

DANUBIUS

SUPLIMENT

XXXV
2017



MODERNITY, POST-MODERNITY,
COMMUNISM, POST-COMMUNISM.
UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS

MUZEUL DE ISTORIE GALAȚI

DANUBIUS

XXXV

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MACHETĂ GRAFICĂ ȘI DESKTOP PUBLISHING:

Liliana - Carmen PALADE, Tudor MANDACHE

Sursa imaginii de pe copertă:

<http://publicdelivery.org/tag/lenin/>

I.S.S.N. 1220 - 5052
E.- I.S.S.N. 2392 - 7992

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CONTENT

HISTORICAL REALITIES IN SOUTHERN BESSARABIA

Lilia TSYGANENKO

Budzhak as a Polyethnic Frontier in the South of Odessa Region (Strokes to the Settlement of the Region at the End of the 18th and at the Beginning of the 19th Centuries)5

Vera TSERKOVNAYA

Collective Portrait of the Chişinău Diocesans During the Period Between the XIX-th Century and the Beginning of the XX-th13

Natalia VOLKANOVA

The Nobility of Bessarabia and the Russo-Japanese War: Financial Aspects.....27

Tetyana SHEVCHUK

Christian and Pagan Traditions in the Church Holidays and Ceremonies of Budjak (Based on the Graphics of Vladimir Afanasyev).....35

Liana CHORNA

Cultural and Educational Activities of the Bulgarians from the Ukrainian Danubian Region, at the Beginning of the XXI-th Century (Based on Materials from the Periodicals) 49

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS IN UKRAINE, DURING THE XX-th CENTURY

Larisa SYNIAVSKA

Activity of Metallurgical Enterprises of the East and South of Ukraine During the First World War (August 1914 – February 1917).....57

Oksana SYLKA

The Public Village Communities during the Process of Forming the Civil Society (the End of the XIX-th Century – Early XX-th Century).....71

Olena TITIKA

Local Industry of Ukraine between 1943 - 1950: Development, Functioning and Role in Providing the Needs of the Economy and of the Population.....79

THE MEMORY OF RECENT PAST IN UKRAINE

O.E. LYSENKO, L.M. KHOINATSKA

World War II Memory: Between Ritual and Reality.....89

Yuriy KOTLYAR

Decommunization of Ukraine in the Context of Generation Change99

Mykola MYKHAILUTSA

Decommunization/Renaming in Odessa Region: Historical Comparison, Methods and Results 109

HISTORY OF CULTURE AND ANTHROPOLOGY – UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTIONS

Tatyana SAVOSKINA

The Pipes as an Aspect of Household Art and Culture, During the XVIIIth - XIXth Centuries 117

Stepan BORCHUK

The First Completed Ukrainian Encyclopedia of Modern Times129

Olga SHIKIRINSKAYA

Synthesis of Arts in Ukrainian and European Baroque Aesthetics 141

Galina OLENIKOVA

A Synergetic Approach of the Multicultural Space of the World 151

Alexey ZAPOROZHCHENKO

Cultural and Anthropological Aspects of Postindustrial Civilization 159

Lilia TSYGANENKO *

**BUDZHAK AS A POLYETHNIC FRONTIER
IN THE SOUTH OF ODESSA REGION
(STROKES TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REGION AT THE END OF
THE 18th AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURIES)**

- *Abstract* -

On the materials of the documents stored in the Izmail archives (Izmail, Ukraine), the settlement of the fortress of Izmail and the town of Tuchkov by the representatives of different ethnic groups at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th centuries is being considered. The quantitative composition, manufacturing interests of Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, Jews of this period are analyzed.

Keywords: Budzhak, the fortress of Izmail, the town of Tuchkov, ethnic groups.

Budzhak is a historical region in the south of Bessarabia, located in the basin of the Dniester and Danube rivers and the Black Sea coast, which includes the southern regions of the Republic of Moldova and the southwestern part of Odessa region of Ukraine. It is one of the original regions of modern Ukraine and Moldova in geographical, linguistic, cultural, ethnic sense. The material and spiritual culture of Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Moldovans, Russians, Romanians, Germans, Gagauzes, Armenians, Romani and other peoples of the region has preserved many traditional features. Living for centuries in one territory, interacting and influencing each other, the ethnic groups of Budzhak created a complex mosaic of a regional multicultural space that expressively demonstrates the practice of ethnic and religious tolerance.

The objective study of counter-version issues of the historical and ethnic past of the peoples living in the Ukrainian-Moldovan borderland will help overcome stereotypes and open falsification of the common history through the establishment

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of intercultural dialogue against the background of the uniqueness of each of the national cultures, the dissemination of the experience of conflict-free coexistence of various ethnic groups in a polyethnic region.

The development of separate ethnic groups and traditional cultures in Budzhak has repeatedly attracted the attention of Ukrainian and foreign historians and ethnographers: M. Rusev and I. Grek¹, U. Fruntashu², V. Kushnir³, A. Ganchev⁴, M. Yarmolenko⁵ and others. Since the 1990s the issues of historical and cultural development of the ethnic groups of the multicultural Danube region are in the field of scientific attention of historians and local lore specialists of Izmail. Among recent studies, special attention should be paid to the works of A. Dizanova⁶, V. Tserkovnaya⁷, L. Tsyganenko⁸ etc.

In 2014, the book *Budzhak...*, edited by A. Kisse, A. Prigarin and V. Stanko was published⁹, and in 2015 a collective monograph under the leadership of Professor Y. Kichuk¹⁰ was published.

Numerous international and regional scientific conferences are devoted to the problems of ethnic culture of Bulgarians, Moldovans, Germans, Greeks. The traditional ones have become the international scientific forums “Danube is the Basis of European Identity” (Romania, Ukraine, Moldova), “South of Ukraine: Ethno-Historical, Linguistic, Cultural and Religious Dimensions” (Ukraine, Odessa), “Danube Scientific Readings” (Ukraine, Izmail), the problematic field of

¹ Grek I., Rusev N., *1812 as a Pivotal Year in the History of Budzhak and Transdanubia Settlers*, Кишинев, 2001.

² Fruntasu Iu., *O istorie etnopolitică a Basarabiei. 1812-2002*, București, Chișinău, 2002.

³ Kushnir V., *Industrial and Domestic Adaptation of the South-Western Steppe and the Low Danube Region Ukrainians (the Second Half of the 19th Century – the First Half of the 20th Century)*, Одеса, 2012.

⁴ Ganchev A., *Traditions of Mutual Aid in the Bulgarian Villages of South Bessarabia (the First Half of the 20th Century)*, Етнічна історія народів Європи, 1999.

⁵ Yarmolenko M., *To the Question of Social and Economic Development of Gagauz Colonies of Bessarabiain the 19th Century*, Наукові записки інституту етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І. Ф. Кураса, Вип. 29, 2006.

⁶ Dizanova A., *Traditional Cultures in the Multiethnic Danube Region: Specifics of the Development*, “Journal of Danubian Studies and Research”, № 5 (2), 2015.

⁷ Tserkovnaya V., *The “Lower Danube” Euroregion as a Form of Cross-Border Cooperation*, “Journal of Danubian Studies and Research”, № 3, 2013.

⁸ Tsyganenko L., *The Ethnic Structure of the Nobility of the South of Ukraine (the End of the 18th – the 19th centuries)*, “Current Issues of Social Studies and History of Medicine”, № 1(5), 2015.

⁹ *Budzhak: Historical and Ethnographic Sketches of the Peoples of the South-Western Districts of Odessa Region*, 2014.

¹⁰ *The Ukrainian Danube Region in the Light of Humanitarian Studies*, Izmail, 2015.

which includes questions of spirituality, traditions, rituals in the Ukrainian culture and “neighboring” ethno-cultures.

Many of the modern ethnic groups of Budzhak originated from the period of the Ottoman Empire. According to A. Prigarin, at the turn of the 18th – the 19th centuries about two thousand families of “Bulgarians..., not less than 300 families of Russian old believers ..., about a thousand families of Armenians, as many families of Greeks, about 500 families of Jews ... lived in the Danube-Dniester interflaves. The number of Ukrainian Cossacks living along the Dniester and the Danube is hypothetically... no less than four thousand ... Between the Danube and Yalpuh ... the Moldavian population ... no less than three thousand families”.¹¹

After the next Russian-Turkish war (1807-1812) occur qualitative and quantitative changes in the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the region. The materials of the Izmail archives allow us to state that by 1817 there were 9.389 people living in the town. Let's try to compare the indicators of the number of some ethnic groups' representatives who lived in the town and the fortress by the 1820s.

One of the most numerous ethnic communities of the town of Tuchkov and the fortress of Izmail in the first decades of the 19th century were **the Moldavians**.

An archival document of 1811 (“The official description of the residents of the fortress of Izmail with the indication of the national composition and previous residence”) cites data on more than 400 Moldavians registered in the fortress for this period.¹² Of particular interest is the graph on resettlement: the majority of respondents have a note “... *повзяттшИзмаилапоявился в ономнажителство безвсякого вида*” (they were on the territory of the fortress without any documents). As for the previous place of residence (based on archival data), the majority (134 people) came from behind the Danube. Almost 20% of those registered in the book indicated that they had lived in the fortress for a long time. A part of the residents from this list indicated their previous place of residence as: from Kiliyatint (46 people) (“tint” is the traditional subdivision of the Principality of Moldavia (1359-1859), from Tulcea (28 people). For example, Byne Kanche lived for a long time in the fortress of Izmail, in 1808 he fled to Kiliya, but in 1810 he returned to Izmail.

By the beginning of 1812 almost 1.500 representatives of the Moldavian ethnic group¹³ lived in the fortress and the district. A significant part of the representatives of the Moldavian ethnic group migrated to Budzhak from the territory of Northern and Central Bessarabia. The most common surnames of the

¹¹ *Budzhak: Historical and Ethnographic Sketches of the Peoples of the South-Western Districts of Odessa Region*, 2014, p.147.

¹² Municipal Institution of Izmail Archives (hereinafter referred to as МІА)/ Коммунальное учреждение Измаильский архив (далее КУИА), ф. 514, д. 1.

¹³ Tsyganenko L., *Ethnic Composition of the Inhabitants of Izmail Fortress at the Beginning of the 19th Century (Following the Local Archives)*, “Етнічна історія народів Європи”, К. УНІСЕРВ, Вип. 41, 2014, p. 22.

Budzhak Moldavians are Armanche, Surduk, Flore, Brynza, Terzi, Shishkan, Karatashan, Kishlyan etc. The main occupations are agriculture, fishing and peddling.

The archival data for 1817 indicate that there were 1.293 representatives of the Moldavian ethnic group living in the town of Tuchkov, and compared to other ethnic groups Moldavians were the third largest ethnic group and accounted for 19% of the total number of inhabitants.¹⁴

During the same period more than 150 Moldavians who constituted the second largest ethnic group of the inhabitants of the fortress (22.8%) officially occupied the fortress of Izmail.

The data of 1820 record 690 representatives of the Moldavian ethnic group among the population of the town of Tuchkov who owned 81 stone houses, 3 dugouts, 2 cellars, 4 shops, 3 windmills, 64 vineyards. Among the wealthiest and richest were the families of Konstantin Gergi, Sultan Chirik, Dedush Harzhivan, Yan Balika, Tomas Karatashan, Shtefan Flore, Theodor Chimpshibash (all owned stone houses and vineyards). Among this group was an entrepreneur, Vasiliy Tabakar, the owner of a tannery.¹⁵

In the traditional list of economic preferences of representatives of the Moldavian ethnic group (agriculture, fishing, trade, day-work), there are several very specific occupations. It is a water carrier, a tailor, a butcher, a brewer, a baker.

Ukrainians represented a significant ethnic group. In one of the cases of Izmail Police Department Fund partial data for the year of 1810 are given. Most of the Ukrainians who settled on the territory of the fortress and the trading quarter were from the central provinces: Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Kamenets-Podilsky, Kiev etc.¹⁶ A part of Ukrainians got to Budzhak through Moldavia. For example, Ivan Kulenko was engaged in cartage of goods, he moved from the province of Kherson first to Moldova and then settled in Izmail in 1809.

Some of the migrants fled from their masters and serfdom to distant Bessarabian steppes, hoping to get land and freedom here. For example, Andrei Scherban, who came from the province of Kiev, fled from the landowner prince Mobolitsky first to Ackerman, and then settled in Izmail; Gavriilo Dvinenko and his comrade fled from prince Lubomirsky (from Poland) first to Moldavia, and then to Izmail; Gritsko Moshin fled from count Pototsky from Kamenets-Podolsky province first to Odessa, and then to Izmail. The local administration was very calm about such migrants, seeking to populate the deserted Budzhak steppes by any available means.¹⁷

¹⁴ MIIA, f. 514, f. 12.

¹⁵ MIIA, f. 514, f. 33, pp. 14-39.

¹⁶ MIIA, f. 514, f.2.

¹⁷ MIIA, f. 514, f. 2, pp. 14-15.

Between April and August in 1811, 1.493 Ukrainians arrived in Izmail.¹⁸ Most of them were between 30 and 49 years of age. In 1817 Ukrainians was the largest ethnic group of the town of Tuchkov– 33.4% or 2.263 people.¹⁹ But in the fortress of Izmail, the Ukrainians were not so many – only 83 people.

By 1820 the town was the home to more than 2.5 thousand Ukrainians, in charge of whom there were 272 houses, more than 30 dugouts. Of the household and production buildings, representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group owned 12 shops, 24 windmills, 28 vineyards. Among the Ukrainian population there were also first businessmen – Stepan Zenchenko, the owner of 3 stone houses, a bathhouse, a beer factory, a tavern and a windmill.²⁰ Among the main occupations of Ukrainians was farming, work for hire, cartage of goods. The crafts specialties among the Ukrainians of the town were many shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths.

The third significant group of ethnic migrants to the fortress of Izmail and the trading quarter were **Russians**. Only for the period from April to August 1811 arrived 354 people, not counting the Nekrasovite – old believers.²¹

As a rule, families of Russian settlers were quite numerous. So, Nikita Savvovich (63 years old) arrived from the province of Kursk and brought with him 30 other relatives; Ignat Ivanov (30 years old) moved from the province of Orel together with 25 family members.²² The archival data for 1817 indicate that in the town of Tuchkov lived 1.604 Russians accounting for 23.7% of the total number of residents.²³

By 1820 the town was home to more than 1.5 thousand ethnic Russians, most of whom worked for hire (about 400 people). Among Russians there were butchers, masons, merchants.²⁴

The active resettlement of **Greeks** in the region falls on the second half of the 18th century, when Greek merchants moved to the southern Ukrainian cities of the Russian Empire, including Odessa, Izmail, Ackerman, Kiliya, where they set up trading firms.²⁵ According to the information published in the scientific literature at the beginning of the 19th century more than 800 Greek trading firms operated in the

¹⁸ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 4, pp. 54-84.

¹⁹ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 12.

²⁰ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 33, p. 69.

²¹ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 4.

²² МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 17, p. 45.

²³ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 12.

²⁴ МІІА, ф. 514, ф. 33, pp. 127-180.

²⁵ Tsyganenko L., *The Greeks of Southern Bessarabia in the 19th Century*, „Наукові записки з української історії: 36. наук. статей”, Вип. 36, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2015, pp. 24-30.

Russian Empire.²⁶ Success in the development of regional trade created favorable conditions for the development of Greek communities in the cities of Southern Bessarabia.

The archival materials of the beginning of the 19th century (1808) indicate that among the inhabitants of Ackerman, Greeks constituted 21%, and they were classified as “indigenous people”.²⁷ In Izmail, the number of Greeks was much smaller. So from May to August in 1811, only 13 Greeks appeared in the fortress and the trading quarter.²⁸

Comparing the documents for 1817 and 1818, we can trace the dynamics of changes in the number of members of the Greek ethnos in the town of Tuchkov and the fortress of Izmail. So, in 1817, 85 Greeks: 66 men and 19 women officially lived in the town of Tuchkov.²⁹ In comparison with the representatives of other ethnic groups who lived in the city, Greeks accounted for only 1.25% of the total population of Tuchkov, which at that time was 6,772 people.³⁰ On the territory of the fortress of Izmail in 1817 there were 44 ethnic Greeks (22 men and 24 women) who settled here in the time of Turkish dominance.³¹ In 1818 the number of Greeks in the town of Tuchkov was 131 people (88 men and 43 women).³²

Among the archival documents of this period, mention is made of the 9 “noblemen of the Greek nation”: K. Popazoloprasin, D. Popandopulo-Korfino, K. Sochaglo, P. Varnaiot, A. Zaravino, O. Nesterovich, M. Dragichevich, I. Duma, K. Vainusky.³³ However, the author was not able to find any documents confirming the aristocratic origin of these families. Nevertheless, they were well-off people, whose property was stone houses, and the sphere of activity was commerce.

“Noblemen of the Greek nation” were not the only ethnic Greeks, about whom we found information in the Izmail archive. One of the lists mentions 49 Greek surnames with a detailed description of their wealth and sphere of activity.³⁴ Most of the Greeks from this list – more than 53% – are merchants and traders who owned mills, brick factories, stores, shops, “Greek coffee houses”. In total,

²⁶ Arsh G., *The Secret Society “Filiki Eteria”*, M., 1965, p. 40.

²⁷ *Budzhak, Historical and Ethnographic...*, p. 344.

²⁸ MIIA, f. 514, f. 4, p. 58.

²⁹ MIIA, f. 514, f. 12, pp. 6-7.

³⁰ Tsyganenko L., *The Greeks of Southern Bessarabia in the 19th Century...*, p. 28.

³¹ MIIA, f. 514, f. 12, p. 8.

³² MIIA, f. 514, f. 12, pp. 58-59.

³³ MIIA, f. 514, f. 33, p. 7.

³⁴ MIIA, f. 514, f. 33, pp. 9-14.

according to our calculations, in 1820 the Greek community of the town of Tuchkov consisted of 141 people (99 men and 42 women).³⁵

Documents of the Izmail archives for 1817 show that in the town of Tuchkov lived more than 30 Polish noblemen, who moved to the region at the end of the 18th century.³⁶ And it is interesting that most of this number were men. It is important to note that among the 663 civilians of the fortress of Izmail at the beginning of the 19th century there was not a single Pole.³⁷ By 1817 representatives of the Polish ethnic group accounted for only 0.25% of the total number of residents of the town of Tuchkov.³⁸ By 1820 the number of ethnic Poles in the city is increasing – they already number 82 people³⁹, among whom the most numerous were the families of Branovsky, Tsykhanovsky, Petrovsky, Stadnitsky, Blazhievsky and others. The main economic activities of the Poles were trade, farming, wage work.⁴⁰

In archival documents, most Polish residents of the city are designated as nobles – “Polish noblemen”. However, a detailed analysis of their property gives reason to doubt this characteristic. Will you agree that it looks rather strange when a representative of an aristocratic family lives in ... a dugout? And there were a majority of such “Polish noblemen” in this period!

Some historians believe that the appearance of **Armenians** in Budzhak dates back to the 19th – the early 20th centuries when significant groups of the Armenian people left the lands of the South Caucasus and Eastern Turkey, moving first to the Crimea, and later to southern Bessarabia – Belgorod (Ackerman), Kiliya.⁴¹

In the 15th – the 17th centuries, the Armenian communities of Budzhak established close economic ties with European trading cities, while Kiliya and Ackerman took the key positions in international trade in the region.⁴² Apart from trading operations, the Armenians of Budzhak were engaged in making carpets, colored leather, weaving, making weapons.

³⁵ Tsyganenko L., *Greek Nobility in the Life of the South Ukrainian Cities (the Second Half of the 18th – the 19th Cent.)*, “Діалог культур: Україна – Греція: культурна політика ХХІ ст. в європейській ретроспективі”, Київ, 2016, p. 37.

³⁶ МІА, f. 514, f. 6, p. 7, 58.

³⁷ МІА, f. 514, f. 6, p. 8.

³⁸ МІА, f. 514, f. 12.

³⁹ МІА, f. 514, f. 7, p. 8.

⁴⁰ МІА, f. 514, f. 7, p. 9.

⁴¹ Tsyganenko L., *Ethnic Composition of the Inhabitants of Izmail Fortress at the Beginning of the 19th Century (Following the Local Archives)*, “Етнічна історія народів Європи”, Вип. 41, К. 2014, p. 21.

⁴² Козур Y., *Armenians in Bessarabia*, “Кур’єр недели”, № 35, 30 апреля 2010.

At the beginning of the 19th century Armenians occupied a separate block on the territory of the fortress of Izmail, they had their own church. By the beginning of 1812, only 349 Armenians lived in the fortress.⁴³ The most numerous Armenian families included the Zadurovs, the Khachadovs, the Sarkisovs, the Karabiberovs, the Agunovs etc. According to the data of 1817, only 12 Armenians lived in the town of Tuchkov, while in the fortress of Izmail the Armenians constituted the majority – 273 people or almost 40% of its inhabitants.⁴⁴

In 1820, an independent Armenian cemetery was founded in Izmail⁴⁵, the wooden Armenian church of St. George functioned, which owned 2 houses. The service in the church was led by four priests and their assistants. The main occupation of the Armenians of Izmail was trade, although among others there were silversmiths, tailors, gardeners.

In 1817, 80 representatives of **the Jewish** ethnic group were officially registered in the town of Tuchkov that accounted for 1.2% of the total number of residents.⁴⁶

The archival materials for 1820 allow us to establish that, on the one hand, the authorities did not treat the local Jews kindly: the Jewish prayer house (existed since 1812) disappears from the city statistical records. On the other hand, the authorities not particularly interfere with the Jews to move to the Danube land.⁴⁷ The total number of the Jewish population in the town of Tuchkov is of 364 people. The most popular occupation among the Jewish population of the town was peddling and the sale of hot wine. Of the total number of the Jewish community in the town, only 1 person (!) was engaged in agriculture.

Time passed. The authorities and rulers changed. The periods of active colonization of the Budzhak steppes were followed by the periods of stagnation and outflow of population. Representatives of each of the ethnic groups made an invaluable contribution to the development of the economy and culture of the region, putting a lot of effort and money to develop it. For several centuries it was the Budzhak region that became the platform for the formation of a model of conflict-free coexistence of representatives of various ethnic groups, their mutual influence and mutual enrichment.

⁴³ Tsyganenko L., *The Armenians of Southern Bessarabia in the Social and Economic Development of the Region in the 19th Century*, “Південь України: етно-історичний, мовний, культурний та релігійний виміри”, Одеса, 2015, p. 406.

⁴⁴ МІА, f. 514, f. 12, p. 8.

⁴⁵ *Budzhak: Historical and Ethnographic...*, p. 198.

⁴⁶ МІА, f. 514, f. 12, p. 21.

⁴⁷ Shevchuk T., “Historical and Cultural Heritage and Collective Remembrance of the Local Community”, in *The Ukrainian Danube Region in the Light of Humanitarian Studies*, Izmail, 2015, pp. 178-198.

Vera TSERKOVNAYA *

**COLLECTIVE PORTRAIT OF THE CHISINAU DIOCESANS DURING
THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE XIX-th CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING
OF THE XX-th**

- Abstract -

An important conceptual direction of modern historical science is the study of the personality principles in historico-cultural phenomena and processes (“history in faces”), creation of collective portraits of various social or professional groups expanding the social and cultural information through the worldview and activities of individual representatives of the region.

A significant place in the social history and structure of the population of Bessarabia in the XIXth century was kept by the clergy.

The article attempts to create a collective portrait of the Chisinau diocesans during the period between the XIXth century and the beginning of the XX-th. The author has analyzed leading clergymen personnel. Their biograms has been distinguished by means of such criteria as: social and national origin, education, scientific inquiries, career way, outstanding service for the community, authority among the local population and church fraternity.

The conducted analysis of biographical information gives us generalized collective portrait of the Chisinau diocesans of the XIX-th and the beginning of the XX-th century. It was a clergyman from one of Russian provinces, who received an academic clerical education. Prior to the appointment to the department, the future bishop passed several levels of the church hierarchy, he was assigned to the department at the age of 56, the average length of stay in the diocese was 8 years. Traditionally, the Chisinau bishops paid serious attention to education, book printing, raising the level of education of the clergy, improving worship services, building and preserving church buildings. Each of them contributed to the development of the Chisinau diocese, most of the bishops had authority among the flock and the clergy. Biographies of some lords require clarification and further research.

Keywords: church, Chisinau diocese, bishop, clergy, collective portrait.

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An important conceptual direction of modern historical science is the study of the personality principles in historical and cultural phenomena and processes (“history in faces”), creation of collective portraits of various social or professional groups expanding the social and cultural information through the worldview and activities of individual representatives of the region.

A significant place in the social history and structure of the population of Bessarabia in the XIX-th century was kept by the clergy. After the annexation of South Bessarabia to the Russian Empire the Orthodox Church was the guide through the state ideology. By the middle of the XIX-th century “administrative russification” of Bessarabia, the purpose of which was the integration of this region into the general imperial system of government, was generally completed. The growth of Russian nationalism, repressive ethnopolitics of the Russian Empire, and formation of Romanian state contributed to the fact that the authorities, both secular and church, were looking for the ways of fast joining of Bessarabian population to all-Russian cultural space. Mediators between Russian authorities and the Bessarabian population were churches and schools. Church ministers performed not only specific religious functions, but also cultural, educational and moral. The main role in this policy was played by the ruling bishops of the Chisinau diocese of the 19th and early 20th century. Thus, the study of generalized biographies and the creation of collective portraits of outstanding historical figures which were considered to be the elite of society even during their lifetime became very topical.

With the purpose of creating a collective portrait of the leaders of the Chisinau diocese will be considered personal composition of the Chisinau bishops of the 19th – early 20th century, analyzed their biograms according to several criteria: social, ethnic, geographical origin, education, scientific research, career paths, merits before the society, authority among the spiritual brotherhood and the flock.

Historiography of the history of the church and historical portraits of prominent religious figures are represented primarily by the works of secular and church historians of the 19th century, the first ones were A. Skalkovsky, N. Murzakevich, Gabriel (Rozanov), F. Milianovsky, Feodosiy (Makarevsky) and S. Serafimov. Among modern researchers of the history of the Orthodox Church in the south of Ukraine an important place is taken by the works of A. Boyko, N. Dianova, I. Liman, A. Stepanenko, A. Trigub, O. Fedorchuk. Certain aspects of the status of the Orthodox clergy of the region, its role in society, biographies of individual

spiritual personalities, and the prosopography of certain categories of the Bessarabian population are studied by the historians V. Tserkovna¹, L. Tsyganenko².

The biographical literature is not numerous and rather fragmentary describes the biographies of the bishops of the Chisinau diocese. The most completely studied biography is the one of Metropolitan Gabriel (Banulescu-Bodoni). To the rest of Chisinau bishops are devoted only separate articles, dictionary articles and obituaries. Among the publications of the newest period should be mentioned thematic bibliographic index on the development of Orthodoxy in the South Ukraine in the late 18th and early 20th centuries, containing information about documents and literature on this issue³. The index contains a list of publications about archbishops and their scientific heritage. These are mainly essays, articles, notes and various materials to the “Chisinau Diocesan Registry”. A classic example of prosopographical research is a unique edition of the biographical dictionary of the Kiev Theological Academy containing articles about the bishops of the Chisinau diocese who have graduated this Academy⁴.

After joining Bessarabia to the Russian Empire, when was important to create church-administrative structures for complete control over these territories, Gabriel (Banulescu-Bodoni), a member of the Synod, cultivated a project which was transformed into the formation of a new diocese – Chisinau and Khotin with the title of metropolis and exarchy⁵. To organize the church life, Gabriel (Banulescu-Bodoni) moved from Iasi to Chisinau, where the bishop's house, the dikastery (consistory) and the seminary had to be operated. The head of the diocese was appointed Metropolitan Gabriel (Banulescu-Bodoni), previously the Exarch of

¹ В. Церковная, *Православное духовенство Румынии второй половины XIX в. (по материалам «Кишиневских епархиальных ведомостей»)*, “Journal of Danubian Studies and Research”, Vol. 5, № 2, 2015.

² Л. Циганенко, *Бессарабські дворяни в XIX ст. : матеріали до просопографічного портрету. Теоретичні, методичні та практичні проблеми історії, філософії, соціології, політології, правознавства // Збірник наукових праць за матеріалами науково-практичної конференції (20 січня 2017 р.)*, РВВ ІДГУ, Ізмаїл, 2017, pp.150-155.

³ *Розвиток православ'я на Півдні України, кінець XVIII – початок XX ст. (на матеріалах Херсонської губернії та Південної Бессарабії): бібліографічний покажчик / авт.-упоряд.: В. В. Самодурова [та ін.] ; наук. ред. Н. М. Діанова; відп. ред. М. О. Подрезова; ОНУ ім. І. І. Мечникова, Одеса, 2010.*

⁴ *Биографический словарь выпускников Киевской духовной академии: 1819–1920-е гг.: Материалы из собрания проф. протоиерея Ф. И. Титова и архива КДА : в 4 т. / [сост. В. И. Ульяновский], Киев, 2014.*

⁵ І. Лиман, *Російська православна церква на півдні України останньої чверті XVIII – середини XIX століття*, Available at: <http://www.i-lyman.name/RPCerkvaPivdUkr.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 341.

Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia. The newly formed diocese included Bessarabian parishes, as well as parishes of the Kherson province with the cities of Odessa, Tiraspol, Ananiev, Elisavetgrad. The total number of parishes was about 800 churches, more than 700 of which – in Bessarabia and at least – 100 on the left bank of Dniester⁶.

During the XIX – early XX century Chisinau's episcopal department was headed by 13 spiritual dignitaries: Metropolitan Gavriil (Banulesko-Bodoni Grigory Grigoryevich), exarch of the Holy Synod (1813-1821); Archbishop Dimitry (Sulima Daniil Ivanovich) (1821-1844); Bishop, Archbishop (1845) Irinarkh (Popov Yakov Dmitrievich) (1844 - 1858); Bishop, Archbishop (1861) Antony (Alexei Shokotov) (1858-1871); Bishop, Archbishop (1882) Pavel (Lebedev Peter Vasilyevich) (1871-1882); Archbishop Sergius (Lyapidevsky Nikolai Yakovlevich) (1882-1891); Bishop Isaac (Polozhensky Ioan Kalinnikovich) (1891-1892 gg.); Archbishop Neophyte (Nevodchikov Nikolai Vasilievich) (1892-1898 gg.); Bishop Iakov (Piyatnitsky Ivan Alekseevich) (1898-1904); Bishop Vladimir (Sinkovskii Filaret Alekseevich) (1904- 1908); Bishop Seraphim (Chichagov Leonid Mikhailovich) (1908-1914); Archbishop Platon (Christmas Porphyry Fedorovich) (1914-1915); Bishop Anastasiy (Alexander Gribovsky) (1915-1919). Thus, the diocese was headed by 1 metropolitan, 7 archbishops and 5 bishops.

