restructuring and in some regions even to complete disintegration. It greatly affected the political and cultural processes in the society of that period and amended the whole history of life of the Jewish civilisation. After the liquidation of the centers of Jewish Studies in the early 1930s educational institutions, libraries and clubs were closed as well. Since the mid-1930s in the Ukrainian SSR, and in Odessa as well, the process of liquidation of research establishments of the Jewish culture began, and by the end of the 1930s practically all of them had been closed. In 1938, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine declared that the educational institutions of all national minorities were the centers of «bourgeois-nationalist influence and considered their existence as inexpedient and harmful».

²⁴ Biuletен Narodnogo komisariatu osvity Ukrainskoi socialistychnoi radjanskoi respubliky, 35 (1930), p. 12–13.

Due to these circumstances, a lot of Jewish historians left Odessa and the USSR, among them were: I. M. Brover²⁵, O. L. Weinstein²⁶, L. O. Piper²⁷, O. P. Pogrebensky²⁸, M. L. Rubinshtein²⁹, S. L. Rubinshtein³⁰, T. M. Hait³¹ and others³². As a result, during the political repression of the 1930s, lots of Jewish scientists were arrested and condemned: Sh. H. Vishnepolsky³³, L. G. Hoffmann, Sh. A. Livshits³⁴, B. M. Melamed³⁵, S. M. Merher³⁶, T. Y. Molchadsky³⁷,

²⁵ Brover Israel Moiseevich (1903–1986) – historian. Graduate student of Odessa Kharkiv section of scientific research department of history Ukrainian Culture in the Odessa Institute of National Education (1927–1930).

²⁶ Weinstein Osyp Lvovych (1894–1980) – historian. He taught at the Odessa State University (1934–1935) and Leningrad State University (1835–1951). In 1951, during the campaign to combat cosmopolitanism dismissed from the university. Fellow of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1855–1980).

²⁷ Piper Leonid Orestovych (1897–1938) – philosopher. Professor of Odessa Institute of National Education (1925–1930). February 3, 1938 sentenced to capital punishment, April 14 of that year shot. Rehabilitated June 4, 1956.

²⁸ Pogrebensky Oleksandr Petrovich (1905–1979) – historian. Graduate the Odessa Institute of National Education (1927).

²⁹ Rubinshtejn Mykola Lazarevich (1897–1963) – historian. Graduate student of Odessa Kharkiv section of scientific research department of history Ukrainian Culture in the Odessa Institute of National Education (1927–1930).

³⁰ Rubinshtejn Sergii Lazarevich (1989–1960) – philosopher and psychologist. Professor of Odessa Institute of National Education (1921–1930). Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1943).

³¹ Hait Tatiana Markovna (1900–19??) – historian. Graduate student of Odessa Kharkiv section of scientific research department of history Ukrainian Culture in the Odessa Institute of National Education (1927–1930).

³² V. V. Levchenko, *Dejatelnost uchenyh-istorikov evreev v nauchno-issledovatel'skikh uchrezhdenijah Odessy 20-h gg. XX v.*, Pivdennyi zahid. Odesyka. Istoryko-kraieznavchyyi naukovyi almanah, 17 (2014), p. 286.

³³ Vishnepolsky Shulim Hryhorevych (1900–1938) – naturalist. Head of the Department of Political Economy of the Odessa State University (1933). Dean of the Faculty of Geography (1936–1937). He was arrested on November 30, 1937. He was shot 10 October 1938. August 9, 1960 rehabilitated.

³⁴ Livshits Shmuel Abramovich (1892–1938) – mathematician. Associate Professor of the Odessa Institute of Communications Engineers. He was arrested on January 12, 1938. March 23, 1938 was sentenced to capital punishment. August 17, 1956 rehabilitated.

³⁵ Melamed Boris Moyseevych (1896–1978) – philosopher. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Berlin (1920–1924). Since the late 1920s, he taught at several universities in Odessa. February 23, 1938 arrested, and in December 1939 was sentenced to 5 years in labor camps. In 1950 Associate Professor of Philosophy and Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs of the Odessa State University named after I. I. Mechnikova.

³⁶ Merher Selman-Aron Moiseevich (1899–1979) – taught at the Odessa Institute of Education (1929–1930). Artist Museum of Jewish Culture (1939). April 14, 1951 entered into a forced labour camp for 10 years. In 1955, all charges dropped.

³⁷ Molchadsky Tovii Yakovych – social science. Taught at the Odessa Institute of Education (1927–1930). Repressed in the 1930s, sentenced to serve a sentence in a forced labour camp for 3 years.

E. H. Oksman³⁸, I. D. Seroglazov, L. G. Strizhak³⁹, M. B. Tunkelroit⁴⁰, S. S. Fliaks⁴¹, I. Ya. Chernyavsky⁴² and others⁴³. Almost all of them were arrested on charges of counterrevolutionary activity, participation in Trotskyism or subversive and terrorist organizations, espionage for "fascist" Germany or other European intelligence services, preparation of anti-Soviet insurrection in order to separate the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union. As a result of fictive charges they were subjected to unlawful punishment. In the second half the 1950s, during the Khrushchev thaw, all of them were rehabilitated.

After 1944, the repressions towards the history scientists did not stop. In the prime of totalitarian structures in the second half of the 1940s, the government resorted to the mass ideological brainwashing of historians by drawing the scientists themselves. The victimization peak of history scientists of Odessa fell in the 1949–1953 period. Many scientists were fired, the others could not work because they were driven out of the University, and some of them had to leave the city or commit suicide. Here is a typical example of the fate of professor

³⁸ Oksman Emmanuil Hryhorevych (1899–1961) – historian. Graduate student research department of the Odessa Historical and Archaeological Museum (1925–1928). October 22, 1930 arrested. February 18, 1931 sentenced to 10 years to labor camps. September 16, 1937 again arrested and sentenced to re-sentence. May 16, 1949 he was arrested for the third time and the sentence on 29 June that year sent into exile to exile. November 10, 1955 rehabilitated.

³⁹ Strizhak Leyba Genrihovich (1886–1938) – historian. Lecturer of Ancient History and Middle Ages of the Odessa pedagogical institute. Sentenced to capital punishment, he was shot in March 1938.

⁴⁰ Tunkelroit Morduh Bentsyonovych (1896–1938) – historian. Taught at the Odessa Institute of Education (1927–1928). Arrested on November 26, 1937, April 10, 1938 sentenced to death.

⁴¹ Fliaks Samuil Samuilovich (1904–1987) – educator. Professor, Head of the Department of Pedagogy of the Odessa pedagogical institute. He was arrested on January 20, 1938. March 2, 1939 to imprisonment for 10 years in prison (April 23, 1939 is replaced by imprisonment in labour camps). November 3, 1955 rehabilitated.

⁴² Chernyavsky Iosif Yakovych (1896–1938) – Arrested April 10, 1938, six months later – on October 3 he was also sentenced to death, given in pursuance of October 19.

⁴³ *Odeskyj martyrolog: Dani pro represovanyh Odesy i Odeskoi oblasti za roky radjanskoi vlady*. T. 2 / Compilers: L. V. Kovalchuk, G. O. Razumov, Odesa, 1999, 800 p.; V. A. Smirnov, *Repressii 30-tyh godov sredi evrejskoj intelligencii v Odesse*, Odessa i evrejskaja civilizacija: VI mezhdunarodnaja nauchnaja konferencija, Odessa, 5–7 November 2007 year / Resource access: <http://www.migdal.org.ua/migdal/events/science-confs/6/17483/>; V. V. Levchenko, *Stanovlenie iudaiki v kontekste transformacii istoricheskoj nauki v Ukrainie (1917–1930-e gg.)*, Materialy Shestnadcatoj Ezhegodnoj Mezhdunarodnoj Mezhdisciplinarnoj konferencii po iudaice, 2 (2009), p. 481 and other.

M. M. Rozentalia⁴⁴. The former professor of the Leningrad State University, the head of the department of Medieval History of the Odessa National University, a prominent expert and a wonderful lecturer, was removed from teaching and department heading in 1949 because of writing the theatre and literature reviews in which the party leadership found the display of cosmopolitanism⁴⁵. Under the pretext of unsolicited dismissal after a serious conversation with the chancellor⁴⁶ the professor S. Y. Borovogo was dismissed⁴⁷.

From 1946 until 1952, E. L. Klem (1898–1953) worked as a lecturer at the department of History of the Odessa Pedagogical Institute. During the Second World War she served as a medical assistant and interpreter in the Separate Coastal Army. She was taken prisoner and stayed in a women's death camp in Ravensbrück, where she took part in the international conspiratorial organization and headed the Ukrainian underground group. After the war, she returned to Odessa where she was often called out to the security services where they pressed her for admission of high treason, recruiting by counterespionages of the countries which were in the war. Because of that, the administration of the University was constantly cutting down her «hours» of studies, and at the beginning of 1953/54 E. L. Klem was left out of work. She could not bear such humiliation from her colleagues so on the 31 of August of 1953 she committed suicide and left a death note: «I can't live any more. I don't know where my fault is. Probably, it is in the fact that my father was Serb who had become a Russian communist... or in the fact that I was a prisoner of war. All my life I do loved my Motherland. I loved my work, I was happy to realize that my work serves to improve the communist society, I always thought that to work means to live and to fight: not to work means not to live. Now I'm thrown away from my department and from my work; nobody even cared to explain me why. Can it really be true that I'm such a contemptible creature that nobody could inform me personally – nobody talked to me. I leave this world. I ask to fulfil my will: to remit my own savings (5300 roubles) from my

⁴⁴ Rozental Mykola Mykolaiovych (1892–1960) – historian. History Department of History and Philology of St. Petersburg University graduated May 10, 1914, and was left to prepare for a professorship in the Department of General History. He taught at the University of Leningrad (1924–1931). In 1931, he has been criticized and removed from teaching. March 3, 1935 arrested, 17 March 1935 sent to Irgiz Aktobe region. In 1936 it was revised, September 1, 1936, he started working at Odessa University (1936–1938, 1942–1954).

⁴⁵ P. Maiboroda, E. Petrovskiy, *Akademichni tradycii i borotba na istorychnomu fronti: shtryhy do biografii profesora M. M. Rozentalia*, Pivdennyi zahid. Odesyka. Istoryko-kraieznavchyi naukovi almanah, 9 (2010), p. 163–176.

⁴⁶ S. Borovoi, *Vospominanija*, Moskva, 1993, p. 317–326.

⁴⁷ Borovoi Saul Yakovych (1903–1989) – historian. In 1924 he graduated from the Law Faculty of the Odessa Economic Institute. He taught at the Odessa Credit Economic Institute.

savings book to the account of the Odessa Pedagogical Institute. E. L. Klem, the 31 of August of 1953»⁴⁸.

Some of Stalin's campaigns in the struggle against the scientific intelligentsia broke the destiny not only of their victims and accusers. The destinies of many scientists, who happened to be in the maelstrom of those events, were perverted. They were pursued by the fear to make a mistake; the fear to be accused for their political views (mainly from the past) on the bases of fabricated cases. Quite often it was their fear and not their activity that determined their scientific views and the further of their life. Groundless accusations and political repression against Odessa Jewish scientists resulted from deliberate falsification by the Soviet government. Many of the charges were exculpated from them after the XX Congress of the CPSU. Some of innocent victims were rehabilitated. Despite this, as a result of repressive actions of the Stalin regime there were destroyed talented specialists, the scientific directions were deformed, research institutions and universities were rendered lifeless. Studying a considerable layer of narrative, epistolary heritage, oral history, etc. has led the researchers to the conclusion that the whole scientific community was a target of repression, therefore repression cannot be limited by passionals, by lists of people who were shot or imprisoned or exiled, by "broken" biographies of outstanding scientists and thinkers and so forth. The whole scientific community became a target of repression, as well as its mentality and philosophy, its life in all the forms. So we should talk not only about the repressed scientists, but also about the repressed ideas and directions, research institutions and centers, books, journals and collections, intellectual heritage of the scientists, secret archives, etc.

The representatives of the Jewish scientific intelligentsia of Odessa were repressed in the first half of the XX century. And the scope of the repressive actions affected dozens of the scientists – talented and highly educated people. They were devoted to science and saw in it the sense and meaning of life. But divergent methods of different political regimes (mainly of the Soviet government) limited their rights to engage in scientific activity, to communicate with their colleagues, to pass the knowledge to the next generations of scientists.

⁴⁸ V. Chaplin, *Zapiski «muzejnoj krysy»*, Migdal-Times, 84–85 (2007).

Victor SAVCHENKO*

**ANARCHISTS AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT OF THE FIRST
QUARTER OF THE XXTH CENTURY IN UKRAINE:
THE PROBLEM**

- Abstract -

The article focuses on the role of anarchists and anarchists-syndicalists in the labor movement in Ukraine. Starting with 1906, the anarchists-syndicalists influenced the labor movement in the largest cities of the south of Ukraine (Odessa and Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk), they succeeded to organize sailors of the Black Sea merchant fleet and workers of the Odessa port for a number of strikes and to create the first marine trade union organizations. After the revolution of 1917, sailors of Odessa were once again under the influence of the anarchists. The anarchists in Ukraine in 1918 were able to extend their influence over the miners and metallurgists of Donbas, the Black Sea sailors, railway workers, trying to hold socialization of the merchant fleet, mines and factories. But the power of Lenin defended the way of nationalization of industry and did everything to push the anarchists from the trade unions and labor movement in the early 1920s.

Keywords: anarchists, anarchists-syndicalists, workers, sailors, propaganda, strike, union, Odessa.

Evaluation of the anarchists, as outsiders completely detached from the labor movement, was actively spread by anarchist political rivals throughout the 20th century. The attitude of the Soviet and post-Soviet historians, political scientists,

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sociologists (from the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian Federation, Ukraine) to the anarchist movement as to something not serious (even somewhat comical), without any roots, supported by “cranks” or “bandits”, became rather natural for “fundamental researches” of a significant number of historians, which tried to show anarchism as a “quasi-political phenomenon bordering with criminal.”¹ These historians asserted that anarchists organized “terror for terror, robbery – for the sake of robbery.”