By origin most of the hierarchs of the Chisinau diocese came from families that belonged to the clergy, 9 out of 13 bishops (69%). Metropolitan Gabriel (Banulesko-Bodoni) and Archbishop Neofit (Nevodchikov) were originally from noble families. A peculiar exception in the cohort of the diocesan bishops became Bishop Seraphim (Chichagov). He came from an ancient aristocratic family: the great-grandson of the famous admiral V. Y. Chichagov, one of the first explorers of the Arctic Ocean; Grandson of P. V. Chichagov, Marine Minister of Russia, a prominent participant of the Patriotic War of 1812⁷. Archbishop Dimitry (Sulima), who was born in the famous family of the Ukrainian Cossack sergeant-major, was not associated with the church environment⁸. Of all the ruling bishops, three were from the Ukrainian lands – Dimitry (Sulima), was born in Kharkov province, Anthony (Shokotov) from Slobodsko-Ukrainian province,

⁶ Игумен Ириной (Тафуня), *Митрополит Гавриил (Банулеско-Бодони) и основанная им Кишиневско – Хотинская епархия*, Available at: <http://www.bogoslov.ru/text/408560.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 89.

⁷ *Краткое жизнеописание Священномученика Митрополита Серафима (Чичагова) (составлено внучкой святителя игуменьей Серафимой (Черной-Чичаговой), настоятельницей московского Новодевичьего монастыря)*, Available at: <https://www.sedmitza.ru/text/395634.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

⁸ В. Гросул, *Димитрий*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/178175.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

Vladimir (Sinkovsky) from Kakhovka of the Taurian province. Presumably, two more ministers – Irinarkh (Popov) and Platon (Rozhdestvensky) could have Ukrainian background as they were born in Kursk province. All the rest bishops were from Russian provinces: one from Kaluga, three from St. Petersburg, one from Tambov, one from Tver, and one from Tula. The future metropolitan Gabriel (Banulesko-Bodoni) was born in Moldovan family in Transylvania, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The bishops of the Chisinau diocese, as a rule, studied at the closest to the house spiritual collegium or seminary, and then received a higher special spiritual education: four of them graduated from the Kyiv one, four from the Moscow Academy, and three from the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. Hierarch Dimitry (Sulima) graduated only the Ekaterinoslav Theological Seminary, and Seraphim (Chichagov) had no spiritual education at all. Having finished education at the First Classical St. Petersburg Gymnasium he entered the Corps of Pages of His Imperial Majesty, after that he was sent to serve in the Preobrazhensky Regiment. He made an excellent military career: ensign, second lieutenant, lieutenant, adjutant of comrade of His Imperial Majesty, General Feldsehmeymeister, staff captain, colonel⁹. He could count on further advancement along the steps of the military hierarchy, he was awarded more than 10 Russian and foreign orders, but he chose a spiritual ministry.

After the graduation from the spiritual academy, the scientific and theological attestation presupposed the awarding of theological degrees to the graduates: candidate – master – doctor¹⁰. The Chisinau hierarchy was occupied by three candidates, one senior candidate, five masters of theology, two hierarchs completed several courses as volunteers of the theological academy.

Three Chisinau ministers prepared and defended their master's theses: Pavel (Lebedev) – “On Posts and Institutions for Church Administration in the Ancient Eastern Church”, Sergius (Lyapidevsky) – “On Commemoration of the Dead” and Ioan (Pyatnitsky) – “The Origin of Christian Worship”. Some of the higher clergy of the Chisinau diocese successfully combined religious and educational work with literary and scientific activities. A huge amount of works were left by Sergius (Lyapidevsky), Pavel (Lebedev), Neofit (Nevodchikov), Platon (Rozhdestvensky), Anastasiy (Gribanovsky). Their articles, speeches, sermons, translations and

⁹ *Краткое жизнеописание Священномученика Митрополита Серафима (Чичагова) (составлено внучкой святителя игуменьей Серафимой (Черной-Чичаговой), настоятельницей московского Новодевичьего монастыря), Available at: <https://www.sedmitza.ru/text/395634.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).*

spiritual poems were published in “Pravoslavoe Obozreni”, “Strannik”, “Moskovskie Tserkovnie Vedomosti”, “Missioner”, “Kishinevskie Eparhialnie Vedomosti”, “Tomskie Eparhialnie Vedomosti”, “Khristianskoe Chtenie”, “Pravoslavniy Sobesednik”, “Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie”, “Tserkovnaya Gazeta”, “Odesskiy Voskresniy Listok”, “Odesskii Vestnik”, “Bibliograficheskie Zapiski”, “Russkii Arkhiv”. Ministers Dimitry (Sulima) and Anthony (Shokotov) were engaged in the translation of liturgical books, canons, akathists, catechisms and other books of religious content into the Moldovan language. The name of Metropolitan Gabriel is associated with the establishment of the Bessarabian branch of the Russian Bible Society and activities aimed into correction of the Moldovan Bible. Iakov (Pyatnitsky) was an honorary member of the Kiev, Moscow and Kazan Theological Academies.

Before placement to the Chisinau Department, the future bishop had to pass several levels of the church hierarchy. As a rule, before the tonsure, they were teachers or inspectors in secular or spiritual institutions of different levels, senior priests in the rural parish. After that, they could take the place of abbot, dean of the monastery, rector of the theological seminary with the subsequent elevation to the rank of archimandrite. Prior to the appointment as a bishop, in most cases, the bishop served as a vicar. For half of the hierarchs, the appointment to the Chisinau department was the first in their career and for another part – it was a transfer from another diocese.

The average age of the Chisinau bishops was 56 years. The youngest for the time of the appointment to the episcopal chair was Bishop Anastassy (Gribanovsky), who turned 42 years old, Archbishop Neofit (Nevodchikov) arrived to Chisinau in a respectable 73-year-old age. The average length of the archpastors' residence at the Chisinau and Khotin Departments was 8 years. The longest, 23 years, managed the Diocese of Chisinau, Dimitri (Sulima) – from 1821 to 1844, continuing the work of Metropolitan Gabriel. The shortest period of the archpastoral ministry – 1 year – was the government of bishop Isaacius (Polozhensky) and archbishop Platon (Rozdestvenskii).

In the diocese the bishop served as administrative, judicial and economic authority over the clergy. He raised the clergy to the rank, appointed to serve and imposed penalties for misdemeanors. An important direction of his activities was the preservation of faith and morality, reading of sermons and conducting of divine services. Also, the diocesan bishop was assigned to take control over the spiritual schools and teaching the Law of God in secular schools. The bishop was obliged to

¹⁰ Игум. Михаил (Крастелёв), игум. Серафим (Питерский), мон. Мелетия (Панкова), *Иринарх*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/673977.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 101.

submit to the Synod reports on the state of the diocese, reports on important events and defend the interests of the church before local government bodies.

Traditionally Chisinau bishops paid much attention to education. The specificity of church policy in this question was determined by the domination of the Moldovan population on these lands, and it was directly related to the activities of the Metropolitan of Chisinau and Khotin Gabriel (Banulescu-Bodoni). He significantly strengthened the position of Orthodoxy, became famous as a bona fide archpastor, gifted preacher, theologian, linguist, publisher. However, historians do not have a well-defined assessment of his activity. Romanian researcher Diana Etsko calls him “patriarch of the russification of the province”, “the greatest agent of Russia”. One of the hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Ardial Anthony (Plamadéal) notes two most important achievements of Metropolitan Gabriel: the founding of the Chisinau theological seminary in 1813 and the printing house in 1814¹¹. Before the opening of Kherson Theological Seminary in Odessa, Chisinau Seminary was the main spiritual educational institution in the southern region of the Russian Empire. In 1828, 45 out of 54 pupils came from the Kherson province, first of all, from the Tiraspol district¹². In 1816 at the seminary was opened a boarding-school for Bessarabian noblemen that was functioning as a regional gymnasium¹³.

Among the graduates of the seminary and the nobling-school were not only spiritual persons, but also outstanding figures of the Moldovan national culture: A. Mateevitch, A. Plamadală, the brothers Hejeu, K. Negre, A. Russo, A. Donic, K. Stamati and many others. The importance of the opening of the printing house and its activities is hard to overestimate. In addition to books of liturgical content, various spiritual materials, school textbooks for seminarians, orders, and decrees of secular authorities were printed there. From 1814 to 1821 years in the printing house were published 19320 copies of various books for the needs of Bessarabia¹⁴.

The contribution of Metropolitan Gabriel Dimitri (Sulima) was the opening of schools in the Kursk, Dobruja and Hirzhava monasteries, as well as in the Chisinau, Bender and Akkerman districts and implementation of Lancaster schools in Bessarabia during the period of his administration. Special attention was paid to

¹¹ Игумен Ириней (Тафуня), *Митрополит Гавриил (Банулеску-Бодони) и основанная им Кишиневско – Хотинская епархия*, Available at: <http://www.bogoslov.ru/text/408560.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 3.

¹² А.Филипенко, *Просвітницька діяльність митрополита Кишинівського і Хотинського Гавриїл (Бенулеску-Бодоні) в Бессарабії та на Півдні України*, Одеса, 2011, p. 356.

¹³ А.Филипенко, *Церква і освіта в Бессарабії у першій чверті ХІХ століття*, “Записки історичного факультету”, No 23, 2013, p. 320.

¹⁴ В. Стати, *История Молдовы*, Ch.: S. n., 2005, p. 249.

general education among the local population, for example, the “Rules” (“Pravila”) of education originally intended for the Olonets province, he translated into the Moldovan language, and then began to distribute through the Bessarabian parishes, during the sermons he urged parents to send their children to study in parochial schools. Succeeded in studying the Moldovan language, he managed to compile a catechism in the Moldovan language, translating precepts, a hymnal, a service book, a Moldavian trebnik. Most of his literary heritage is published on the pages of the “Chisinau Diocesan Registry”.

At the temples bishop Anthony opened libraries, founded the publication of the diocesan organ “Chisinau Diocesan Registry” publishing articles in Russian and Moldavian. On his initiative a women's diocesan school was opened in Chisinau for the arrangement of which he donated personal funds and attracted philanthropists.

Schools for juvenile orphans of priests were founded at 15 monasteries by Bishop Paul, named for his spiritual and educational activity “Apostle of Bessarabia”¹⁵.

In Bessarabia significantly increased the number of parochial schools and literacy schools during the stay at the Chisinau department of bishop Isaicius (Posolozhensky): from 151 to 243, and the number of students from 5514 to 7979¹⁶.

The bishops paid special attention to raising the level of education of the parish clergy and improving worship services in rural churches. For example, Dimitri (Sulima) invited seminarians of Podol and Yekaterinoslav gymnasiums for the service. Bishop of Kishinev Irinarkh (Popov), arriving at a new place of service in 1844, described the state of affairs in the church sphere as “very depressing” and attempted to reform the church administration. He changed the work of the spiritual consistory, simplified the system of deaneries. He paid much attention to raising the level of education of the clergy, appointed two inspectors for verification, opened a class for the psalmists. In order for the clergy to learn how to preach he assigned 7 largest city churches as the places for practice. Low level of education of the clergy he was trying to raise by the activation of printing. With the blessing of the hierarch in 1853, 600 copies of the Triodion, 600 copies of the Gospel were published in the Moldovan language¹⁷.

Bishop Anthony (Shokotov) enforced the election of the archpriest and established archpriests councils in the diocese. To discuss various problems of spiritual life, soon after inauguration, bishop Isaac (Polozhensky) convened district

¹⁵ Павел (Лебедев), Available at: <http://drevo-info.ru/articles/2227.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

¹⁶ А Горобец, *Исаакий*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/674782.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 37.

¹⁷ Игум. Михаил (Крастелёв), игум. Серафим (Питерский), мон. Мелетия (Панкова), *Иринарх*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/673977.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

school congresses, as well as the diocesan congress of the clergy, initiated extra-service interviews with parishioners in the diocese¹⁸.

A special place in the history of the Chisinau and Khotin Diocese is taken by Bishop Seraphim (Chichagov), who constantly led a persistent struggle against the innocents, the largest unorthodox religious movement in Bessarabia¹⁹.

During the First World War, Bishop Anastassy (Gribanovsky) went to the front, performed prayers and requiems, patriotic sermons. For the fast integration of the population of Bessarabia into the all-Russian space, secular and public authorities pursued a Russification policy. The beginning of an explicit Russification policy in the Diocese of Chisinau was during the reign of archbishop Irinarh (Popov). During his government a significant part of the archpriests-Moldovans was replaced by the Russians. In the 40's and 50's of XIX century the number of books published was sharply reduced; in fact the printing house printed only the Psalter in Moldovan language²⁰.

Under the successor to Irinarh, bishop Antonii (Shokotov), the need for Russification was declared, but no harsh measures were taken. "Chisinau Diocesan Registry" since 1867 had been printing with a parallel text in Russian and Moldovan.

With the inauguration of bishop Paul (Lebedev), a period of intensive Russification of church life was started: all church documentation was translated into Russian, the system of elections of abbots was abolished, monasteries at their own expense had to open Russian schools, were enforced Slavonic church choirs, Moldavian singing was also replaced by Slavonic²¹. "Chisinau Diocesan Registry" finally stopped to be translated into Moldovan.

To the end of the XIX century the policy of Bishop Paul (Lebedev) was continued by his successors, although not so actively. Under archbishop Sergii (Lyapidevsky), the Diocesan Printing House was finally closed down, and its property was sold²².

¹⁸ А Горобец, *Исаакий*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/674782.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), p. 38.

¹⁹ О Гром, *Иннокентиевское движение и «молдавский вопрос» в Бессарабии в начале XX века*, Москва, 2014, pp. 86-106.

²⁰ О. Гром, *Церковная русификация в Бессарабии в середине XIX века*, Таганрог, 2013, p. 90.

²¹ И. Пархомович, *Краткий очерк архипастырской деятельности в Бессарабии высокопреосвященного Павла, Архиепископа Кишиневского и Хотинского с 1871 по 1881 год*, Кишинев, 1882, p. 46.

²² О. Гром, *Церковная русификация в Бессарабии в середине XIX века*, Таганрог, 2013, p. 93.

Another important point of attention for the bishops was church construction. Metropolitan Gabriel, arriving in Chisinau, initiated and strongly supported the erection of churches, the Metropolitan House and buildings for the seminaries.

In 1817, it was built the Chisinau metropolia. In 1818, the construction of the cathedral of the Nativity of Christ began and was completed in 1836. The reconstruction of the Kiprianov Monastery also began²³. In general, if in 1816 there were 935 churches and 11 monasteries in the Bessarabian region, then in 1834 there were already 1 cathedral, 1,033 churches, 12 prayer houses, 16 male and 6 female monasteries and hermetages. The modern Ukrainian researcher of Orthodoxy in the South of Ukraine I. Liman notes that at the same time there were 22 cathedrals in the Ekaterinoslav, Kherson and Tavriya dioceses, 662 parochial schools, 14 churches with monasteries, 7 congregational churches, 1 prayer house and 4 monasteries²⁴. Under Dimitri (Sulima) the number of churches throughout Bessarabia increased from 862 to 905. He headed the construction of the Odessa monastery, the Cathedral of the Nativity of Christ in Chisinau²⁵.

Bishop Irinarkh (Popov) also worried about the preservation of church buildings, buildings in disrepair he allowed to close only if there were constructed new ones. In the year of his appointment, 1858, from 865 church buildings made of stone were 314²⁶. During the years of Anthony's government about 300 churches were built and restored in Bessarabia, about 400 parish schools had been opened²⁷.

The metropolitan and hierarchy tried in every possible way to raise the moral level of the clergy, fought against vagrancy, drunkenness and other vices that prevailed among the Bessarabian clergy and the population. Thus, in biographical notes and articles about the majority of the leaders of the diocese, we can see such characteristics: an exemplary christian, distinguished by simplicity and accessibility for all, disinterested, non-possessive, generous to the poor, demanding in business, strict to violators of his duties, always ready to help. But sometimes we can find other estimates, for example: has difficult character, has no sense of cordiality in the relationship, was eager for money. For their activities some bishops were awarded various religious and public awards. Metropolitan Gabriel (Banulesko-Bodoni)

²³ С. Суляк, *Ими гордится Молдавия*, Кишинев, 2006, р. 83.

²⁴ І. Лиман, *Державна церква і державна влада: Південна Україна (1775 – 1861)*, Запоріжжя, 2004, р. 57.

²⁵ В. Гросул, *Димитрий*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/178175.html> (accessed 20 May 2017), р. 100.

²⁶ Игум. Михаил (Крестелёв), игум. Серафим (Питерский), мон. Мелетия (Панкова), *Иринарх*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/673977.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

²⁷ М. Воробьев, *Антоний*, Available at: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/116032.html> (accessed 20 May 2017).

was awarded a number of awards, among which the Order of St. Andrew, Antony (Shokotov) was awarded the Order of Alexander Nevsky, Isaak (Polozhensky) – the Order of St. Vladimir II degree, Vladimir (Sinkovsky) – the Order of St. Anna I and III degrees, St. Vladimir II and III degrees, Sergius (Lyapidevsky) – a diamond cross for wearing on a hood and a diamond cross for wearing on the miter, Iacov (Pyatnitsky) – a diamond cross for wearing on a hood.

Thus, within the framework of the conducted analysis of biographical information, a generalized collective portrait of the Chisinau bishops of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is clearly visible. It was a clergyman from one of Russian provinces, who received an academic spiritual education. Prior to the appointment to the department, the future bishop passed several levels of the church hierarchy, he was assigned to the department at the age of 56, the average length of stay in the diocese was 8 years. Traditionally, the Chisinau bishops paid serious attention to education, book printing, raising the level of education of the clergy, improving worship services, building and preserving church buildings. Each of them contributed to the development of the Chisinau diocese, most of the bishops had authority among the flock and the clergy. Biographies of some lords require clarification and further research.

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Natalia VOLKANOVA *

**THE NOBILITY OF BESSARABIA AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR:
FINANCIAL ASPECTS**

- Abstract -

On the basis of previously unpublished archival documents, the volumes, forms and ways of financial donations by the representatives of the nobility of the province of Bessarabia for the needs of the army during the period 1904-1905 have been investigated. It has been proved that the aristocrats of Bessarabia during the Russo-Japanese War actively rendered assistance to the army and navy.

Keywords: nobility, charity, the province of Bessarabia, the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Red Cross Society.

The study of the history of charity during the late 19th – early 20th centuries is one of the important tasks of modern historical science. This topic is especially relevant when analyzing the turning points of history – the periods of military conflicts. It is at a time when the guidelines of society are changing that the question of supporting servicemen and their families becomes acute.

The beginning of the 19th century was marked by a number of armed clashes, one of which was the Russo-Japanese War. It became clear immediately that the Russian Empire was not prepared for protracted military actions in the Far East. The war with Japan caused a patriotic rise in the empire. All strata of the society showed a desire to help soldiers in the Far Eastern theater of military operations and to offer donations. The donations of the nobility were particularly generous. The representatives of the nobility of Bessarabia did not stay out of this process.

The analysis of recent studies shows that various aspects of the charitable activities of the nobility in the late 19th – early 20th centuries have found sufficient

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coverage in the scientific literature. In particular, L. Tsyganenko in her works analyzes the legal basis for the formation of the nobility of Bessarabia, the peculiarities of its ennoblement and internal stratification, charitable, entrepreneurial, trade and financial activities, etc.¹ The leading role of the representatives of the nobility in the creation and functioning of central and local branches of the Russian Red Cross Society is considered in the work of N. Honcharova². Various questions concerning forms and methods of organization of nobiliary charitable aid for the war victims during the period 1904-1905 in different parts of the empire have become the object of study of E. Smirnova³ and A. Chvikalov⁴. Most aspects of financial assistance to the army by the nobles of Bessarabia during the Russo-Japanese War have not appeared to be the subject of any individual study yet. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to cover the volumes, forms and ways of monetary donations by the representatives of the nobility of Bessarabia for the needs of the army during the period 1904-1905.

As noted above, the Russian army and its logistics were not ready for protracted combat operations in the Far East. For example, two months after the outbreak of the war, medical institutions were unable to provide adequate assistance to the wounded Russian soldiers for lack of beds, specialists, equipment and transport⁵. Considerable funds were needed for the organization of sanitary units, doctors' trips and preparation of hospital equipment, but the state lacked them. Therefore, the government appealed to the population of the empire to support ill and wounded soldiers.

Such appeals came not only from the government establishments, but also from the representatives of the royal family. So, on February 21, 1904, a letter from the Empress Maria Fedorivna, addressed to the chairman of the Bessarabian administration of the Russian Red Cross was delivered, where it was requested to donate money to help ill soldiers.

¹ Liliya Tsyganenko, *The Nobility of the South of Ukraine (the second half of the 19th century – 1917)*, Izmail, 2010, 384 p.

² Natalya Honcharova, *The nobility of the province of Kherson in the activities of the Russian Red Cross in the late 19th – early 20th centuries*, “Scientific Works of the History Faculty of the National University of Zaporizhzhia”, Issue 41, 2014, pp. 71-76.

³ Catherine Smirnova, *The attitude of the privileged strata of society of the Upper Volga region to the events in the Far East*, 2012, http://www.superinf.ru/view_helpstud.php? Id = 5420.

⁴ Alexey Chvikalov, *The role of the nobility in the organization of charity in the period of the Russo-Japanese War (based on the studies of the province of Voronezh)*, “Scientific Journal”, Issue 6, 2008, pp. 89-94.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 90.

As early as March 6, 1904, in response to this letter, a charitable literary and musical party was held by the nobility of the town of Akkerman. The funds collected at it were conveyed for the needs of the Red Cross and the Navy. The second concert was organized on May 13, 1905 by such Akkerman noblemen as P. Diagelev, V. Brcheosniovsky, M. Yaroshevych. The finances from the concert were sent to the Far Eastern theater of military actions to equip the nobiliary hospitals⁶.

Since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, part of the nobility of the empire had united to assist the army. The materials of the report of the special financial commission show that in 1904 the aristocrats collected 268,054 roubles and 19 kopeks in cash, and the total received contributions were in the amount of 362, 554 roubles and 19 kopeks⁷. The nobility associations of the country were conditionally divided into 5 categories: the first – they contributed all the money (both appropriated and collected), the second – they only gave part of the declared funds and set the terms for further contributions; the third – they provided part of the funds, but did not limit the time; the fourth – they did not contribute anything, but determined the time; the fifth – they did not allocate anything and did not specify a time frame. The nobility of Bessarabia belonged to the fifth category and only announced the donation of 50,000 roubles⁸.

On the initiative of the provincial leader of the nobility, the prayer service “On giving victory to the army” was held in the building of the Bessarabian municipal council on February 12, 1904. On the same day, the convening of an extraordinary nobility assembly was announced on March 28, 1904 to discuss the question of the size of donations by local aristocrats in favor of sick and wounded soldiers in the Far East⁹. The meeting took place on the indicated day, in the presence of 49 delegates from the noblemen. The provincial leader of the nobility M. Krupensky offered to accept contributions only from hereditary noblemen, but non-hereditary aristocrats opposed, because they also wanted to take part in providing assistance.

It was decided to collect donations in the amount of 120,000 roubles. Out of this sum of money 10, 000 roubles were planned to give for the needs of the Red Cross (at the disposal of the fund of the Empress Maria Fedorivna), 50, 000 roubles – for the development of the military fleet, another 50,000 roubles – for the

⁶ “The Izmil Archives” Municipal Institution (hereinafter referred to as IAMI), Fund 770, Inv. 1, File 17, pp. 58-59, 135.

⁷ “The National Archives of the Republic of Moldova” (hereinafter referred to as NARM), Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 87, p. 27.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

⁹ NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 106, p. 1.

incorporate nobiliary committee of assistance to sick and wounded soldiers, and 10, 000 roubles – for the purchase of various ammunition for the nobiliary hospitals in the Far East. M. Krupensky and H. Kristi were delegated as the representatives of the Bessarabian nobility in the Chief Administrative Committee. Each district announced the creation of local committees to collect donations¹⁰.

The planned amounts were collected almost immediately. So, as early as May 3, 1904, the Bessarabian leader of the nobility informed the emperor that the local aristocrats had donated 120,000 roubles for wartime needs. At the same time, it was requested to deduct 50,000 roubles from this sum to strengthen the navy. Mykola II thanked the nobility of Bessarabia with a telegram for such a generous donation.

In late May 1904, 10, 000 roubles provided by the Bessarabian aristocrats were transferred to the fund of the Empress Maria Fedorivna for the needs of troops in the Far East.

It should be noted that the charity activity of the nobility during this period was not quite an “ungrateful” affair. For such gestures of goodwill aristocrats received awards, privileges and certain benefits. For example, in April 1904 the Bessarabian provincial leader of the nobility suspended the taxation for war needs of aristocrats, who were the most active in charity¹¹.

In addition to collective charitable contributions to the needs of the army, there were individual donations from some representatives of the nobility. The largest sums of money were donated by the barons Viktor and Dmytro Stuart (595 roubles and 27 kopecks), the noblewomen A. Lermontova (553 roubles and 63 kopeks), A. Krupenska (205 roubles and 76 kopeks), N. Krupenska (100 roubles, for which 38 warm blankets were bought), K. Frumusaki-Murzu (12 roubles), the noblemen B. Yanushevych (94 roubles and 41 kopeks), V. Navrotsky (50 roubles), prince D. Sviatopolk (26 roubles and 32 kopeks)¹².

In the archival files of the National Archives of the Republic of Moldova there is a letter from the Red Cross administration to the editorial office of the newspaper “Bessarabets” with the request to print the names of the most generous philanthropists, such as Kh. Anush (600 roubles), M. Luchynska (25 roubles), A. Baznytska (5 roubles)¹³.

Among the Bessarabian noblemen there were those ones who gave their bank interest for the war needs and the like. For example, V. Muntian transferred the

¹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 17-18.

¹¹ IAMI, Fund 770, Inv. 1, File 17, pp. 112-116.

¹² IAMI, Fund 770, Inv.1, File 21, p. 119; NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 104, p. 96; NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 107, p. 56.

¹³ NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 104, p. 21.

dividends belonging to him from the member capital in the Kyshyniv Mutual Credit Society (8 roubles)¹⁴.

During the war the representatives of the nobility also donated via signature lists to strengthen the nobiliary Red Cross detachments. So, in the spring of 1904, 153 roubles and 33 kopeks were contributed in such a way¹⁵.

In the archives, there has been found some information on the financial receipts of the Bessarabian noblemen of various districts. The funds were collected in an amount of 6 roubles and 50 kopeks out of every thousand roubles of the property value. The money was transferred by the district leaders of the nobility.

Thus, the donations of the noblemen of Bessarabia occurred in several stages. The first stage came in the spring of 1904. At that time the noblemen of Bieltsy district collected 28,539 roubles, Khotyn aristocrats donated 25, 220 roubles, Kyshyniv aristocrats – 23, 552 roubles and 20 kopeks, Soroky aristocrats – 13,709 roubles, Bendery aristocrats – 12, 207 roubles, Orgieiev aristocrats – 12, 012 roubles, Akkerman aristocrats – 3, 497 roubles¹⁶.

The next stages were not distinguished by such significant donations. The second period lasted during the summer of 1904. At that time the nobility of Bieltsy district made the greatest number of contributions (11, 267 roubles and 87 kopeks).

The contributions of Kyshyniv, Bendery, Khotyn and Orgieiev districts fluctuated within 4000-7000 roubles. The nobility of Soroky and Akkerman districts gave the least aid: 2, 772 roubles and 31 kopeks and 1, 700 roubles respectively¹⁷.

Thereafter, money was not provided by all the districts. So, the third stage was in the autumn of 1904. The aristocrats of Kyshyniv district donated 7, 773 roubles and 98 kopeks, Khotyn aristocrats – 6, 972 roubles and 70 kopeks, Orgieiev aristocrats – 2,389 roubles and 30 kopeks, Bendery aristocrats – 1, 570 roubles and 76 kopeks, Akkerman aristocrats – 826 roubles and 33 kopeks, Bieltsy aristocrats – 126 roubles and 32 kopeks¹⁸. Soroky noblemen donated nothing at all.

Later on, the number of those ones wishing to allocate funds for charitable assistance decreased. In the winter of 1905, only the representatives of the nobility of Khotyn (1,128 roubles and 5 kopeks), Akkerman (558 roubles and 49 kopeks), and Soroky (129 roubles and 31 kopeks) districts provided money¹⁹.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 11-13.

¹⁶ NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 106, p. 15, 163, 179, 182, 187, 191, 197.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 265, 268, 272, 274, 287, 275, 316.

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp. 320-328.

¹⁹ NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 107, pp. 11, 27-28.

The last donations were made in the spring of 1905 by the nobility of Kyshyniv (39 roubles) and Bieltsi (28 roubles) districts (*See Table 1*)²⁰. In total, during the period 1904-1905, the noblemen from the province of Bessarabia contributed money for an overall amount of 181,996 roubles and 62 kopeks.

It should be noted that not all Bessarabian noblemen showed their consciousness in the matter of donation. For example, there was some information that the nobleman D. Yeremiia was to pay his contribution of 274 roubles, but he avoided donating in a variety of ways²¹.

Some of the collected funds were not sent directly to the Red Cross. So, in April 1905 the House of Labor in Kyshyniv received 103 roubles and 50 kopeks from the Bessarabian nobility for sewing, washing and transporting things for the nobiliary Red Cross detachments²².

At the end of the summer of 1905 the nobiliary sanitary unit of the Red Cross, for the needs of which the funds were received from the Bessarabian aristocrats, was liquidated. The money remaining on its account was decided to deposit at interest. This capital was planned to use for helping families of soldiers who had died during the Russo-Japanese War. For this purpose, on September 7, 1905, the Bessarabian leader of the nobility proposed to send 20,000 roubles left from the donations of the Bessarabian aristocrats to the cashier's office of the Moscow deputy assembly²³.

Due to the end of the war and because of the reduction of donations, on January 3, 1906 the provincial administration decided to stop collecting contributions via signature lists, and the funds that had already been received were decided to leave for the future, for the needs of wartime²⁴.

Thus, the nobility of the province of Bessarabia during the Russo-Japanese War actively rendered financial assistance to the army and navy. Their charity was both public and private. The money was donated individually, by means of signature lists, by organizing concerts, transferring dividends and charging interest on the war from the property value. This was one of many types of the charity activity of the Bessarabian aristocrats during the Russo-Japanese War, which requires further detailed study.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 62, 68.

²¹ NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 106, p. 206.

²² NARM, Fund 88, Inv. 2, File 107, p. 38.

²³ Ibidem, p. 78, 152.

²⁴ IAMI, Fund 770, Inv.1, File 21, p. 121.

Table 1
Monetary contributions of the nobility of the province of Bessarabia
(1904-1905)

District		Spring 1904	Summer 1904	Autumn 1904	Winter 1905	Spring 1905 p.
1.	Akkerman	3 497 rub.	1 700 rub.	826 rub. 33 kop.	558 rub. 49 kop.	–
2.	Bieltsi	28 539 rub.	11 267 rub. 87 kop.	126 rub. 32 kop.	–	28 rub.
3.	Bendery	12 207 rub.	6 286 rub. 1 kop.	1 570 rub. 76 kop.	–	–
4.	Kyshyniv	23 552 rub. 20 kop.	7 843 rub. 34 kop.	7 773 rub. 98 kop.	–	39 rub.
5.	Orgieiev	12 012 rub.	4 419 rub. 95 kop.	2 389 rub. 30 kop.	–	–
6.	Soroky	13 709 rub.	2 772 rub. 31 kop.	–	129 rub. 31 kop.	–
7.	Khotyn	25 220 rub.	7 428 rub. 25 kop.	6 972 rub. 70 kop.	1 128 rub. 5 kop.	–
Total		118 736 rub. 20 kop.	41 717 rub. 73 kop.	19 659 rub. 39 kop.	1 816 rub. 30 kop.	67 rub.