Archival researches indicate that such a vulgar description of the anarchist movement in the Russian Empire in the early 20th century does not reflect the historical reality: anarchists conducted acts of terror to “push” the protest movement among the workers and peasants, for “intimidation” of the authorities and the majority of expropriations were held to support revolutionary organizations and workers' strikes, for mass publication of propagandistic materials.

Since the time of the “Union of Irreconcilable” (1903, Odessa) anarchist propaganda was directed upon the working class: anarchists published thousands of copies of leaflets with evocative titles: “To Comrade Workers”, “To Comrade Workers and Peasants”, “To Comrade Workers and Sailors” (about a hundred editions of such leaflets were made only in Odessa in 1903-1908). In 1906, anarchist propaganda in Odessa seized a part of working slipways of the “Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company” (“ROPIT”), longshoremen, sailors and stokers of merchant fleet, factory workers of Bellino-Fenderih, agricultural machinery of Gen, tin ware of Valtuch, foundry plant of Shpolansky, cork factory of Arps and Julius, tobacco factory of Popov, sugar refinery of Brodsky, a candle factory, a number of printing houses and bakeries. Anarchists worked in Odessa “Union of Typographical Workers” and “Revolutionary Syndicate of Packing Fruit Workers.”²

The leaders of the anarchist movement were former Socialist Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats, who already had experience of propaganda in working teams, of organization in working groups. So the leader of the Odessa anarchists-syndicalists Y. Kirillovsky-Novomirsky headed the working groups of RSDLP in Odessa worker suburb “Peresyp” until 1905. Such a biography had the majority of the anarchist leaders of the Ukrainian provinces (V. Striga-Lapidus, I. Grossman, O. Taratuta, K. Erdalevsky etc.). Future anarchists

¹ Петришина Л. В., Юрій А. К., Анархісти в Одесі в період першої революції в Росії // Наукові праці з питань політичної історії. Вип. 172. - К., 1992. С. 61-63.

² Центральний державний історичний архів України (ЦДІА України). Ф. 268. Оп. 1. Спр. 453. арк. 203; Ф. 419. Оп. 1. Спр. 5649. арк. 2; Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ). Ф. 102. Оп. 237 (1907). Спр. 12. ч. 68. 1. арк. 12; Державний архів Одеської області (далі ДАОО). Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Спр. 146. арк. 184.

had their “political training” in the ranks of the socialist parties (Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party – RSDLP, Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries – PSR, Jewish Workers' Union – “Bund”), but the tactics and strategy of these parties did not meet the radicals that passed in the ranks of the anarchists. Anarchists, denying parliamentary struggle (as a compromise with a potential enemy), believed that only a general workers’ strike could change the society, eliminate the “power and capital”, free all the workers. They rejected the party structure (fixed membership in the party, the party hierarchy and discipline), considering that the task of anarchists was to dissolve in the mass of protesting workers, directing it to the most radical way.

Anarchist ideologists advocated the organization of labor unions and factory committees, housing committees, where they saw bodies of “direct” struggle against capital, the embryo of the future powerless society.

Anarchists of the Russian Empire of the early 20th century, without pretending to “intercept” power from their opponents, considered that the main arena of their activities was not the political capitals (St. Petersburg, Moscow), but working megacities (Odessa, Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk), Kharkov, Baku, Lodz, Belostok), where the majority of the population were workers and outsiders.

Anarchists, whose activity in the Russian Empire became visible only at the end of 1905, played an important role in the working strike movement, competing for influence with the “old” socialist parties.

Anarchists considered workers to be the main revolutionary force, and it was reflected in their support of labor movement, in social composition of the groups, in “specialization” of the anarchist circles, in targeted propaganda and agitation, in defining the ultimate goals of the anarchist movement. Popularity of anarchists in the workers’ environ was based on total rejection of compromises with the government and capital, on radicalism and extremism.

Anarchists invoked not only to destroy any power, but also to eliminate the bourgeoisie and nobility as classes (often it was a direct physical violence). Particularly radical in the Russian Empire became the so-called “southern anarchism” (tactics of the anarchists of Ukrainian and Caucasian provinces) which did not stop before political and economic terror.

Workers of the Russian Empire perceived the anarchists as “strike providers” and at times supported their struggle to the extent to which it was appropriate for the specific local problems of the workers’ struggle for their rights. Combat troops of the anarchists (in 1906 - 1907) were created in large factories of Odessa: Gen, “ROPIT”, “Association of Mechanical and Iron Foundry of Odessa”, among workers and bricklayers of the Odessa districts “Peresyp” and “Slobodka”.

Police reports recorded that in Odessa factories anarchists “spread Bakunin’s brochures”, leaflets of anarchists, that anarchist circles worked among future professional workers – students of Admiralty slipways and Odessa Electrotechnical School.³

A part of workers and artisans among the anarchists of Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) and of other cities of Ekaterinoslav province was 70-80%, in Odessa it gained 60%. According to the professional affiliation the most numerous Odessa anarchists-workers occurred were among sailors and stokers of trade fleet, fitters, turners, metallurgists, electricians, printers, food industry workers, tailors.

The core of the “Ekaterinoslav Federation of Anarchists” made anarchist federations of Tubal and Bryansk plants, railway workshops, Interplant Federation.

The Kiev anarchist group “Black Flag” was engaged in propaganda activities among workers of the plant “Arsenal”, food industry workers, cart wrights, sugar makers. Zhytomir Anarchist Federation formed a strike mood among metalworkers, and furniture makers.

In 1906, “South-Russian Group of Anarchists-syndicalists “New World” (the base of federation was in Odessa) became the most numerous and active anarchist groups throughout the Russian Empire. Anarchist K. Feigelman wrote about this group: “Organization of anarchists-syndicalists managed to put deep roots among workers, especially sailors.”⁴

Anarchists-syndicalists became the major force in organization and development of the Trade Union of Workers of Water Transport on the Black Sea. In Odessa from November 1906 to March 1907 it took place a powerful strike of port workers and sailors (the strike was called “Registration”), which was organized by anarchists-syndicalists. The strike involved up to 4 thousand seamen and workers of port factories, as well as hundreds of workers of other factories of Odessa which hold strikes of solidarity with the “Registration” and collected donations to help strikers of “Registration”.

At the beginning of 1907 in Odessa, Nikolaev, Kherson, Sevastopol, Ekaterinoslav there were more than 3 thousand anarchists-syndicalists, 80% of which being workers. About two more thousand people participated in groups of anarchists-communists and illegalists in the Ukrainian provinces.

In 1909, the anarcho-syndicalists, anarchists-communists and members of other revolutionary socialist groups of Odessa recreated illegal trade union of

³ ЦДІА України. Ф. 419. Оп.1. Спр. 5082. арк. 2; ДАОО. Ф 314. Оп. 2. Спр. 146. арк. 4; Ф. 2. Оп. 4. Спр. 8269. арк. 9.

⁴ ДАОО. Ф. 2636. Оп. 1. Спр. 268. арк. 8.

ships' crews "Seamen's Union", which collapsed after the marine strike in Odessa in the spring of 1907.

On the ships of "ROPIT" (and other Black Sea marine companies), among dock workers there were "activated" secret trade union cells; at the Odessa port there were spread anarchist leaflets "Comrades sailors and dock workers!", the local police informed the Police Department of the Empire about restoring of the anarcho-syndicalist propaganda among sailors of Odessa. Cells of illegal "Seamen's Union" were created in the Crimean and Azov ports, on the ships of Dnieper flotilla.⁵

In 1911, in Istanbul, it was created an illegal foreign center of the "Union of Black Sea Sailors" – "Union of Black Sea Crews". Thanks to this "Union" anarchists were able to increase their influence on the sailors and dockers of the south of the Russian Empire. In August 1911, in Odessa it was held a new strike of ships' crews, supported by water transport workers of the Black, Azov, Caspian and Baltic Seas, the Danube, the Dnieper and the Volga. That time in Odessa anarchists distributed leaflets "To all the sailors of the Black Sea!"⁶

In Alexandria (Egypt) in February 1913, the "Union of Black Sea sailors" (by that time the "Union" consolidated two thousand sailors of 84 merchant ships of the Black Sea – Azov basin) illegally conducted the 1st All-Russian Conference of maritime professional organizations of ships' crews of the Black Sea, Baltic, Caspian and Azov sailors, secret professional organizations of trade fleet, in which anarchists, as well as representatives of the RSDLP and PSR played an active role.

In the spring of 1913 the revolutionary organizations planned to start an all-Russian maritime strike. However, in January-May of 1913 the police of the Russian Empire arrested the core of the group "Union" in the amount of 233 people (including the head of the "union" M. Adamovich). In 1914-1916 arrests of seafarers – supporters of anarchists continued.⁷

The anarchists operated in secret structures of "All-Russian Railway Union" which had its cells in Odessa, Ekaterinoslav and in other large industrial cities. Work of anarchists-syndicalists and anarchists-communists in the working environ in the south of Ukraine did not stop during the years of reaction and World War I (1907-1917). This work determined a certain influence of anarchists also after the revolution in the Russian empire in 1917.

⁵ ЦДІА України. Ф. 268. Оп. 1. Спр. 406. арк. 16; Ф. 339. Оп. 1. Спр. 180. арк. 8.

⁶ ГАРФ. Ф. 102. Оп. 260. Спр. 30. арк. 231; ЦДІА України. Ф. 3850. Оп. 2. Спр. 31, арк. 22 – 29.

⁷ Волков Е. З., Среди моряков и речников торгового и военного флота (1906-1914 гг.). - М. - Пг., 1923. - С. 219 – 234; Адамович М. П., «Моряк» и моряки перед судом // Материалы по истории профессионального движения в России. - М., 1924. - С. 199 - 210; Моряк. - Одесса. - 1921. - 26 апреля, - 25 мая, - 23 июня.

In the spring of 1917 the anarchists organized the labor movement in Odessa: in the trade union of shoemakers “Needle”, in the Union of Bakers, Union of maritime transport workers “Union of Seafarers”, among port workers, workers of the tobacco factory of Popov, plants of Gen.

It should be noted that in mid-1917 to the southern megalopolises of Ukraine back from the United States there came hundreds of anarchists – re-emigrants, activists of anarcho-syndicalist union “Industrial Workers of the World” and “Union of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada”, which brought to the Ukrainian labor movement the patterns of the world working resistance and the anarcho-syndicalist organization.

At the initiative of the anarchists-syndicalists who started fighting back in 1906 during the strike “Registration”, in 1917 in Odessa there was established a center of association of trade unions of merchant fleet workers in a single union of merchant fleet workers – “Union of Sea and River Sailors” (Committee on the organization of the All-Russia Seamen's Union). It was founded by the Congress of Merchant Fleet Workers in June-July 1917. The Odessa board of directors of this union consisted mainly of anarchists, having a huge impact on the sailors, stokers, port stevedores⁸.

In Odessa, on November 14, 1917 at the general meeting of sailors there was approved the anarcho-syndicalist resolution on socialization of the merchant fleet in the Black and Azov Seas. In January 5, 1918 at the meeting of the Odessa branch of the “Union of Sea and River Sailors” it was given a “start” of socialization of the fleet and the plant “ROPIT”, which began to be managed by the commissars of the “Union” – “Council of Nine”, anarchists V. Chernyavsky (chairman of the “Union” and the “Council of Nine”), F. Alexandrovich (Commissar of the Black Sea Fleet), G. Reev, M. Batsoev. Since then it began confiscation of vessels, capitals, enterprises and institutions of water industry of the Black Sea and transferring of the property directly to the labor collectives of sailors.⁹

On January 20, 1918 in Odessa it was held the “Congress of Sea and River Sailors of the Merchant Fleet of the Black and Azov Seas and Rivers Flowing in Them”. Anarchists dragged the decision on socialization of the fleet and of free trade unions. In March 1918 at the All-Russian Congress of Sea and River Workers anarchists demanded to confirm the socialization of the fleet, its management by “Union of Sea and River Sailors” but the Lenin's Council of People's Commissars blocked such a resolution.

Departments of “Union of Sea and River Sailors” in Kherson, Kerch, Feodosia, Novorossiysk, where the influence of anarchists was prominent,

⁸ ЦГАВМФ. ФР. 183. Оп. 1. Спр. 36. арк. 7; ДАОО. Ф. 2. Оп. 1. Спр. 567. арк. 2.

⁹ Одесский листок. – 1918. - 24, 26 января.

announced socialization and decentralization of the civil fleet in their ports. Although the Central Committee of Seas and Rivers, which was created in Petrograd, supported the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic on nationalization of the fleet, and in February 1918 the All-Russian Congress of Sailors supported the decision of nationalization, the Odessa "Union of Sea and River Sailors" considered the Black Sea Fleet as already socialized being the property of the specific groups of sailors. At the beginning of 1918 anarchists had a strong influence on the sailors of the Black Sea Navy; the image of a "sailor-anarchist" became a pattern in the Soviet literature of the 1920s-1930s.¹⁰

After March 13, 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian troops occupied Odessa, the anarchists declared the merchant fleet in the Black Sea "free" – independent of any state institutions and laws, trying to turn the fleet in "hiring company". V. Cherniavsky announced by radio the "Declaration on Free Fleet" to all the Black Sea states, calling on the governments of these countries to recruit teams of the "Union of Sea and River Sailors" for any cargo transportation operations¹¹.