Tetyana SHEVCHUK *

**CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN TRADITIONS IN THE CHURCH HOLIDAYS
AND CEREMONIES OF BUDJAK
(BASED ON THE GRAPHICS OF VLADIMIR AFANASYEV)**

- Abstract -

In this study, it is our intention to highlight the peculiarities of intersection of Christian and pagan traditions in church holidays and ceremonies of Budjak, a border district in the south of Odessa region, Ukraine. Its distinctive features are multiculturalism and nationally specific forms of communication in the situation of dynamic cultural interference. The material of the study is the album *The World of Graphics...* (2001), by the Bessarabian artist Vladimir Afanasyev, who collected 140 ethnographic sketches with a verbal component created by him during a quarter of a century. The paper with a focus on "Holidays and Rituals" block of pictures continues some previous examinations conducted on the cycles of graphic images of V. Afanasiev, such as "Nature of Budjak", "Work", "Leisure", "Popular Pedagogy". The novelty consists of the conducted examination and the critical opinions, devoted to regional specifics of pre-Christian Old Slavonic ceremonies, preserved in collective memory of local society. The work can be useful to academics and practitioners who have specific responsibilities in the field of Cultural and Art Studies.

Keywords: Budjak, graphics, village, Christian, pagan, church holiday, ceremony, artistic impression.

The phenomenon of harmonious intersection of traditions of the New Testament and pagan culture in ritual practice of certain society is characteristic for the Christian cultural area. Kievan Rus was formed as a state with developed system of pagan beliefs that inevitably became the principles of religious 'dual faith' after the adoption of orthodoxy. Numerous injunctions for fighting with pagan remnants prove struggle with them. However, they are preserved either in open forms

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(caroling, Maslenitsa festival, Christmas divination), or in encrypted ones: symbols of choreography of round dance (circular, ornamental, playful), ceremonies, folklore, fairy tale, etc.

The attempt to study the peculiarities of intersection of pagan and Christian traditions in church holidays and ceremonies of Budjak is undertaken in this article. Budjak is a region in the Dniester and Danubian Watershed, being nowadays the South-Western part of Odessa region (Ukraine). It has different historical names, such as Budjak (Turkish), Southern Bessarabia (Romanian), as well as the Ukrainian Danube Region. The region has an interesting and heroic history, which goes back to antiquity. The favourable geographical position allowed ancient cities to play an important role in ancient trade. In the Middle Age, the region became the Slavic-Turkish-Roman-border, making it the part of the civilized frontier between the Christian and Muslim worlds. In 1812, according to the Bucharest peace treaty the part of Lower Danube Region and the Dniester with the fortresses of Ackerman, Izmail, Kiliya, Khotyn, Tyhina were included into the Russian Empire. Engaged in cattle breeding, Nogai Tatars were deported and Russian government invited the inhabitants of different European countries (Germany, Switzerland and Bulgaria) to colonize the wild and uncultivated land of Budjak, exempting them from taxes. The activities of the local communities of Russian old-believers and Romanians also played an important role in the development of the region. During the last 200 years the power changed here nine times without battles, but due to interstate agreements. Budjak was under the rule of Osman and Russian Empire, Romanian Kingdom, Moldova Principality, the USSR and Ukraine. Unstable state position in the region and its peripheral location in relation to each of the states, which pretended on it, resulted in insufficient attention to its accomplishment and development of the cultural potential.

Professor Iaroslav Kichuk underlines: “Budjak has great potential to be developed precisely in the cultural sphere. We are convinced that the main potential of Budjak is the people of the region. In the XIX century the territory was provided for settlement and cultivation of land for colonists of different countries: Bulgarian (centred in the city of Bolgrad), German (Artsyzy, Tarutino, etc.), Swiss (Shabo) and others. Another category of residents is ethnic Ukrainian, Russian and Romanian population, in particular of the Gagauz, Armenian, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Albanian origin and so on. So, multiculturalism is leading feature of the social development of the region, which laid the foundations of its new collective identity. Multiculturalism has affected Budjak artistic traditions, which are enriched by the achievements of different cultures”¹.

¹ Iaroslav Kichuk, *Higher School as the Activating Factor of Inter-Cultural Collaboration: European Context*, “European Integration: Realities and Perspectives”, Vol. 11, 2016, p. 452.

An important scientific result of the Regional Studies represents some historical, ethno-linguistic and ethnographic researches of Budjak. Among them: the multi-authored monograph *The Functioning of Literary Languages and Dialects in the Territory between the Dniester and the Danube* (Izmail, 2012); the collection of scientific articles “Philological Education in Multiethnic Area: Regional Experience” (Izmail, 2013), “Budjak: Historical and Ethnographic Essays of Southwestern Area of Odessa Region” (Odessa, 2014) being a result of long-term work of Odessa historians and ethnographers. The cultural traditions of ethnic groups in the lands of Budjak are professionally investigated by Izmail scientists: the monograph of Valentine Teleutsya, *Folklore Creativity in Ukrainian Danube Region: Problems of Regional Specificity* (2010); Ivan Pastyр, *Kyrnychky is Our Father's House. 1814-2014* (2014); Andrei Kolesnikov, *Morphology of Ukrainian Sothern Bessarabia Dialects: Genesis and Dynamics* (2015). At the same time, the presented studies do not cover all the aspects of Budjak culture. There are numerous uninvestigated facts in its ancient history, which were not even mentioned in the sources listed.

Unique material – ethnographic observations of a Bessarabian artist Vladimir Afanasyev covering twenty five years at the turn of XX century – has become the object of this research. A member of National Union of artists of Ukraine (2008), he is famous as a talented master who takes an active part in regional and republican exhibitions. V. Afanasyev is also the author of a number of books: *The World of Graphics of Vladimir Afanasyev* (2001); *The Wedding in Graphics of Vladimir Afanasyev* (2008), *Short Stories* (2013), where he appears as a successor of a unique genre – graphic drawings combined with a small informational component. Creolized text of the artist’s graphics concerning the cultural life of the region is near to the genre of graphic novel, the creolized format of which is artistic or scientific literature, including thematic pictures with verbalized message.

More than 140 graphic drawings of the author reflect the scenes of life, work and rest of people of Budjak mainly of Ukrainian, Russian and Bulgarian origin. Submitted ethnographic observations deal with the last quarter of the XXth century. Some of them, as earlier, are still relevant for rural life of Budjak, others (the elements of collective-farm formation, making of homespun clothes, etc.) disappeared and became museum items. The portraying and description of holydays and ceremonies of Budjak take an important place in the system of images in V. Afanasyev’s graphics. Christian and pagan traditions are intertwined inherently here: Christmas, caroling, divination, celebration of the end of winter, Easter, “letting into the water” the remains of sanctified food, Trinity, “Green Yule” etc. The tasks of this research are the retrospective analysis of pagan holidays, the traditions of which

continue to exist on unconscious level, and the specifics of wedding and funeral ritual ceremonies fixed in the album *The World of Graphics...* by V. Afanasiev.

Interdisciplinary approach forms the basis of this research, as its problems are solved on the intersection of several scientific branches: history, ethnography, Cultural Studies, philology and art history. The methodology of the research has traditional empirical basis of collecting and describing the factual material with the help of traditional field anthropologic methods: description, classification, participant observation, comparative analysis.

The topicality of the research is determined by the necessity of scientific comprehension of regional specifics of pre-Christian Old Slavonic ceremonies, preserved in collective memory of local society. It is well-known that many Christian holidays were imposed on the ancient pagan calendar celebrations with the aim of their inherent mastering. Inheritance of mytho-ritual practices is one of the key aspects of cultural life of society. At the same time loss of idea of the real nature of these or those ceremonies and belief in their magic force turns the ancient ritual into variety of rustic fairs, half-comprehended child's play. Their vitality is provided by deep symbolism and archetypal of the system of ritual images.

In the fundamental research of the academician Boris Rybakov *Paganism of Ancient Rus* (1987), the following main pre-Christian calendar holidays are pointed out: "*Winter Yule*", celebrated during two weeks after the day of winter solstice (the 24-25th of December); *carnival* as farewell to winter, lasting a week before the day of spring equinox (the 24-25th of March), "*Green Yule*" – a complex of summer Kupala celebrations before the day of summer solstice (the 24-25th of June); Perun holiday (Elijah's day) and the beginning of harvest at the end of July; autumn holidays of Birth and birth mothers, dedicated to a new harvest.

Apparently, the holidays of ancient Slavs were connected with the movement of the Sun on the annual circle. Astronomical day of winter solstice is represented with the longest night and the shortest day of the year, that was understood in mythopoetical consciousness of the ancient people as a Birthday of the sun, after which Light defeats Darkness and the days become longer. It is important to notice that nowadays as a result of displacement of the movement of the Sun (precession) the day of winter solstice falls on the 21st of December, whereas in the 1st millennium A.D. it fell on the 24th of December. Respectively, the day of spring equinox (from the 24th to 21st of March) and the day of summer solstice (from the 24th to the 21st of June) appeared to be displaced. B. Rybakov points out that of all the cycle of calendar holidays winter Yule and Kupala ceremony ("*Green Yule*" as a cult of grass and plants) came till nowadays with minor changes in year cycle. March holidays, dedicated to the day of the beginning of spring, and, on the whole, of a new calendar year, falling on the day of spring equinox and the week of

farewell to winter (Maslenitsa, “komoeditsa”) preceding it were displaced from the 24th of March to February under the influence of lent, always preceding it².

Almost all ancient nations (Slavs, Germans, Romans) celebrated the day of winter solstice. The holiday Dies Natalis Solis Invicti was officially marked by the emperor Avrelian on the 25th of December approximately in 273. The first three centuries of the Christian church Christmas was identified with the day of Epiphany (the 6th of January in the Julian calendar), supposing that Christ’s birthday coincides with the day of his christening. One of the most ancient Christian churches – Armenian Church still celebrates Christmas on the day of christening of Jesus Christ. First knowledge of celebration of Christmas on the day of winter solstice (the 25th of December) refers to menology of the IV century, edited by the Roman church. Most likely such bylaw was connected not only with inner church discussions, but also with the fight with the cult of Unbeatable Sun by means of assimilation of holidays connected with it³.

Thus, Christmas and New Year holidays appeared in one bunch with ancient Slavonic “Winter Yule”. On the shortest day of the year – the 25th of December the Birth of the Sun (Winter Solstice, Carols) was celebrated. The God of newborn Sun was called Koliada. B. Rybakov describes the idea of winter Yule this way: “One of the characteristic features of Yule is dressing up, putting on a sheepskin coats wool up, wearing masks of animal, noisy carnival dances in houses and in the streets. People dress up like a bear, a horse, a bull, a goose, a crane <...>. Many episodes of New Year games also arise to different ceremonies of different months of the year (burning of jack-straw, imitation of funeral, etc.). This suggests that 12 holidays could be dedicated to all the 12 months of the year: among the accessories of Yule holidays we also see a sheaf, connected with the months of harvest in August, and a straw doll (March or June), masks of wild oxen (January, “Veles days”, or April), a horse (April, June), a bear (March). Ceremonial deeds were connected with funeral (“radunitsa”, “parents’ Saturday”) and weddings; songs were connected with plowing (“clicking the plow”) and harvest (September), a part of dances is connected with ancient Slavic spring holiday commemorating the dead... In one word, almost all the elements of ceremonies are met in New Year games that are to be performed next year”⁴.

Religious culture in the second half of the XXth century in the South of Odessa region didn’t suffer from specific persecutions, but as everywhere in post-

² B. Rybakov, *Paganism of Ancient Russia (Язычество Древней Руси)*, Наука, Москва, 1987.

³ In Zoroastrianism the day of winter solstice is associated with the birthday of God Mithra. During the II-th – IV-th centuries, Mithraism was the main rival of Christianity.

⁴ Rybakov, op.cit.

Soviet area, got the second birth in 1990s. Rural holidays mainly coincide with calendar church dates. Due to certain historical reasons mixed national traditions of people festivities were formed in Budjak, frequently obtaining mystery forms with pagan remnants.

In “Christmas” theme of the ceremonial cycle, *The Album of Graphics...*, by V. Afanasyev, the traditions of caroling are described colorfully. Before going around the village, children crowd together, learn new carols and recollect the old ones, store good sticks, in order to chase importunate dogs away, girls sew bags for presents, decorate them with embroidery. Godparents prepare special presents for godchildren in advance (spice-cakes, nuts, sweets), there was a tradition to bake spice-cakes in the shape of horses and Russian nesting dolls: horses were presented to boys, Russian nesting dolls – to girls. Every hostess is glad to have guests on Christmas, giving different sweets to children, and a glass of wine or vodka – to adults. So the procession moves from house to house, along the street.

On Yule, that is celebrated in orthodox tradition from the 7th till 19th of January, girls usually tell fortunes to get to know their future bridegrooms. V. Afanasiev gives an example of the following ceremony: gathering into one house, – he writes, – every girl brings with herself a cock or a hen, put a mirror, fill one saucer with the corn, pour water into the second one: “If the cock pecks the corn – the bridegroom will be rich, if the hen drinks water – it means that the bridegroom will be a drunkard. If a cock looks into the mirror, it means that the bridegroom will be a dandy. And if the cocks fight, then the bridegroom will be bully and cockerel”⁵.

According to V. Afanasyev’s observations, winter in Bessarabia is seen off gaily, arranging special celebrations on Maslenitsa festival. The author stresses that this holiday is especially preserved in Bulgarian villages. On the corresponding picture there is the atmosphere of a holiday, music and fun is everywhere, people go to their relatives and treat guests with pancakes, with baked spring lamb, drink wonderful new wine. In the evening everybody goes outdoors, burns fire, and rides horses in sleighs.

Easter holidays are celebrated in the villages with a special magnitude. The ceremony of baking homemade loaves takes place with a certain reverence. The picture of this process is imbued with an atmosphere of idyll: one woman in national dress is kneading the dough intently; another is putting the loaf into the stove; a baby is playing with enthusiasm near the popular in Bulgarian villages low table, set out with forms for baking, where fragrant dough is coming; the host is lying on the stove with a magazine; in the foreground, on the carpet in front of the table a cat is

⁵ Vladimir Afanasyev, *World of graphics by Vladimir Afanasyev. Album of graphic drawings (Мир графики Владимира Афанасьева)*, Альбом графических рисунков. Арциз: типография г. Белгород-Днестровского, 2001.

sitting as a symbol of homeliness and is watching the process attentively. “To bake Easter cakes you need a special talent. Every hostess has her own secret, her stove, roasters, forms, seasonings, kitchen herbs. It is necessary to knead the dough during several hours, that’s why those who are younger do it in turn. Only experienced woman can make heat in the stove. When the Easter cakes are ready, they are put in the front room on the table with a tablecloth or at the window to make everyone see what Easter cakes they have”⁶.

Another Easter plot shows people, expecting the sanctification of prepared food at the end of Easter church service. Everybody lays a small carpet, where he puts a basket with eatables waiting for the priest. Old people sit on small benches, adults and grandchildren stand behind them. Giving comments to this picture V. Afanasyev found interesting Easter traditions of the local people, connected with certain superstitions: “People bring Easter cakes, painted eggs, bacon, cheesecakes, wine. Everything is in small quantity, in order to let the family eat it during the day and not to let the food spoil, the remnants – bones, eggshells are thrown into the river. Bacon is put in a cold place and is used as medicine”⁷.

The description of ceremony of throwing the remnants of ceremonial meal into water has ritual background in different national cultures. So, in cleansing ceremony called “tashlikh” in Judaism (or “sins into the water”) held at the beginning of the New Year according to the Jewish calendar (Rosh Ha-Shana) religious people go to the bank of any nearby water (sea/river/lake/well/fountain), throwing crumbs of bread for fish into the water. Jews also shake flaps of their clothes singing the psalms, trying to escape chametz (any dish based on the fermentation) – it is the ritual act before the holiday of Passover. This ceremony symbolizes cleansing from sins, and is based on the quotation from the Bible “And You will drop all their sins into the profound depths of sea” (Micah, 7, 18-20). According to the researches, on the threshold of the Second World War in Odessa region there lived close upon 270 000 Jews, of which 230 000 persons were killed⁸.

The ceremony mentioned in *The World of Graphics...* by V. Afanasyev has a deep Russian background. Ceremonial act of “letting food into the water” as a sacrifice is described in Russian epic about legendary hero Sadko⁹:

“A young man wanted
To go to Novgorod;

⁶ Ibidem, p. 28.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁸ A. Kruglov, *Chronicle of the Holocaust in Ukraine (Хроника Холокоста в Украине)*, ПремьерГод, Запорожье, 2004.

⁹ K. Dvoretzkova, *The Volga in songs and legends (Волга в песнях и сказаниях)*, Саратов, 1937, p. 30-31.

He cut bread with a big soukra,
 Salted it, let it into Volga:
 «Thank you, mother river-Volga»,
 I have been walking along you for twelve years,
 And I am going, a young man, to Novgorod.”

With the adoption of Christianity pagan ceremony of letting on the water got a new sense. The idea about cleansing power of holy water, the ceremony of Epiphany, etc. contributed to this. In orthodox anonymous edition of Sretenky monastery of Russian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate “What prosphora, antidoron, artos mean” it is recommended to burn spoiled prosphora in church and “let it into the river with pure water”¹⁰. In Ruta Vasilyeva’s work *Russian folk Easter ceremonies, superstitious beliefs and traditions*, it is noted: “People treated the remnants of Easter food carefully. So, all the remnants of Easter cake are gathered and dug in such a place where nobody steps – in order not to stamp on the holy; throw on the water (into the river) to let it go with the water”¹¹. Besides the tradition of sanctifying bacon after Easter liturgy and preserving it as medicine is spread not only in Russian, but also in Bulgarian villages of Budjak, this fact shows the borrowing of national traditions in multiethnic area of the region.

V. Afanasyev dedicated a separate drawing to holiday Easter meal. He noted in comments that after coming from church people wake up those who are still sleeping and the whole family breaks their fast in the kitchen or in the sittingroom near the icons. After reading prayers everyone eats an egg, a piece of Easter cake or a cheesecake. After meal people have a rest and wait for the guests to come for the whole day or make visits after evening service in church.

Trinity is not less important holiday in the village – a favorite beautiful holiday of the descent of the Holy Spirit, during which houses and churches are decorated with freshly picked herbs, branches of pussy-willows. Rituals connected with the cult of vegetation symbolize vivifying and renovating power of the Holy Spirit, the joy of regeneration of Nature, people’s gratitude to God for resurrection and their rebirth through Epiphany. The traditions of decorating churches and houses of Parishioners on the Christian holiday of Trinity Sunday with new greenery was probably borrowed from Old Slavonic “Green Yule” – the days of farewell to spring, celebrated a week earlier summer solstice.

¹⁰ Anonymous, *What is prosphora, antidor, artos (Что такое просфора, антидор, артос)*, М.: Сретенский монастырь, “Новая книга”, “Ковчег”, 1998.

¹¹ R. Vasilyeva, *Russian folk Easter ceremonies, signs and traditions(Русские народные пасхальные обряды, приметы и традиции)*, 2013, Вести сегодня, опубликовано 02.05.2013.

The preparations for celebration of Trinity are shown in one of V. Afanasyev's pictures. A shepherd in national clothes and self-made sharp-nosed footwear made of leather (*tsaruli*) skins the lamb attentively. A host with a decanter of wine controls the process, and a woman hustles about near the cauldron for cooking kurban.

The wedding ceremony is the most important element of spiritual life of the society, as it combines several branches of traditional culture of the society: law, ritual, myth, magic, art, game. In the Southern part of Ukraine they say: "A man is talked about three times in his life: when he is born, when he marries and when he dies". V. Afanasyev showed colorful wedding traditions in Russian and Bulgarian villages of Budjak, paying a special attention to the images of musicians, singing and people. These accents are not accidental, for such types of art as folk music and dance are one of the most important sides of national culture and they deeply influence the formation of collective identity of a certain region.

In one of the pictures the author represented the performance of the ceremonial song "Obmanka", characteristic for Russian villages of Budjak, inhabited by the immigrants from South-western Russia. Traditions of ceremonial wedding songs that they have brought with them go back to ancient times. They have aesthetic, incantatory and legal functions. Certain songs are peculiar for every stage of rehearsal ceremonies and they never sound out of the ceremony. "Obmanka" is performed during the first stage of matchmaking of bridesmaids: an engaged girl who deceived her devoted friends and promised them never to get married is called so. In South-western Russia there are a lot of variants of this ritual song, such lines are represented in the album¹²:

"Oh, uninvited guest has just come to us,
Uninvited, uninvited he was... "

One of the stages of the wedding ceremony, spread either in Budjak, is baking of wedding loaf: "Then, when around loaf and fancy bread is baked for the wedding, those who helped to do it, sing and dance already more cheerfully with boys, a bit daubed with soot and joy begins from this moment and the wedding expands"¹³. It is necessary to add that only a married woman with a happy fortune is allowed to make dough for the wedding loaf (this rule concerns her assistants as well).

Sacrament of church wedding is represented as the most solemn part of wedding ceremony. The artist reflected the concentration on the faces of newlyweds, parents' and witnesses' excitement, frank curiosity of the bridesmaids and the guests.

¹² Afanasyev, op.cit., p. 50.

¹³ Ibidem.

Mass festivities on the wedding is one of the most frequently repeated themes in the album *The World of Graphics...* Traditions of Bessarabia wedding presuppose the widest festivities in the street in the marquees, where half of the village is invited with an opportunity to come with completely unknown people among honorable friends of those who are invited. And today a lot of old rural people are ashamed, if their children and grandchildren don't want to celebrate a big wedding. V. Afanasyev comments the drawing with the corresponding title: "Half of the village and even more is invited to the wedding. They prepare for it thoroughly. Benches and tables are taken from a collective farm. They use their own carpets. The host cuts a goby, a boar and a lamb, and also more than a hundred of poultry, bakes bread. Only relatives or close friends and a Kitchener specialized in wedding dishes cook. The host uncorks a barrel with wine and bottles with home distilled vodka that were prepared beforehand. Musicians, photographers and master of ceremonies are invited. They celebrate for three days, and the preparations last for a week"¹⁴.

V. Afanasyev points out that on Bulgarian wedding musicians work hard, for the music doesn't stop for three days, and during procession around the village musicians walk in front of the wedding. Accentuation of the role of musicians on wedding festivities emphasizes carnival aspect of this solemn ceremony in folk culture. Having fun and dancing girls are "the decoration and the soul of the wedding". They dance during the whole procession from the groom's house to the bride's, after that they go to the church and godparents, and "all this happens in dance, cheerful songs and triumph of youth"¹⁵. The culture of performance of folk Bulgarian songs deserved a special attention of the author. He presented a sketch of the well-liked song "A Black Kukoshka" in one of his pictures, representing it as a popular joking text in Bulgarian and Russian. In another picture the artist portrayed the performance of the songs at the wedding table, paying attention at a high level of Bessarabian Bulgarians' folk culture: during singing nobody disturbs the singer, in particular, no one touches just served kurban till a plangent exclamation sounds "E(o)paaaa!", meaning a short pause in the song, talk, communication, after that everybody may divert their attention to other questions.

V. Afanasyev writes that Russian wedding is not held without quick ride. "In winter it is sledding, and in autumn – riding in a cart. A cart is decorated with carpets, horses – with ribbons and flowers, and at a great speed they go around the village galloping. They ride along all the streets. Horses are tired. Everyone is dirty, but happy. All the people in the village know about the wedding. The groom carries the bride into the house. If there is no mud, they pour the water in order to have it.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 92.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 90.

Much mud means wealth. People meet the wedding procession with bread and salt near the house. They give some water to drink and pour the bucket across the road¹⁶. The author being the native of a Russian Budjak village appreciates the pagan remnant of accepting mud as a symbol of soil filled with water, a source of harvest and growth. With warm feeling V. Afanasyev portrayed the performance of Russian wedding songs by women in the picture “Lioli at the Russian wedding”, while singing which guests “loudly, with humming” join hands and dance. Tempo and rhythm of traditional chorus of great folk songs “Oh liolushki-oli” reflects the peculiarities of composite Russian character, harmonizing with the image of stately smooth flow, characteristic for Russian round dance.

During festivities in Ukrainian villages of Budjak, according to V. Afanasyev’s observations, guests “hop” mainly, “jumping high”¹⁷. However, he expresses his opinion in comments to the picture “Danced-stomped”, the energy of a live orchestra, representing a Ukrainian song “Chicheri-kucheri”, causes “everybody jump, even the lazy ones”¹⁸. This interesting observation makes us remember the axiom of dance as a figurative and plastic embodiment of the national character and to look attentively at the specifics of self-expression in Ukrainian folk dance. The noticed elements of “hopping” resonate with traditional for Ukrainian dancing songs exclamation “gop-gop” (in colloquial speech “gopat” means to jump, hop with noise, cries, exclamations¹⁹, that gave the name to the Ukrainian national dance, “gopak”. In choreographic classics of gopak dancing “hopping” of the Ukrainians got a perfect expression in the figures “raznozhka” (splits in a jump), “polzunok” (jumping with throwing of the leg in squatting), etc. It is also necessary to mention that modern Bessarabian musicians know perfectly the repertoire of the nations living in Budjak, they sing songs in the Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Moldavian, Gagauz, Jewish languages during one event. Such multiculturalism became a part of regional mentality determining tolerant attitude to the national culture of different ethnic groups, producing their organic perception during cultural events for the representatives of different ethnicities as a part of their own national heritage. Going back to the artist’s observations it is necessary to mention that representatives of different ethnic groups really begin “to hop” when hearing Ukrainian songs, submitting to their rhythm and energy. Respectively the manner of performing other national dances changes under the influence of intuitional reception of their expressive means. Thus at subconscious level the society of Budjak dancing culture

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 93.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 95.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Т. Ефремова, *New Dictionary of Russian (Новый словарь русского языка)*, Толково-словообразовательный, М.: Русский язык, 2000.

of different ethnoses as a background of regional multiculturalism and tolerance is learned.

In V. Afanasyev's album sketches of different "interesting and cheerful dances" are represented. On the recognition of the author the most energetic dance is Moldavian one called "Pelenitsa" (or dance with a pillow, in Bulgarian version – with a shawl), popular not only in Moldavian and Bulgarian villages, but also widely represented at city parties in Bessarabian district centers: "If you are to dance, you will remember for a lifetime the speed of rhythm and heartiness of a kiss. And it is not exactly acceptable to kiss a person whom you see in the circle for the first time. But these are the demands of the dance. If you were chosen by a dancer with a pillow, stand on the knee in the center of the circle – and kiss. After that the pillow remains by you, and you choose a partner for a kiss yourself. And it lasts till the musicians fall from exhaustion, in one word, to the point of collapse"²⁰.

The final drawing of the wedding circle is dedicated to the description of "the show for a bride", arranged on the second day. To the song and laugh the bride is asked to sweep the yard or room, while guests are throwing up paper money in different places: "If the bride is not stupid, she will understand at once what is what. She will collect the money and give it to her mother in law, and the former in her turn will add "some coins" for a round amount in order to buy a car for newlyweds. They have fun this way"²¹.

Triumph of life, reflected in wedding ceremonies of Budjak, shows hopes and aspirations of local society, connected with the idea of sacral nature of marriage and family relations. An integral part of life of society is funeral ceremony, accurate execution of which is supported by ethnic norms, moral duty of relatives towards the gone, conservative ideas of death, relations between alive and dead. In Budjak orthodox funeral ritual absorbed some remnants of pagan beliefs, connected, for example, with the tradition of bringing food to the grave of the dead, but at bottom it remained deeply Christian. In the album *The World of Graphics...*, V. Afanasyev represented two drawings devoted to the funeral-memorial ceremony. In one of them he noted the tradition of old people to prepare for death in advance, putting materials, towels, shirts, a costume, an icon in "skrynya". Another drawing is dedicated to the visualization of memorial ceremony with the following comments: "After funeral the memorial table is laid, where the cutlery is put for all the members of the mourning procession. They don't sit to eat at once. They sing «Our Father» standing. After that they sit to table and eat all together, drinking with red wine, but

²⁰ Afanasyev, op.cit., p. 44.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 94.

not more than three wine glasses. Then they stand up, but don't go away at once. They read the prayer standing and only afterwards they go away"²².

Studying of the cultural code of V. Afanasyev's graphics made it possible to create some strokes to the leaning of spiritual culture of people, who settle Budjak, to find out certain peculiarities of its functioning and development. It is necessary to note that it is much richer and multilateral; however the object of the research became only aspects covered by the artist. Communicative options of graphic drawings of V. Afanasyev as a creolized text include visual and verbal components, making sense and functional entity. The album *The World of Graphics...* is noted for its significance; has linguocultural function as the means of transferring information and a form of artistic discourse; acts as a genre of art and the means of mass information and communication.

Found in V. Afanasyev's work mythological, architextual (genremaking) elements in informative, formal and structural plans, serve for comprehension of cultural specifics of the life of the region. It is determined by the atmosphere of self-sufficiency, peace, appeasement, and the leading motives are the motives of unity of a man and nature, world and harmony of coexistence, love of people of this region to their land and its wonderful generosity, their hard work, cult of traditional values, community consciousness.

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Liana CHORNA*

**CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BULGARIANS
FROM THE UKRAINIAN DANUBIAN REGION, AT THE BEGINNING OF
THE XXI-th CENTURY (BASED ON MATERIALS FROM THE
PERIODICALS)**

- Abstract -

The main forms of culturally-educational activities of the Bulgarians in the Ukrainian Danube region are investigated in this article, which is based on the materials provided by the periodicals. The Bulgarian ethnic communities work in extensive spreading education and printing publications in national language is paid particular attention to.

A significant activity of the Bulgarians of the Ukrainian Danube region was noted in various national organizations (cultural societies, gymnasiums, schools, folk museums). The role of the Bolgrad Grammar School in preserving and reviving of Bulgarian folk traditions, especially in the process of teaching in their native language, is analyzed. In the article cultural and educational activities of different local Bulgarian national groups, rural ethnographic museums, the role of sponsors for national development are examined. These activities were realized within the framework of state program of Ukrainian Danube region development and Odessa regional program "Regional initiative (2002-2006)". Materials of the regional periodicals testify a sufficiently high level of the Bulgarian national identity.

Keywords: the Ukrainian Danube region, the Bulgarian, ethnic community, periodicals, national revival.

The Ukrainian Danube region is the territory of residence and activities of several dozen peoples, including Bulgarians. While moving in a few waves to this territory at the end of the XVIII – the first half of the XIX century Bulgarians created here a large and rather well-organized diaspora.

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The gaining of Ukraine's independence in 1991 and the exit of the economic crisis in the very beginning of the XXI-st century created favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of national cultures. Their study, like the study of any other issue of the modern period, encounters certain difficulties with the source base. A huge array of documents which was not transferred to the archives is the property of various state and public structures, the access to which is sometimes difficult for historians. That is why the role of periodicals as open and accessible historical sources increases.