In April 1918 "The Council of the Black and Azov Seas Sailors" confirmed socialization of the fleet according to the decision of the 2nd Congress of the Sailors. But when the Congress of the Sailors moved to Rostov-on-Don (May 1918) most of the representatives of the Congress (collected from the representatives of the seafarers of the Azov sea) rejected the anarchist plan of socialization and voted for nationalization of the fleet.¹²

Anarchists had a significant impact in mining collectives and trade unions of Donbass. They created the "Bureau of Anarchists of Donbass", newspaper "Voice of an Anarchist" (Ekatrinoslav, 1918), tried to hold in January 1918 socialization of the mines. Anarchists-railwaymen were in favor of socialization and transmission of the South Western Railway in the ownership of the local "Union of Railway Workers." This "Union" created the "Committee of Five" to control railway transport. Under the influence of the anarcho-syndicalist slogans, in favor of the socialization of industry, there began to vote workers of the Odessa sugar factory, plant of Gen and tobacco factory, bakers, workers of manufactory shops and hotels. Odessa "Council of Unemployed" urged the unemployed to "direct action" – to immediate seizure of homes "in the bourgeois quarters", of mills and factories, to transferring them to the House Committees and groups of workers.

¹⁰ ГАРФ. ФР. 6863. Оп. 1. Спр. 67. арк. 4; ФР-5584. Оп 1. Спр. 1; Ачканов Г. Очерки Февральской и Октябрьской революции в Одессе. - Одесса, 1927. - С. 51, 54, 70.

¹¹ ГАРФ. Ф. 6863. Оп. 1. Спр. 66. арк. 8, 12, 19; Моряк. –Одесса.- 1921. - 26 апреля.

¹² Известия Одесского Совета рабочих депутатов и представителей армии и флота. – 1918. - 10 января, - 31 января.

In April 1919 (after establishment of the Soviet power in Odessa) anarchists and anarchists-syndicalists of Odessa revived “Union of Sea and River workers”. The head of the trade union became the well known anarchist, sailor A. Zheleznyakov. The union of the radical wing legally existed in Odessa before the occupation of the city by White troops in August 1919, and after that it continued its activities underground.¹³

With the return of the Soviet power in Odessa in February 1920, the anarchists tried to keep the impact on the workers of Odessa. In 1921-1924 anarchists were among the organizers of strikes of the port stevedores and shipyard workers, railroad workers, shoemakers, unemployed. In the 1st Provincial Congress of Trade Unions (May 1920) 9 anarchists were elected in the Odessa Council of Trade Unions and 6 – in the Odessa City Council. Starting from December 1920, repressions of the state and of trade unions governmentalization of trade unions gradually minimized the anarchist influence in the workers’ environ in the cities of the south of Ukraine.

Anarchists had a significant impact on certain groups of workers in 1906-1920 in the south of Ukraine. They were able to form a constant core of supporters among professional workers (mostly workers of Water Industry of the Black Sea Fleet), which supported the protests of anarchists.

Anarchists developed a unique theory of creation of the workers' movement, which could potentially develop into a general revolt against the authority and capital of the whole class (strike, uprising). In this movement there was no room for compromise and political battles. Based on its theoretical foundations, anarchism should become a broad social movement of working people rather than form a political party.

Anarchist organizations and groups in the Russian Empire in 1906-1908 were popular among the working class. Quantitatively, among the socialist parties and movements, they conceded only RSDLP, PSR and the “Bund”. The popularity of the movement led to the fact that the anarchist groups and clubs began to form everywhere (in factories, handicraft workshops), including people not familiar with the theory of anarchism.

As it is well known, political movements are unstable, their participants are removable, so the anarchist movement became a reflection of the labor movement in those years, trying to bring in it certain ideological signs. Having not created a single party, the anarchists failed to lead the overall labor movement, since they abandoned a number of important instruments of political influence on the masses and the possibility to structure the spontaneous movement.

¹³ Одесский коммунист. 1920. - 30 мая 1922; Моряк. –Одесса. - 1921. – 7 ноября.

Oleksandr LYSENKO*, Tetyana SHELEIKO**

FEATURES OF THE REVIVAL AND OPERATION OF RAILWAY IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE. 1943-1945

-Abstract-

The article considers a number of problems related to the operation of rail transport in South Ukraine in the mid-40s of the XX century. Material damage caused to the industry, and features of recovery strategy of Odessa railway are characterized here. The author analyzes the factors that complicated the process of normalization of traffic, and priority areas of restorative work. Specifically, Soviet methods of transport infrastructure management are analyzed here. The article reveals the results of development companies and business units of the Odessa railway during the first post-war five-year plan.

Keywords: railway transport, the Second World War, Odessa railroad, material damage, recovery process, management, the fourth five-year plan.

The scorched earth policy followed by all belligerents during the Second World War had caused the total destruction of transport infrastructure in Ukraine in general and in its Southern region in particular. Moreover, much of the property was taken during the evacuation by the Soviet authorities in 1941 and the one by the German and Romanian governments in 1943-1944.

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According to Soviet data, invaders caused damage to track facilities of the Odessa railroad¹ alone in the amount of 389 million 996 thousand rubles. 1,748 km of main first rails (116 mln. 963 ths. rubles), 448 km of the main second rails (43 mln. 219 ths. rubles), 1,182 km of station tracks (58 mln. 787 ths. rubles), 3593 of railroad switches (26 mln. 178 ths. rubles), 17 440 m³ earth-embankments (19 mln. 950 ths. rubles), 746 engineering structures (102 mln. 946 ths. rubles), 313 buildings of volume 162 ths. 872 m³ (10 mln. 775 ths. rubles), 12 road workshops (627 ths. rubles), arboreal protection (forest plantations) 1510 hectares (750 ths. rubles), 360 ths. of snow barriers (3 mln. 682 ths. rubles), a household of 4 rock quarries (1 mln. 815 ths. rubles) were ruined, the property of road household amounting 4 mln. 304 ths. rubles was taken out (CSAPO of Ukraine, apk. 6)

Rail transport had suffered not only from material damage, but also from losses of personnel. Military mobilization, repressions, and migration had dramatically limited human resources. The number of murdered and injured railroad workers during the battle was impressive. The same can be said about the number of aircraft and artillery bombings.

These circumstances demanded complex measures from the Soviet authorities aimed at normalizing the rail transport situation since it served both as civil and military transportation.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the specific economic strategy of the Soviet management in this field, approaches to its reconstruction, renovation and development of inventory and logistics support, finance support and staff assistance, control devices and management facilities, of moral and material direction, and of overcoming of difficulties and negative trends existing in industrial and social spheres.

In the academic literature these issues were considered unsystematically and one-dimensionally in the context of the operation characteristics of rail transport in general.

Unlike other economic sectors, rail transport used to own indisputable priority, since it was impossible to ensure the supply of newly recruited soldiers, weapons, equipment, ammunition without its smooth-running operation, and also to evacuate the wounded and sick with the help of the railway. Moreover, as early as 1943, repairing works began in Donbas, Kryvbas and Podniprovia, actualizing a regular cargo carriage: coal, ore, metal, equipment, materials, etc.

¹ The South of Ukraine was serviced by the Odessa railroad, a production and territorial management structure, reporting directly to the People's Commissariat of Railroads of the USSR. Its management authority was the Directorate. It covered Odessa, Vinnytsia, Mykolayiv, partly Kirovograd and Kyiv regions. Since rail transport of the USSR was militarized, all its senior officers had military technical ranks.

In this context, the preparation of railroad facilities and rolling stock became the main tasks on the initial phase of restorative work. In the former case it involved the regaging of rails from the European standard to the Soviet one, flattening and repairing of the roadbed, switches, semaphores, etc. The case of the latter involved overcoming the substantial deficit of locomotives, wagons, platforms, tanks through the repair of the available and the trophy. Other tasks were resulted from the necessity of reconstruction and adjusting of service infrastructure facilities: locomotive and wagon depots, repair shop, water system, fuel and cargo warehouses, station rooms and railway stations, bridges, viaducts and so on. Another problem to be solved immediately was to provide the restorative work with labor (human resources) and qualified staff.

An imminent basis of the “socialist” system of economic management became an intervention of the party into all spheres of economic infrastructure. The “Stalinist” USSR Constitution dated 1936 had fixed the leading status of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the legislative level. The legitimization of the exclusive role of the party in the society and in the state in general acquired an odious form, when it came to purely technological and technical aspects. If the party organizations and enterprises of railway transport profile were often headed by the best workers (on big objects they were “fired”, i.e., were engaged in party affairs exclusively), then in the district and regional party committees the positions were occupied by nomenclature functionaries, who typically had no idea of the rail transport and had no special knowledge in this area. This often led to duplication of functions of the party and economic bodies, incompetent interference into purely industrial and technological processes, even profanation. Often, instead of long, systematic, diligent and hard work with the staff, the party bodies were engaged with agitation-and-propaganda actions in the form of “companies”, and tried to solve complex scientific and technical problems by “social-and-political” moralizing and intensifying the ideological pressure on the performers.

Lack of financial and material resources narrowed the possibilities of financial encouragement of labor. Therefore, the party apparatus tried to recoup it by means of moral deployment of workers. According to traditional beliefs of the Bolshevik establishment, these tools were not only completely consistent with the psychological nature of the Soviet people, and were the sign of their self-identity, but they also optimally provided their responsible attitude towards labor.

One of the common forms of the party influence became the meetings with the most active members of the party. On May 12, 1944, the Kotovsk District Party Committee held such an event on the subject “On the progress of the restorative work at the gauge”, and on July 17 there was an event titled “On the activity of the Kotovsk station”. On the 23rd of October there was a meeting of the secretaries of

Komsomol organizations, considering a role of the Komsomol in rail transport winterization (CSAPO of Ukraine, apk. 9).

The party authorities systematically monitored the railway transport service by obtaining reports from the field, and sending their functionaries with supervisory powers on business trips. The example is a memorandum report of a team of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) dated December 15, 1944, on the audit results of business units and party organization of the Kolosovsk gauge of Odessa railway. The very list of categories of this long document – “Traffic Service”, “Locomotive facilities”, “20th distance of a path”, “Trial activities to fight snow”, “Communication service”, “Carriage facilities”, “Housing services”, “Labor union organization activities” and others – shows a wide range of matters analyzed in the document after the research (CSAPO of Ukraine, apk. 46-52).

In many cases, the intervention of the party authorities contributed to the improvement of labor discipline, encouragement of responsibility of officials of different ranks and managers, solving of organizational matters. Moreover, parallelism and duplication of competences of the party and economic structures often prevented the settling normal management processes.

Immediately after the return of the Soviet government, the railway track was inspected. According to a special measuring wagon (2nd quarter of 1944) the age was estimated at the level of 4440 points. In the third and fourth quarters of 1944 the following operations were carried out:

1. A research and preventive repair of 2,189 km of main rail tracks and 520 km of station tracks, and a medium maintenance of 143 km of rail tracks according to classification No.1 and 520 km according to classification No.2.
2. 29 km of curves were stiffened.
3. 11 on gravels and 134 points were mounted
4. The broken rails were replaced with the serviceable ones on 168 km of the railroad.
5. Separate rails were replaced on 62 km of the railroad.
6. 19678 of cracked paired filling plates were replaced, 72 thousand of defective filling plates in general were replaced.

After these operations the average score equaled to 173 points in the 3rd quarter of 1944 and 55 points in the 4th quarter.

But the superstructure of the railroad needed a major repair as the ballast sections has not been renewed since 1941.

The People's Commissariat for Lines of Communications (PCLC) set a ballast import plan for 1944 in the amount of 330 ths m³. For that purpose the

following ballast quarries were revived: Vorontsovo-Gorodyshensky, Yavkinsky, Zvenshorodsky, Oleksandrivsky; and the new one, Sosnovsky, was opened. However, by the end of 1944 due to lack of rolling equipment only 106 ths m³ of ballast (32% of planned) were taken out from quarries.

Rail sleepers' facilities had not been renewed during the war, too. In addition, with the help of special machinery, the German forces destroyed 780 ths of rails sleepers on 399 km of the main route and 157 km of station tracks.

According to the rules of the PCLC the Odessa railway had to receive 93 ths of sleepers, but actually received 39.1 ths of sleepers at a time when the plan for medium repairs and preventive repairs needed 373 ths of sleepers. The management was solving the problem on its own: it have repaired 98 ths of sleepers, 56,529 of sleepers were stored up. In autumn 1944, the research found that 26% of the sleepers were unfit for service.

Out of 1848 km of rails ruined by explosions (1,285 km of main tracks and 563 km of station tracks) 542 km of rails were repaired, 4611 of defective rails were removed, carried out the replacement by used but serviceable rails on 167 railway tracks. Afterwards there were 59,025 off cuts of rails and 8,411 defective ones left. (CSAPO of Ukraine, арк.39-41).

Directing officials of the Odessa railway paid closer attention to the repair of locomotive and train park. The elevating repair was conducted at the depots of Odessa-Tovarna, Odessa-Sortuvalna, Voznesensk, Znamianka, but only the latter possessed a wheel-turning machine. Thus there was a need to transport the mounted wheels from other depots to Znamianka for facing, wheefore the idle hours reached 100-120 hours.

Due to lack of spare mounted wheels, it was impossible to conduct the elevating repair of locomotives ЭМ 721-66, ЭМ-724-09, Э677-94, Э701-53. Steam locomotives 19-849, 19-861, 19-841 had many idle hours due to lack of tender mounted wheels.

From June until November 1944, the elevating repair of 34 steam locomotives with total 1790 idle hours was carried out.

In March 1944, 58 warm washings and 49 cold washings of steam systems were carried out; in July these numbers reached 153 and 339 respectively.

Depots were restored at a quick rate. Thus, by December 1st, 1944, at the station Odessa-Sortuvalna a roundhouse was 95% ready for exploitation, at the station Pomoshna – 85% ready, at the station Tarasa Shevchenka – 75% ready, at the station Khrystynivka – 95% ready, and rectangular shed at the station Odessa-Tovarna was 97% ready, and 10% ready – at the station Mykolaiv.

Exceptionally poor was the mechanical equipment of depots. Thus, they were equipped with 3 wheeled-track machines instead of 8 necessary, 6 Becker jacks out of 19 needed; 7 welding machines out of 20; 10 gas-generating welding machines out of 18; 1 compressor out of 10; 5 warm washing pumps out of 24; 3 piston machines out of 10; 11 drilling presses out of 29; 21 metal turning lathes out of 55; 1 parallel-planning machine out of 8; 5 shaping machines out of 19; 3 blacksmith hammers out of 10 needed.

Close attention was paid to the preparation equipage. The Odessa railroad had only one coal chute in the fuel storage of the station Voznesenska. Moreover, four bunkers were built with a 20 tons capacity, 29 cinder pits were repaired, and all sand dryers were restored, including 3 mechanized pneumatically-squeezing ones with the sand distribution to locomotives from bunkers, and 3 dryers with primitive mechanization of sand supply by a crane. A plan of sand delivery was 60.5% fulfilled.

Instead, a slag disposal was carried out manually.

Five swinging circles were repaired, and another three ones were in the process of renovation. All reversing triangles, except two, were serviceable and operating. A repair of the rest circles and triangles was postponed due to absence of associated parts and components.

Restored engine tracks in coal depots ensured absolutely smooth operation of the railway road.

In order to restore water supply system on the Odessa railway, 5,671,500 rubles were appropriated, 3,888,300 rubles of which were used by December 1st, 1944.

As of early December, 69% of the total depot objects picked for reconstruction in 1944 were completed.

Delays and disruption of terms were connected with an improper performance of the Directorate of Development and Restorative Works (DDRW). In its turn, the government of the DDRW complained about the lack of construction materials and qualified workforce.

There were two water softeners on the railroad (in Mykolaiv and Snihurivka), but they suffered from severe damages and have not operated since early 1945.

Pumping stations premises were restored very slowly. Thus, the pumping stations in Voznesensk and Veselynove were only 30-40% ready since the block work was carried out here by blacksmiths, carpenters, pipe men, because there wasn't enough brick masons. 15% of planned works were conducted at the

pumping plant of the station Lobashivka, a little higher percent of execution was at the stations Mykolaiv, Kherson and Korsun. Pumping plants were 59.5% fueled.

By the end of 1944, on the Odessa railroad they managed to restore 2 power plants with a capacity of 500kW, 12 transformer sub-stations and 30 kilometers of power lines. Power supply works were hindered a lack of high voltage poles, main transformers, electric accessories (CSAPO of Ukraine, apk. 4-8).

One of the important parameters of railway service functioning is traffic safety. The safety situation at the Odessa railway was the following.

For the period from September till mid-December 1944 there were 5 registered train accidents on the railroad (collisions, running off the rails, runaways etc.), as well as a significant number of defects in work and violations of the operating and maintenance rules (CSAPO of Ukraine, apk. 25):

Due to a fault of	September	October	November	10 days of December	Total
Traffic department	44	43	51	12	150
Locomotive management	163	195	257	72	687
Car service division	44	25	29	3	101
Track service	14	9	22	6	51
Communication department	14	5	9	2	30
Total	279	277	368	95	1019

The dynamics of the accidents on the Odessa railroad tended to grow: in the II quarter of 1944 there were 10 accidents registered (7 were prevented), in the III quarter – 10 were registered (16 prevented), in the IV quarter – 16 (5 prevented). At the same time, the violation of the operating and maintenance rules and job descriptions were becoming more and more outrageous.

Thus, on the running line Samorodne-Korsun through a fault of a locomotive driver Kovtun and a train car man Pylypenko train No.2799 stopped 4 times by self-braking due to a brake failure. A train car man Pylypenko failed to take measures to settle these problems. On the upgrade near the station Sotnyky a train stooped again due to self-breaking. A locomotive driver Kovtun, having backed the train, sharply pulled it forward, that made the last 13 cars detach from the echelon and roll back, colliding with the train No.966. As a result of the accident, 17 people died, 9 people got injured, 4 people got severe injuries, and 6 cars were broken (and discarded). The total sum of damages was estimated at 35,350 rubles. Kovtun was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment, and Pylypenko to 6 years.

There were frequent cases when trains were accepted on tracks, which were occupied with rolling equipment or with other echelons (Znamianka station, Pomoshna station, Korystivka station and others). Over the past three quarters of

1944 there were registered 51 cases of unauthorized absence at work, 15 cases of breach of orders, and 174 cases of desertions.

The management of the Odessa railroad considered the main reasons for so many flaws and violations of the operating and maintenance rules was a lack of proper control over the work of all services and divisions and over their execution of orders of the PCLC. In this matter a chief operating manager Ryabov and a chief locomotive manager Liutenko were particularly lenient, allowing 80% of flaws.

In this regard, the analysis should focus on the problem of human resources of the Odessa railroad. A specific feature of the Soviet government's approach to human resources policy in general was that political loyalty, ideological bias and "active citizenship" was considered the priority qualities of an employee. Instead, professionalism, competence, ability to find out-of-the-box solutions receded into the background.

That is why the managers of "economical units", including those of the Odessa railroad, focused their close attention primarily on the political qualities of employees. In the second half of 1944 the "political assessment" of human resources of the railroad came to an end. Out of 33,443 people subject to that procedure 32,796 people were assessed. Regarding 761 people the assessment committee of the railroad decided to relocate them to the rear railway, that is deep into the country, 575 people were transfer to works not connected with train movements (they were considered the regime operations), where was potentially the biggest threat of diversions, sabotage and other subversive activities.

However, in the opinion of the PCLC Safety supervisor on the Odessa railroad the Director-colonel of connection rod Behanin, a political assessment in some structures was poor, first of all through the fault of the human resources director of the Odessa railroad Gershman, who did not manage the assessment committees locally. This resulted in that managerial positions were still occupied with people who "did not deserve political credit". As an example, there given the names of Zabolotsky, the head of the station Petrivka, and Medushevsky, an operator on duty of line service of the station, who were sent to exile for 5 months during the occupation period for loyalty towards the Romanian administration. Before the war, because of the accident a locomotive driver of the depot of the station Sortuvalna Gerasymovych was arrested for 7 months, and after the outbreak of war he have crossed the front line twice under obscure circumstances. These facts have not been found by the assessment committee, and Gerasymovych continued working in the sphere of the train movements. An operator on duty of line service of the station Yeremiyivka Bukhaiko in his autobiography stated that he allegedly was a guerrilla, got into a trap nearby Armavir (Krasnodar Krai),

having destroyed his passport and military card, was arrested by the Germans and was discharged after three months of confinement. Afterwards he returned to his previous place of residence. The discharge of Bukhaiko seemed weird, since it is a well-known fact that Nazi punitive agencies used to keep prisoners and discharged the soldiers of standing subdivisions of the Red Army, but those guerrillas, who were considered “bandits” were usually put to death after questioning.

An audit body found another 250 people of this “politically unreliable” category at the Odessa unit, Kotovsk and Khrystynivka offices, and demanded to conduct their assessment once again. But Gershman did not rush to fulfill these recommendations.

Moreover, during the occupation period the officers, who were fired for whatever reason, have returned to work in transport service. They kept their positions after the return of the Soviet government and have not been assessed due to a poor performance of the assessment committee.

Furthermore, Gershman made questionable career appointments. For example, Vernianska, who never worked either in human resources or on the railroad, was appointed to a post of a chief staff clerk of SC-1 at the station Odessa. Similar appointments occurred at the stations Odessa-Port and Odessa-Peresyp. Within 2 months a chief staff clerk of the second locomotive department was dismissed three times (Kotovsk station) (CSAPO of Ukraine, *арк.* 25-26).

Since the Odessa railroad needed personnel badly, one of the possible ways to solve this problem was to revive the staff training system. New entrants into the labor force were made through forcible recruitment from all the regions of Ukraine. But the lack of human resources prevented this to happen. For instance, in spring 1948 it was impossible to recruit 650 carpenters, plumbers, concreters in Zaporizzhia region (SAOR, *арк.* 79 – 81).

Heads of different services often complained about the violators officials to the prosecutor’s office of the Odessa railroad. But, as it turned out, in most cases these were groundless accusations. Thus, in 117 out of the 244 cases the prosecutor’s office refused to initiate a criminal proceeding due to lack of evidenced set of all elements of an offense.

Some officials (a chief staff clerk of MS-17 Martynenko (alias – a party organizer), a head of the 17th distance of Dekanov road) dismissed workers unlawfully, and then accused them of malicious desertion (or accused them of failing to comply with orders) and submitted materials to military prosecution.

On the Odessa railroad, in the II quarter of 1944, 26 people were sentenced for the robbery of cargo (including 15 railway men), in III quarter – 35 people (22 railway men), in October and November – 13 people (9 railway men). Nine people

were imprisoned for bribes, who mostly occupies highly paid posts (locomotive drivers and their assistants) conveying speculators and mules.

A yardmaster of the station Odessa-Tovarna, Vasylkivsky, and a yardmaster of the station Odessa-Peresyp, Shelest, were themselves involved in the cargo stealing schemes.

Stealing was often the result of poor feeding arrangements for the railroad officials. Thus, at the station Odessa-Zastava-2, due to the fault of a chief of the department for procurement of supplies, from the 3rd till 9th of December the workers had not received any bread (CSAPO of Ukraine, арк. 53-54).

To sum up the above material, it should be emphasized that the restoration of the proper operation of the Odessa railroad was carried out under conditions of total shortage of financial, material and human resources. The Soviet administration-by-fiat system was using inherent methods, and the centralized inventory and logistics management complicated and hindered the restorative work. The peculiar place in the administrative system was taken by the party agencies, which were unappeasable intervening in the activities of all transport services, and duplicated functions of economic structures. Therefore, their activities should be examined through the prism of the mobilization strategy of the Kremlin, which widely used the means of moral-and-psychological and ideological pressure on the workers.

Despite the relatively poor discipline, low work quality, and difficulties with inventory and logistics management, the workers, engineering and technical staff and officials of the Odessa railroad managed to rearrange a smooth operation for all the structural units of railway infrastructure and to provide military and civilian transportation by the mid-40s.

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**MISSIONARY PRIESTS IN TRANSNISTRIA:
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PASTORAL ACTIVITY
(1941-1944)**

- Abstract -

The article presents the reconstruction of pastoral activity by the Orthodox priest during the years of the Second World War who was sent by the Romanian Orthodox Mission to a remote village in the south of Ukraine with the purpose of resurrecting Christian life. A number of exclusive sources belonging to the pre-occupational period, mainly of epistolary character, allow reconstituting the social history of the priest's life and activity during the year from 1942 to 1943 of his service to God and people. We see the task of the article as an attempt to investigate the correlation of human feelings, personal feelings of the Holy Father and, correspondingly, his self-assessment of the role of the church and his own assignment. Conclusions made in the article allow perceiving the past polar, controversial, however, substantially comprehensive, humanistic and traditional Christian period.

Keywords: *Second World War, Transnistria, the Romanian Orthodox Church*

The history of the separate Orthodox communities or parishes, pastoral activities of the Orthodox missionaries during the years of the Second World War, particularly in the period of occupation, are rather scarcely presented in scientific and historical literature in Ukraine. Longstanding experience of scientific work of

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Church-religious issues allows us to state that this situation was caused, first of all, by the absence of investigation methods and wide base of sources in the recent past, particularly, systematized monthly reports periodically sent from localities, from provincial remote villages to the managing bodies of Church and administrative authorities or institutions. By the way, materials and documents separated by archive specialists even for the post-war period, particularly for 60-s of the 20th century, when the process of funds formation was under way are not sufficient, and at the same time the funds of Romanian origin from the period of 1941-1944 were hushed up. Proceeding from the above, archaeological materials are not an exclusion, predominantly they are presented by documents from the funds of activity of Romanian Orthodox mission in the Romanian language (hereinafter – ROM or Mission) in Transnistria kept in the archives of those regions of Ukraine whose territories were completely or partially included in the structure of German or Romanian occupation zones and, correspondingly, stayed in the sphere of their interests during the years of the Second World War. We refer in the first place to the funds of state archives of Odessa, Mykolaiv and Vinnitsa regions SAVR, SAMR, SAOR¹.

Therefore, we establish a scientific goal to attempt to reconstruct the activity of one of several dozens of local south Ukrainian foci of Orthodox religion – Domanivskyy² rural dean's district. Generally, within 13 powiats in Romanian zone of occupation called Transnistria, 63³ such administrative religious structures were created. The use of documents in the Romanian language, which have been kept in special restricted access collections of the above-mentioned archives and their publication by us for the first time, is not our first priority task, though it is without doubt a significant advantage of this article. So, we shall review the process of re-Christianization and Renaissance of Orthodox belief in the occupied territories in-between the Bug and the Dniester rivers by segments, through pastoral activities of spiritual fathers-missionaries, leaders of district deanery and based on the example of spiritual-religious life of one district religious community and its members.

¹ State Archive of Vinnitsa Region (SAVR), f. r.-2966, reg. 1-2, (1941-1944); f. r.-2888, reg. 1 (1941-1943); f. r.-2988, reg. 1 (1941-1943); State Archive of Mykolaiv Region (SAMR), f. r.-2704, reg. 1 (1942-1944); State Archive of Odessa Region (SAOR), f. r-2270, reg. 1 (1942-1943).

² Now Domanivskyy district according to administrative-territorial subordination belongs to Mykolaiv region of Ukraine.

³ M.I. Myhailutsa, *Religious policy of Romanian occupational authorities in southern Bessarabia and Transnistria (end of 1930-1944)*, Odessa, "Optimum", 2006, p. 68.