In addition, periodicals are also a subject of socio-cultural and socio-political process. Periodicals play an important role in the process of shaping and influencing on the consciousness of people. Periodicals are also a part of the national culture, so the cultural and historical development of national minorities is impossible without press research.

In modern Ukrainian historiography there is a stable interest of researchers to the problems of the regional periodicals functioning, peculiarities of periodicals as a historical source and the specifics of the material presentation. That is why the works of I. Grebtsova¹, V. Drozdov², M. Romanyuk³, V. Tserkovna⁴, L. Tsyganenko⁵ etc. are of a special interest.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the cultural and educational activities of Bulgarians in this period on the basis of regional periodic publications in the south of the Odessa region. The objects of study are various Bulgarian cultural societies, as well as the Bolgrad High School as one of the powerful centers for the formation of Bulgarian identity.

According to the results of the All-Ukrainian Population Census of 2001, the Bulgarians were the majority of the inhabitants of the Bolgrad district (46.6 thousand), in Izmail and Artsyz districts they were 14.1 thousand and 20.2 thousand respectively, in the Tarutinsky district – 17 thousand⁶.

¹ И. Гребцова, *Периодическая печать в общественном развитии Южного степного региона Российской империи (Вторая треть XIX в.)*, Одесса, 2002.

² V. Drozdov, *The Question of the Danube Principalities in European Diplomacy of the Second Half of 50's – 60's of the XIX-th Century (Based on Materials of the Russian Periodical Press)*, "Journal of Danubian Studies and Research", Vol. 3, №2, 2013, pp. 232 – 242.

³ М. Романюк, *Українська преса Північної Буковини (1870-1918 рр.)*, Львів, 1998.

⁴ В. Церковна, *Історія села Райлянка за матеріалами «Кишинівських спархіяльних відомостей»*, *Красзнавство*, № 1-2, 2015, pp.111-115.

⁵ Л. Цыганенко, *Болгарское население крепости и города Измаил (1810-1820 гг.)*, *Південь України: етноісторичний, мовний, культурний та релігійний виміри: Збірка наукових праць*, Одеса, Вип. 6, 2017, pp.402-407.

⁶ *Болгари в Україні*, Available at: <http://www.turkaramamotoru.com/uk/Болгари-в-Україні-53373.html>.

State national policy was aimed primarily at preserving interethnic harmony and the consistent development of peoples. For this purpose, the State Program for the Development of the Ukrainian Podunava and the Odessa Regional Program “Regional Initiative (2002-2006)”⁷ were developed. With the regional state administration’s provision of the conditions for the implementation by representatives of national groups of their economic, social rights and freedoms, the program puts forward the demand that the ethno-cultural identity should be preserved in every way, and that cultural and educational needs of the national communities are to be ensured.

In the years 2000-2005, In the Odessa region there was an intensification of national development, including the Bulgarian one. The existing forms and organizations continued to work, and new centers of education and culture of the Bulgarians of the Ukrainian Danube region were created.

One of the most important elements of national development is the preservation and full development of the native language. In December 1999, Ukraine ratified the European Charter for Regional Languages. Since the following year, the program for the development and use of state and native languages in educational institutions was put into effect. In villages inhabited mainly by Bulgarians, the Bulgarian language began to be studied from the second class⁸. Students of the G. Rakovski’s Bolgrad High School which resumed its work in 1993, began to study history, geography and culture of Bulgaria in their native language⁹. Also in the gymnasium, teachers from Bulgaria created an ensemble of Bulgarian folk dance and an orchestra of Bulgarian folk instruments.

Back in the 90’s of the XX century the Bolgrad Education Department began to work under long-term agreements with Bulgaria in the field of organizing summer holidays for children and teachers, the exchange of student and teacher delegations, and the professional retraining of district teachers in the universities of Varna, Gabrovo, and Sofia¹⁰. Students from the Bolgrad region took part in international folklore festivals and poetry competitions. In 2002, agreements were signed with the educational institutions of Dobrich, which allowed the students of the Bolgrad High School in May 2003 to visit not only Dobrich, but also Velikotirnov, Sofia, the Bulgarian Black Sea resorts. An important stage of cooperation with Bulgaria was

⁷ Народный блок Литвина. Областная программа «Народная инициатива»: от инициативы региональной к инициативе народной, Одеські вісті, 2006, 11 бер. Available at: <http://izvestiya.odessa.ua/ru/2006/03/11/na-pravah-politicheskoy-reklamy-my-iz-naroda-s-narodom-i-dlya-naroda>.

⁸ С. Дмитриева, *Болгарское многоцветье*, Одесские известия, 2003, 15 июня.

⁹ Н. Ожогова, *Гимназия: болгарская или болгарская*, Одесские известия, 2000, 16 июня.

¹⁰ С. Дмитриева, *Болгарское многоцветье*, Одесские известия, 2003, 15 июня.

the work of the joint admissions committee, which carried out entrance examinations to Bulgarian universities. In 2003, one third of students from the Odessa region who received higher education in Bulgaria (123 people) were from the Bolgrad region.

Also, on the basis of the Bolgrad High School, a district association of teachers and students was created, "S'budjanie" ("Awakening"), whose goal was to actively promote the revival of national traditions. The problem of providing schools with educational, methodological and fiction literature in the Bulgarian language was solved up by the "Agency for Bulgarians on Foreigners". About 20% of this literature was prepared by Odessa authors and published in Ukraine. In March 2002, a presentation of the Ukrainian-Bulgarian dictionary of the Kiev citizen of Bessarabian origin K. Potapenko, printed with the assistance of I. Plachkov, an immigrant from the village of Krinichnoye, was held in the gymnasium¹¹.

Considerable attention was paid by the Odessa Regional State Administration to the informational needs in the native language. The Bulgarian edition operated on the regional radio and television. The following periodics in the Bulgarian language were published in the region: "Roden Krai" as an addition to the newspaper "Golos Ukrainy", "Bulgar Review", "Rodolyubiye" (Artsyz)¹².

In the radio broadcast "Tsvetove" and the television program "Soglasie" the events of the ethno-cultural life of the region were covered¹³. A significant step in the development of interethnic relations in the Danube region was the creation of the Center of National Cultural Societies of the region on the basis of the Odessa Palace of students¹⁴.

National-cultural revival of national minorities and their identification was facilitated by museums. During this period, in almost all cities and villages of Danube region, national museums were created and operated. For example, in the village of Kamenka, the Izmail district there was opened a museum, where the exhibits and materials on the history of settlement and everyday life of Danube Bulgarians were collected. In general, in the Odessa region, there were more than 60 museums that reflected the history and culture of the Bulgarians and Gagauzians¹⁵.

One of the most important forms of participation of national minorities in public and cultural life was the activity of national-cultural societies, main task of which was to develop their native language, historical traditions and memory.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² І. Супруновський, *Міжетнічні відносини та міграційна ситуація в Одеській області*, Міграція, 2004, лютий, р.3.

¹³ *П'ять років разом*, Міграція, 2004, червень, р.3.

¹⁴ С. Лузанов, *Ради співробітництва в регіоне*, Собеседник Измаил, 2001, 30 мая, р.1.

¹⁵ А. Бондарева, *Много друзей не бывает*, Одесские известия, 2006, 23 августа, р.12.

Various national societies have developed basic organizational documents (program objectives, statutes) and formed leadership. They received permanent custody and support from the Ministry of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migrations. The desire for the creation and active activity of such societies symbolized a high level of national self-awareness and national self-identification.

In December 1997 in Bolgrad, the Odessa Regional Center of Bulgarian culture was opened, one of the main tasks of which was the revival of Bulgarian traditions, rituals and customs. The library of the Center at the beginning of the 2000 numbered more than 7 000 books in the Bulgarian language¹⁶. The library fund was formed with the active participation of numerous donators from Ukraine, Bulgaria, Moldova. A significant number of books were given by the Society of Bessarabian Bulgarians named after Saints Cyril and Methodius on the initiative of Bulgaria's Vice-President, Todor Kavaldjiev¹⁷. Note that such assistance from Bulgaria allowed to form libraries in the schools of the Bulgarian villages of Izmail, Bolgrad, Reni and Tatarbuniar districts. In addition, the Center also received books from the Association of Bulgarians of Ukraine (led by Anton Kissé) and from the General Consulate of Bulgaria in Odessa¹⁸.

The work of the Center was not limited by the creation of libraries. The Center initiated and conducted exhibitions of local artists and poets, arranged publication of its own books ("Bulgarian Bessarabia", "Hello, Bolgrad!"), Organized preparatory courses for those wishing to enter the universities of Ukraine and Bulgaria¹⁹. In the Center, historians of local lore I.Pushkov, S.Burlakov, V.Bovdev, L.Kara, L.Karacheban concentrated their activity in Odessa.

In the Bolgrad region, four more national-cultural public organizations operated during this period: the Society of Bessarabian Bulgarians named after Saints Cyril and Methodius (headed by N. Todorov), the publishing center "Academician Alexander Theodorov-Balan" (led by I. Pushkov)²⁰, cultural-educational society "Khan Asparukh" (head – V. Terzi) and the People's Library named after academician Alexander Teodorov-Balan²¹. Their activities were aimed at consolidating the Bulgarian population in order to preserve the national identity within the framework of the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine. A significant stage in the activities of Bulgarian societies was the publication of newspapers in Bulgarian, such as "999", "Svetlina", "Bulgaria", "Kambana".

¹⁶ А. Бондарева, *Много друзей не бывает*, Одесские известия, 2006, 23 августа, p.12.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Н. Ожогова, *Гимназия: болгарская или болгарская*, Одесские известия, 2000, 16 июня, p.3.

¹⁹ А. Бондарева, *Много друзей не бывает*, Одесские известия, 2006, 23 августа, p.12.

²⁰ А. Киссе, *Возрождение болгар Украины. Очерки*, Одесса, 2006, p.120.

According to the results of the 2001 census in Izmail, every tenth resident of the city called himself a representative of the Bulgarian ethnos, almost every fourth had Bulgarian roots²². There were two Bulgarian societies. The first – the name of Saints

Cyril and Methodius (leader – V. Petrov) – was founded in 1992. The majority of members of this society represented the “legal” and “economic” elite of the city, some worked in local government. They paid much attention to socio-economic, political, legal aspects of the life of national minorities in the region²³.

In May 2001, a Bulgarian society named after St. Sophia was established in Izmail. About 70 of its members were headed by D. Mirchev. The society almost immediately had two branches in the Izmail district: “Vzrazhdane” in the Kirnichki village and “Rodolyubets” in the Kamenka village²⁴.

The joint project of both companies was the opening in 2001 of the Sunday Bulgarian school. Here the main attention was paid to the study of the modern Bulgarian language and literature, the history and culture of the Bulgarian people.

The traditional form of the national and cultural life of any nation is vocal and choreographic art. In the period under study, the Bulgarian folk dance ensemble “Jasna e zorata” (head A. Genova) and the national vocal group “Vzrazhdane” (leader V. Karazhekov) from the Kirnichki village, folk dance ensemble “Raiduga” from the Kamenka village, the national vocal ensemble “Balgarka” (led by I. Shampol) and the trio “Otrada” from the Suvorovo village of the Izmail region, Folk song and dance ensemble “Izvor” (leader G. Selekov) from the Ogorodnoye village of Bolgradsky district worked fruitfully²⁵.

An analysis of the activities of the Bulgarian cultural societies of the early 21st century in the Ukrainian Danube region testifies that in a multinational state considerable attention was paid to national development and preservation of traditional ethnic culture. Integration processes, rapprochement and cooperation of representatives of different ethnic groups in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres had nothing to do with assimilation, as the peoples did not lose their identity, specific ethnic features, cultural heritage and spiritual values.

²¹ С. Дмитриева, *Болгарское многоцветье*, Одесские известия, 2003, 15 июня, р.3.

²² Н. Проданова, *Жизнь национальных громад*, Собеседник Измаила, 2003, 25 декабря, р.3.

²³ И. Таран, *Возрождение*, Придунайские вести, 2005, 3 сентября, р.4.

²⁴ Г. Богомолова, *Традиционный собор болгар*, Собеседник Измаила, 2003, 4 декабря, р.2.

²⁵ Я. Шатенов, *Соцветие «Бессарабского венка»*, Придунайские вести, 1997, 30 сентября, р.3.

Materials of the regional periodicals testify to a sufficiently high level of Bulgarian national identity, stable interest and active participation in the work of national cultural societies.

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**ACTIVITY OF METALLURGICAL ENTERPRISES OF THE EAST
AND SOUTH OF UKRAINE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR
(AUGUST 1914 – FEBRUARY 1917)**

- Abstract -

The metallurgical enterprises of the East and South of Ukraine during the First World War, within the limits of the general militarization of the economy, sharply increased the execution of orders oriented to the needs of the front. These enterprises had a rather high technological level, which was conditioned by the peculiarities of the formation of the metal market on the eve of hostilities. Restrictions on export and import operations in the wake of the war have negatively affected on the supply of metal and rolled products on the all-Russian market. Since the beginning of the war due to the cessation of imports and the interruptions in the work of rail transport, the supply of metal on the market immediately fell by 10%, which led to rising prices.

A number of measures were taken to provide metallurgical enterprises with the necessary metal products and raw materials. The Minister of Commerce and Industry was given the authority and the means to purchase the relevant goods abroad. In order to save raw materials for metallurgical enterprises since September 1914 it was forbidden to export it from the European part of the territory of the Russian Empire.

The work of metallurgical enterprises was influenced by the reduction of the number of skilled workers due to their recruitment to the Armed Forces. This led to the fact that in the mines of Kryviy Rih, after the first mobilizations, there was an urgent need for labor. Mining of ore has decreased, as a result it was not enough even to meet the needs of local South-Ukrainian metallurgical plants.

In order to increase production, new employees were involved, including a growing proportion of women and, to a certain extent, of children. It was decided to return qualified specialists from the military service to the enterprises, to suspend the recruitment of certain categories of workers,

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technicians and employees, and to increase the number of prisoners of war who had to work at metallurgical enterprises.

The growth in the demand for products of the steel industry in the wake of the war accompanied by inflationary processes has led to an increase in prices for them. The decision was passed on the criminal liability of traders and industrialists for increasing or decreasing prices for food items or necessities, according to which the dumping or increase of prices by entrepreneurs in the previous agreement in order to generate additional profits or redistribution of profits among economic operators provided for punishment.

In 1916 the work of enterprises of the metallurgical industry of the East and South of Ukraine was affected by the spread of the strike movement. Riots and strikes arose as a result of agitation, during which economic motives were used and the treasury of sewage plants was required. Speaking for the sequestration of enterprises, employees expected from the state administration to provide more wages and reduce the workload.

Among the factors that significantly influenced the metallurgical industry during 1914–1917, one can distinguish a sharp increase in demand for metallurgical products, a relatively low level of development of the transport infrastructure of the Russian Empire, a deterioration in the personnel supply of industrial enterprises, mainly through large-scale mobilization and migration of a part of highly skilled specialists, the failure of the system of state management industry in the context of a protracted global military conflict along with the ideas about its course, which did not correspond to the realities of time, as well as the dependence on the supply of certain types of raw materials and equipment from outside the country.

Keywords: First World War, enterprises, employees, government regulation of the economy, the steel industry, military industry, finance.

The First World War was more prolonged than it was expected before its beginning, and demonstrated the extraordinary importance of production capacity to meet the growing needs of the front. During the First World War, metallurgy was of particular importance. The war demanded the uninterrupted supply of the army with all necessary weapons, the production of which could only be provided by the highly developed metallurgical and machine building industry.

The growth of demand for industrial products stimulated the rapid development of the metallurgical industry before the war. If the smelting of pig iron in the whole of the empire in 1913 increased by 60% compared with 1900, then on

the territory of Ukraine – more than 100%¹. In 1913, there were 18 metallurgical plants in the Donbass and Dnieper, employing about 95 thousand workers².

These enterprises had a fairly high technological level. In addition, the activity of a significant number of metallurgical enterprises was controlled by joint-stock companies, which tended to concentrate in their hands the sources of fuel, manganese and coke production. The wide presence of foreign capital formed a polyethnic administrative apparatus, which in the vast majority of cases contributed to the development of the creative spirit of entrepreneurship. Thus, the post of Director of the Dnipro Metallurgical Plant was held by pole I. Yasyukovich, which was one of the reasons for manning the personnel at the expense of persons of Polish origin. The engineering staff of the “Russian Providence” plant were mainly from Belgium, and Donetsk-Yurievsky – from Germany. This type of organization management of enterprises contributed to the expansion of industrial ties, including through the conclusion of relevant agreements with firms located outside the Russian Empire. Mostly such agreements were concluded with European production associations.

Metallurgical plants of the East and South of Ukraine, depending on the sources of raw material use, were divided into three groups. The first belonged to Oleksandrovsky, Dniprovsky and Verkhnedniprovsky, which were located next to deposits of iron ore, but relatively far from the deposits of coal. Thus, the distance from Verkhnedniprovsk plant to coal mines was about 400 miles. The second group belonged to factories, whose location was determined by deposits of coal. The main group of these plants was located in the Donbass. These included Novorossiysk, Sulinsky, Druzhkovsky, Petrovsky, Donetsk-Yurievsky, Olkhovsky, Kramatorsky, Almazniy, Makeyevsky, and Bilyansky. These factories were forced to import iron ore. Thus, Petrovsky plant imported raw materials from a distance of about 525 miles. The third group included plants that used the Kerch ore. These included Kerch, Nikopol-Mariupol, “Russian Providans”. This differentiation gave rise to disputes around the interests of individual regions, which were manifested in pre-war times in the struggle for the definition of rail tariffs³.

In the years of the First World War, the metallurgical enterprises of the East and South of Ukraine, within the limits of the general militarization of the economy,

¹ Лукашевич Л. М., *Украина: Историко-экономическое обозрение*, Санкт-Петербург, 1995, pp.138–139.

² Ресент О., Сердюк О., *Перша світова війна і Україна*, “Генеза”, Київ, 2004, p. 37.

³ Фомин П. И., *Железорудная и марганцевая промышленность СССР*, В 2 вып, Вып. 1, Краткий исторический очерк и современное состояние, Изд. Южно-рудного треста, Харьков, 1930, pp.15–16.

sharply increased the execution of orders oriented to the needs of the front. These enterprises had a rather high technological level, which was conditioned by the peculiarities of the formation of the metal market on the eve of hostilities. However, only 30% of the coke ovens in the Donbass were suitable for the disposal of by-products, that is, 1,000 27 furnaces at 10 plants. This was mainly recycling tar and ammonia water, and only one plant produced benzol, desperately needed to manufacture explosives⁴.

Restrictions on export-import operations in the conditions of the First World War negatively affected on the supply of metal and rolled products on the all-Russian market. Since the beginning of the war due to the cessation of imports and the interruptions in the work of rail transport, the supply of metal on the market immediately fell by 10%, which led to rising prices. In particular, the stocks of semi-finished product and finished product in metallurgy did not exceed at that time 19 million pounds, or 5,7% of annual production⁵.

As a result, a number of measures were taken to provide metallurgical enterprises with the necessary metal products and raw materials. In August 1914, the Minister of Commerce and Industry made a commitment to provide for the needs of factories that were carrying out military orders with aluminum, nickel, zinc, lead and other metals in an appropriate quantity. To this end, the Minister asked to allocate him 20 million rubles to buy the relevant goods abroad. However, the Council of Ministers decided that the Minister of Commerce and Industry should at all times, when purchasing the necessary metals, allocate funds to co-ordinate with the Ministry of Finance⁶. In order to save raw materials for metallurgical enterprises, starting from September 3, 1914, in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Finance, it was forbidden to export manganese ore from the European part of the Russian Empire⁷.

⁴ Лазар И. В., “Химико-технологические аспекты “снарядного голода” русской армии в годы Первой мировой войны”, *Известия Российского государственного педагогического университета им. А. И. Герцена*, № 74, 2008, p.276.

⁵ Реснт О., Сердюк О., *Перша світова війна і Україна*, “Гене́за”, Київ, 2004, p.42.

⁶ “По представлению Министерства Торговли и Промышленности от 19 августа 1914 года, за № 70/727 (по Отд[елу] Пром[ышленности]), о снабжении некоторых казенных и частных предприятий необходимыми им металлами (По журналу дел, разрешаемых собственной властью Совета Министров), 21 августа 1914 года”, *Особые журналы Совета министров Российской империи. 1914 год*, РОССПЭН, Москва, 2006, pp.307–308.

⁷ “О воспрещении вывоза из Европейской России марганцевой руды. Распоряжение, объявленное Правительствующему Сенату Министром финансов”, Авербах О. И., *Законодательные акты, вызванные войною 1914 года с Германиею, Австро-Венгриєю*

After the defeat of the Russian Empire in Galicia during the formation of special meetings, the metallurgical and metal-working industry was in the sphere of the jurisdiction of the Special Defense Meeting. At this meeting, special regulatory bodies for the steel industry were set up, namely on September 1, 1915, on the initiative of the Central Military Industrial Committee, a Committee for the Supply of Foreign Metal and the Metal Distribution Bureau was established on August 12, 1915. Both of these bodies performed only the functions of intermediaries, excluding the principle of coercion in work, that in a situation of agiotage in the market of metal and a semi-hidden opposition from certain state institutions could not last a long time. As a result of the subsequent reorganizations on December 17, 1915, the provision of a need for a variety of quality metal and a variety of defense workers was assigned to a metalworker appointed by the Chairman of the Special Defense Meeting. Along with the Commissioner worked the committee ("Rasmeko") with the participation of representatives of departments, public and commercial and industrial organizations. The functions of these bodies did not provide for the widespread use of state coercion. Only after the foundation in April 6, 1916, post of the Chief Commissioner for the supply of metals, to this person was given extensive powers in the distribution of metals. Chief Commissioner of metals supply combined work of the then existing institutions that have specific powers to regulate the work of metallurgical enterprises. However, the lack of apparatus and the refusal to cooperate with syndicates (despite Germany's example) were not allowed to establish effective control over the metal market. This contributed to the development of illegal trade in this type of products. Act of September 15, 1916 on the right of the Minister of Trade and Industry to set maximum prices for metals and products from them practically did not act⁸.

We believe that the work of metallurgical enterprises was influenced by the reduction of the number of skilled workers due to their call to the Armed Forces. This led to the fact that in the mines of Kryviy Rih, after the first mobilizations, there was an urgent need for labor. Mining of ore has decreased, as a result it was not enough even to meet the needs of local South-Ukrainian metallurgical plants. In early December 1914 in the region stopped 13 furnaces. In mid-March 1915, some

и Турциею. Законы, Манифесты, Рескрипты, Указы Правительствующему Сенату, Распоряжения и Постановления Министров и др. Тип. А. Г. Сыркина, Вильна, 1915, pp.216–217.

⁸ Фомин П. И., *Металлопромышленность Украины*, Изд. Госплана УССР, Харьков, 1926, p.34.

plants completely or partially suspended their activities⁹. The Council of Ministers has pointed out that there is a fierce competition between public and private enterprises in attracting qualified workers. Quite often, private companies have been lured to them by establishing an increased wage. Such practices often created obstacles to the execution of military orders by state-owned factories. In this situation, the Council of Ministers opposed the introduction of emergency measures aimed at limiting the transfer of workers from one enterprise to another. A means of retaining skilled workers at state-owned enterprises was raising the level of remuneration, which would correspond to prices at private enterprises. At the same time, the Council of Ministers called for the release of the most skilled workers from the state-owned enterprises, considering this measure as a means of retaining skilled labor at these enterprises¹⁰.

In order to increase production, new employees were involved, including a growing proportion of women and, to a certain extent, of children. It is important to point out that the use of labor of these categories of workers increased at the end of 1914, but in 1915 the increase in the number of women and children who were employed in employment was slowed down by the rapid involvement of prisoners of war. However, the share of women involved in production has gradually increased. If in the beginning of 1915 women accounted for 19,2% of workers, then in early 1916 their number increased to 25%¹¹. However, in spite of the measures taken, already in 1915 there was a drop in the volume of production of pig iron compared with 1914 by 11,7%, semi-finished products – by 10,1%¹².

The positive moment that contributed to the growth of productivity in metallurgy was the replacement of coal by coke in blast furnace production, which provided a sharp increase in the production of pig iron. And this in turn led to the need to increase the production of rolling mills and aggregates for steel smelting. As you know, coke industry supplies fuel for the metallurgical industry, and raw

⁹ Турченко Г. Ф., “Соціально-економічні процеси в південноукраїнському регіоні”, *Велика війна 1914–1918 рр. і Україна*, У 2 кн. Кн. 1, Історичні нариси, “ТОВ Видавництво “КЛІО”, Київ, 2014, р.411.

¹⁰ “По вопросу об обеспечении правильной деятельности казенных заводов, изготовляющих предметы, необходимые для государственной обороны, 27 февраля 1915 года”, *Особые журналы Совета министров Российской империи. 1915 год*, РОССПЭН, Москва, 2008, pp.97–98.

¹¹ Гессен В. Ю., *Труд детей и подростков в фабрично-заводской промышленности России от XVII века до Октябрьской революции*, Ленинград: Государственное издательство, Москва, 1927. Т. I. pp.106–109.

¹² Ж. С. Деятельность южных металлургических заводов за июль 1915 г. и за год войны, *Горно-заводское дело*, № 36, 1915, p.11775.

materials – for chemical industry. Although until 1914, the burning of coke in large mines and metallurgical plants from year to year grew, the by-products of this process were almost not used¹³.

In the Donetsk basin was concentrated 99,96% of total coke production of the Russian Empire. They provided not only local metallurgical plants, but also factories of the center of Russia (the Ural metallurgical plants carried out the smelting of pig iron, mostly for charcoal). In 1914 there were 5,812 coke ovens in the Donetsk basin, of which 4,028 were built on coalmining mines, and another 1,784 at metallurgical plants. Technically possible performance of all furnaces provided the continuous action was about 372 million pounds a year. Since part of the furnaces had to undergo repairs, the coke burning could reach no more than 330 million pounds. But practically the largest volume of coke received in the Donbass in 1914 amounted to 278 million pounds. To support the smelting of pig iron at the level of 1913 (189 million 700 thousand pounds), it was necessary about 247 million pounds of coke. Thus, taking into account the needs of only metallurgical plants, the amount of coke received in 1914 provided the work of enterprises at the level of 1913. But in 1915, in connection with the growth of production capacities for metallurgical plants of the East and South of Ukraine, it was needed already 287 million 300 thousand tons of coke. However, production of coke in 1915 was only about 255 million pounds (according to other data, even 250 million pounds). Thus, already in 1915, the needs of metallurgical plants in coke were not satisfied¹⁴.

In the war years, the coke industry provided the product with industrial enterprises that worked for military purposes, compensating to a certain extent losses from the coke import. But to meet the needs of all consumers failed. As a result of interruptions to transport, lack of coal, and the mobilization of a large number of workers, the production of coke was gradually decreasing: in 1915 it was 90,3%, and in 1917 – 83% of the level of 1913. The situation was complicated by the fact that due to the transport crisis, coke plants accumulated relatively large stocks of non-exhausted coke. Reduction of production of coke has created problems with the production of benzol needed for the manufacture of explosives¹⁵. Thus, at

¹³ Михненко А. М. Розвиток економіки Донецького регіону на початку ХХ ст, *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького державного університету*, Вип. XVII, 2004, р.160.

¹⁴ Гарновский К. Н., *Формирование государственно-монополистического капитализма в России в годы первой мировой войны (на примере металлургической промышленности)*, Издательство Московского университета, Москва, 1958, pp.33–34.

¹⁵ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (ЦДІАК України), ф. 2161, оп. 1, спр. 13, арк. 82–84.

the end of 1915 the weakness of the raw material base of the metallurgical industry was revealed. Mining industries supplying raw materials for smelting pig iron – iron, coke and flux – were unable to fully meet the needs of metallurgical enterprises in raw materials and fuels as a result of traffic interruptions and lack of workers.

The Government has taken a series of measures aimed at improving the production of chemical products that were necessary for the needs of the war. In 1915 the first association of the industry arose – the Russian joint-stock company of the coke industry and benzol production (“Kokosobenzol”). The Company has largely monopolized the construction of coke plants, as well as the production and sale of coke and coking products in Ukraine. The number of capture plants for chemical coking products has increased from 10 in 1913 to 15 in 1916, and the production of benzol has increased from 2 thousand to 131 thousand pounds. The above data shows that the concentration of production and preferential lending provided by the government allowed to increase production volumes. Monopolization of the industry helped not only organize production, but also redistribute its results. But in general, the production of coking products was not enough, which inhibited the development of many industries, including metallurgy¹⁶.

In 1916 in the Donetsk basin was commissioned five new coke recovery of byproducts such as benzol, toluene, xylene, naphthalene, ammonia. At the same time their construction was significantly complicated and in some cases completely suspended due to the lack of refractory materials and iron. At the same time, with full loading of all furnaces, it was expected to receive about 100 thousand pounds of crude coal benzol¹⁷. At the end of 1916 there were already in the Donbass 17 coke plants, which means recovery coke oven gases extracted toluene and benzol. The annual production capacity of sulfuric acid plants was doubled to 25 million pounds¹⁸.

At the beginning of January 1916, the commissioner of the Special Defense Meeting in Ekaterinoslavsky District pointed to the critical state of the work of the metallurgical plants due to the constant delays in the supply of raw materials and

¹⁶ Плакида Е. М., *Развитие коксохимической промышленности Украины в дореволюционный период*, автореферат диссертации кандидата экономических наук, Киев, 1980.

¹⁷ “Из Всеподданнейшего доклада по Военному министерству о мероприятиях и состоянии всех частей военного управления за 1916 год”, *Военная промышленность России в начале XX века (1900–1917): документы и материалы*, “Новый хронограф”, Москва, 2004, Т. I. p.628.

fuel, which threatened to stop the execution of military orders¹⁹. At the same time, in circulars of the Council of the Congress of Mining Industry South of Russia in July 1916, it was pointed out significant delays in the execution of orders for mining enterprises by steel mills for the supply of metal products. It was stressed that the practice of conducting orders through production meetings did not justify itself, because they did not have “sufficient authority” to achieve the fulfillment by the metallurgical plants of their own orders. In addition, metallurgists primarily performed orders not production meetings, but authoritative organizations such as the Congress of Mining Industry South of Russia²⁰. Incidentally, this fact has become one of the reasons for the mining industry in southern Russia for the creation of a single governing body, which would concentrate in its hands all the affairs in the mining and metallurgical industry in order to prevent the economic decline of these industries²¹.

In April-May 1916 special meetings were convened in Kharkiv and Ekaterinoslav in order to increase the production capacity of metallurgical plants. Taking into account the significant reduction of stocks of raw materials of these enterprises, which was observed during 1915, as well as the lack of their provision with certain materials, the conclusions of the meeting concluded that the need for the urgent provision of metallurgical enterprises by the necessary specialists (workers, technicians and professional servants) was made, and also about restriction of requisites of vehicles servicing the metallurgical industry. Equally important was the provision of workers in the metallurgical industry with food, due to the lack of which “*the preconditions for successful enemy agitation*” were created among the workers. To counter this, it was proposed to oblige the Ministry of Agriculture to provide workers with products on the terms under which it supplied food to the army. It was also pointed out the necessity of using metallurgical enterprises (as energy sources) of anthracite and coal of the Lisichansk region. It was emphasized on the need to meet the needs of the fleet in metal products to accelerate the commissioning and ongoing repair of ships. For the needs of metallurgical plants, it was planned to allocate a fleet of cars in the amount of 42 thousand units and 1,000 freight trains. In this regard, it was noted that the reduction of rolling stock to 32

¹⁸ Погребинский А. Мобилизация промышленности царской России в первую мировую войну 1914–1917 годов, *Вопросы истории*, 1948, № 8, август, р.63.