At the end of 1942, in Goltyansky⁴ powiat, which consisted of 5 districts, the deanery of the same name was organized by Romanian administration. Within the borders of the powiat populated mainly by Ukrainians there were 32 churches according to the data of the Romanian administration. The state of the majority of these buildings of cultic purpose was quite good. However, only four priests-newcomers and six local priests represented the Orthodox clergy in the whole region. Judging from the report of Yevtihiy Rudny, sub-archpriest of Goltyansky powiat, there was a lack of priests in the region⁵. Thus, in Domanivsky region there were only 3 priests over 80 years each, who executed pastoral guidance over 5930 families. However, thanks to the responsibility and diligence of the sub-archpriests of Domanivsky district, Golthansky powiat – father Mikhail Melnik and then father B.⁶ appointed to this position from April 5, 1943, we can roughly restore the past. On the one side, to define directions, essence and methods of the revival of Christian life under Romanian occupation, and on the other side – to give the characteristic of the processes of Orthodox confession revival in this region specifically by words of direct participants of the events who made subjective accents on the processes that were going on without excessive missionary pathos.

Father Mikhail Melnik was the principal author of manuscripts-reports found, systematized and analyzed by us, which were sent during almost a year (chronological limits – from July 1, 1942 to April 5, 1943) to the higher church-administrative instance. He was sent by Chisinau archbishop Yefrem to the south of Ukraine occupied by the Romanians and appointed by the Romanian Orthodox mission in Transnistria that was situated in Odessa to the position of sub-archpriest of Domanivsky district from July 1, 1942.

“At the beginning, – as the parish priest says, – I went with assuredness and pride on this land washed by the waters of the Bug, being sure that I can be useful in the work entrusted to me as a priest and administrator of church matters in the whole district with the residence in Domanivka situated at the distance of 52 km from Golta”⁷. Though soon living among alien people, the priest felt nostalgia for his native land. He did not find even a trace of church organization because he was the first missionary to bring order to the spiritual life in the territory of the district. Having experienced personally various attitudes – from “You are welcome!” on the

⁴ The territory of Goltyansky powiat in the structure of western districts of Mykolaivska region within its pre-war administrative borders stayed under Romanian occupational administration during the period of 1941-1944 and was called “Governorship Transnistria”.

⁵ *Transnistria Creștină*. Revista Misiunea Ortodoxă Română în Transnistria, (București), an. I (1942), № 1 (ianuarie–martie), p. 55.

⁶ Unfortunately, the analysis of the text of document in the Romanian language and handwritten signature of the priest did not allow determining the actual name of the priest-missionary.

⁷ SAOR, f. r-2270, reg.1, act. 1, p. 64.

side of elder people to interested glances, mockery and even abuse on the side of youths who had never seen a priest's attire, the missionary saw his assignment in placing everything on their places and proving to everybody that priests are not those "pops" of whom communists were speaking.

Having found common language with local believers, father Mikhail obtained one room which served at the beginning as the deanery office. T. Iliescu, the district praetor, submitted confessional-parochial information and provided him with a single harnessing road cart for visiting remote villages. At the beginning while inspecting 14 rural parishes in the subordinate district, father Mikhail found only three priests, and those were elderly and weak⁸. Thus, having visited Marynivka religious community, consisting of one thousand households, the sub-archpriest noted that though there was a church with all necessary accessories consecrated on July 12, 1942, the parish, unfortunately, had no priest.

At the time of inspection many churches were found in a terrible state – some were ruined by the communists, others used for different purposes except their principal purpose, that is, for penance and adoration of the Supreme creator. The churches were full of garbage, sometimes up to the windows⁹.

In this very difficult situation, the priest began selecting decent people predominantly from specialists capable of bringing order and repairing the churches. Construction materials were found in several rural parishes, some assets were collected, church accessories and liturgical books were found, etc. Having formed a district church council, Father Mikhail began working for the arrangement of church residence and the repair of Domanivska church. The latter was reconstructed from inside and outside, surrounded by a wall, the roof was repaired and painted, 5 bells purchased and a good iconostasis decorated according to orthodox Canon was delivered from Odessa. During the above-mentioned period and thanks to laborious efforts of the parishioners and the archpriest himself, the churches in the villages of Akmechetka, Marynivka, Novoorlovka were repaired, iconostasis restored and the walls painted. Despite a great deficit in the rural Transnistria, all these churches were provided with church accessories and liturgical literature and few clergy – with ecclesiastic attire.

In the matter of restoring religious life, Father Mikhail used to struggle for the right of religious community to return the cult buildings that had been used by occupational administration and police from the beginning of the war. Thus, the priest-missionary achieved the return to the subordination of the church those parochial buildings that were used as police posts¹⁰. As far as only three parochial churches satisfied religious needs of the population of the whole district, the

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁹ SAOR, f. r-2270, reg.1, act. 1, p. 64 3B.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

missionary authorities took the decision to open preaching houses in the villages of Bogdanivka, Tsaredarivka, Starogolovo and Karlivka. For the restoration of the church in Marynivka parish a furniture workshop was opened and in Domanivka a workshop for manufacturing pole hedges and a workshop for founding bells.

The activity of the district archpriest and probably other religious officials of the same level was dedicated to several directions of work: missionary, cultural, administrative, philanthropic, etc. Therefore, in the reports to volost management were reflected examples of concrete work of father Mikhail: every week he carried out the services and sermons; on Christmas, he visited village parishes, organized village choruses to sing religious songs and Yule-songs. On demand of order No. 89 of September 28, 1942 issued by G. Aleksyanu, the governor of Transnistria "on regulation of religious cults and religious life"¹¹ in the territory of governorship, the priests were to prevent distribution of religious ideas of sectarians of any kind. Correspondingly, M. Melnik was periodically carrying out conversations with people who were indifferent to religion and with sectarians.

The cultural work of the clergy was concentrated principally on the distribution and popularization of Christian traditions, with Romanian influence on the pattern of Domanivskyy "Freed from slavery". Such circles included courses of Romanian language for teachers, officials and church personnel. Along with that, not taking into account the Moldavian population, which constituted an insignificant share of the district, the missionaries were forced to propagate Romanian nationalism, distribute brochures, calendars, crosses and children books. In the territory of the district they cared for the graves of the dead Romanian soldiers with the aim to underline the significance of the activity of Romanian soldiers for "liberation of local population from kolkhoz-bolshevik slavery".

Administrative duties of Domanivsky sub-archpriest included the organization of church secretariat control over keeping civil registers (birth certificates, etc), creation of parish councils in the district. Father Mikhail's duties also included the following: inspection of incomes of the church servicemen, which were received from the mission and parishioners for the needs and repair of churches, donations to poor, sick and disabled. Significant amounts were collected and transferred to Romanian missionary funds and to the Red Cross. The Romanian administration obliged church communities to collect assets, food products for Romanian soldiers, for wounded and invalids, as well as for those in need and to the families of local imprisoned priests. The actions for collecting Christmas gifts for children in orphanages were widely popular in the district.

However, the Holy Father when staying in Transnistria with the missionary assignment dared to express his non-satisfaction with the process of re-

¹¹ SAOR, f. 13, reg. 2, act. 138, p. 149.

Christianization in the remote villages of the province occupied by the Romanians. His claims expressed in his letters-reports to the management of Romanian-Orthodox mission should be considered from several points of view. First of all, sub-archpriest M. Melnik connected the difficulties in the arrangement of church-religious life in the district with the problem that resulted on one side from the military activity which was the reason for the absence of necessary materials to repair churches and church premises, secondly, with ignoring on the side of civil authorities the necessity to solve urgent questions of the church and religious community. Consequently, the minimization of participation of representatives of the authorities in the improvement of religious life led to the fall of the authority of Orthodox clergy¹². Failure by local population to observe the norms of Christian moral and behavior on religious holidays and Sundays, bathing in basins, visiting fairs on Sundays instead of church services, as well as lack of various literature and materials for religious propaganda, the absence of factories for manufacturing candles and even the candles themselves in the churches – all this brought to naught the missionary work of even most diligent priest.

Last but not the least which interfered with rooting Christianity in the district patronized by him in the opinion of Father Mikhail was the lack of knowledge of local language by the missionaries who were predominantly Romanians and due to this they could not find understanding with local believers. Religious administration in the person of the mission management in Odesa did not practice periodical meeting of clergy with the aim of arranging joint measures for managing and organization of the church life activity.

At the same time one of the key reasons for breaking down of the processes of resurrection of Christian life was seen by priest-missionary in brutality of policemen “who implemented terror similar to the terror of NKVD in Communist period”. That horror was preserved in the memory of young and old people.

In the opinion of archpriest Melnik, the people saw, felt and suffered these and other drawbacks, while the church only suffered and thus it lost. At the same time the clergy themselves did not stand up to their assignment because of their deeds that drove people crazy, – underlined the missionary with sadness¹³. Father Mikhail insisted on urgent measures for correcting wrong deeds so that the “disappointment that will come later should not be larger than initial”.

Before leaving, the archpriest of the district father Mikhail in his letter¹⁴ to the volost management of March 9, 1943 characterized versatile picture of religious life in the district by painting interesting portrait characteristics of the whole regional clergy. Thus, the priest Georgy Bazylevsky from Akmechetka

¹² SAOR, f. r-2270, reg. 1, act. 1, p. 65b.

¹³ SAOR, f. r-2270, reg. 1, act. 1, p. 66.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 9-9b.

parish who arrived from Odessa is “very old and therefore he hardly endures and is not interested in the needs of the church. The absence of deacon in his parish makes it more difficult to carry out church services. And though the priest has normal relations with local authorities, the inhabitants asked me to replace him because of his inability”; the priest Ioann Sulkovsky in Domanivsky parish is a local inhabitant. “During the time of Bolshevik rule he worked as an accountant. He suffered from the Bolsheviks, however, his behavior is not ideal: in the first place he is greedy for money, he tried to establish prices for various occasional services. He always thinks of great profit. <...> A bit egoistic. He works well, teaches religion in a primary school. He is far from the soul of people for whom he serves. I shall not be mistaken if I say that he is proud and hypocritical”; psalm reader Semyon Kovalenko in Domanivska parish – “was a psalm reader in the time of tsarist rule in Novosilska parish. He is elderly, married. He performs his duties without great efforts. He is greedy for money and alcohol and because of this he loses his authority among the parishioners. Being a chorus conductor he is not interested in the repair of the church and in provision with all necessities”; psalm reader Petro Furman from Marynivska parish is a decent psalm reader who performs his duties with great diligence. Possessing a nice voice – baritone, he organizes good chorus. He is obedient and manageable.

We have no opportunity to check his past during the years of Communist rule which limits our attempts to propose him for the position of a priest. He is an excellent clerk, he is interested in the questions of the church repair. On his own initiative together with the church chorus he organized in the district Yule-songs on Christmas 1942 and collected 2621 marks and about 10000 kg of grain. All this was transferred for the repair of Marynivska church”.

The nine months of administrating of father Mikhail Melnik on the position of sub-archpriest of Domanivsky district expired at the end of March, 1943 and he returned to Chisinau eparchy, which had sent him on Christian mission. Probably, his brave criticism and non-conformism became the reason to return him to the previous place of pastoral service.

From April 5, the district church management was headed by archpriest B., whose appointment coincided with the preparation to Easter, 1943. All clergy in the district were engaged in spiritual life of the population. The visits of the newly appointed archpriest of rural parishes in which there were priests, witnessed the presence of women and children in the churches. The rest of population – men and youth – were working in the fields almost all the time, which resulted in non-satisfaction of the majority of workers and the anxiety of archpriest. Finally with the participation of spiritual father, civil occupational administration of the district allowed to attend churches to those who so desired, to accept the body sacraments on Yew Sunday, Holy Thursday, Saturday and Easter. On this Holy day the district

clergy paid much attention to schoolchildren who had almost main role of participants in church actions, confession and Eucharist. Focus on youth and children was among main tasks in the process of re-Christianization. However, teachers and agronomists, though their number was not large, taking into account their atheistic education at the time of Communist rule, skeptically perceived the resurrection of religious life and lack of respect to church Holidays and traditions called forth anxiety of the archpriest of the district, which he expressed in the reports to his volost management¹⁵.

When teachers take, children to church they personally do not always confess and make communion. Correspondingly, the priest took measures through school inspectorate and teacher's councils to make the teachers serve an example to children in these matters.

The state of the population spirituality in the rural districts of occupied territory is reflected in the statistics of attending churches and preaching houses on the Easter eve for making communion and confession submitted by the priests to the mission office, paying special attention to children, youth and elderly people. Thus, on the Easter eve of 1943 in the 6 villages of Domanivsky district – Marynivka, Bogdanivka, Akmechetka, Novoselivka, Domanivka and Viktorivka the churches were attended by 6950 adults and elderly people, 1650 youth and 2200 children. Easter day attracted a great number of people. Many carts arrived on previous evening delivering hundreds of believers from distant places. "Joy of soul and gratitude of people from the Holiday of Easter is felt and noted all around and I felt it myself together with them"¹⁶. In the same document the arch-priest gives an interesting example, which is quite characteristic and indicative for other communities even when taking into account the overestimation of merits of other clergy in the processes, which concerned them. The missionary remarks that as compared to winter 1941, the level of spirituality and Christian moral among the population has significantly increased: "Then I saw youths coming to the church more from curiosity smoking cigarettes till the very threshold of the church, while now I am glad to see youths hurrying to the church to be the first to receive church banners, cross or icon"¹⁷.

During Easter, the parishioners were specifically active to render support to poor families collecting for them food, money, various things. Assistance was rendered to 70 families during these days, as well as 350 marks for social needs.

Summer 1944 made pastoral service more difficult. Work in the fields and crop harvesting entered corrections to religious life of believers because the occupational authorities obliged village administration by its order to drive workers

¹⁵ SAOR, f. r-2270, reg.1, act. 1, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 15b.

¹⁷ SAOR, f. r-2270, reg.1, act. 1, p. 16.

to fields even on Holy days and on Sundays. When the front approached the Transnistrian lands, the occupational essence became more and more evident, and robbery of Ukrainian peasants increased. Romanian missionaries had no concern about church matters any longer.

So, the resurrection of Christian life in remote parts of south Ukrainian lands under control of Romanian military forces and civil administration, though it undergone tremendous difficulties due to military situation, still had positive consequences in the form of building churches, rooting of Christian pietism, traditions and moral. At the same time, the occupants used religious community in the process of economic exploitation and occupational administrating.

Oleksandr MAIEVSKYI*

**BETWEEN PROPAGANDA AND ENTERTAINMENT:
CARICATURES AND POLITICAL POSTERS IN THE
PERIODICALS OF SOUTHERN UKRAINE (1941-1944)**

-Abstract-

Various categories of caricatures and posters are analysed based on creolised material in periodicals published in the South of Ukraine between 1941 and 1944. A brief description of art works within the framework of the occupation period is given here. There is a visible political background of propaganda visual products in newspapers and magazines in the governorate arena of Transnistria. An attempt has been made to compare German, Romanian and local publications, their genre peculiarities, stylistic features and differences.

Keywords: caricature, poster, visual propaganda, Transnistria governorate, occupied territory, periodicals, media scene.

The press published within the occupied territories had the main task vested upon by the German and Romanian administrations: to rebroadcast the top news for the purpose of propaganda. Being the object of this study, a satirical and humorous genre takes a notable place among propaganda publications. An imminent feature of contemporary periodicals was enrichment with feuilletons, humoresques, jokes, limericks, satirical drawings and caricatures. The article attempts to analyse the periodicals of the Southern Ukraine and to explore the visual satirical publications in order to study the phenomenon of the “official”

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Danubius, XXXIV-Supplement, Galați, 2016, p. 89-110.

satire and humour¹ under occupation and its role in the ideological confrontation and the media scene creation. This gives the opportunity to take a look at daily living of socium within the war from a different angle, and to understand the multi-fold essence of the socio-cultural processes, to analyse the social relations development and the formation of images the “insiders” and the “outsiders”, a “foe” and a “friend” in the framework of historical development of the perception archetypes.

Newspapers published in Kherson, Mykolaiv, and Odessa in 1941-1944 are the main source of research. It is worth mentioning that not all periodicals were selected for the analysis, but only those bulk issued, published in Ukrainian and Russian, and, according to the author, contain a unique satirical creolised text. Most periodicals used in the study are stored in archives of the Public Research Archive Library of Kyiv.

Short attribution allows us to emphasize the fact that some publications were published at the same addresses. For example, the editors' office of the “Odesskayagazeta” (“Odessa newspaper”) was situated at 32 Pushkinska Street, where, on the third floor, the newspaper “Molva” (“Rumor”) had its headquarters too. The newspapers “Odessa”, “Bug”, and the “Smekh” (“Laughter”) magazine were also situated at the same address: 23 King Mihai I Street. In Kherson “Golos Dnipro” (The voice of Dnipro”) and “Nash Put” (“Our way”) shared a single address at 14 Soborna Street. Thus, let alone the fact that the illustrations were mostly cloned from the German media, and certain caricatures were coming from the Reich for mass distribution, sometimes the artwork was simply “borrowed” from “the neighbours”. That is why almost all the newspapers used in this research contained the same caricatures with the occasionally modified text under them.

The use of caricatures on pages of periodicals was not consistent but rather sporadic, because it depended on their flow. As a rule, the newspapers did not have visual artists and caricaturists on a full-time basis. This explains the fact that most of caricatures were created by German artists and have been published before in Reich periodicals, or were made on a by-order basis to be spread on the “eastern territories”. Therefore, rare caricatures and posters created by local artists attract special attention and deserve deeper emphasis.

A caricaturist's artistic interpretation of an event which appears to a recipient in visualized image enables us to see the process through the eyes of a contemporary. Just as in literature “a creative process consists of three essential

¹Sychiov A.A., *Laughter as a social and cultural phenomenon: a doctoral dissertation*: 24.00.01 / Sychiov Andrei Anatolievich – Saransk, 2004. – 362 pages.

parts: author - work – reader”², so in visual arts an artist, a work, and an audience make this triad. At this, the fact that a recipient simultaneously acts two parts is crucial. On the one hand, a recipient is an object the information potential of a poster appeals to; on the other hand – a subject that moulds a model of media scene by its own requests, expectations, phobias, and reflects, taking part in the formation of a certain media scene.

One can explicitly define five types of caricatures in the occupation periodicals of the South:

- The first type includes the most widespread group, the political caricature. More often, it is the images of leaders and political figures of anti-Hitler coalition, as well as interpretation of in-house and foreign policy of Western states leaders.
- The second category covers social daily caricature, which includes a wide range of topics (that is the problems of typhus, plague, cholera, evacuations, local authorities’ problems, domestic issues etc.).
- The third type is travesty and portraits. Such images are characterized with exaggerated outstanding features of appearance in order to create a satirical image. With the help of travesty cartoons the recipients’ attention was drawn to specific repelling inner and outer features of a certain character.
- The fourth type includes jokes, cartoon images that do not need any text and clarifications. The main process of event awareness happens in a viewer’s mind when he or she sees the picture which portrays a sense familiar to a recipient, and there is no need in any comments.
- The fifth category is called “Strip”. This is a number of caricatures in a line, two to five pictures joined with a single storyline or author’s idea, mutual characters, with a minimum text or with just a name of a work which main idea is revealed in the pictures³.

A peculiarity of Romanian occupation zone on the territory of Ukraine is a small number of visual ideologically-propaganda materials of Romanian origin as such. Most posters and caricatures were created by German artists. The decision to distribute one of the most popular posters on the territory of Transnistria governorate was made on the 23rd of November, 1941, after the tenth issue of “Odessaia gazeta” with the article on the front page saying “Transnistria will be Romanian forever”. This article was reprinted from the newspaper “Transnistria”

²Leiderman N.L., *Theory of Literature (Introductory course): education guidance for Russian language and literature students* / N.L. Leiderman, N.V. Brkovskaya. – Yekaterinburg, 2005. – Page 9.

³Ainutdinov A.S., *Caricatures options and typology in press* / Anton Sergeevich Ainutdinov. // Bulletin of the Chelyabinsk State University. – 2008. – Pages 20–28.

(Bucharest). As an illustration to the article there was an image of two soldiers in a dynamic, aggressive movement from the Dniester towards the Bug precisely outlining the territory of Transnistria. Under soldiers' pressure a Bolshevik escapes across the Bug River against the background of the burning sickle and hammer. The soldier with a gun in his hands in front is obviously a Romanian military, because he is wearing the clearly Dutch helmet of M34 model that Germany donated to Romanian teammates after occupation of the Netherlands (previously the Romanian army used to buy a similar model of 1939 from the Netherlands). Particular elements of military ammunition, illustrated by the author, also highlight the fact that the warrior belongs to the Romanian army. Likewise, the soldier in the back can be easily identified as a member of the Wehrmacht due to clearly illustrated M40 helmet with a logo. Text under the image doubles the title of the article in Romanian: "Transnistria pe veci românească" (image 1). The image grew popular among publishers and was published in almost every newspaper in the territory under Romanian control. By way of example, on the 6th of September, 1943, the very image was printed on the front page of the newspaper "Bug" with a profile portrait of Ion Antonescu with the mutual title "1940-1943. Three years ago the Marshall Ion Antonescu took over the governing over the country and army that liberated the land of Transnistria in heroic battles" (image 2).

A special place in periodicals of occupation period take editions dedicated to Christmas and New Year holidays. Usually holiday editions were illustrated by local Ukrainian or Romanian artists. Such editions include the newspaper "Molva" dated December 25, 1942, with Christmas greetings and a front page picture of a smiling Romanian military who brought Christmas tree to children. The poem "Merry Day" by Mykola Tarapanov was placed under the picture (image 3).

A work by a caricaturist artist filled with religious spirit found its place on the front page of "Molva" newspaper dated January 1st, 1943. The author portrayed Michael the Archangel with a sword over the head of a hideous mythical creature with distinct Semitic features, and a sparkling Orthodox cross above the clouds. The picture is complemented with lines of the poem by M. Tarapanov "The New Year will bring us victory" (image 4). This very edition contains the caricature "Happy New Year!" (image 5). It shows a Romanian soldier in boxing gloves knocking out a Bolshevik soldier with exaggerated Semitic features.

A work by Sylvestrovych (image 6), published on the front page of "Odessa" newspaper as of January 1, 1943, is unique in its artistic and symbolic solution. Under a New Year's greeting there was a Romanian horseback rider portrayed holding a flag in his hand with the date "1943". The horse got up in front of a Bolshevik soldier who is begging for mercy lying on the 1942 flag, lifting up

his left hand and holding budyonovka in his right one. In the upper left corner behind the rider the author portrayed the Steel crown of Romania gleaming with sparkling rays like the sun.

On the 16th of October, 1943, the front page of the newspaper “Molva” published a poster work by the same Sylvestrovych (image 7), being an illustration for two articles at the same time: “Honor and glory to Romanian soldier” by Mark Bialkovskiy and “Romanians in the East” by George Ion Popescu. Sylvestrovych turned to the silhouette in portraying the figure of a Romanian soldier, giving only the outlines without visual fixation on details, and made a focus on the perception of a monolith retouched silhouette shape. The author depicts the soldier’s figure in a relaxed state, with a gun over his shoulder. In the recipient’s mind this image creates the idea of lack of threat, and that the man draws a duty of protection of the borders, a graphic representation Transnistria governorate borders being a confirmation. A ripped diagonal that runs through the composition surface divides the image in a way that the top, below the muffled up grapevines and the emblem of Transnistria, at the fields under peaceful sky a man works with agricultural machinery, a cathedral gleams with domes, administrative buildings shown. In the right bottom the author portrayed black carrion crows soaring up to the sky above the church without domes and cupolas, the destroyed power lines, explosions in historic architecture, and a sinking ship. The front composition does not require additional clarification and texts, the image is made in form of opposition and destruction, where the main perception object is the silhouette of a soldier who stands on guard of Transnistria.

The massive use of heraldic symbols in posters form was a commonplace for 1943. It was the time when a collection of compilers Andrei Florin and Horace Ionescu came out, dedicated to the 19th of August, 1943, a two years anniversary of appointment of Professor Gh. Alexianu the governor of Transnistria. The edition was made on vellum paper with many illustrative photographs, which were further actively used for propaganda and were published in periodicals. The cover shows the emblem of Transnistria: an eagle wearing a crown decorated with a cross; on the chest of an eagle there is an ancient emblem of Moldavia – a head of a bison (image 8).

Subject of visual propaganda was single for both German and Romanian occupation zones, but the artistic performance had its peculiarities of the region. One of the most popular colour poster sheets in the territory of the Romanian occupation zone was the poster “Transnistria” (image 9), published by the propaganda department of the governorate administration. Chromolithographic picture was issued by the printing house of Odessa municipality. The author used

the favourite twist of Romanian artists – the opposition, which appears crucial in building the recipient's first impression. A dominant of the composition is an inscription dividing the sheet diagonally. The artist uses not only the emotional contrast in the image, but also emphasizes it with colours matching light and dark shades. The composition of the upper part consists of a woman silhouette holding a child in her arms, wrapped in a patched blanket with the "1941" inscription and the burning sickle and hammer, a flame pervading the silhouette, against the green and purple background. The lower part of the poster catches an eye with bright colours, with a smiling woman holding hay, and sunflower against a background of a church dome with a cross and an Ionic orb column, and a house, that should symbolized free labour and religious liberty within the Romanian occupation zone. The very image and manner lead to the conclusion that the author himself was a member of Romanian or Ukrainian ethnoses.

But still, most of the posters and caricatures published in periodicals as illustrations or independent creolized texts did not belong to Romanians or Ukrainians, but to Western European artists. In very rare cases the American caricatures were reprinted. Highly professional work of a caricaturist who signed his works as "Kraft" was reprinted in the newspaper of Mykolayiv "Ukrayinskadumka" ("Ukrainian idea") as of December 12, 1942, entitled "Warmongers play a six mains" (image10).

There is an interesting caricature of Strip category called "Turning a chekist into a Stalinist priest" (image 11), published in the newspaper "Novaya Mysl" ("New Thought") on January 03, 1944. It consists of four pictures united by a single idea and plot. Another example of the Strip-type caricature is a caricature consisting of two pictures (image 12), also published in the "Novaya Mysl" newspaper as of February 12, 1944. One of the first editions, which published a caricature in a Strip genre was the Kherson journal "Golos Dnipra" ("Voice of the Dnipro"). On October 19, 1941, its pages were showing off the work entitled "When the Bolsheviks can be brave?" (image13)

A unique design has an image-shape shifter: the side-drawn face of the Red Army leader, when turning it 180 degrees, turns into the portrait of a person with hypertrophied Semitic facial features. This picture was published in "Molva" on February 16, 1944, with the following comment: The officer portrait. Turn around 180 degrees the image of this Stalinist oprichnik and you will see his true face" (image 14). Artist language of an art composition gives grounds to assume that the author of this picture is a professional artist: a confident, simple and at the same time neatly correct line is combined with colour patches with masterly skill, compactness, lack of needless details, achromatic set of colours—all of this defines the originally found artistic image of „the foe-shape shifter”.

On November 27, 1942, the "Odessa" newspaper published a caricature "Boogie Man of the World" (image 15). On the horizon a giant "demoniac" Stalin's face appears, with eyes shut and mouth open, against a background of damaged buildings, destroyed churches, wildfires and wreckage. In the foreground the author portrayed two Soviet tanks, which seem to be moving towards a viewer. The editors placed an additional comment under the picture: "War idol of Moscow". Fine detailing, portrait likeness, dynamic character of the composition, the use of a complex perspective, balance of components, competent use of expressive means, lines, highlights and colour patches expose an experienced and professional artist. This image was intended to be released as an independent poster, but the world has never seen it since the image has not survived the internal censorship. The image of Stalin looked very threatening, and tanks with the Soviet stars awoke fear and conviction of "the Kremlin God". As a result, the decision was made to keep on portraying Stalin in a poor, comic, powerless and hysterical way⁴.