¹⁹ Турченко Г. Ф., Соціально-економічні процеси в південноукраїнському регіоні, *Велика війна 1914–1918 рр. і Україна*, у 2 кн. Кн. 1, Історичні нариси, “ТОВ Видавництво “КЛЮ””, Київ, 2014, р.425.

²⁰ ЦДІАК України, ф. 2161, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 6.

²¹ ЦДІАК України, ф. 2161, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 11–13 зв.

thousand cars will not ensure the shipment of fuel from the Donetsk coal basin for the needs of metallurgical enterprises²².

Proposals of special meetings of Kharkiv and Ekaterinoslav to improve the work of metallurgical plants were made on June 10, 1916, for discussion by the Council of Ministers. The result of the discussion was the decision to return qualified specialists from the military service to enterprises, to terminate the recruitment of certain categories of workers, technicians and employees, and an increase in the number of prisoners of war who had to work at metallurgical enterprises. In addition, urgent measures were taken to remove from the fields of all stocks of extracted ore, which should be used to ensure the smooth operation of metallurgists.

In 1916, the owners of metallurgical enterprises violated the issue of the execution of contractual orders to the government, the agreements on which were signed before the beginning of hostilities. The problem was due to the fact that, in wartime, the activities of almost all the plants were regulated by the government in order to secure military needs. Therefore, the execution of preliminary orders either significantly slowed down or was completely suspended. Thus, on June 12, 1916, this problem was discussed at a meeting of the Committee on Metallurgical Industries, which resulted in the submission to the Special Defense Meeting of a proposal that all private orders made by industry prior to the beginning of the war were recognized as such that lost their validity if their execution was not possible due to the requisition. The special meeting on defense proposed to pass the decision of this issue to the discussion of the Interagency meeting at the Ministry of Trade and Industry²³.

The growth in the demand for products of the steel industry in the wake of the war accompanied by inflationary processes has led to an increase in prices for them. In this regard, on August 3, 1916, the Special Defense Meeting drew the attention of the Minister of Finance to the need to establish “*legislative norms aimed at obtaining excessive profit by entrepreneurs and commissioners for orders for state defense*”. And on August 9, 1916, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution “*On the criminal liability of traders and industrialists for increasing or decreasing*

²² “По вопросу об увеличении производительности металлургических заводов Юга России, (Письмо Министра Путей Сообщения от 18 июня 1916 г., за № 7348) (По журналу дел, разрешаемых собственной властью Совета Министров), 24 июня 1916 г.”, *Особые журналы Совета министров Российской империи. 1916 год*, РОССПЭН, 2008, Москва, pp.302–307.

²³ Российский государственный архив экономики (РГАЭ), ф. 2305, оп. 1, д. 10, л. 94–95.

prices for foodstuffs or basic necessities”, according to which the dumping or increase of prices by entrepreneurs in the previous collusion in order to obtain additional profits or redistribution of profits between the participants of economic activity provided for imprisonment for a term of eight months to one year and four months. And in the case that such actions caused the violation of “public rest”, imprisonment could also be accompanied by a fine of up to 10 thousand rubles²⁴.

In 1916 the work of enterprises of the metallurgical industry of the East and South of Ukraine was affected by the spread of the strike movement. April 27, 1916, chairman of the Council of Congresses of Mining Industry South of Russia M. von Dietmar, invited to the meeting of the Special Defense Meeting, reported on a strike at the largest in the Yekaterynoslavsky district of the Dneprovsky Metallurgical Plant. Riots and strikes arose as a result of agitation that used economic motives and offered to demand treasury sequestration of the plant. And on April 28, 1916, a special defense conference was sent to the Ministry of the Interior to alert the distribution of agitation for strikes to ensure the sequestration of enterprises. Military Minister Assistant M. Garin (former Director of the Police Department) wrote in a letter to Comrade Interior Minister O. Stepanov that, in favor of the sequestration of enterprises, the workers expected from the state administration to provide higher wages and reduce the workload. Such a phenomenon was seen as an extraordinary threat to the strengthening of “state defense”²⁵. It is important to point out that at the Dneprovsky plant, such strike lasted for three weeks because of the workers' conviction that a strike of such duration could be guaranteed to ensure sequestration of the enterprise. At the same time, employees of the Metallurgical Plant of the Nikopol-Mariupol Society were of the opinion that enough ten days of the strike – and the plant “*will be seized, and all the profits will be received by the treasury, not shareholders and administrators, who in 1915 received large dividends and awards, and only the situation the workers remained almost unchanged*”²⁶.

Regarding the causes movement of workers steel industry by the imposition of sequestration on their enterprise Russian officials were determined by two factors. First, the important role in shaping the workers' attitudes was to have newspapers,

²⁴ “Об уголовной ответственности торговцев и промышленников за возвышение или понижение цен на предметы продовольствия или необходимой потребности, 9 августа 1916 г.”, *Особые журналы Совета министров Российской империи. 1916 год*, РОССПЭН, Москва, 2008, pp.377–379.

²⁵ Поликарпов В. В., *От Цусимы к Февралю. Царизм и военная промышленность в начале XX века*, “ИНДРИК”, Москва, 2008, pp.478–479.

²⁶ Кирьянов Ю. И., *Рабочие Юга России. 1914 – февраль 1917 г.*, Наука, Москва, 1971, p.257.

which “unilaterally highlighted” the receipt of profits by industrialists. The “unilateral” coverage was that journalists were silencing the fact that large profits created an appropriate “basis for taxation”, which contributed to the formation of financial support for the continuation of the war. Another cause of revival in the working environment was the creation of industrial enterprises, where wages of workers grew relatively quickly. At the same time, among the government officials, the idea was that if the government can not resist speculation, then it will not be possible to calm the workers of the enterprises. But officials were somewhat reassured by the fact that the workers treated with high confidence in the representatives of military institutions involved in the elimination of strikes. Thus, factory meetings were used with confidence, which employees often applied in the case of conflicts with employers. Often such appeals took place in a collective form in the form of a business trip of representatives of workers' groups. In many cases, the workers themselves sought to resolve disputes with the owners of enterprises with the participation of representatives of military departments in order to avoid strikes. Sometimes the mediators were representatives of the Special Meetings.

In November-December 1916 at the XLI Congress of Mining Industry South of Russia pointed to the need to purchase abroad at least 7 million pounds of black metal per month. The deficiency of metal was 50% of national production²⁷. Such situation was associated with a significant increase in the cost of production of metallurgical enterprises in the East and South of Ukraine. Thus, at the end of 1916, the managers of the Dneprovsky metallurgical plant indicated that the cost of cast iron had almost doubled, the rails – three times, iron ore – almost three times²⁸. In fact, already at the end of 1916 – early 1917, the purchase of imported metal seemed more expedient than the cost of its production.

Thus, among the factors that significantly influenced the metallurgical industry during 1914–1917, one can distinguish a sharp increase in demand for metallurgical products, a relatively low level of development of the transport infrastructure of the Russian Empire, a deterioration in the personnel supply of industrial enterprises, largely due to the large-scale mobilization and migration of the part highly skilled specialists, inefficiency of the system of state management of industry in the conditions of a protracted global military conflict along with vlenyamy its course, which did not meet the realities of time, and depending on the

²⁷ Турченко Г. Ф., Соціально-економічні процеси в південноукраїнському регіоні, *Велика війна 1914–1918 рр. і Україна*, у 2 кн. Кн. 1, Історичні нариси, “ТОВ Видавництво “КЛЮ”, Київ, 2014, р.425.

²⁸ ЦДІАК України, ф. 2161, оп. 1, спр. 42, арк. 24 зв.

supply of certain raw materials and equipment from outside the country. Increasing the level of etazation during the war did not guaranteed the industry from reducing production volumes.

Supply disruptions of raw materials and insufficient amount of fuel and lubricants caused the stop of the vast majority of metallurgical enterprises in Ukraine. Some of them stopped working already in 1914–1915. An even greater decline in production was observed at the end of 1916 – early 1917, when the instability of the political and economic situation had a very negative effect on the development of metallurgical enterprises in the East and South of Ukraine. In fact, during the entire First World War, a “metal famine” was observed on the territory of the Russian Empire, which was the result of unbalanced economic policy in the development of the metallurgical industry in the country.

Oksana SYLKA *

**THE PUBLIC VILLAGE COMMUNITIES DURING THE PROCESS
OF FORMING THE CIVIL SOCIETY (THE END OF THE XIX-th
CENTURY – EARLY XX-th CENTURY)**

- Abstract -

This article analyses the main types of village public communities in Ukraine in the end of XIX – early XX that ran in the period of nascent public society in the Russian Empire. The specific character of their activity was examined. The process of forming such kind of communities is considered to be a component of all-Russian public statutory movement. The mechanism and main tendencies of their activity were pointed, the ways of communities' influence on the public, cultural, educational and the spiritual life of Ukrainian nation were discovered. The positive meaning of qualitative results of their work was accented. Especially in the branches of agriculture, improvement of the territories, organization of fire control, supporting of social wardship traditions, charity and enlightenment.

Keywords: Ukrainian peasantry, public community, civil society, village grouping, public organization, non-commercial community.

The topic of the researches is the village public communities of the end of XIX – the early XX centuries. The urgency of it is caused by solving the problem of forming the state organizations in the process of civil society formation. From the theoretical methodological point of view the formation of voluntary state movement is concerned to the process of creation the basics of civil society in Russian Empire and especially in Ukraine.

In that period, Ukrainian peasantry revealed as an active participant of the new civil wave, such as city intelligentsia, lower-middle class citizens and toilers.

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All of them were struggling for accomplishment of their legal interests by activity in voluntary state communities. Due to the realizing the necessity and importance of their taking part in the process of changing, the peasants caused the creating of hundreds civic communities of different directions. The territorial scope, ways, measures and results of their activity is a real example for contemporary village public movement.

The rights to have a freedom in uniting in the Russian Empire existed as a law norm from the second part of XIX century. However, this right was colored in a new way on March 4, 1906¹. We can agree with A. Tumanova that “The Rules of communities and unities” became “the notable step-up, being compared with the previous Russian legislative acts” as for the question and “being concluded according to the main principles of the law regulation that were taken from the works of western lawyers and legislative acts”².

The statement ‘civil society’ is supposed to be a space between the individual human and the state, it is accordingly to the political and social-economic factors of that period. The components of such kind of process are the official statute public communities too. Their functioning took place within the common-Russian legislation and the activity character did not get any of Ukrainian specificity, to say nothing of some enlightenment organizations before 1917. At the same time, there was the progress of public organizations in Ukraine that was a part of Austro-Hungary Empire. These organizations’ aims, statute tasks and activity tendencies had some peculiarities.

This article aim is formulation of the main characteristics that determined forming and activity of the village public communities in Ukraine.

The separate branch of public communities appeared simultaneously to the process of institutionalization of the civic society. They were to represent the interests of different social groups; branches became an important cause for the formation of civil society. In the villages of Ukraine in XIX-XX centuries, some organizations started their activity. They were: agricultural communities, fire control organizations, unities for territory improvement, communities of soberness, the village branches of common-Russian unities, charity and enlightenment associations.

¹ Справочная книжка об обществах и союзах / сост. В. И. Чарнолуцкий, СПб. , Тип. Б. В. Вольфа, 1912.

² Анастасия Туманова, Деятельность Министерства юстиции России по разработке законодательства об обществах и союзах в начале XX в, (Известия ВУЗов. Правоведение), № 6, 2002, p.196.

There is an open question of determining minimal amount of public communities in the country and definition of their relation criteria. The public movement is traditionally supposed to appear in the conditions of “an ample number” of private communities, not concerned to the state. The public organizations were the element of those movements. The statement “an ample number” does not have any criteria in the modern historiography; its meaning had some obscurity.

What kind of meaning should be the guideline for the scientists? Is it the presence of public community in every province, district or volost centers; maybe public communities that submitted in different fields of public life (from charity to the animal rights); or it was quantitative relation of the communities members to the common number of the country inhabitants. We confirm that the presence of agricultural community in every district and volost center (and a couple of public organizations) had been the minimal number that was necessary for an affirmation of the village voluntary statute movement existence. Moreover, the studies showed that the rates of enlightenment agricultural movement were lower than the rates of cooperative grouping in the same region. The charity, cultural-educational movement and fire control organizations had the same problem³.

One of the civil society forming and functioning principal is a fact of the dialogue between citizens, social elite, economic and political structures. Such kind of dialogue does not mean the coming transformation or assimilation of other side. Every member’s right for individual identity was an absolute. On the one hand, public organizations’ activity filled all empty spaces in the spheres that the state did not attend at all. On the other hand, they became a state ally and helped to fulfill all the personal interests and improve the situations in the localities.

Private and unprofitable organizations traditionally were called “the third sector” opposite the state and economic one. Their activity took place in the conditions of civil society. The permanent public movement appeared on the administrative-territorial level in Ukraine in the end of XIX – in the early XX centuries. It was consisted of separate and independent public organizations, but they did some kind of cooperation.

The present classification schemes of public unities in the modern historiography has some pros and cons, but supports the most optimal research of

³ Оксана Силка, Громадські об’єднання українського села наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст., становлення та діяльність (на матеріалах Лівобережжя), Черкаси, 2015.

the statute public sector history and its village component⁴. The number of such kind of classifications helps the researchers to determine the role and place of public communities in the Ukrainians' social life. At the same time, the scientists are discussing of the necessity of creating universal classifications, the way to which is determined as a search common features in the multiplicity.

The village public communities' legal frameworks were based on the current legislation that supported opportunities of functioning the communities and regulated the most of their activities. The main document determining the right principals of organization and activity of village communities were "The temporary rules of the communities and unities" from March 4, 1906.

The document was supplemented with the list of other laws, directives, the Senate's explanations, the resolution of province and district power and other regulatory documents. All the village public unities in Ukraine before 1917 that legalized their right for grouping by the registration in the appropriate state body, were supported to be the official organizations. From the legal point of view, the communities were independent and autonomous structures. Village public unities have been created on the background of voluntary and conscious choice of a separate person. Appearance of such kind of communities we consider as a process that is characterized by protecting and realizing the peasants' individual interests.

Organizational backgrounds of the communities functioning were grounded on their statute documents. As a rule, the texts of "Typical Statutes" have been a base⁵. They were elaborated for all types of public organizations. At that, the legislation accepted registering individual "Statute" if its contents do not contradict the current rules. The urgency of "The Statute" was recognized during all the activity of the community; it was accepted to correct separate assets of the document on the special conditions (these are: extension of activity; creating the new structural subdivisions etc.). The norms and regulations of "The Statute" were mandatory for accomplishing by all the members categories: honorable and the actual.

⁴ Варфоломій Савчук, Громадсько-наукові об'єднання: процедури типологізації (Ейдос), Київ, Вип. 4, 2009, pp.153–164, Тетяна Слінько, Олександр Кушніренко, Конституційно-правовий статус об'єднань громадян в Україні, Харків, 1998; Лариса Лойко, Громадські організації етнічних менший України: природа, легітимність, діяльність, Київ, 2005, Валентина Кравчук. Взаємовідносини громадських організацій і держави в умовах формування громадянського суспільства в Україні (теоретико-правові аспекти), автореф, дис. ... канд. юрид. наук: 12.00.01, Київ, 2008.

⁵ Нормальный устав для местных сельскохозяйственных обществ (Список сельскохозяйственных обществ), 3-е изд., СПб., 1904, pp. XI–XIII; Нормальный устав сельских пожарных дружин: [утв. 5 авг. 1897 г.], Псков, 1897, 18 р. та інші.

The aim and task of the communities were determined in the statute document; annual reports (hand-written or printed) fixed their activity. The power controlled communities' keeping the statute. Every time when the meeting had to be held, the communities were to trouble about getting the special permission for it. It was necessary to point out the date, time and place of holding and to add the list of essential questions that should be solved. Public agents (as a rule these were district police officers) were bound to be present at the meetings and all kinds of communities' arrangements.

The main sources of revenue were the membership dues, the help of privies, incomes of organized arrangements and state subsidies. The majority of annual reports of village public communities showed their non-profitable type.

The social staff of statute communities was characterized by the different kinds of people: peasants, teachers, priesthood, noblemen, and merchants. There were no limits in the point of view of sexual causes: some women were seen between the members and even some of them were the heads of communities. The social staff of community was determined by its type, i.e. by its activity specific features.

The activity of village public communities have been done continually from the time of "The Statute" registration. The part of village communities had 10 years anniversary⁶. Even the First World War did not stop the activity of the majority village statute organizations; what's more, some new associations appeared in that period. They worked in the fields of wardship, charity and enlightenment. The February Revolution events of 1917 did not affect the decreasing of village communities number too. Nevertheless, just socio-political events of 1917-1921 caused the decline of village public communities and their real voluntary liquidation.

The legal platform of the village statute communities activity, financial conditions and the means for realization the aim, partial integration into the social structure of the village community are the reasons for affirming the presence of social institutes if civil society signs in the researched communities which process of formulating was pointed out in the early XX century. The activity of public communities including the ones that ran out on village territorial-administrative level, assisted the public society in Ukraine formulating; it helped to create, extend, consolidate and protect the space between the individual and power by means of individual forming, contribution to professionalism and cultivation civic obligations.

⁶ И. Пайчадзе, Охоньковская пожарная дружина (К 10-летию юбилею) (Пожарное дело), СПб., № 2, 1915, pp.48-51; Юбилейное собрание Борковского сельскохозяйственного общества (Труд), Зеньков, № 11, 1916, pp.3-4.

The state policy of village public communities depended on accordance of communities aim and tasks to their forms and directions of activity. The power tried to save the backgrounds of their socio-political systems in different ways, including control the communities functioning. In its turn the village communities existence set some limits to the state monopoly of public life organization, helped to combine interests of a peasant with interest of society.

Some communities were referred to the category of the public ones of the village territorial self-organizations. These were, instead of agrarian enlightenment direction, the territory improvement community and voluntary fire brigade. The results of research showed that the territory improvement community did not succeed in creating the widespread village system. However, qualitative indices of the statute fire-prevention movement resemble the agrarian enlightenment features.

The appearance of all-Russian communities village centers took place in the all-empire statute tradition. The activity of Humane Society and the Red Cross community (which were the biggest in number of braches) was confirmed in the territory of Ukraine. Owing to the vigorous activity of their members that was socially significant, it turned out well to save thousands of Ukrainian peasants' lives. After being dissolved by the Soviet Union power, those organizations adopted all the aims, principles and elements of these public communities and they were put into practice in the conditions of new policy and economics.

The communities of social wardship, charity and enlightenment were induced into the system of village public communities. This component of village statute space represented the clerical and secular communities of soberness, the centers of provincial and district charity communities, societies of help separate groups of population, cultural-educational unities, orphan public nursery etc. Those communities made a great contribution into the philanthropy, patronage and education.

Wardship and charity communities' efforts were aimed at different categories of people: children, injured men, refugees, mobilized soldiers' families. The First World War period increased the number of such category of communities. The war formed new opportunities for developing the public sphere. It created institutional space for consolidation the relation between active members of voluntary organizations and representatives of the state bodies. It was made by means of co-operative resources mobilization. The researched public organizations' activity complemented the state structures activity in the war period.

Some cultural-enlightenment organizations had a great importance in the village public communities system. The basic aim of their activity was improving

the educational level and general culture of peasants, the zeal of national consciousness, careful popularization of Ukrainian history, customs and traditions. The village communities' enlightenment and cultural activity should be examined in the context of the common tendency of Ukrainian educational movement of the end of XIX – the early XX centuries.

In 1917 there was a widespread system of volunteer statute public societies in Ukrainian villages. The number of the communities with the power and organs of self-government created the special social environment that was a necessary condition for the changes in the country. Ukrainian peasants caused creating the public organizations, using their own world-view, mentality, historical experience. Their active public position was determined not by only the need of agriculture, but the realizing the possibility of better life, freedom, environment, and culture. Village statute communities played an important role in the development of the public life sphere in the end of XIX – the early XX centuries, the result of their activity caused the expansion of peasants' horizon, stimulating the initiative.

Voluntary village public communities activity started the tradition of statute organizations existence in the area of Ukrainian village. It continues even in the early XXI century, but the territories are less than they were a hundred years ago.

Ukrainian village public organizations are an inalienable component of the common public communities system; they acted in the period in the end of XIX – the early XX centuries. Thereafter they were separate and important factor of social-economical processes and cultural-educational changes. Touching upon historical traditions gives us an opportunity to estimate it as its succession, the connection with economic and political structures (it was happening in the conditions of developing activity of the statute public communities in the end of XIX – the early XX centuries; especially their village segment). What's more, it gives a chance to find out common backgrounds that were the space for functioning not only Ukrainian and European communities, but also the world ones; it was an opportunity to realize in a new way the role and place of public organizations in a civilizational progress of Ukrainian society.

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**LOCAL INDUSTRY OF UKRAINE BETWEEN 1943 - 1950:
DEVELOPMENT, FUNCTIONING AND ROLE IN PROVIDING THE
NEEDS OF THE ECONOMY AND OF THE POPULATION**

- Abstract -

The article deals with the post-war reconstruction and production activity in 1943-1950, so important to meet the needs of the economy and the population of the industrial complex of the republic as the local industry. It is analyzed the research of the mentioned problem and reason of insufficient attention of historians to its study; the scientific relevance of filling this gap in the system of historical knowledge is substantiated. The potential of the local industry of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the prewar period and damage caused by war and occupation is characterized. Based on the use of a wide range of sources, which are first introduced into scientific circulation, the course and results of restoration works in the industry are analyzed; positive and negative processes are traced that took place in the establishment and implementation of production of economic products and consumer goods, consumer services. On the concrete actual material it is shown that despite much difficulties caused by insignificant centralized state financial and logistical support, lack of building materials, mechanisms and equipment, energy supply, production space, skilled engineering and technical staff, the reconstruction and adjustment operation of enterprises the local industry was generally implemented at a rapid pace and mostly by members of their labor collectives. It is established that the completion of reconstruction in 1948 became a turning point in building capacity of the industry and increasing its role in the development of the economy and social sphere of the republic. In 1948, the output of gross production not only reached the pre-war level, but also exceeded it, and in 1950 it was 176,3% to the level of 1940.

A specific feature of the functioning of local industry was its diversity. The enterprises of the industry manufactured commercial production and consumer goods in a wide assortment that enabled the authorities to solve economic problems in the regions in order to develop industrial and agricultural production and provide the needs of the population. At the same

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time, in the postwar period, the nomenclature of products increased annually, which at the end of the five-year period had more than thousand articles.

Some plots are devoted to the implementation processes during the postwar years at the enterprises of a number of new technical and technological measures, the implementation of mechanization, concentration and specialization of production, which ensured an increase in production of industrial products, reduce its cost, improve working conditions.

Keywords: local industry, reconstruction of local industry enterprises, adjustment of production process, commercial products, consumer goods.

Despite the fact that the history of the reconstruction and development of the Ukrainian industry in 1943-1950 gained quite broad coverage in the Soviet and contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the study of the problems associated with the objective and comprehensive coverage of these processes on the basis of new methodological principles remains in the number of actual tasks of historical science. However, as in previous periods, the attention of researchers is concentrated mainly in the main industries, which reflects the main directions of the reconstruction strategy of the higher authorities of the USSR, aimed primarily at the reconstruction of heavy industries.

As a result, poorly researched, and, therefore, insufficiently highlighted, remain the issues of reconstruction and functioning in 1943-1950 of those areas of the industrial complex of the republic, which, although not considered basic and decisive for the restoration of its industrial potential, but being oriented towards the production of consumers' goods, played an important role in the revival of the entire economy and social sphere. This also applies, in particular, to the local industry of Ukraine, the state and functioning of which, in the conditions of the post-war rebirth, have not yet received comprehensive research and background both at the republican and regional levels. Until recently, there were no special publications on this topic, and the information available on a number of publications on the functioning of local industry during the specified period was of a fragmentary nature and did not reflect its actual status and role in solving the current economic and social problems in the regions and in general in Ukraine. The authors, concerning issues related to the work of local industry in the post-war period, were mainly limited to guiding indicators on the release of products and services to the population and the statement of its positive role in solving the contemporary socio-economic problems. In addition, in most cases, these indicators were presented in combination with indicators characterizing the work of other industries, in particular, in conjunction

with the indicators of industrial cooperation and cooperation of the disabled, which, as a result, distinguish the actual contribution of local industry to solving certain socio-economic problems at the republican or regional levels, is not always possible. Although in recent years the issues of the state and functioning of the local industry of Ukraine in 1943-1950 have become the subject of analysis in a number of special publications¹, yet many aspects related to the post-war rebirth of the industry and its role in the reconstruction processes in Ukraine during the specified period, need further research. First of all, it concerns such issues as organizational and logistical support of reconstruction works in the conditions of the war and in the postwar period, the consequences of reconstruction works and the functioning of the industry in the said period, its role in post-war regeneration and the development of industry, agriculture and social sphere in the regions and in general in the republic, in providing the population with consumer goods and household services, etc. Taking into account the above mentioned in this publication, the task is to characterize the results of the reconstruction and work of the local industry of Ukraine in 1943-1950, to determine its role in ensuring the needs of the economy and the population of the republic.

First of all, it must be noted that among a wide public, including among historians, there is no clear understanding of what constituted a local industry in the industrial complex of that time. It is believed that it was a complex of enterprises located in the regions of Ukraine (regions and districts) and which provided regional (that is, local) needs for industrial and consumer products. In fact, in the pre-war period, the local industry of the republic, representing a set of subordinated to the People's Commissariat of Local Industry of the Ukrainian SSR of industrial enterprises, trusts, industrial enterprises and other organizations, had a significant share in the overall balance of the Ukrainian economy. In 1941 there were 706 enterprises in the industry, including 267 factories of republican and regional subordination and 439 city and district industrial plants (to this it should be noted

¹Тітка О. О., Місцева промисловість України в початковий період післявоєнного відродження (1943 – 1944 рр.), Вісник Черкаського університету, Серія Історичні науки, 2006, Черкаси, Вип. 90, рр.101 – 109; *Її ж*, Внесок місцевої промисловості України в соціально-економічне відродження села в 1943 – 1945 рр. Український селянин, 36. наук. праць. Черкаси, Черкаський національний університет ім. Б. Хмельницького, 2006, Вип. 10, рр.356–358; *Її ж*, Місцева промисловість України в 1943 – 1945 рр., здобутки та проблеми відбудови, Україна Соборна, 36, наук. Статей, Вип. 4, Т. 2, К.: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2006, рр.292–300; *Її ж*, Місцева промисловість України в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни (1941 – 1945 рр.) Історія народного господарства та економічної думки України, 36. Наук, праць, К.: Державна установа «Інститут економіки та прогнозування НАН України», 2007, Вип. 39–40,

that in 1939-1941, 56 largest local industry factories, which annually produce of 235 million rubles, were put under the command of people's commissariats of the Union industry)². The enterprises of the local industry manufactured commercial production and consumer goods in a wide assortment, which allowed the authorities to solve economic problems in the regions in order to develop industrial and agricultural production and provide the needs of the population. In the pre-war 1940, the enterprises of the local industry of the republic manufactured products of 664 million rubles (here and thereafter in the prices of 1926/1927) ³, including: cast-iron pipes - 7204 tons, sheet metal - up to 10 thous. tons, agricultural machines - 14 674 units, tanks - 60,3 thous. cu m, metal barrels - 105,6 thous. pcs., table scales - 54,5 thous. pcs., beds - 220 thous. pcs., axes - 698 thous. pcs., shovels - 2266 tons, furnace casting - 3213 tons, locks of various kinds - 1266 thous. pcs., porcelain and earthenware utensils – 77,4 million pcs., stringed instruments - 474 thous. pcs., harmonies and accordions – 30,5 thous. pcs., pianos – 3,6 thous. pcs., buttons – 432,7 million pcs., pencils - 80 million pcs.⁴, about 40 thous. wagons and many other economic products. The technical equipment of the enterprises also allowed the production of turbines, spare parts for agricultural machinery, including to tractors, chains for combines, sprayers, and certain types of machine tools⁵.

At the same time, the enterprises carried out another extremely important function - servicing the population by metal repair, bespoke tailoring and repair of clothing and footwear. These services were provided to the population by 439 city and district industrial plants (consisting of 1978 shops, workshops and production facilities), combining this work with the production of consumer goods. In 1940, they provided services and manufactured products in the amount of 119,4 million rubles, which was 18% of the total value of the production industry ⁶. It proves that industry at the district level was a powerful segment of the production of various consumer goods and services for the needs of the population in the regions of Ukraine.

During the war the local industry of the republic suffered great losses. Due to the threat of the occupation of equipment, 14 of the most important enterprises of

pp.98–115; *Її ж*, Відбудова та розвиток місцевої промисловості України в 1943–1948 рр. Гуржіївські історичні читання, Зб. Наук, праць, Черкаси, 2007, pp.462–468 та ін.

² Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (далі – ЦДАВО України), Ф. 4990, Оп. 1, Спр.29, Арк. 4.

³ Советская Украина в годы Великой Отечественной войны 1941 – 1945, Документи и материалы в 3-х томах, К.: Наукова думка, 1985,Т. 3, р.365.

⁴ Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України (далі – ЦДАГО України), Ф. 1, Оп. 76, Спр.210, Арк. 5.

⁵ ЦДАВО України, Ф. 4990, Оп. 1, Спр.29, Арк. 5.

⁶ Там само, Арк. 26.

the republican subordination, primarily metal-working, were wholly or partially exported to the eastern part of the USSR, while the other enterprises were almost completely destroyed and robbed during the fighting and occupation. The total damage caused by the war and the occupation of the industry, according to incomplete data (as of February 1946) amounted to 413 million rubles⁷.

Immediately after the liberation from the invaders in the regions, the reconstruction and adjustment of the work of industry enterprises was carried out by rapid leaps. The importance of the revival of the industry was conditioned by the reality at that time: its products were extremely necessary for the revival of the regions of Ukraine, the ruined economy and the social sphere in cities and villages, satisfaction of the needs of the extremely impoverished population in consumer goods, production inventory and materials for the reconstruction of dwelling, household appliances, clothes and footwear, equipment for institutions of education and culture. Reconstruction and production processes in the industry took place in conditions of incredible difficulties. Issuing directives on rebuilding local industry and adjustment its operation, the state authorities did not allocate the necessary funds and material and technical resources. Thus, only 0,33% were allocated from the total amount of money allocated for the years of war by the Union Government for reconstruction needs in the republic for carrying out reconstruction works in the local industry in 1944-1945.