A social daily caricature also had time to prove itself in periodicals, exposing the social problems and difficulties during the hard war days. A vivid example is the caricature encouraged to get vaccinated against cholera on the pages of the "Molva" newspaper (image 16). This disease was hanging over threatening the residents of Odessa in 1943. Thus the administration tried to draw people's attention to the problem in every possible way, including active use of well-performed artworks of local professional artists.

A large number of caricatures, which were published on the occupied territory, confirm the fact that satirical drawing accomplished all the necessary functions of journalistic genres in order to spread propaganda messages. However, a caricature acted as a psychological detente, which was simply necessary during the war⁵. The society's life in a constant fear, worries and dangers created the need for adaptive format of visual information of humorous and sarcastic content. In view of the ideological confrontation, a political poster and a caricature were used by the occupation administration in order to create anti-Soviet attitude among Transnistria residents. Further study of satirical materials enables to reconstruct poorly niche investigated areas of daily life of residents of occupied territories, to disclose information and communicative components of psychological detente, heuristic, cognitive, aesthetic and educational function of a caricature and a poster during the war.

⁴Yakovlev D.Y., *Caricature as a lifestyle!* Dmitriy Yakovlev // *Decorative arts.* – 2005. – No.1. –Pages 35-37.

⁵Golikov A., *Problems of historiographic study of political caricature (second half of XIX–early XX)* // *Bulletin of the Moscow University. Series 8. History.* –2011. –No.4. –Pages 51–71.



Image 1

Год II № 191
40 стр.
Понедельник, 6 сентября 1943 г.

Б У Г

Первая вечерняя иллюстрированная газета

ДИРЕКТОР
Георгий Г. ПЫСЛАРУ

ДИРЕКЦИЯ И АДМИНИСТРАЦИЯ
ОБЩЕСТВА
ул. Корней Милана 1, № 30
СБД БУГ
Телефон № 209

ПРИЕМ СУБЪЕКТИВНОЙ
информации с 8 до 18 и с 14 до 17 час.
в редакции «БУГ»
ул. Корней Милана 1, № 30.

1940—1943 Три года тому назад Маршал Ион АНТОНЕСКУ



взял на себя руководство
страной
и
армией,
которая в героических
боях освободила
землю
ТРАНСИСТРИИ

Image 2



Image 3



Image 4



Image 5

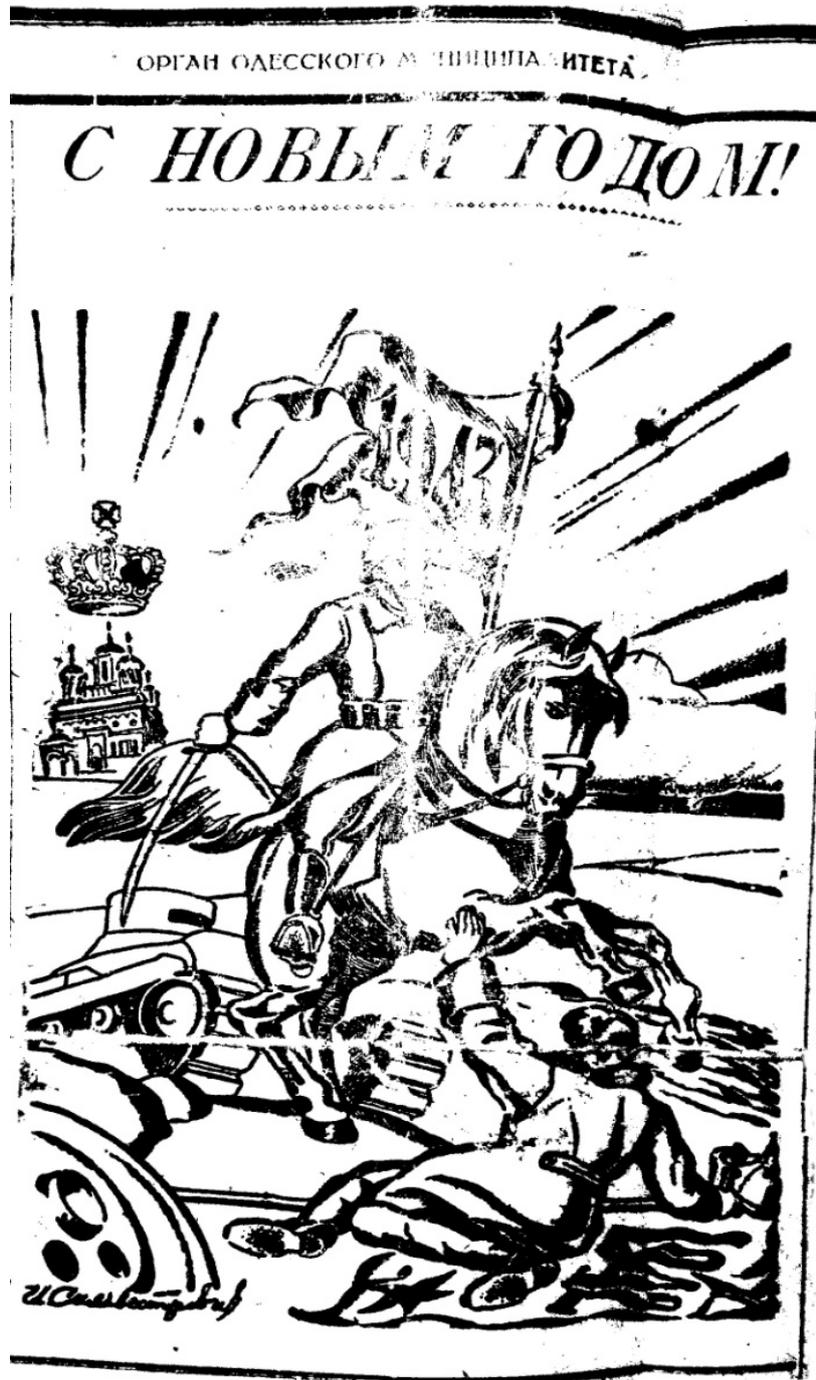


Image 6



Image 7

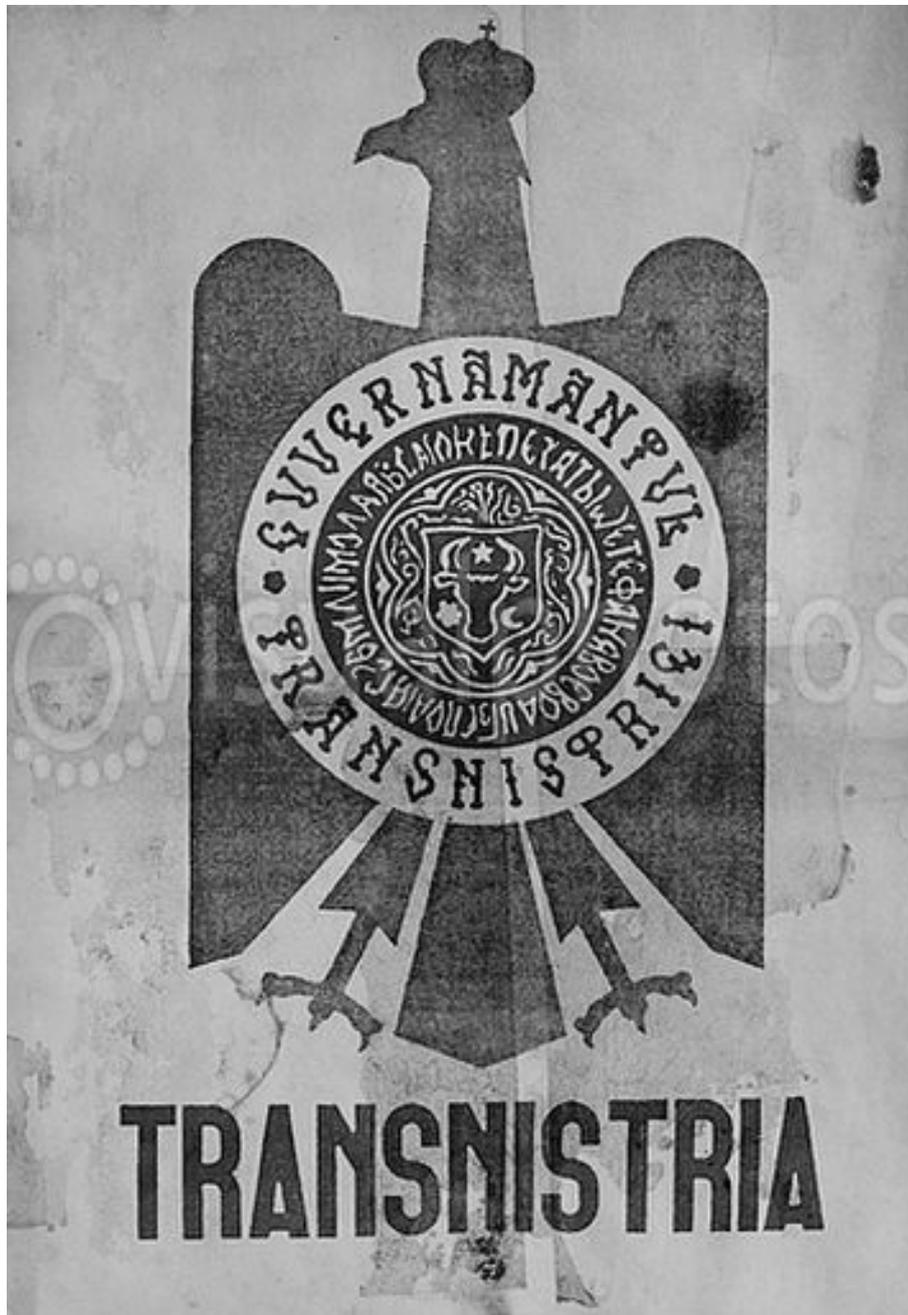


Image 8



Image 9

ПАЛІ ВІЙНИ ГРАЮТЬ У ШІСТЬ РУК



Image 10



Преображение чекиста в сталин-ского священника

Image 11



— Как трогательно они вместе молятся.

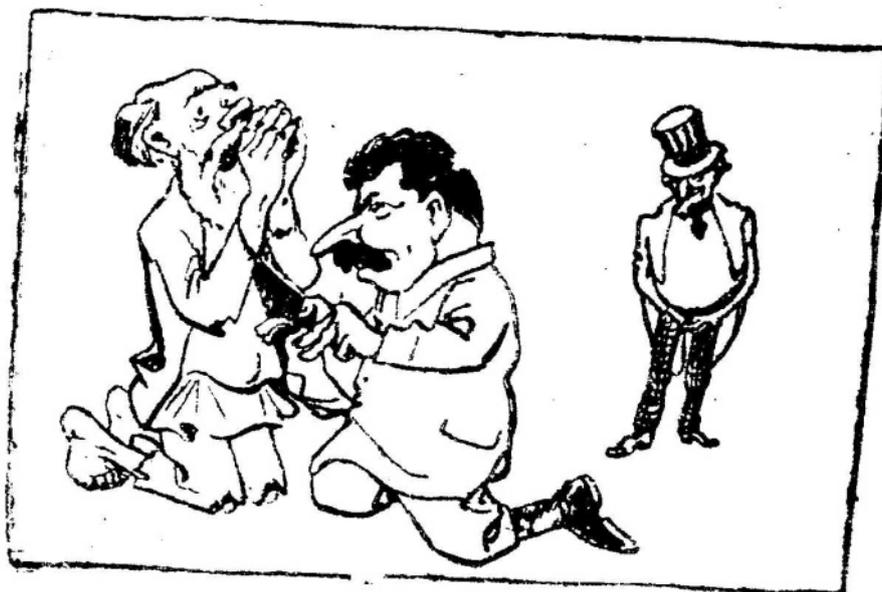


Image 12

ГОЛОС ДНІПРА

Коли більшовики бувають хоробрими?



Ворог за 1.000 км.



Ворог за 500 км.



Ворог за 300 км.



Ворог за 200 км.



Image 14



Image 15



Image 16

Denys TOLOCHKO*

**KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY AS A WAY OF
COUNTERACTING WAR PROPAGANDA AND PROTECTING
STATE SOVEREIGNTY**

- Abstract -

The article analyses how effective is the knowledge of history to counteract war propaganda produced by the external aggressor (in the context of the conflict from Donbas). Measures to overcome the destructive effects of the Russian propaganda are also discussed.

Keywords: knowledge, history, war propaganda, sovereignty, Ukraine, Donbas.

In critical times, the historical experience and knowledge become real and the historical memory of the people intensifies. Policy carried by the state in the humanitarian sphere determines not only the formation of historical consciousness of the people but also the country's territorial integrity. Is everything being done to educate nationally conscious citizens who, using the historical experience of his people, his native language and culture, is able to take a fateful decision and act to protect national interests? Are there deliberate distortions of historical facts, omissions, concealments of facts about the people's spiritual rise that can instill a sense of national inferiority in the people, to sow doubts about the sovereignty of their own state? The answers to these questions and appropriate measures from authorities, scientists and society to current challenges, including humanitarian development, will minimize negative effects.

Learning his or her culture, history, values and traditions is an essential attribute of the humanitarian progress of every member of the society.

Due to the multitude of cases where ignorance of history, manipulation of facts and events of the past gave a pretext for external aggression and occupation, it

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should be noted the need to combine efforts by scientists, scholars, teachers, media, publishers, charity foundations and social organizations for the purpose of diffusing knowledge among the public at large. In the educational law, scientific and information work should be enshrined in legislation as one of the leading activities of scientific and educational institutions of Ukraine.

Funds creating to support for educational projects, including popular-scientific literature publications both in Ukrainian and Russian, development of popular internet resources, the organization of popular lectures by domestic and international researchers, and the encouragement of talented young scientists can be among the actions that can improve the situation. The popularization of scientifically substantiated historical knowledge among the Donbas population will contribute to belie historical myths, form interest for the historical past and a critical view toward any form of military propaganda among young people.