At the same time, the funds provided to the industry in 1944 amounted to only 7,1%, and in 1945 – 7,6% of the amount of losses incurred during the war⁸. The problem was deepened by the lack of production space, building materials, equipment and machinery, energy supply, skilled engineering and labor personnel.

As a result of the reconstruction works carried out in 1943-1945, 182 enterprises of republican and regional subordination and 780 restored and newly created district and city industrial plants were put into operation, in which 7838 enterprises of shops, workshops and factories were functioned⁹. At the restored enterprises in 1944, products were manufactured in the amount of 188,3 million rubles (101,7% to the annual plan)¹⁰, which was 28,4% of the annual pre-war production¹¹, and in 1945 - by 288 million rubles¹², or 52,9% more than in 1944.¹³

⁷ ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 76, Спр.210, Арк.5.

⁸ Там само, Арк.5, 13; спр. 152, Арк.50–51.

⁹ Там само, Спр. 210, Арк. 4.

¹⁰ Там само, Спр. 152, Арк. 36–37.

¹¹ Советская Украина в годы Великой Отечественной войны 1941 – 1945, Документи и материалы в 3-х томах, К.: Наукова думка, 1985, Т. 3, p.365.

¹² ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 76, Спр.210, Арк. 5-7.

¹³ Советская Украина в годы Великой Отечественной войны 1941 – 1945, Документи и материалы в 3-х томах, К.: Наукова думка, 1985, Т. 3, p.366.

At the same time, consumer goods, which were supposed to satisfy the most essential needs of the extremely impoverished people during the war years, were manufactured for an amount of almost 165 million rubles¹⁴ Production in 1945 was already 43,4% of the annual pre-war production. Although it was not possible to reach the targets planned for 1945, because in 1945 local industry enterprises planned to issue products in the amount of 325,2 million rubles, which would amount to 48,1% of the annual pre-war issue¹⁵. In general, since the beginning of the reconstruction until the end of 1945, the enterprises already manufactured products amounting to 495 million rubles.¹⁶

By the rapid leaps, reconstruction works were carried out in the postwar years. Only in January-July 1946, 13 enterprises of republican subordination, 7 enterprises of regional subordination, 53 regional and city industrial enterprises, and 1156 workshops, shops and manufactures were restored and resumed work. Thus, the total number of operating enterprises of the republican and regional subordination reached 202, which was already 75,7% of their number in 1941, and the number of industrial plants was 883, that is, it increased by 444 compared with 1941¹⁷. In subsequent years, the number of enterprises in the industry was not only restored to the pre-war level, but also exceeded it. At the end of 1949, there were 835 industrial enterprises operating in the industry, including: republican subordination - 131, regional - 101, district - 603. In 1950, in connection with the implementation of measures for the specialization and concentration of a number of enterprises regional and district subordination, the elimination of part of unprofitable enterprises due to the lack of a local raw material base and the transfer of two enterprises of regional subordination in the republican, a number of enterprises in the local industry decreased to 772, of which 133 had a republic subordination, 88 - regional and 551 - district¹⁸. However, such a decrease in the number of enterprises did not affect the total production capacity of the industry, which by the end of the fourth five-year period significantly exceeded the pre-war level.

During the fourth five-year plan, the state of financial and logistical support of the industry has gradually improved, but remained inadequate. During 1946-1950, the Ministry of Local Industry for the creation of additional facilities received a centralized investment of 218 million rubles¹⁹, of which 108 million

¹⁴ ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 76, Спр.152, Арк. 117.

¹⁵ Советская Украина в годы Великой Отечественной войны 1941 – 1945, Документы и материалы в 3-х томах, К.: Наукова думка, 1985,Т. 3, р.366.

¹⁶ ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 76, Спр.210, Арк. 7.

¹⁷ ЦДАВО України, Ф. 4990, Оп. 1, Спр.53, Арк. 4.

¹⁸ ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 78, Спр.360, Арк.4.

¹⁹ Там само, Оп. 30, Спр. 2120, Арк. 44.

rubles was mastered in 1946-1947, 40 million rubles. - in 1948²⁰. However, such investments were not enough to solve the problems of industry development and the adjustment of efficient production. The Ministry, trusts and enterprises were forced to search for internal reserves for the construction of industrial premises of enterprises, purchase of equipment and technical re-equipment of production. However, the funds raised in this way were small, which hampered the development of the industry.

The centralized material and technical supply of local industry from state resources was also insignificant. The analysis of documents shows that the issue of material and technical supply was perhaps the most important issue in the list of issues discussed at the meetings of the Ministry, at the meetings of its College, raised in the correspondence between the Ministry and the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, trusts and enterprises with the Ministry. Particularly acute was the issue of providing enterprises with metal, chemical products, timber products, coal, electricity, due to which the implementation of industrial production plans failed to be implemented. With regard to the supply of equipment and tools by enterprises, the insignificant supply of them by state orders, focused on the use of intra-industry sources, namely: manufactured locally-produced machine tools, presses, tools, mechanical lines, etc. Enterprises of regional and district subordination, which manufactured consumer goods, worked mainly on local raw materials, although significantly dependent on the supply of fuel, electricity, certain special types of raw materials that were insufficient to ensure the proper maintenance of the production process.

The commissioning of the enterprises and the increase of production capacities ensured the growth of volumes of production and provision of services to the population. Already in January-July 1946 production in the amount of 220 million rubles were manufactured²¹. In 1947 the products were manufactured in the amount of 438,2 million rubles. In 1947 - already in the amount of 718,4 million rubles²² incl. at enterprises of republican subordination in the amount of 301,7 million rubles, and regional and district subordination in the amount of 416 million rubles²³. Thus, in 1948, production output at the enterprises of the industry not only reached the pre-war level, but surpassed it by 8,2%. In 1950, the gross output was 1170,3 million rubles, or 176,3%, to the level of 1940²⁴. In the total volume of gross output manufactured by the enterprises of the republican ministries and departments

²⁰ ЦДАВО України, Ф. 4990, Оп. 1, Спр.150, Арк. 9.

²¹ ЦДАГО України, Ф.1, Оп. 23, Спр.3977, Арк.16.

²² Там само, Оп. 30, Спр. 2120, Арк. 4.

²³ Там само, Оп. 23, Спр. 6111, Арк. 38.

²⁴ Там само, Оп. 23, Спр. 3993, Арк. 11.

of the Ukrainian SSR in 1950, the share of gross production of enterprises subordinated to the Ministry of Local Industry was 37,1%. And in the whole volume of industrial production manufactured in Ukraine by enterprises of the union republican and republican ministries and departments of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, its share amounted to 14,8%²⁵.

In the postwar years, new productions were created in the industry: machine tools, technical equipment for the needs of the republican economy, internal combustion engines, garden tractors, non-ferrous metals, radios and radio stations, electric lighting equipment, a number of new types of sports equipment and consumer goods. Mass production of machines for the needs of agriculture was organized: tractor disk harvesters, drawer-choppers, harrows, machines for mechanization of work in livestock breeding; the production of simple equestrian and manual inventory for the needs of farms and villagers has been considerably expanded.

It should be noted that in the final years of the fourth five-year, a number of new technical and technological processes were introduced into the main sub-sectors of the local industry - metal and chemical: automatic welding, centrifugal metal spillage, the introduction of operating machines in the production of parts and spare parts for agricultural machines, the use of selenium rectifiers instead of low-voltage generators (for the transformation of alternating current to constant at coating of metals - zinc plating, chromium plating), transferring of cars and internal combustion engines to natural gas, the current production of barrels, the production of sanitary faience, experiments on the melting of cast iron in peat with coke impurities, etc. were completed²⁶. These measures contributed to accelerating the process of rebuilding the industry, increasing the production of industrial products, reducing its cost, improving working conditions, etc.

At the enterprises, metal, porcelain and earthenware and plastic products of general use, varnish-painting and building materials, medical and building faience, school and office supplies and accessories, recreational supplies and haberdashery, musical instruments, wagons and walkers to them, harnesses and other equipment and equipment for caravans, agricultural machines and implements and spare parts for them, hydraulic turbines, metal-working and wood-working machines, boilers, electrical equipment, mechanisms and equipment for housing and communal services, autogenous weighing equipment, barrels and tanks, leather and footwear, wooden, resin-ceramic, felt products, fuel were manufactured; as well as maintenance of the population by metal-household repairs, bespoke tailoring and

²⁵ Там само, Арк. 10–11.

²⁶ Там само, Оп. 76, Спр. 152, Арк. 15; Оп. 30, Спр.1613, Арк. 12.

repair of clothing and footwear was carried out. It is important that the manufacture used not only stock raw materials, but also local resources of raw and materials.

A characteristic feature of the work of local industry in the postwar period was the annual increase in the range of products. So, if in 1940 the enterprises of the industry manufactured goods of 160 articles²⁷, then at the end of 1945 - in early 1946 their number was more than 500 names. In comparison with the pre-war period, 146 articles of new types of equipment and consumer goods were introduced into production²⁸. Among them: steam engines (locomotives), hydro turbines, electric motors, powerful presses, screws, aluminum pistons, electric lights and batteries, reproducers, forks, spoons and knives from stainless steel, kerogas, locks for safes, plastic cigar cases, soap dishes, thermos, soles of chlorinyl, table scales, felt hats, toilets, washbasins, eye-catching knives, sippers, siphons, buckets, cute household and others. At the end of 1946, the enterprises of the industry manufactured products of already 1002 articles²⁹, and in the future the assortment of products increased annually.

The industrial activity of local industry enterprises in the postwar years, in spite of significant difficulties in financing, equipment supply, raw materials and materials, generally had a steady tendency to increase. This, in particular, is evidenced by the data on the implementation of annual plans of the industry, which by the way grew annually: in 1946 - by 99%, in 1947 - by 105%, in 1948 - by 109%, in 1949 - by 107%³⁰, in 1950 - by 107,7%. At the same time in 1950 the increase of production in comparison with 1949 was 129,5%³¹. In particular, in 1950, at the enterprises of the industry, in comparison with the pre-war level, the production of spare parts for tractors and agricultural machinery increased by 1,8 times, the rolled metal - by 2,8 times, radiators - by 54 times, the chains of Gaul - by 1,1 times, crowns - by 1,4 times, metal ware - by 3,1 times, furnace casting - by 2,2 times, metal beds - by 1,2 times, pencils - by 1,1 times, students' pens - by 18,6 times, shoes - by 4,8 times. The production of porcelain and faience wares, stationery and school supplies, walking and carriages, harmonies, bayans, spiritual and strings musical instruments, table knives, forks and spoons, heating boilers, metal shovels and other industrial and household goods has increased in comparison with the pre-war level.

Important was the fact that, creating various, as a rule, small-sized industrial enterprises, including small towns and large rural settlements, local industry

²⁷ Там само, Оп. 76, Спр. 206, Арк. 64.

²⁸ Там само, Спр.152, Арк. 65, 78.

²⁹ Там само, Арк. 64.

³⁰ Там само, Оп. 23, Спр.3993, Арк. 4.

³¹ Там. Само, Оп.76, Спр.5885, Арк.1.

developed industrial production in distant areas from industrial centers, attracted to productive labor in the public production of the local population. In 1948, the enterprises of the industry employed 87,2 thous. workers, engineers and technicians and employees³². By means of it, more than 400 thous. members of the families of local workers have a more or less secure source of vital needs.

At the same time, along with significant positive results, there were serious shortcomings in the work of the local industry. The largest of them were: low quality part of the manufactured products, first of all, consumer goods; lack of production of a large assortment of products from planned tasks; a significant part of enterprises from year to year did not fulfill plans for manufacture of production and consumer goods; due to shortcomings in the organization of the production process and inadequate level of mechanization in the industry, there were many unprofitable enterprises (in particular, in 1948, out of 875 enterprises, 297 worked unprofitable, causing a loss of 33,5 million rubles)³³; the total labor productivity of the workers in the industry was low etc.

Summarizing the above, we note that in spite of significant difficulties and problems, in general, successful reconstruction and work in the post-war years of the local industry had positive consequences for solving the priority tasks of the revival of the economy and the social sphere of the republic. Manufactured at the enterprises products and services provided to the population were extremely valuable in the complex conditions of the postwar period. At the same time, the work of local industry was negatively affected by the factors associated with insufficient in the recovery period of financing and allocation of stock raw materials and materials, poor energy supply, lack of skilled engineering and technical personnel and workers, their high turnover in the industry, sometimes low qualification of enterprise managers and other. This led to underutilization of planned tasks for the manufacture of production and consumer goods, their low quality. Analysis of these and other problems in the work of the local industry in Ukraine in the post-war period requires a separate study. The public need in this segment of historical knowledge stems from the need to study and take into account the experience of the revival (and in fact – “greenfield establishment”) of the production of those products that were of paramount importance for meeting the daily needs of people.

³² Там само, Спр.5, Арк. 5.

³³ Там само, Арк. 7.

O.E. LYSENKO *

L.M. KHOINATSKA **

WORLD WAR II MEMORY: BETWEEN RITUAL AND REALITY

- Abstract -

The article is dedicated to the matters of historical memory preservation at the individual and collective levels. The rituals of Soviet people, the creation of myths about the Great October Revolution and the Great Patriotic War have been analyzed. It has been scientifically proved that contemporary commemorative initiatives do not take into account the specifics of memorable stereotypes about the Second World War, but stir up conflict zones in society, which are skillfully used by external forces to destabilize the situation in Ukraine.

Keywords: memory, World War II, Soviet rituals, memorial structures.

The memory of the largest armed conflict events in the history of mankind seems at first glance only to be such a continuous canvas with negligible branches. In fact, it is only its official format, vested in the above-identified ceremonials and ideologically-minded clusters. This phenomenon is difficult to call a historical memory in the full understanding of this word, since it is artificially constructed from above and imposes the vision and evaluation of the hopes of the past from the loyalty point of views.

Actually, historical memory exists at the individual level and to the full extent at the corporate (group) one. In the latter case, one can also observe tangible deformations caused by considerations of community consolidation (or social cohorts) that are its bearers.

Both at the individual and corporate levels, there are significant and rather striking differences of historical reality perception. At least in modern Ukrainian

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society in the last quarter of the twentieth century not just a backlash, but confronting memory models were possible to observe.

Quite often, the memory of an individual does not coincide with the model of memory of the cohort he belongs to. So, mentality, values and political orientations are formed at the individual level under the influence of genetic keys, upbringing conditions, education, social relations, career trajectories, etc. It can be only explained by the fact that representatives of one social group reflect opposite memorial structures.

The democratization of society at the verge of the 20th and 21st centuries contributed to the gradual leveling of contradictions sharpness between antagonistic memorial spaces. But they have not disappeared altogether and go out to the surface when tectonic political and socio-economic changes take place (elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, “Maidan”, and others).

Some political forces have recently exploited memorable stereotypes with an electoral purpose.

Ultimately, antistate campaigns and Russia's hybrid war against our state, inspired in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine, actualized a lot of rituals associated with World War II.

Most of the memories of those who survived the war have been pierced with pain for the dead and the extreme survival conditions.

After the death of relatives in battles and owing to illnesses, the most traumatic segment is connected with the hardship during the war years. Loss of property, constant source of the family budget replenishment, forced and compulsory migration have deprived people of a comfortable social environment and the most essential everyday items as well. But the widespread shortage of food was the most devastating. The priority task was the supply of the Soviet Armed Forces, however, the rest of the citizens found themselves in a difficult position and in a catastrophic situation.

On the other hand, the Soviet party bureaucratic establishment and the senior command staff of the Red Army, the Navy and the Air Force continued to enjoy material benefits, health promotion and other sphere profits. T. Kondratieva in the monograph “Feed and rule” shows how memorable reflections recorded the privileged position of the ruling bureaucracy: “The memory of the privileged and collective imagination directly related to food consumption is affected to such an extent, and confuses praise and nostalgia that the food seems fertile and coming from someone Almighty, who feeds his bureaucratic establishment servants with almost divine food.

Perhaps one of the reasons due to collective memory formed in the context of general poverty is so much concerned with nutrition and connected with asceticism and commonplace of the leaders' other aspects of life"¹.

The thesis of asceticism needs comments. Firstly, it was a matter of a higher echelon of power, which had everything necessary for comfortable life, even in conditions of military extremism and common hardship. Secondly, this so-called "asceticism" concerned external attributes: expensive furniture, jewelry, clothes, cars, household appliances and, first of all, behavioral patterns. T. Kondratyeva writes: "During Stalin period asceticism, discipline, harsh morals and manners were the rules. The leader of the country was wearing only one model of military service jacket. Stalin's milieu clothing was of good quality, but dark shades, badly sewn in one studio in about the same style. Respectable and ritualized events at the Bolshoi Theater or concerts on the occasion of the revolutionary holidays gathered around Stalin the monotonous elite without shine: in this environment even jewelry was forbidden to women. The harshness of the atmosphere and costume, conventional behavior, gestures, habits and speeches were called a regime."²

The daughter of the editor-in-chief of the Pravda newspaper Natalia Zimianina in an interview with T. Kondratyeva said that her family's life was ritualized, "and how! The rules of the enterprises, called «regime», was fully applied to us; my father, my mother, all family members were regarded as «regime» people. All, including children. Harsh clothes, ties, silent voices, formulas of courtesy ... " The researcher notes that in one form or another the ritual was present in everyday life of all Soviet citizens. The ideological content of the rituals that sanctified the political, social and economic system in the USSR played an important role in the legitimization of the totalitarian regime. Foreign scholars point out that, whereas in other industrial societies such events played a secondary, marginal role, Bolshevik rituals became an effective mobilization tool. So, in various spheres of public and private life in the USSR Christel Lan distinguishes the ritual component in the following forms: family (birth, baptism, funeral), admission to collective life (reception in the ranks of pioneers, komsomol members, Communists), civilian matters (obtaining passports, recruiting to the army), the cult of war, labor and nature, revolutionary holidays etc. The researcher defines all this as "political religion". In this case, it doesn't imply a religion in the conventional sense, but a purely secular order, which completely took off from ideological attitudes. Since "a civil religion" in the United States and France only structurally arranged sociological relations, in the USSR "it has always been aimed at a comprehensive

¹Kondratev, T., *Kormit i pravit. O vlasti v Rossii XVI–XX vv.*, ROSSPEN, Moscow, 2009, p.145.

² Ibidem, p.146.

philosophy of existence and needed exclusively faithfulness. The Soviet ritual was a two-way one: both religious and secular³.

P. Kyrydon noted in his work “The ruling nomenclature of the USSR (1945-1964)” that “the tradition of implying, molding manners, behavior, even the habits of political leaders has developed amongst the managers since the Stalin era”⁴.

Models of behavior professed by the Bolshevik rulers after the revolution were quickly transformed into traditions, and they, in turn, were overgrown with appropriate rituals. The latter ones were called to form mental cliches that cloned the consciousness of those who provided the Soviet party apparatus with “unanimous” support, ironically formulated by the wits as “endorsement”.

The pivotal concept of ideological treatment of mass consciousness and the formation of necessary ranks of collective memory clusters in the interwar years became the “Great October Socialist Revolution” that gave rise to the Bolshevik regime. It was supplemented by smaller state holidays: May 1, March 8, the anniversary of the USSR formation and the Stalin Constitution (1936), anniversaries of prominent figures of the labour and communist movement, anniversaries of the Communist Party, the Komsomol, the Red Army, and many others, which were mostly political.

The pathos of revolutionary transformation of the world, “the liberation of labour people,” “universal freedom, equality and brotherhood combined all forms of holiday celebration and historical events of this scale.” It should be noticed that slogans, speeches, and executive directives on the occasion of these holidays were permeated with declarative statements, which further distanced themselves from the real affairs in the state. Therefore, the ruling elite solved the twofold task: firstly, deceiving the society, inspired to believe in the only possible and correct course that the authorities professed; and, secondly, used holidays to mobilize ordinary citizens to perform the above-identified “top” tasks.

Commemoration of the events with the status of public holidays was massive and total as well: both by the covered number of citizens and by the methods of their organization. Extremely popular parades, solemn gatherings, party forums became the means of a continuous zombification of society and the establishment of new customs and traditions that were eventually canonized and overgrown with various forms of glorification. Given the almost complete lack of individual or even family-related cultural leisure (except for censored literature reading), the authorities turned massive festivities and recreational landscapes into

³ C. Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society. The Soviet Case*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 36–41, 252.

⁴ Kiridon, P., *Pravlyacha nomenklatura UkraYinskoYi RSR (1945 – 1946 rr.)*, TOV «ASMI», Poltava, 2012, p.156.

an area of ideological influence. Entertainments, lectures, concerts in the Palaces of culture and clubs, theatrical performances, other activities, along with leisure components contained expressive elements of mental invasion. Periodical and frequent repetition of these actions vested them with ideological and behavioral constants and archetypes.

There were several rituals directed personally by J. Stalin. One of them is connected with the functioning of higher echelon of power and management. For the closest milieu, the leader suggested two types of meetings: a late working dinner, where the most important issues of the country's life were discussed, or the protracted drunken feasts, during which Stalin put his psychological experiments on subordinates.

The work of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPSU (Bolsheviks), CPC and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was organized on the basis of another principle. One of the former high-ranking officials Y. Koroliyov recalled that ordinary employees of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada went home after 19:00, while their leaders worked on another schedule. "They began their working day at 11:00 – 11:30 a.m., then went to lunch at 3 and returned to work at 6 – 7 p.m. The main affairs were postponed exactly in the evening and lasted until 10 – 11 p.m. And then the most uncertain time came. In the Kremlin, they looked at the windows of the RCP building, where Stalin's rooms were located on the second floor, and they were guided by the windows' illumination: if he had been there, or he had left." Koroliyov acknowledges the night work until 1 – 2 a.m. was really a waste of time. "Everyone called in with each other, the high-ranking officials checked the presence of ordinary employees, and the ordinary employees – the low-ranking ones. Being absent at the service was considered a violation of the order"⁵.

Along with the rituals of carnival content, there were two other varieties: purely political, and repressive and legal as well. The first one includes the party congresses and meetings, information events (lectures, readings, and interviews), meetings of the Soviet party activists, gatherings, conferences, etc. The second included mass events concerning the "witch hunt", so-called "enemies of the people". The open trials of all kinds of "pests", "saboteurs", oppositionists, "spies of many intelligence" and hostile agents, as well as the gathering of labour collectives whose directors sought unanimous approval of sentences for many innocent people, actually turned citizens into collective hostages of those, who concentrated power in their hands and tried to overthrow the wrong decisions and failures on imaginary "anti-Soviet elements".

⁵ Korolyov, Yu., *KremlYovskiy sovetnik*, Olimp, Moscow, 1995, pp.47-48.

Negative marking of all those who were arbitrarily attributed to the top of the “controlling elements”, “opponents of the Soviet government”, took place in such a way as if the masses themselves judged and punished death their enemies. All displays of loyalty also acquired the character of the ritual form and formed the basis of reverse legal actions.

Such an algorithm of the “Great Patriotic War” myth immediately within its beginning and completion in a certain ritual form became indispensable, an inherent means of legitimizing the Bolshevik regime.

The documentary and especially art fiction about Stalin were ritualized down to the limit. Their pivotal concept was formed with several “refreshments”:

a) Stalin is the embodiment of collective will, mind and ability to solve epoch-making tasks;

b) Stalin is an indisputable leader of the international communist movement, who defended the interests of labour people;

c) finally, Stalin is a loving “father of the nation” who is concerned about national fate and prosperity, close to the people, simple and even a little shy in communication.

The official image of the leader drawn by ideologues and artists was reproduced by all possible means: literature, cinema, creolized products, fine arts. Particular weight was attached to the monumental propaganda addressed to the future generations. In some cities and towns of Ukraine monuments and busts to the omnipotent Lord had stood until the mid-1950s although the process of de-Stalinization had already lasted for several years.

A special place in the mobilized tools of the Kremlin was the leader’s vocabulary. The ritual nature of Stalin’s speeches, in addition to the external entourage and obligatory attributes, was intended to strengthen the people’s faith in the fact that the most brilliant leader of the country generates fateful ideas. The extraordinary, sacred status of the head of state, by definition, did not assume a deviation from the course he outlined in foreign and domestic politics. This symbolic connection of the articulated concepts and practical steps towards their implementation was supported by means of total control and repression of those who actively or passively opposed them.

Let’s cite some examples of how the first person in the country tested and brought up the party-state apparatus and society with certain directions of the political “party line”.

On May 5 1941 a reception for graduates of military academies took place in Moscow. While speaking to the military elite of the state, Stalin voiced the core of the Soviet military doctrine, the concept of an offensive war. In order to clarify it should be noted that the aggressor was expected to be given a worthy rebuff after

attack, and the offensive to go on and extend on the enemy's territory until its complete defeat. After the solemn part the speaker personally made remarks to the speakers, who demonstrated an inaccurate understanding of his postulates.

On July 3 1941, in two weeks after the start of the war, the leader spoke on the radio addressing to the Soviet citizens: "Brothers and sisters!" And on November 7 1941, on the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution parade, he outlined an expanded version of the analysis of the Red Army's defeat causes. The official version of events and their assessment were laid in various ritual forms of the mass consciousness. Consequently, the causes of the disaster (not recognized, of course), were submitted in the following factors:

- Wehrmacht mobilization on the USSR border when the Soviet Union consistently adhered to neutrality;
- Soviet tanks and planes were better than German (according to some indicators and models it was true), but they were much less than the enemy's;
- Wehrmacht movement on the USSR territory caused a loss of 4.5 million killed and wounded.

This refrain in several leader's speeches was intended to affirm the image of the USSR as a peace-loving state, a victim of aggression, and to mobilize Soviet people to repel the enemy⁶.

On May 24, 1945 Stalin made a famous toast for the "Russian people": he outlined his own vision of the hierarchy of peoples and the nature of the relations between the people and the ruling elite. Having analyzed the toast, G. Bordiugov and V. Bukhariev have expressed the thesis that this toast "forms a certain mythological space", in which the leading place "is occupied by ethno-cultural, not socio-cultural factors"⁷.

Immediately after the war the new forms of ritual officialese including Victory Day (May 9) emerged. But soon, under the influence of the apparent disproportion between what the winners really received, and proclaimed by the authorities, this holiday was eliminated from the register of official annual ceremonies. But as soon as the country had healed the scars of war, the myth of the Great Patriotic War gained new momentum. Since 1965, it has been resuscitated and indoctrinated into mass consciousness through the war glorification and romanticism, on the one hand, and by the fall into oblivion both public opinion, and scientific discourse, that are inconvenient and trivial pages of this epic.

⁶ Solonin, Mark, 22 *iyunya. Anatomiya katastrofy*, "Yauza", "Eksmo", Moscow, 2009, pp.6-7.

⁷ Bordyugov, G., Buharaev, V., *Natsionalnyie istorii v revolyutsiyah i konfliktah sovetskoy epohi*, Seriya "AIRO – nauchnyie doklady i diskussii. Temyi dlya XXI veka", Moscow, Vyip. 5, 1999, pp.33-34.

It would be an exaggeration to assert that human losses have been forgotten. They just did not accentuate the attention, although the sacrifice of Soviet people in the fight against the enemy became one of the supporting structures of the great myth of the war.

The official commemorative format focused on traditional values: the role of the Communist Party, mass heroism of front soldiers, “nationwide” resistance to the enemy on the occupied territories, victory of the rear workers.

At the same time, according to the tradition that began with the October Revolution, the outpost of the struggle against “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” was based on discrediting, forming the image of “enemies of the people” around the participants of the Ukrainian independent movement, policemen, soldiers of the SS Division Galicia. By mixing “all the eggs in one basket,” the ideologues put an equal sign between those who swore allegiance to Stalin and the party, and those who never burdened themselves with such obligations.

Nevertheless, the authorities managed to impose a black and white matrix on the war memory.

But there had already been a watershed between the official mnemonic template and individual memory. In small towns and villages which had its own memorials, fraternal graves and other memorial places, May 9 didn’t sound a bravura march, but tumultuous songs and requiem for the fallen. People gathered for meetings, but the atmosphere of sorrow and honoring the relatives taken away by the war started rulers was dominated over the stage, scenic action.

According to our belief, unlike official commemorations, local memorable practices required decommunization procedures at least. Moreover, touching on very delicate personal feelings, the above-imposed algorithm of “breaking” from the Soviet past wasn’t accustomed among those who connected the Stalinist totalitarian regime with the “Victory”, but with the people contribution to enemy destruction and the victims put on this altar sacrificially.

Civilization values professed by a significant (if not the largest) part of Ukrainian society are poorly corrected to the satisfaction of the current politicians. Deep rooted, hardened in trials, legitimized by historical retrospective and prospect they crystallize the mental core of the modern Ukrainian political nation, hinder its bringing into misleading points, and allow vanguards of consonant progress, freedom and democracy to be kept.

Those who “play in war” in the East of Ukraine today, haven’t drawn anything from history lessons. It is well known that the lovely Clio punishes for it rigorously.

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Yuriy KOTLYAR *

DECOMMUNIZATION OF UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF GENERATION CHANGE

- Abstract -

Ukraine as a sovereign state has been passing a long way of transformations during more than twenty-five years. Given this reason, a study of the peculiarities, which are distinctive for a number of Ukrainian generations in the context of changing societies under the processes of decommunization, is significant. Considering the concept of “generation,” we rely on the “spiritual and historical theory of generations” by Jose Ortega y Gasset, where a “generation” means a specific subject of historical activity dedicated to the political ideas of its time.

The decommunization of Ukraine takes place due to the package of “decommunization laws” adopted in May 2015.

The older generation of Ukrainians remains the bearer of the Soviet identity certain features, which are manifested in the hope of solving the current issues by the new power or from outside (abroad). In contrast, the younger generation embodies a new identity, which core is formed by pragmatism, the freedom to choose beliefs and behavior, and nihilistic attitude to the Soviet period legacy. Basically, Ukraine is characterized by the situation of crisis identity associated with a certain impact of regional particularities. The presence of a substantial part of the Soviet identity bearers in the Ukrainian society does not allow completing the decommunization process.

For this reason, it could take time or even a complete change of generations for the successful process of decommunization to transform the Soviet identity into Ukrainian one.

Keywords: Ukraine, decommunization, generation, identity, social transformations, revolution, citizens, elite.

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The study of history facilitates the formation of people's historical consciousness, which naturally combines knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of social development. Reflected in traditions, rituals, artistic images and theories, it enables mankind to summarize historical experience. Historical consciousness is a part of public consciousness; thus, it bears all the characteristics of the latter. At the same time, historical consciousness has own peculiarities. The subject, which gives basis for historical consciousness, includes a historical reality, historical processes, phenomena, events, and traditions¹. The question of self-awareness remains significant for the majority of Ukrainians.

Becoming a sovereign state, Ukraine has been developing under the constant transformations during more than twenty-five years. This phenomenon could be explained by the fact that the proclamation of independence has started without thoughtful and clearly specified targets. Moreover, the lack of the Constitution of Ukraine (until 1996), which would have clearly secured nature of the new state, caused some damage as well as the strong influence of communist ideology. In the discussed circumstances, the research of decommunization processes of the Ukrainian's different generations (deprivation of the communist-totalitarian past effects), which have been born after beginning of the era of independence and experienced the process of creating a sovereign Ukrainian state, is substantial.

A purpose of the current research is to define the features that are characteristic for several generations of Ukrainians under society transformation during the decommunization.