Researchers I. Dziuba, Yu. Zerniy, A. Konyk, R. Tkachuk, V. Scherbyn and others dedicated their academic works to the issue of worldview and value orientations in the Ukrainian society and special aspects of the state policy in the field of humanitarian development. Despite a considerable number of scientific articles that analyze the state policy in the field of humanitarian development of Ukraine, influence of external determinant, with the Russian propaganda, remains to be investigated. As long as pro-Russian NGOs and media control cultural and educational development in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, there will be a direct threat to the stability and security of Ukraine.

Our goal is to reveal how knowledge of history counters external aggressor military propaganda (in the context of Donbass).

Events of 2014-2015 have exposed many gaps in public policy aimed at protecting national interests and the national security of Ukraine against threats. Under article 7 of the Law of Ukraine dated 19 June 2003 #964-IV On National Security, the separate paragraph spells out threats in information sphere in particular “intention to manipulate public opinion, including dissemination of false, incorrect or selective information”. Through delay by specialized state agencies in matters of humanitarian sphere, external actions and influences, in the territory of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the Soviet ideological model was “mothballed”. Then and there the situation faced by Donbas residents is not only result of influence of the pro-Russian public organization and media.

In the sphere of humanitarian policy there were also a number of errors:

- the importance of own culture, history, values and traditions were underestimated;
- theoretical and practical foundations for transformation of science, education and culture in the light of prospect development of Ukraine

as sovereign, democratic, constitutional and legal state were not developed;

- approval of the national humanitarian policy concept, development of scientific and analytical methods to promote humanitarian and educational activities in Ukraine on the basis of Ukrainian studies were not ensured;
- package of measures aimed at spreading knowledge of national symbols of the Ukrainian state, popularization of scientifically substantiated historical knowledge, mythologies debunking and formation of a critical view toward any form of military propaganda.

Without doubt, education and training primarily influence the worldview formation. The education system should be focused on the following components of the ideological model of the society: historical knowledge, language(s) of communication, national culture, and religious confession. Knowledge of history is an important part to form a world-view of every member of society. Lack of a national component in worldview attitude of a person can cause a human identity crisis¹. Events in Donetsk and Luhansk regions show that rejection of national symbols, values and history intensifies contradictions within society, assimilating it into the cultural space of another country. In science, the low rate of scholar's remuneration, fall in professional prestige, and intellectual property rights exposure make scholars change profession or seek permanent residence abroad by leaving Ukraine. However, educational and research institutions cannot resolve the existing problems on their own and need the state to participate in the creation of an effective policy for intellectual potential development.

The historian should be on the frontline of the information front. During the presentation of educational learning material "Revolution of Dignity and aggression of Russia against Ukraine", P. Poliansky noted that "If we do not write it, an aggressor and invader will do as he has done in study guides for teachers of temporarily occupied Crimea and Russia. In that study guide the Russian aggression against the sovereign state of Ukraine is justified and is shown as almost an aid project and missionary task."

Starting from the first quarter of the XXth century, in the context of the industrialization of Ukraine, the education sector of Ukraine has undergone significant changes resulting in humanitarian knowledge reduction². However, the

¹ Tkachuk R.F., *Humanitarian development of Ukraine in the context of crisis processes of culture*, Public Administration: Theory and Practice, <http://www.academy.gov.ua/ej/ej15/index.htm>.

² Scherbyn V.K., *Humanitarian research in Academies of Science of CIS countries: its role and place in the humanitarization of science and education in post-Soviet area*, Humanitarization of Science and Education in Transition Period. Minsk, 2000, p. 31.

XXth century is characterized by emergence of the “industry of memory” as no other period displays such number of museums, archives and memorials opening³. Once Soviet power was established, all historical fields became policy-driven. The Soviet historiography denied the need for the formation of Ukrainian historical memory which caused the deformation of historical consciousness of the society and distorted the picture of the historical past⁴. In particular, the Cossacks history of Donbas region was ignored.

With the establishment of independent Ukraine in 1991, some steps were taken so that residents of Donetsk and Luhansk regions started to think about their historical roots⁵. Pursuant to Decree of the President of Ukraine 1123/2005 pp dated 19.06.2005 “On marking 500th anniversary of Ukrainian Kossack settlements in the territory of Donetsk and Luhansk regions” a variety of events supported it. In particular, pupils and students took part in a historical contest for best knowledge regarding the place and role of the Ukrainian Kossacks in the past of the region. In the city of Mariupol, excavations were carried out during which the remains of Ukrainian settlements and household items were discovered at the place of former site Kalmiuska Sloboda. Memorials were established in the town of Selidove, Donetsk region, on the place of which there was zymivnyk of Zaporizhya Sich Kalmiu’s palanka (winter camp of military-administrative and economical district)⁶.

The analysis of L. Kuchma and V. Yuschenko presidents turns has shown “the polarity of the policy of memory”. President Kuchma initiated the 350th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Rada celebration, as Russia was a main point in the foreign policy during his term. He also supported the Moscow proposal to form a working group for the revision of history textbooks written after the collapse of the Soviet Union. President Yuschenko initiated a rebirth of Baturyn as hetman’s capital. He also urged the international community to recognize the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people⁷. In this regard, the policy of the president Yanukovich was aimed at destruction of Ukrainian national memory, in particular the Holodomor as genocide was denied. Moreover, he

³ Konyk Anastasia, *Historical Memory and the Policy of Memory in a Media Culture Epoch*, Lviv University Revue, Series Journalism, 2009. Is. 32. p. 161.

⁴ Udod A.A., *Historical Memory in Ukrainian Mentality*, IV International Congress of Ukrainian Studies, Reports and Messages, History, 2 part, Odessa, 1999, P. 2, p. 119-124.

⁵ Chukhlib Taras, *Donechchyna and Luhanshchyna – Cossacks Lands of Ukraine 16th – 17th century*, Kyiv, 2014, p. 97-98

⁶ *A celebration of the 500th anniversary of the emergence of Ukrainian Cossacks settlement present territory of Donetsk and Luhansk Regions*. Official site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 181, President of Ukraine; Order from 19.07.2005 №1123/2005-pp., <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/tt4006y2005/page4>

⁷ Konyk Anastasia, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

accepted the proposal of Moscow to write a common history textbook and changed the Navy Day to have it the same day with Russia.

President Poroshenko signed a decree 228/2015 dated 21.04.2015 “On measures to commemorate Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi) and 100th anniversary of their victory in the battle for Makivka mount”⁸. The goal was to promote national memory recovery, the dissemination of objective information about national military forces, the strengthening of patriotism spirit in the society, and the military patriotic education of youth.

The optimal model of human development should include the following key elements: innovation activities to prevent recurrence of negative experience; culture of national symbols, values, tradition and respect for history; intelligence as a basic resource of the state to create a consolidated informational and educational space.

For decades, pro-Russian leaders of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, using administrative resources and Russian media influence, implanted imperial myths and ideology in people’s minds. An example of local authorities’ position regarding measures dedicated to acute social problems was blocking the “Donbas-tour” campaign on 5-7 April 2011 during which the presentation of Sergiy Zhadan’s novel “Voroshylivgrad” was planned in Donetsk, Luhansk and Starobilsk.

The media space is capable of popularizing historical knowledge, generate interest in the historical past, and debunk historical myths. European experience shows that TV and radio programs should include qualitative information on significant events and leading figures in the history of Ukraine, memorial places and events (places of memory). But Ukrainian media market is dominated by Russia which deliberately introduces inexpensive editions, movies, documentaries and TV series, causing an erosion of Ukrainian identity.

Lack of adequate measures in humanitarian policy, outdated educational methods and irrational use of funds negate efforts of enthusiastic-teachers, writers and some public activist aimed at popularization of historical knowledge in Donbas.

Internet website of cultural and socio-political magazine Otechestvo (journal-otechestvo.ru) is a striking example of Russian propaganda. The site states that the magazine was created “to strengthen and revive patriotism and love for the multinational Motherland. And it is also seeks to ensure effective cooperation between the people and authorities”. The thematic content of the category “History

⁸ *On measures to commemorate Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi) and 100th anniversary of their victory in the battle for Makivka mount*, Official website of the President of Ukraine; decree from 21.04.2015 №1123/2005, <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/2282015-18870>

of Russia” clearly shows the orientation of the magazine, where the vast majority of information is about Ukraine. Manipulative approach is seen with the naked eye from the following headlines “Europe and Ukraine”, “History of Ukrainian language. How history is rewritten”, “Bismark invented Ukraine” and others.

In his speeches and articles T. Snyder⁹ points out the contradictory statement of Russian propaganda “We have heard from them that there is no Ukrainian state and at the same time the Ukrainian state is oppressive. There is no Ukrainian nation, but all Ukrainians are nationalists. There is no Ukrainian language but Russian speakers in Donbas have to speak Ukrainian...»¹⁰. Initiated by the Duliby publishing house with support from the Research institute of Ukrainian Studies and under the patronage of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, charity tour was held in June 22 - 27,2015 in terms of which Russian-language publication of the worldwide bestseller *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* was presented in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv with the participation of the author, Timothy Snyder, a Yale university professor. The goal of this project was to spread information among Russian-speaking readers that mass destruction of people in 1939-1945 was a result of cooperation of two totalitarian regimes. Absolute proof of regimes cooperation is German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. In this regard, in his recent speeches T. Snyder comments Putin’s statement about importance of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and expresses concern about rising threat to divide Eastern Europe between West and Russia.

K. Galushko, a well known historian was fair to say that “the purpose of information war is not only to misrepresent and distort facts of current political events taking place in Ukraine, but also to undermine the historical foundation of the Ukrainian identity. The Russian propaganda machine presents Ukraine as an artificial formation, historical accident, the country and the state that has never existed before 1991 and never proved its viability”. The historian is convinced that “such approach gives an idea of the inevitability of the collapse of Ukraine or its disappearance from the political map, a moribund effort to support modern patriotism by historical background of traditions, experience and achievements of Ukrainians for previous centuries”¹¹. Russian propaganda emphasizes the randomness of modern Ukraine territorial boundaries, that are “the gift from Lenin,

⁹ Timothy Snyder, *Not to turn into Russia – is not enough for Ukraine*, <http://zbruc.eu/node/27280>; Timothy Snyder, *Ukraine: From Propaganda to Reality*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eKF0bB6_naw

¹⁰ Timothy Snyder, *How the Kremlin manages to lie about the war in Ukraine*, <http://nv.ua/opinion/snyder/kak-kremlyu-udaetsya-lgat-zapadu-o-voyne-v-ukraine-23199.html>

¹¹ *Ukraine opens historical front*, Official site of Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, <http://www.memory.gov.ua/news/ukraina-vidkrivae-istorichnii-front-istorichni-fakti-proti-rosiiskoi-propagandi-u-novomu-intern>

Stalin and Khrushchev” and half of Ukraine is not Ukraine but “New Russia” (Novorossiia).

Today, as never before in Ukrainian society, there is a growing interest in various formats of historical lectures. “Istorychna Pravda” (Historical Truth) is a social, political and science online project. Its goal is to popularize historical knowledge from ancient times till the present days. Emphasis is placed on political history of 20th century: struggle for national identity, totalitarian projects and human fates.

International Open Seminar “The Seduction of Propaganda: Mass Violence in Ukraine in the 20th and 21st Centuries” (Kyiv, June 2 – 3, 2015; Lviv, June 5, 2015)¹². According to its organizers and participants, in a context of threat to the state sovereignty and integrity and when the people are fighting for their political independence, knowledge of history is one of the elements to protect the nation. The Donbas example proves that Russian propaganda is a direct threat to the stability and security of Ukraine.

T. Chukhlib is convinced that Donetsk and Luhansk regions “have always been, are and will be an integral part of Ukraine. It is clearly confirmed by historical facts and numerous documentary sources. And if history sounds very convincingly the Lord God will help the Ukrainian people to defend their newest independence and territorial integrity as a heiress to glorious Cossack traditions¹³.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, it is expedient gradual transfer according to the content of education to get historical knowledge that forms ideological and value orientation as well as national identity. A teacher of history should not just give a specific knowledge set but combine them into an integral system emphasizing the links between historical facts and phenomena. Implementation of Ukrainian study programs into educational process will promote formation of self – identification and rational interpretation of such relations.

State institutions for scientific, educational and informational policy should be responsible for historical knowledge to be spread among the public at large. In the period of humanitarian crisis, scientists, professors, mass media, publishers, charity foundations, all should combine their efforts to popularize historical knowledge. The system of education is to codify scientific and information work as one of the main activities of scientific and educational institutions in Ukraine.

To popularize historical knowledge makes sense: the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, Committee of Verkhovna Rada of Science and Education, together with the National Academy of Science is to initiate the foundation of non-

¹² Program of the International Open Seminar “*The Seduction of Propaganda: Mass Violence in Ukraine in the 20th and 21st Centuries*” (Kyiv, June 2 – 3, 2015; Lviv, June 5, 2015). – 8 p.

¹³ Chukhlib Taras, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

commercial funds with financial support from Ukrainian and foreign private benefactors. These funds will support educational projects, including editing of popular-science literature, both in Ukrainian and Russian, development of popular-science Internet resources, open lecturing with participation of well-known Ukrainian and foreign researchers, stimulating talented young scientists.

Within the frame of the program of providing schools and higher education institution with textbooks and manuals to develop state support for popular scientific books and periodical editions supplying them to school and public libraries. The State Committee for television and broadcasting of Ukraine at the implementation of "The program of socially important editions" should provide publication of actual popular scientific books.

Together with publishing houses it should start electronic versions of popular scientific editions followed by publication in electronic Internet libraries with open access; to organize All-Ukrainian contest to determine the best Ukrainian popular scientific books, publications in the media, television and radio programs, Internet publications and the like.

To mark the best popularizers of historical knowledge (scientists, teachers, journalists, public persons).

Popularization of scientific grounded historical knowledge among the population of Donbass, will help to debunk historical myths, foster interest in historical past among youth and a critical attitude to any forms of war propaganda.

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