In the understanding of the "generation" concept, we rely on the "spiritual-historical theory of generations" by the Spanish philosopher and sociologist Jose Ortega y Gasset, where a generation acts as a certain subject of historical activity, which is devoted to the political ideas of its time. Jose Ortega y Gasset defined 30 years as the term of the generation's activity. "A generation, which has grown under the domination of certain ideas, already has its ideas, inclinations and preferences, gradually enriching the public atmosphere. And, if extreme views are dominant, then the new one will appeal to the reverse, that is, to the restoration ... Those, who really want to create a new socio-political reality, first of all, must take care that the

¹ D.H. Kravchenko, *Istorychna svidomist: poniattia ta struktura*, "Aktualni filosofski ta kulturolohichni iproblemy suchasnosti. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats", Vypusk 11, 2003, p. 307-308.

miserable stereotypes of the previous historical experience will have been lost in the renewed world”².

The results of studies conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with the Ukrainian Sociology Service (from December 25, 2014, to January 15, 2015) commissioned by the International Center for Policy Studies (ICPS) in eleven regions of Ukraine as well as the package of “decommunization laws” adopted in May 2015, are the core sources of the presented research.

Decommunization of Ukraine takes place in accordance with the Law of Ukraine “On the Condemnation of the Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) Regimes, and Prohibition of Propaganda of Their Symbols,” adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on April 9, 2015³. This law, together with the other three adopted on the same day (“On the Legal Status and Honoring the Memory of Fighters for Ukraine’s Independence in the Twentieth Century,” “On Perpetuation of the Victory over Nazism in World War II of 1939-1945,” “On access to Archives of Repressive Agencies of Totalitarian Communist Regime of 1917-1991”), has the following strategic goals: overcoming the communist heritage in all spheres of public life; justifying the historical gap between modernity and the socialist past; holding a clear line in the public consciousness between the nation and the ruling regime in Soviet times, which tried to destroy or distort the national ideals and values⁴. On May 15, 2015, the laws were signed by the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko and came into force on May 21.

The government’s decommunization laws, in 2015, became some kind of continuation of the previous decrees by L. Kravchuk (1992), L. Kuchma (2001), and V. Yushchenko (2007), which demanded the removal of monuments of totalitarianism, but did not provide mechanisms for their implementation. Practically, they were ignored, and the presidents did not even insist on their performance.

The current state of the problem is a bit better. However, it also has a number of shortcomings. In some cases, the local self-government bodies only try to imitate the fulfillment of the requirements of the above-mentioned Law avoiding practical changes of the names of settlements, districts, streets, and industrial

² Kh. Orteha-i-Hasset, *Vosstanie mass* [Electronic resource]:

<http://www.libros.am/book/read/id/41066/slug/vosstanie-mass> (accessed on 25.07.2016).

³ Ukrainy Zakon, *Pro zasudzhennia komunistychnoho ta natsional-sotsialistychnoho (natsyystskoho) totalitarnykh rezhymiv v Ukraini ta zaboronu propahandy yikhnoi symboliky*, “Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady”, № 26, 2015, p. 219.

⁴ O.M. Lytvynenko, *Problemy dekomunizatsii memorialnoho prostoru Ukrainy* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/dekomunizasia-1065b> (accessed on 22.05.2017).

objects, while manipulating with a similarity of surnames and an opportunity to give the old name a new meaning. Since, such initiatives have not been revealed earlier, it is obvious that, in such cases, it does not mean honoring the memory of really worthy people and events, but leaving intact the old Soviet place names. The change of the street's name "Gazety Pravda" to the name of the street "Pravda" could be an example of the described approach.

The fact that only 18% of the settlements have been renamed by February 4, 2016, from those that have to be renamed, whereas local councils have had to submit the relevant proposals to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine by November 21, 2015, indicates the existence of passive, but rather massive, resistance to the decommunization process among the Ukrainian population⁵.

Considering that Ukraine has been an independent state for a quarter of a century, it gives rise to a question: "Why?" The answer should be sought in the problem of identity and change of generations.

Ukrainian society consists, mainly, of people, whose identity experiences a complex stage of transformation. Twenty-five years ago, almost everyone felt like a Soviet man, a part of a "big and strong country." Despite the fact that the USSR no longer exists as a state, the phantom sense of belonging to it continues to affect the social awareness of millions of Ukrainian citizens.

In the question of the USSR's collapse, the positive attitude prevails in most regions (88% in Galicia - the highest index); however, the negative outcomes are predominant in the following three regions: Donbas - 70% versus 12%, Slobozhanshchina - 52% versus 31%, and the Dniepr region (Podniprovnia) - 49% versus 39%⁶.

The so-called Soviet identity was characteristic for the Ukrainians, who lived in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the UkrSSR) within the framework of the Soviet Union. Ukrainian researchers at the National Institute for Strategic Studies (the NISS) have identified its following features: passivity of the individual (lack of will to improve own life supplemented by formal activity); a complex of inferiority (a feeling of personal inability due to incompetence and unprofessionalism); unmotivated ambition and rudeness; paternalism (transfer of the private problems' solution to the state power); helplessness (hope of solving problems from the outside)⁷.

⁵Ibidem.

⁶*Rezultaty zahalnonatsionalnoho sotsiologichnoho opytuvannia, provedenoho v ramkakh proektu "Zapochatkuvannia natsionalnoho dialohu v Ukraini"* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.libros.am/book/read/id/41066/slug/vosstanie-mass> (accessed on 25.07.2016).

⁷O.D. Boiko, *Istoriia Ukrainy*, Akademydav, 2003, p. 618.

The former citizens of the UkrSSR became nationals of a new state, Ukraine, very fast, but the process of transformation of identity did not take place to the fullest extent. After all, members of Ukrainian society have not, yet, realized themselves as a certain unity. For this reason, such phenomenon as regionalism, which is typical for representatives of different generations, makes a substantial impact instead of consolidation. As a result, the characteristics of the identity of Ukrainians are more revealing not at the national, but at the regional levels (the West-Ukrainian, the East-Ukrainian, and the South-Ukrainian ones).

The absolute majority of Ukrainians (67.5%) consider themselves primarily the citizens of Ukraine; 12% - consider themselves inhabitants of their region, and another 10% - their village or city. Less than 3% of compatriots consider themselves citizens of the former USSR, and only 0.3% of population consider themselves nationals of Russia.

Some regions have a higher level of regional identification. It primarily concerns Donbas and the Southwest (the Zakarpattia and Chernivtsi Oblasts). In Donbas, 38% of inhabitants consider themselves the Ukrainian citizens, 35% - residents of Donbas, 10% - residents of their cities, 9% - "citizens of the world," and 5% - citizens of the USSR (remarkable that only 0.3% of population indicate themselves as the citizens of Russia). In the Southwest, 38% of the population consider themselves primarily citizens of Ukraine, 27% are residents of their cities, 22% are residents of their region, and 6% - "citizens of the world"⁸.

Identical differences among the Ukrainian society give rise to inconsistencies in the political environment, which could be used by various political forces in the struggle for power and, thus, increase the confrontation of citizens, distancing the consolidation processes in Ukrainian society⁹.

The modern Ukrainian young generation is the first one since 1991, which has been formed in the conditions of post-socialism. The study of its identical features is significant for the present because this generation will determine the public opinion in the country in the nearest future.

The generation of 25-35 year-olds tends to reveal their individuality and does not always perceive the traditional values - norms of society in which they live. And, it is characterized by a unique phenomenon of stratification within the very generation. It is understandable, since its earlier part carries certain elements of the Soviet identity, which are manifested in the famous slogan: "Born in the USSR",

⁸ *Rezultaty zahalnonatsionalnoho sotsiologichnoho opytuvannia, provedenoho v ramkakh proektu "Zapochatkuvannia natsionalnoho dialohu v Ukraini"* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.libros.am/book/read/id/41066/slug/vosstanie-mass> (accessed on 25.07.2016).

⁹ A.I. Poboehyi, *Mentalitet ukrainskoho suspilstva: vytoky ta suchasnystan*, "Visnyk SevDTU", Vypusk 91: Politolohiia, 2008, p. 40.

and the later one - elements of the Ukrainian identity: "Born in Ukraine". Thus, the representatives of one generation, actually, belong to different mental worlds under the influence of historical events, including the proclamation of independence of Ukraine.

The following factors form a set of characteristic features of the new Ukrainian society's identity establishment:

1. The process takes place not only in changing generations, but in changing political, economic, and social structures as well.

2. Priority is given to borrowing elements of subcultures in Western countries.

3. The nihilistic attitude to the Soviet period legacy leads to the devaluation of the spiritual values of previous generations and complicates the transfer of them to subsequent generations¹⁰.

The Ukrainian researcher V. Tarasenko rightly highlights: "The present ... Ukrainian society is a very young social formation, which system characteristics establishment is still at the stage of the possibility of their different variants"¹¹.

The modern Ukrainian generation was born and raised in the conditions of cardinal collapse of the values system and in the absence of a system of the state socialization institutions. Traditional values of the Soviet period, which include the sense of duty, the priority of state interests in relation to personal ones, patience, and enthusiasm, give way to new values that have come in the context of the market and democratic transformations development. Wealth (material welfare), freedom of choice of beliefs and behavior, and pragmatism are the most significant among them.

The total crisis of Ukrainian society has created a situation of profound ideological disorientation among the younger generation, which more and more often becomes the object of political technologists' manipulating, who represent the interests of specific oligarchic groups and political parties¹².

The corrupting power (29%), the oligarchs' actions (29%), the Russia's efforts for separation inside Ukraine (25%), manipulation of information through the

¹⁰ O.V. Yaremchuk, *Kulturno-istorychnyi potentsial molodi v umovakh transformatsii suspilstva*, "Visnyk Chernihivskoho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu", Vypusk 74, Serii: "Psykhologichni nauky", T. 2, 2009, p. 211-212.

¹¹ V. Tarasenko, *Kryza sotsialnoho samovyznachennia v Ukraini. Do pytannia pro sotsialnu identyfikatsiiu ukrainskoho suspilstva*, "Viche", № 11, 2000, p. 59.

¹² T. Artimonova, *Arkhitektonika tsinnosti suchasnoi ukrainskoi molodi ta studentiv* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.stationline.org.ua/pedagog/85/15283-arxitektonika-cinnostej-suchasno%D1%97-ukra%D1%97nsko%D1%97-molodi-ta-studentiv.html> (accessed on 20.07.2016).

media (24%), and the division of Ukrainians by the political agitation (20%) have been determined as the core factors that could divide the Ukrainians¹³.

The whole situation with different generations of Ukrainians resembles the state of crisis identity, which “leads to the collapse of previously persistent socio-political formations that determine the behavior of people.” Its key features are the followings: mosaic, unsystematic, lack of integrity and stability, and constant variability. The identity of this type appears in situations of a sharp transition from totalitarianism to democracy characterized by the emergence of a number of other social existence forms¹⁴.

Therefore, the presence of a large part of the Ukrainian society, - the bearers of the Soviet identity (“Born in the USSR”), a certain number of which is still holds power, especially at the local level, - leads to the suspension of the decommunization process pace.

Implementation of the decommunization measures was complicated due to the political situation in Ukraine. Firstly, it was connected with the temporary occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, some districts of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts (regions). Secondly, the behavior of the local self-government bodies’ representatives was influenced by the election campaign on the eve of the local elections that took place on October 25, 2015. Many representatives of the local self-government tried to avoid “unpopular decisions” (preparation of proposals for new names of settlements), and some of them built the election campaign on such populist slogans as “do not allow renaming.” Contrary to the facts, rumors about the need for citizens to immediately change the documents, in which the old addresses were indicated, and the high cost of the corresponding administrative services were rapidly disseminated. In addition, there was the atmosphere of resistance to any transformation under the pretext of household convenience, “preservation of history” etc.¹⁵

At the same time, such significant historical events as “the Orange Revolution” (2004) (“Pomarancheva revoliutsia”) and “the Revolution of Dignity” (“Revoliutsiia hidnosti”) (2014) clearly indicate that the role of the new generation in Ukrainian society is becoming more and more clear. A well-known Ukrainian

¹³ *Rezultaty zahalnonatsionalnoho sotsiologichnoho opytuvannia, provedenoho v ramkakh proektu “Zapochatkuvannia natsionalnoho dialohu v Ukraini”* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.libros.am/book/read/id/41066/slug/vosstanie-mass> (accessed on 25.07.2016).

¹⁴ S. Khrypko, *Fenomen «kryzovoi mentalnosti» v dukhovnomu prostori Ukrainy* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.religion.in.ua/main/12192-fenomen-krizovoyi-mentalnosti-v-duxovnomu-prostori-ukrayini.html> (accessed on 20.07.2016).

¹⁵ *Dekomunizatsiia nazv naselenykh punktiv ta raioniv Ukrainy: pidstavy, protses, pidsumky* [Electronic resource]: <http://memory.gov.ua/page/dekomunizatsiya-nazv-naselenikh-punktiv-ta-raioniv-ukraini-pidstavi-protses-pidsumki> (accessed on 22.05.2017).

researcher of social transformations in the context of the civilization process A. Halchynskiy noted: "... although, it is too early to draw definitive conclusions, but I am convinced that we have every reason to consider these events as a manifestation of the classical content of the social revolution, which is undoubtedly a logical continuation of the deep social transformations begun in 1991. Finally, goals of 1991 and the goals of 2004 are same-ordered. They have the equal genetics and are connected not only with the establishment of Ukraine as an independent sovereign state, but with radical reorganization of the entire complex of social relations, the integration of our country into the modern civilization development..."¹⁶. During the Orange Revolution, different generations of Ukrainians realized themselves as the subjects of political activity, free from the phantoms of the repressive-totalitarian system.

In relation to the Revolution of Dignity or "Maidan," positive assessments predominate in most regions (from 94% in Galicia to 51% in the Black Sea region), but in three south-eastern regions (Donbas - 69% vs. 12%, Slobozhanshina - 55% vs. 36%, and the Lower Dnieper region (Nyzhne Podniprovia) - 47% vs. 44%) indicators are predominantly negative¹⁷.

The Revolution of Dignity has created a significant breakdown at an identical level, having won not only a victory over authoritarianism (the remnant of Soviet identity) and a traditional Ukrainian stereotype "I'm all right Jack" (or "it is no concern of mine"), but also showed the following new features of the young Ukrainian generation: tolerance, aspiration to independence and justice, and self-sacrifice, especially manifested during the Russian-Ukrainian war in the East of Ukraine (ATO).

Historians hoped that the renaming of settlements, streets and squares, the opening of KGB (the Russian-language abbreviation for the State Security Committee) archives would push Ukrainian society to rethink its history that would initiate a dialogue between the generations about the country's future. However, the results are still disappointing, despite the fact that from November 25, 2015, to July 14, 2016, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has adopted 13 resolutions, which has renamed 987 settlements and 25 districts - 1012 renaming in total¹⁸. Certain changes

¹⁶ A.V. Halchynskiy, *Pomarancheva revoliutsiia i nova vlada*, Lybid, 2005, p. 5, 37.

¹⁷ *Rezultaty zahalnonatsionalnoho sotsiologichnoho opytuvannia, provedenoho v ramkakh proektu "Zapochatkuvannia natsionalnoho dialohu v Ukraini"* [Electronic resource]: <http://www.libros.am/book/read/id/41066/slug/vosstanie-mass> (accessed on 25.07.2016).

¹⁸ *Dekomunizatsiia nazv naselenykh punktiv ta raioniv Ukrainy: pidstavy, protses, pidsumky* [Electronic resource]: <http://memory.gov.ua/page/dekomunizatsiia-nazv-naselenikh-punktiv-ta-raioniv-ukraini-pidstavi-protses-pidsumki> (accessed on 22.05.2017).

have taken place, but they have not led to a radical breakdown of the Soviet identity that continues to exist in Ukrainian society.

It is needed time and, perhaps, a complete change of generations to turn the Soviet identity into Ukrainian one under the process of decommunization.

Thus, we tried to consider the process of decommunization in the context of the different generations in Ukraine transformation - from the proclamation of independence to the present. They are characterized by the certain peculiar properties. The older generation remains the bearer of some features of the Soviet identity manifested in the hope of solving all problems by the new government or from the outside. The younger generation is the bearer of a new identity, where pragmatism, freedom of choice of beliefs and behavior, and a nihilistic attitude to the legacy of the Soviet period take on the main place. In general, Ukraine is characterized by a situation of crisis identity, which is associated with a certain influence of regional features.

The presence in the Ukrainian society of a significant part of the Soviet identity carriers does not allow completing the process of decommunization. However, its implementation will help to overcome the stereotypes and prejudices, which impede national consolidation and have become one of the reasons for the burst of separatism.

The Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity have become the milestones for the creation of a new Ukrainian elite based on the following renewed identical foundations: tolerance, desire for freedom and justice, and self-sacrifice. We hope that these characteristics in the context of decommunization processes will become the basis for the nationwide identity formation.

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Mykola MYKHAILUTSA *

DECOMMUNIZATION/RENAMING IN ODESSA REGION: HISTORICAL COMPARISON, METHODS AND RESULTS

- Abstract -

The issue is considered in the discourse of decommunization/ renaming in Ukraine and, in particular, in Odesa region after the events of the Revolution of Dignity and the adoption of laws on decommunization in 2015. Against the background of the retrospective into the history of World War II, the methods of “decommunization” of the society under occupation are shown. Modern Ukrainian authorities have made significant gains in decommunizing through renaming cities, settlements, streets and squares, which is the mental release of ordinary Ukrainians from the ideological dependence of the past.

Keywords: decommunization, Odesa region, Stalinism, communist ideology.

Renaming the streets is not decommunization! Decommunization is not just a change of names. It is important to realize that we are talking about the values which a new Ukrainian society should be built on. The main thing is the change in consciousness, rethinking of the past. The key to this process is the condemnation of totalitarianism. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on behalf of the people has proclaimed that totalitarian practices are unacceptable for Ukraine, regardless of the colour they are. This dialogue about the past will last for a long time, Ukrainian historian and publicist Oleksandr Zinchenko believes. Since every generation has its own memory about the past ...

Old pre-revolutionary street nominations for us, the students of the Faculty of History of the 80s of the last century, were rather anachronistic, but for those who were more than half a century older than us, these were their historic memories – Red Army Str. – Preobrazhens’ka Str., K. Marksa Str.– Katerynyns’ka Str., Peace Avenue – Oleksandrivs’kyy Avenue ... Despite the ideological pressure from the

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promoters and supporters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the old pre-revolutionary names were acceptable for them!

At the time of military confrontation in World War II, the Romanian administration in Odesa, in collaboration with the Russian national chauvinists, who dreamt of “Great Russia without Bil’shovky”, renamed the streets and squares too, as though they were confident that they had “captured history”¹ for years to come. The adherents of the Russian etatistic anti-Bil’shovyk ideology also took care of rooting/returning the old propaganda forms. The Soviet system of the 20-30s of the twentieth century had been changing, becoming an integral matter in carrying out “decommunization “ and “de-Stalinization” in an occupying way, first of all, in terms of renaming streets, parks, avenues, libraries, etc. “Decommunization” in Odesa began literally a month after the end of hostilities in the southwest theatre of the German-Soviet and Romanian-Soviet front. By the Decree No. 8 of Odesa Municipality dated November 19, 1941, City Mayor G. Pyntya undertook the responsibility to introduce the names of the majority of the streets according to the city plan of 1914, i.e. pre-revolutionary names used in the tsarist times were returning. However, three central streets of Odesa received new names. Thus, the 10th Anniversary of the Red Army Str. (before the Bil’shovyk coup in 1917 and now it is called – Preobrazhensraya Str.) was to be called “His Majesty the King Mihai I Str.”; K. Marksa Str. (before the Bil’shovyk coup and now it is called Katerynyns’ka Str.) was renamed into “Adolph Hitler, the leader of Great Germany Str.”, and the street of the Bil’shovyk People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs G. Chicherin (before the Bil’shovyk coup and now it is called Uspens’ka Str.) was named as “Marshala Iona Antonescu, leader of Romania Str.”²

By the order of the City Mayor, a commission was formed in Odessa, headed by Professor of History and Philology Faculty of Odesa University and Director of the Historical and Archaeological Museum V.I. Selinov. The commission immediately drafted a project list of the main names of the streets of Odesa, and in January 1942 it was reviewed and approved by the Scientific and Technical Council of Odesa Municipality and submitted for approval by the City Mayor. In early February 1942, the aforementioned commission completed its work on other street names. The names of the streets which contained Jewish names or surnames caused active discussions. Taking into account the anti-Semitic attitudes of some Romanian officials, who were under the influence of the German Nazis, Yevreys’ka Str. was

¹ The expression used by the Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrytsak in the book *26th Procent, or how to overcome history*, K.: Poroshenko Foundation, 2014, 136 p.

² “Odesskaya gazeta”, 1941, 26 noyabrya.

renamed into Skobeleva³ Str. and Isaaca Babelya Str. was renamed into “Duce Mussolini Str.” Trying to perpetuate their role in the struggle against “Stalin’s Communist yoke”, the Romanian occupation officials managed to rename Politseys’ka Str. into “October 16, 1941 Str.”⁴ At the same time, the existence of both outdated names and the new ones was often observed in the streets of the city, which caused active dissatisfaction and appeals to the authorities to introduce unified nameboards on all streets of the city of the advocates of the “new orders”.

The article entitled “On Monuments, Portraits and Inscriptions” in the newspaper “Molva” was especially sardonic. It presented the scheme of forming the cult of J. Stalin and his successors. At first, after the October Revolution of 1917, the Bil’shovyks, having seized power, destroyed the monuments of the old regime, and after that their communist leaders were set on the pedestals, for example, in Kiev on the Dums’ka Square instead of P. Stolypin, there was placed a bust of K. Marx. A monument to General M. Skobelev was replaced by a monument to Yuri Dolgoruky. And then one thing led to another. Everywhere there appeared bronze, copper, gypsum monuments to Lenin, Stalin and others. The monuments to the “genius father of the people” were everywhere, at every turn, on the squares, at the crossroads, at the stadiums, near the libraries, clubs, at the houses of scientists – in a word, everywhere! Later on, Stalin began to name the towns after himself. He did not take the risk of renaming Moscow and he turned his grace to the provincial centres, having named them as Stalingrad, Stalin, Stalin, Stalinobad.

Somewhat different things were happening to the less significant figures of the “social revolution”, especially to those who did not get along with Stalin. Referring to the names of the cities, it should be noted that, as the newspaper “Molva” wrote, the less the significance of the leader was, the smaller was the town which received his name, and since the “leaders” became “the enemies of the people” very often, the town was renamed again. For example, as it was with the town of Zinov’yivs’k, which received its name from Yelisavetgrad, and after the assassination of the secretary of Leningrad Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bilshoviks Serhiy Kirov, the town was given the name of Kirov. It was not without curiosities, so in the Russian town of Perm, several railway stations were called “Perm I”, “Perm II”, and when Perm was renamed into Molotov, nobody dared to call these stations in a similar way, fearing dissatisfaction of the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs who was a person close to Stalin.

³ Skobelyev Mykhaylo Dmytrovych – Russian military leader, general of infantry, adjutant general. A participant in the aggressive campaigns of the Russian Empire in Central Asia and the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878; he also participated in the liberation of Bulgaria.

⁴ “Odesskaya gazeta”, 1942, 17 fevralya.

Marshal of the USSR, the former Commander of the 1st Cavalry Army Semen Budyonnyy was lucky as most of the collective farms, state farms and stud farms were given his name.

Thus, trying to immortalize themselves in history, the Bil'shovyky changed the geographic map of the country beyond recognition. "The great liberation war removed the figures of self-appointed rulers from the pedestals and eliminated their names from the nameboards nailed on the corner of the streets"⁵, concluded the editorial office. This peculiar excursion in remote history will remain a definite experience from a distant totalitarian past, a subjectivist attitude to history and its characters.

And what happened in Odesa region after the events of the Revolution of Dignity⁶ and how was the policy of decommunization being carried out in the region of the influence of the "Russian world?" In the country as a whole, according to the Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine A. Porubiy, decommunization of the settlement names was almost completed⁷. We agree with the Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament and would like to emphasize that, without any doubt, the question of decommunization is no less important than the question of judicial reform or national security. In our opinion, this matter is strategic and conceptual.

After the entry into force of the law "On the Conviction of the Communist and National-Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition of the Promotion of Their Symbols"⁸, the map of the names of streets in Odesa region changed significantly. However, the oblast took only the 10th place in the number of decommunized streets. Within a year there appeared around 460 renamed streets on Yandex. Maps. Odesa Oblast was between Sumy Oblast (440 renames) and Vinnytsia Oblast (470 renames).

In the first echelon of changes in the names of the streets there were streets named after the Bil'shovyk experimenter – V. Lenin, pseudo-heroes of the Bil'shovyk Revolution – RSCHA commanders⁹ G. Kotovsky, V. Chapayev and

⁵ "Molva", 1942, 20 dekabrya.

⁶ Revolution of Dignity (EuroMaydan, Kyiv Maidan) was a political and social change in Ukraine, which began on November 21, 2013; it was caused by the protests against the deviation of the political leadership of the country from the course on Eurointegration. One of the reasons for the protests was the excessive concentration of power in the hands of Viktor Yanukovich, his environment, the reluctance of Ukrainians to put up with the transformation of Ukraine into a colony of Russia.

⁷ "Solidarnist". Partiyana hazeta", №1 (70), 2017, 17 sichnya.

⁸ This law was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on April 9, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada signed it on April 30, 2014, and on May 15, 2015, the law was signed by President Petro Poroshenko.

⁹ Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, armed forces of the Soviet Union.

others. The rest of the streets were “Komsomol”, “October”, “Comintern”, etc. Today's statistics of the renamed streets is as follows: 41 Lenin Streets, “Komsomol” and “Chapaev” Streets – 25 streets of each name, “October Street” – 23 streets and 17 streets named after Kotovskyy.

The striking difference from other regions of Ukraine lies in the fact that in Odesa region local authorities and communities gave neutral names to the streets and squares for the most part, avoiding ideological/party bindings. Instead of “Soviet” Streets, “Apricot”, “Grape”, “Guelder-rose” and “Cossack” Streets appeared in the region. However, the largest number of streets appeared to have such names as “Central” – 12, “Cathedral” and “Peace” – ten streets of each name.

While choosing the names of the streets, religious issues predominated; thus, in Odesa region there were 20 streets named in honour of the church holidays, Christian saints, etc., “Trinity”, “Pokrovskaya”, “Ascension” Streets being predominant. 18 streets referred to neutral names, which were too remote from the political context – “Cherry”, “Honey” and “Bread” Streets. An example of the tiredness of various communities – urban and rural ones by the politicization of everyday life of an average person, the bloody totalitarian past is the third group of streets, the essence of their names conveyed feelings and emotions (for example, “Happy”, “Joyful”, “Cozy” Streets), the number of such streets was 15. Sometimes, decommunization was brought to the point of absurdity, when the only Lenin Street in the village was renamed into a neutral “Steppe Street” (for example, the village of Nova Hryhorivka near Odesa). Sometimes the streets were given “convenient” names, similar to the previous ones. In Vilkovo (Southern Bessarabia) “Soviet Army” and “Soviet Border Guards” Streets were renamed into “Ukrainian Army” and “Ukrainian Border Guards”¹⁰ ones.

Renaming affected not only the streets, squares and public squares. Cities, settlements, objects of economic activity were renamed. According to the press office of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, 987 towns and 25 regions¹¹ were renamed in 2016 in Ukraine. In the settlements of the country, almost 51,500 toponyms were renamed, 2,389 monuments and memorable signs which contained propaganda of the totalitarian regime were dismantled. Recently, on November 11, 2017, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Andriy Parubiy noted that the “mental de-occupation of the Ukrainian nation” took place in the country. Having dismantled 1,320 monuments to V. Lenin and hundreds of other monuments connected with the totalitarian regime since May 2015, “we threw out

¹⁰ <https://www.izbirkom.org.ua>.

¹¹ <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news/28313711.html#comments>.

forces that propagated the anti-human criminal communist ideology into the political dump”¹², said the Speaker of the Parliament.

Within the framework of decomunization, the Ukrainian government renamed, for example, two southern Ukrainian sea ports. From now on, the port of Illichivsk, like the town itself, is called “Chornomors’k”, and the specialized seaport “Oktyabrs’k” is called “Ol’viya”. Similar changes were made to the infrastructure of the railway transport. “Tsyuryupinsk” station has been renamed into “Oleshki” railway station. 16 out of 28 infrastructural facilities at Odesa railway were subjected to decomunization and dismantled, and relevant works were carried out at 7 infrastructural facilities. However, two infrastructural facilities, depicting the events of World War II and the so-called “Great Patriotic War” are still in dispute.

One of them has gained wide publicity in the media and is perceived differently among the residents. It is about a bas-relief on the facade of Odesa railway station, where there are images of V. Lenin and J. Stalin. The “Odesa-Holovna” central railway station designed by L. Chuprin was built in 1950-1952. In the middle of February 2016 the Advisory Council on the Cultural Heritage of Odesa region concluded, “The elements widely used in decoration of the exteriors and interiors of the railway station are an integral part of the building, and, therefore, cannot be removed according to the Law on Decomunization”. We are talking specifically about the bas-relief composition connected with the courage of the city residents during the defence of Odessa in 1941 and the victory in World War II. On the medal “To a Partisan of the Patriotic War” there are profiles of V. Lenin and J. Stalin.

Par. 3 of Art. 4 of the Law of Ukraine “On Decomunization”¹³ states that the prohibition of symbols of the communist regime does not apply to cases of use in works of art created prior to the entry into force of the current law, state awards, jubilee medals and other honours awarded to persons until 1991. In 1982, Odesa railway station building was recognized as an architectural monument of local significance and taken under the protection of the state. In accordance with Article 22 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage”, such objects and their segments are not to be changed or demolished. In this case, the mentioned above Advisory Board recognized that “all the decorative elements of the station building are authentic, have a high artistic, architectural and historical value

¹² <https://www.unian.ua/politics/2237909-v-ukrajini-u-ramkah-dekomunizatsiji-pereymenovano-mayje-tisyachu-mist-i-sil-ta-demontovano-ponad-13-tisyach-pamyatnikiv-leninu.html>.

¹³ See: Par. 3 of Art. 4 of the Law of Ukraine of 09.04.2015 №317-VIII “On Conviction of the Communist and National-Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and the Prohibition of Their Symbols” // <http://izbirkom.org.ua/news/Obschestvo-19/2016/Odesskaya-oblast-nazvana-hudshey-po-dekommunizatsii-6182>.

and cannot be considered separately from the structure of the station-monument; therefore, they cannot be dismantled”¹⁴.

Representatives of patriotic centres, including All-Ukrainian Union “Svoboda” party, took an active position in the case of decommunization in Odesa. The head of the city organization of this political force S. Soltasyuk applied with letters to the President of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Head of the Government of Ukraine, the Minister of Transport and Infrastructure of Ukraine, the Minister of the Armed Forces of Ukraine with a request to oblige the city council to deconstruct 5 memorial plates dedicated to Marshal of the USSR G. Zhukov, as well as boards in honour of G. Kotovskyy and the “wall of Cheka officers.”

The process of decommunization, even in this form, reduced to renaming the streets, became a test both for local authorities and the population. As it can be seen from the recent practice, the previous authorities afforded undisguised and arrogant legal nihilism, refusing to comply with state laws, and society, in the vast majority, showed complete ignorance of local history and its historical characters. Here we fully agree with the exact characteristic of this particular problem, which the senior researcher of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance Bohdan Korolenko defines as “the broken continuity of historical and human existence”.

In conclusion, we will put an equally important issue both for Ukraine and for our neighbours, who tear the shackles of the totalitarian past on their hands.

Can a simple prohibition of any symbols be effective in the process of building a society free of communist (Nazi) ideology and practice? Would such a policy lead to the assimilation of the communist symbols by the youth culture through its prohibition? We must take into account this hidden side of decommunization, too. Indeed, the experience of Norway proves just that. A similar viewpoint was expressed by Swedish politician Goran Lindblad¹⁵, one of the authors of the PACE Resolution No. 1481 “Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes” (2006). The politician is convinced that a simple prohibition may not be effective¹⁶. Let’s recollect T-shirts with images of E. Che Guevara, “sickle and hammer”, the inscriptions “I want to the USSR”, etc. which were common in Ukraine. We must realize that this is a paradoxical nostalgia for young people who did not live at that time and, accordingly, they do not know anything about it! “A prohibition of the symbols of Nazism and the emblems of Nazism does

¹⁴ Such was the answer to the request from the regional branch of “Ukrzaliznytsya” – the Odessa railway, published by IzbirKom, as reported by the “E-95 Route” agency (<http://trassae95.com>).

¹⁵ Since 2011, G. Lindblad has been the president of the non-governmental organization “European Platform for Memory and Conscience”.

¹⁶ <http://tyzhden.ua/News/183896>.

not mean that Sweden does not have any neo-Nazi movements, or other countries do not have them, too”, says the Swedish politician.

Therefore, it seems to us that prohibition of the symbols and emblems of the Communist Party in Ukraine is necessary only in the context of raising the historical awareness of the population, in the words of Y. Hrytsak, “overcoming our own history!”

Tatyana SAVOSKINA *

**THE PIPES AS AN ASPECT OF HOUSEHOLD ART AND CULTURE,
DURING THE XVIIIth - XIXth CENTURIES**

- Abstract -

The article is dedicated to the culturological analysis of the pipes as to the things with the utilitarian and art appointment. Here are allocated the following basic directions of the research: historical, social and psychological, philosophical, esthetic, and the direction of the art criticism. The culturological interpretation of the attribute of the small plasticity in the context of the cross-disciplinary disciplines of the humanitarian knowledge allows the comprehending of the history and the evolution of a pipe, its contents and the specific functions in society, interaction with other art forms. The attention is focused on the cultural aspects of “reading” of the pipes in the space of the art picture of the world. In this regard, there are considered the style, the specifics of the language of the object of art that is represented in signs and symbols. It is summarized that the approaches and the methods of the cultural science in the study of the pipes as the works of the art, enrich and expand the common cultural meanings which art brings in general.

Keywords: cultural science, humanitarian disciplines, pipes, small-sized plastics, arts and crafts, the art picture of the world, style, the specifics of the language.

The art research in the aspect of the cultural science is rational and is proved by the science. This direction of the investigation allows the understanding of not only the specifics of the art content, but also its influence on the social-cultural space. In this context, it is vividly seen the significance of the research of the pipe as the plastic attribute in the sphere of the cultural science and art criticism.

In this article it is represented that the pipe as the most interesting object of the small plasticity is not only the element of the art culture, but is also the culture of the society in general. Taking into account the basic theses of the cultural concept of

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the Lyah V. I.¹, we will allocate the most fundamental directions for the analysis of the smoking device. They are the historical, social and psychological, philosophical, esthetic, and the art criticism directions. The cultural interpretation of the small plasticity subject bounded with the other cross-disciplinary branches of humanitarian knowledge is focused on the identification of the genesis of a pipe, its contents, specific functions of the pipe and its place in the system of the culture of the society and the conjunctions with the other art forms as well.

The emergence of the pipe was directly allied with the appearance and the distribution of the tobacco. This narcotic plant has appeared in Europe during the era of the great geographical sensations of the 15-16th centuries. The Christopher Columbus discovery of the American continent on which Indians grew up several types of tobacco has put its spread into the Old World. Jean Nicko – the envoy of France in Portugal, brought the seeds of this effective plant with a wide foliage on a direct thick stalk to a French court in 1560. In 1565 it was already known in Germany, in 1579 – in Italy, at the time of the Ivan Grozny – in the Moscow state. At first the West countries apprehended the tobacco as a cultural artifact of the Indian civilization, and as an effective herb from different illnesses. So, in 1561 Ekaterina Medici, the queen of France, received a gift from her ambassador in Lisbon Jean Nicko. It was a tobacco with the recommendations to use it as migraine medicine. There started to appear many popular scientific medical editions advertising tobacco as a miracle herb. In 1571 the famous Spanish doctor Nicholas Mondares published the work about the medical plants of the New World. In his research he wrote that tobacco had the ability to cure people from 36 different illnesses. The book *Vegetable Panacea (De herbe panacea)* appeared in 1587 in the Netherlands.

Such stereotypes in society developed a human habit and a thirst for smoking. The smoking of the tobacco gained a big popularity despite of the inquisition in the 16th century that considered smoking as the most immoral and ungodly phenomenon for which people had been cruelly punished. The economic situation of the society and the fashion of the tobacco use influenced the active development of smoking. Accordingly, there had arisen the need of the creation of the other necessary functional attributes of the tobacco use, such as: a pipe, tobacco pouches, a tobacco-user and various snuffboxes. On the European continent there were the first factories processing tobacco and pipe manufactories. They turned the

¹ Valentina, Lyah, *The Culturology of the art as the cross-disciplinary branch of the humanitarian knowledge*.

URL: <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/kulturologiya-iskusstva-kak-mezhdistsiplinarnaya-otrasl-gumanitarnogo-znaniya>.

smoking devices into a subject of the mass production. In such a way, they implanted the dependence of the person on tobacco smoking. Tobacco expansion had gradually captured not only Europe, but also Asia, Japan, China and the countries, neighboring to them. By the outcome of the 18th century in the world there was practically no corner where it was not known about tobacco or where it was not smoked it. In the 19th century smoking had come round the poorest regions of the world, such as the Central and the South Africa.

The basic object of the tobacco use was the pipe. As a piece of the material culture, the pipe has undergone considerable changes throughout its development and therefore the attitude towards it changed as well. The history of the pipe is interesting not only from the point of view of the art criticism, but also from the cultural reflection. This special thing forms our idea about the participation of humanity in the culture genesis, and about the process of the continuity and innovation in the culture. The history of the small plasticity subject clearly demonstrates the preservation of the unique traits in the art and its further development and transition to the new steps of the creation of the work of art.

The pipes and tobacco were known among the ancient Indians. They have appeared in the Western Europe after the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Indian tubes were made of clay and a soft red stone mainly, their characteristic feature was a short middle part called chibouque. The tribes of the American continent used the smoking device as the main means of the communication with the world of spirits, and as a “diplomatic” ritual ceremony (“pipe of peace”) and as treatments for different diseases. The manufacturing techniques of the tubes didn’t change after the spread of the tobacco attribute in the Old World. The most common material for their production still was a clay. The heyday of the production of the ceramic tubes, small by the size, fell on the end of the 16-18th centuries in Europe. England became the first country vendor of the clay pipe. The most specific features of the ceramic tubes of the 16-17th centuries were a simple type of their form. They didn’t have any decor, except the easy relief study on the edges of the objects. The creators and the potential owners still didn’t treat the pipes as the high work of art or as a refined accessory at that period. Smoking was just an exclusively psychophysiological phenomenon. It came down only to the satisfaction of the physiological desires.

The situation changed in the middle of the 18th century. Holland became the center of the clay manufacture. In its town Gouda there had been about 500 workshops producing graceful tubes from white clay that had a mouthpiece and a chibouque as one part. They were decorated with painting or carving, and had got a glaze covering. They had been polished and had a brand of the workshop as the distinctive sign of a certain production. Such tubes had already had not only

utilitarian, but also esthetic function. They were in a great demand and had turned into profitable goods for the Dutch merchants trading with different countries.

The smoking and the use of snuff tobacco started to become a cultural marker of the “civilized” person. A good example of it is Russia at the period of the Petro ruling. The emperor, after a try of smoking in Holland, helped to spread the white clay “Dutch” tubes in Russia very actively. The achievement of the western level for him was connected not only with the ideas but with the production of fashionable European things as well. Therefore, in the middle of the 18th century there had been a big development of the pipe production in Russia. The time between 17th and 18th centuries can be easily called a period of the conversion to the new materials for production of more difficult shapes of the pipes due to the various tastes of their consumers. There had started to appear the porcelain tubes in the 18th century as the alternative to the English and Dutch clay pipes. Mainly they were made by German, Danish, and later by the French masters. Berlin, Cologne, Meysen, Frankfurt am Main were treated as the most known German centers. At the beginning of a gallant century in Meysen the way of production of solid porcelain was found. It had allowed beginning the production of porcelain tubes in the North manufactory in France for the last two decades: as usual, it had been white objects or the ones without any significant decoration on them.

The porcelain tubes turned out to be heat-resistant and the ones that gave good decorative opportunities: they could be painted in accordance with the desires of the buyer. Porcelain tubes often had the scenes of hunting or military pictures on them; it covered the smoking device with a “male” sense. However, one could see the scenes from the country history and the images of the symbols of the various professions. The porcelain tube became a part of the plastic art. It was not only a practical thing, but also the work of art in which there had been reflected a figurative awareness of reality. At the same time porcelain tubes, as well as ceramic, had their shortcomings: they were fragile, they had been broken easily due to the big heat conductivity.

Soon people started to produce wooden smoking devices and the tubes. It had been considered that carvers that were engaged in pipe business were those from the cities and villages located near the Danube River where the trade ways from the East to depth of the European continent came.

The wooden tubes were made in Bavaria, Thuringia, Schwarzwald, the Carpathians, in the Vyatka province of Russia. The main center of the tubes production was the German city of Ulm and its settlements. Alder or ash-tree, birch, nut, plum, pear or linden were used as material wood as a rule. In the 18th century, wooden tubes were smooth generally but masters passed to the traditional plastic processing gradually. At the end of 18th – the first half of the 19th century they

were polished, varnished, decorated with the carved heads, inlaid with nacre and metal. A Skillful hands of masters turned wooden tubes into the original work of art, using for its decorating the plots and the motives of the folk art, antique mythology. Unlike ceramic and porcelain tubes the woodenhead could lie on a floor, the servant lighted up the tobacco after what the master began to smoke. He used long wooden chibouque for this purpose; sometimes it could reach several meters in length.

However, the wooden tubes had their shortcomings as well. They burned through for a very short time; besides, wood material could add its specific, sometimes bitterish, taste to the tobacco.

The most graceful pipe can be treated a hempen tube, made from unknown material – crust (meerscham – magnesium silicate, the fossilated remains of mollusks). This light porous material of white color was extracted in Turkey in the neighborhood of the city of Eskisehir. A crust material was better than clay, porcelain and wood in its practical properties. It had heat stability, hygroscopicity, and high absorbing properties. Thanks to these qualities, the tube made of a crust was painted in saturated honey-brown tone. It had got the elegant surface and a noble color which improved tastes a lot.

In 1723 the Hungarian master from Budapest, the professional turner Karl Korvach, made a tube from this material. We don't have the remains of it nowadays but the memory of it has become the history of pipe business. The crust was a favorable material for master carvers who created tubes of high art level with various figured compositions. Using a crust they had cut out tubes with figures of people from a skin, animal, portraits of historical persons, with genre and even erotic scenes.

The Hungarian carvers of Adler Philipp and Sohn, Spiro dynasty, the Vienna masters of firm of family Hiess Highly made the artistic tubes from a crust. The tube became a very expensive piece thing of the high quality from the mass product of unknown craftsmen and factories. Sample forms were forced out by handworks that contributed to the development of the collecting of rare and highly artistic samples.

The evolution of the pipe as the attribute of the small-sized plastics demonstrates clearly “the dialectic law of transition of the quantitative changes in qualitative” that resulted “a denial of the oldness and a perception of the new, but on the basis of old”.² It became a marker of the social status and a part of the owner image.

² Ibidem.

Pipes are very interesting things in the space of the art pattern of the world. L. Poltoratskaya writes in her scientific research: “The art pattern of the world is the difficult emotional and rational, personal or collective cogitative representation including the cultural, conceptual, emotional components represented in the sign form of language that fully reflects the world outlooks of the personality”.³ It is true that the art pattern of the world is shown in different types of art, not depending on its specifics; it reflects the general processes that characterize this or that historical era. The entity of the work of the art in space is revealed through the style tendencies of the time, a genre and specifics of the language.

In this sense, the most indicative are the pipes from the 19th century. They had composite and plastic solutions that were created under the influence of mainly realistic direction in the art culture of this time. It is possible to name several theme groups that have found the general reflection in painting and works of small plasticity. These are the genre sketches devoted to a hunting subject, men's portrait images, and figured compositions of erotic charact.

It got a big popularity the realistic and animalistic painting connected with such names of the artists as Kessler Augustus, M. A. Henrik, R. F. Frents, N. E. Sverchkov, V. S. Perov in the 19th century, and especially in its second half.

One could see a diverse world of wild animals and hunting scenes on their works. Similar genre paintings are in the decoration of the pipes as well. So the porcelain tube with the image of deer (*ill. 1*) correlates with M. A. Henrik's picture “Deer” (*ill. 2*). Both works of art combine the aspiration of masters to transfer the interrelation of the nature and animals, they have similar receptions of composition. Animals play a role of a composite axis here, and the landscape acts as the background recreating the native habitat of red deer. The artists and carvers of pipes used psychological methods of realistic painting representing their hunting scenes. The most popular plots were the reconstruction of painful expectation of the emergence of the animal (*ill. 3*). For example, the relief image of the hunter with two dogs among trees on the crust tube. Here can be also put a sketch of the culmination hunting action – the fight between a wild animal and pursuing fleet dog, – imprinted on the Kessler Augustus's picture “A forest landscape with a scene of hunting” (*ill. 4*). Pipes with animalistic images served as a peculiar sign of male addictions and hobbies.

Under the influence of the portrait genre in painting of the 19th century there appeared highly artistic crust tubes with the portraits of the historical persons. The famous historical persons represented on the crust tubes from the palace of

³ Lyudmila Poltoratskaya, *The art in the space of the artistic picture of the world*, Krasnodar, 2009, p.25.

Anichkov are detail described in the book by I. N. Ukhanova “The smoking tubes”.⁴ The crust tube with the expressive image of Otto von Bismarck (*ill. 5*), the German emperor William I can be also taken into account (*ill. 6*). He was described with the magnificent whiskers and the award of Black Eagle on a neck. The Prussian field marshal H. Moltke was pictured in a military uniform with the sign of the award of Pur-le-Merit on a neck (*ill. 7*).

The artists-carvers created portraits of charismatic leaders of Prussia with the academic severity. They transferred their internal force and the significance in these small miniature sculptures. The similar tubes being treated as the art objects and containing ethical concepts that were perceived by men as the courage character, associated with own involvement in historical action. I. N. Ukhanova remarks that “the list of the portrait images on carved crust tubes from the Anichkov Palace specifies the art historical value of the remained works of small-sized plastics differing in eccentricity and high workmanship; that shows the individual approach to the development of miniature sculptural forms”.⁵

In the second half of the 19th century appeared the worship of a fine body. The artists (Manet, Degas, Sisley, Renoir), sculptures (Rodin, Stavasser), and the masters working in small-sized plastics put it as their direction (*ill. 8-10*). The fine nakedness of a female body decorated numerous porcelain and crust tubes, which demanded from the author a special plastic skill. Similar refined things were highly appreciated; they were created as a magnificent and amusing toy for gentlemen who could turn a tube and examine a naked figure of the pretty woman while smoking it in the secret office. Thus, a plastic language of the pipes can be carried to the sign system defining unity of form and content of the work of art, which is the character of male culture. “Reading” the objects of small-sized plastics as the artistic text is represented perspective and requires an independent research. The culturological aspects of the study enrich and expand common cultural meanings of works of arts and crafts assignment, create the esthetic culture of society.

⁴ Irina Uhanova, *The smoking tubes*, Saint- Petersburg, 2009, p.103-113.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 114.



Illustration 1. The tube with the deer images. The second half of the 19th century. Bavaria.

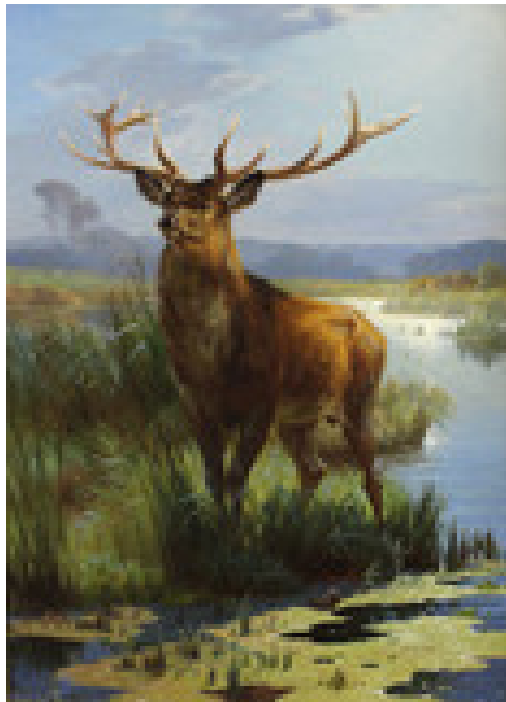


Illustration 2. M. A. Henrik "Deer". The second half of the 19th century.



Illustration 3. The tube with the hunters and the dogs. The crust. The second half of the 19th century. Saint-Petersburg.



Illustration 4. Kessler August. "The forest image with the hunting scene", 1848.

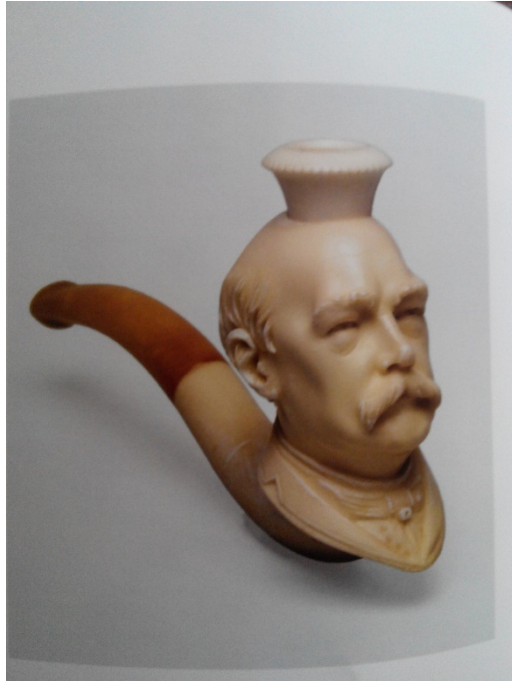


Illustration 5. The tube with the Bismark portrait. The crust. The second half of the 19th century. Germany.



Illustration 6. The tube with the portrait of the emperor Wilhelm the first. The crust. The second half of the 19th century. Germany.



Illustration 7. The tube with the portrait of the H. Moltke. The crust. The second half of the 19th century. Germany.



Illustration 8. The tube with the naked feminine figure. The crust. The second half of the 19th century. Europe.



Illustrations 9-10. The crust and porcelain tubes with the naked feminine figure 18th –19th centuries. The Western Europe.

Stepan BORCHUK *

THE FIRST COMPLETED UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN TIMES

- Abstract -

The basic elements of encyclopedic tradition on the territory of Galicia in the late nineteenth century are characterized, the work of Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society in the area of entsyklopedystky is reviewed, stages and the peculiarities of creation the first “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia”. A great attention is paid to the need in such work which was predetermined not only the progress of science, but also the growth of national consciousness of Ukrainians. It is noted that some stabilization of political life in Galicia during the interwar period and during policy of “Readjustment” was pushing Ukrainian scientific elite, which was concentrated primarily in the ranks of Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society to take part in active work on the encyclopedia.

The author notes that “the Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” was focused on the general public. Despite the relatively small total volume, the edition consisted of 34 thousand articles and work attracted 136 authors. The publication of the encyclopedia showed that certain groups of patriots and professionals of their business could make an extremely ambitious project that had not been able to implement more powerful research institutions, to prove the ability of Ukrainian Scientific Elite to realize fundamental scientific research projects.

Keywords: Ukraine entsyklopedystyka, Ukrainian General Encyclopedia, Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, Galicia, national intellectual elite, national consciousness.

“Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” (UGE) became the first completed Ukrainian encyclopedic edition of modern times and it remained the only in this way

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for a long time. It became a real Ukrainian cultural achievement of Ukrainians that put them in the same line with other highly developed nations of the world. Designated trend against the background of absence of modern Ukrainian historiography of professional publications makes to go into a detailed analysis of its appearance and also features of semantic content.

In Ukrainian and foreign historiography, comprehensive scientific works that would be devoted to the research of the history of the “Ukrainian General Encyclopedi” are absent. The current source base is stored in the central and some departmental archives of Ukraine and there are also published individual documents and collections of documents and printed epistolary and memorialists of individuals those involved in domestic encyclopaedic projects of the twentieth century and they let us highlight the declared our problem with sufficient completeness and exhaustion. The main purpose of the article is to characterize the peculiarities of creation of UGE, to describe its thematic orientation and content part.

Presenting the main material

On February 4, 1930 in Lviv magazine “Delo” an article “What will be our first entsyklopediya?” by I. Rakovskiy appeared, inwhich the author figured out the concept of the publication. Responding to a question posed in the title, he stated that first of all encyklopediya will be “not big”, “Other cultural nations have such works in scores of volumes, we must be satisfied in three volumes for the first time [...]”. Other nations have cultural beside large multivolumes such «small» entsyklopedias which are actually intended to mass distribution. Our first book will exceed by its volume «small» entsyklopedias of Brokhavza, Herder and Meyer which were recently published and it will be equal to «Small Lyarusovy». When masses of civilized peoples like the Germans and the French are full of mentioned small entsyklopedias, that's why for our peopleit will be enough to have three-volume book of knowledge”¹.

Describing the trend of publication, its Editor in Chief outlined what “UGE” cannot be and will not – “neither dictionary of Ukrainian language or terminological dictionary from all areas of knowledge, and besides the dictionary of abstract concepts and ideas”. Such requests could be put forward only to complete multi-Ukrainian dictionary, which was assisted by Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Therefore, I. Rakovskiy stated on “general” character of encyclopedia: “According to its volume our book will contain the most important data from all fields of human

¹ Rakovs'kyj I. Antropol'ohichni prykmety ukrains'koho narodu: [Ukraina: Antropol'ohiia] / Ivan Rakovs'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 392.

knowledge with a special place for Ukrainian study and needs of our educated public”².

In the continuation of the article Editor-in-chief refuted objections that some critics expressed according to brief overviews of geography, history and literature “the most important civilized peoples, which are considered to be even impossible and worthless”³. In the last part of his article I. Rakovskiy answered the skeptics who threw in the side of initiators of project the lack experience and professional forces, in his opinion, the presence of forces was enough to prepare “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia”⁴.

In April 1930 came the first model “UGE”. Simultaneously Editorial Board “UGE” emphasized that the publication is not processing or compilation but self-employment, in which the emphasis is made on the life of Ukrainian people – “it is first of all Ukrainian and it is intended for Ukrainian reader”. The “opening remarks” were mentioning the great difficulties which the initiators of the project were overcoming. First of all, it dealt with the lack of full encyclopedic dictionary of the Ukrainian language, specialized encyclopedias of individual scientific disciplines instability of conventional terms. Small volume of encyclopedia did not give an opportunity to accommodate “many titles and reviews like this maybe wanted the experts who were taking part in individual areas of knowledge”; it was not easy to observe proportions in evaluating of “isolated areas, and even slogans”. “UGE” had to combine two different tasks – popularity and scientific field. Duties of Editor-in-chief of project took over himself I. Rakowski.

Work on the publication of the encyclopedia, which was in three volumes, lasted for five years. During this time, not only material was prepared, but also all subscribers received their copies of “UGE”. The last one was the most important factor, because the lack of external financing (Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society could not fully finance the project, because it needed in material help) needed quick incomes from readers.

As pointed B. Kubiyovych, general conditions of work on “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” in Western Ukraine “were not bad”⁵. But if the number of authors for encyclopedia was enough (although the fees were low), the lack of permanent employees in the editorial office again because of modest financial capacity felt

² Rakovskiy I. Antropolohichni prykmety ukrains'koho narodu: [Ukraina: Antropolohiia] / Ivan Rakovskiy // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 392.

³ Rakovskiy I. Yaka bude nasha persha entsykl'opediia?: 3. Deiaki sumnivy j ikh rozviazka / Ivan Rakovskiy // Dilo. – 1930. – 8 liutoho. – S. 3 – 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Kubiyovych V. Meni 85 / Volodymyr Kubiyovych. – Miunkhen: Vydavnytstvo “Molode Zhyttia”, 1985. – 307 s.

more. Even members of the editorial board were working part time. More time for work on articles for “UGE” pay authors, who lived in exile in Czechoslovakia – in Prague and Podebrady because they “had fewer migrant labor, and thus more time for UGE”⁶.

Financial problems affected the activity of employees of the Editorial Board. So, when at the beginning of the project, its members Ivan Rakowski, Volodymyr Doroshenko, Michailo Rudnytsky, Vasil Simovich and permanent secretary Ivan Bedrylo worked fairly smoothly, but then friction between them began. Financial problems have repeatedly threatened the project, but due to the intuitiveness of the Editor-in-chief of I. Rakowski, the publication of “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” got the completeness.

The newly created encyclopedia inherited the most famous contemporary European counterparts in structural way. Despite the small total, it included almost 34 thousand of articles and over 136 authors worked at them. Some of them represented the Ukrainian political emigration in Europe – Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia⁷.

To the better fulfillment of its function is informing the greatest circle of readers about – “UGE” which was structurally divided into thematic sections on which different scientists worked: Anthropology; Archeology; Astronomy; Life Sciences; Veterinary medicine; Military affairs; Geography; Geology; Economy; Ethnology; History (World History, Cultural history, the History of Ukraine, Ukrainian liberation struggle history, the History of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church); Cooperation; Literature; Math; Medicine; Art; Mineralogy; Linguistics; Music; Pedagogy; Law; Psychology; Religion; Physical training and Sport (“Training and Competition”); Agriculture; Social sciences; East study; Theater; Technical studies; Physics and Chemistry; Philosophy.

The purpose of encyclopedia moderators was also to submit detailed information about Ukraine and Ukrainian people. This information of “UGE” was contained in both in alphabetic form of articles and in a particular part “Ukraine” which was full of detailed monographs viewing of known domestic scientists. Its editor was Vladimir Simovich. Only in the preparation of the first volume of “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” took part 76 authors of articles. Unfortunately, authorship under the dictionary slogans was not mentioned, because with few exceptions, we can only speculate, and taking into consideration the specialization of scientific experts.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Spivrobotnyky zahal'noi chastyny UZE ta hasla “Ukraina” // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 1423 – 1426.

Partly preserved correspondence of members of the editorial board enables clarification of authorship of certain articles of the dictionary part of “UGE”. So, I. Krypyakevych wrote, among other things, a division of “History” in the article “Russia”⁸; P. Fedenko was the author of articles “Donetsk and Krivyi Rig Republic”, “Zorka Samiylo”, “Kozak” (definition), “The Cossacks”, “Kostomarov Mykola”, “Yurii Kotsybynskiy”, “Yurii Lapchynskyy”, “Volodymyr Lewinskii”, “Pereyaslav agreement of 1654, 1659”, “Simon Petliura”, “Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP)”, “Russian Social – Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP)”, “Bogdan-Zynoviy Khmelnytsky, Khmelnytsky Timish; Yuriy Khmelnytsky”, “Olexander Shumskiy” and others⁹.

The need to enter a specified amount of encyclopedia required reduction of author texts. Therefore, “the slogans even about important events and people reduced to a few lines, and thus was making the content poor”. This was done not always consistently “with biographical the largest was the slogan of M. Hrushevskiy (56 lines), then followed I. Franko (36), then in third place T. Shevchenko (32), and also followed B. Khmelnytsky (20), I. Mazepa (19), Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky (18), V. Lipinskiy (18), S. Petliura (16) and etc.”¹⁰.

Particular importance was given the project section “Ukraine”, by the initiators and leaders which were published in the third volume of the publication. The section included 49 articles which were written by 60 authors from Western Ukraine (mostly from Lviv) and emigration. Unlike other slogans “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia”, articles which were devoted to various aspects of history, geography, economy, culture of Ukraine have a specific author, whose name is listed below each article.

Section “Ukraine” contains fundamental thematic essays in several pages, which highlighted certain points in its history, culture, economy, ethnography and so on. Written by well-known scientists, these articles are integral scientific researches, which are more close not to encyclopedic articles but to the sections of monographs. Thus, the article of I. Krypyakevych opens section of “Ukraine” about origin of the name “Rus” and “Ukraine”, their application and use in different historical periods.

⁸ Hutsalenko T. Uchast' Ivana Kryp'iakevycha u stvorenni “Ukrains'koi Zahal'noi Entsyklopedii”: Za materialamy lystuvannia / T. Hutsalenko // Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist': Zbirnyk nauk. prats' / NAN Ukrainy. Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha / [redkol.: Ya. Isaievych (vidp. red.) ta in.]. – L'viv: In-t ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2001. – Vyp. 8: Ivan Kryp'iakevych u rodynnij tradytsii, nauksi, suspil'stvi. – S. 453–458

⁹ Tsentral'nyj derzhavnyj arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (dali – TsDAHO Ukrainy), f. 269, c. 2, spr. 220, 534 ark.

¹⁰ Tsentral'nyj derzhavnyj arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (dali – TsDAHO Ukrainy), f. 269, c. 2, spr. 220, 534 ark.

The author points out the historical continuity and interconnectedness of these names, demonstrating the continuity of the history of Ukraine and its lands¹¹. This beginning of the section is justified because it immediately took off all possible misunderstandings about territory and the history of land that saw scientists.

Then there were articles on natural climatic and geographical peculiarities of Ukraine. Highlighting the physical geography (author – M. Dolnytskyi), geology (Yu. Poliansky), minerals (S. Pasternak), the authors showed the diversity of natural areas of Ukraine, lithospheric processes that influenced on its situation and features of management. Not limiting to factual statement, the authors these sections wanted to show Ukrainian natural opportunities, making no distinction between Nadnyprianshchyna and ignoring any political points consciously and actually stressing the need to unite all ethnic Ukrainian lands. It should also be noted that from the beginning of the analysis of resources and features of Ukraine and territorial boundaries Galicia or the USSR were not taken into consideration, and all lands where the vast majority of the population were Ukrainians. So to Ukraine were included also Kuban and Stavropolshchyna and even the Crimea, which was not Ukrainian neither ethnic nor political and administrative. Particular, in his article on climate information in these regions G. Drohomyretskiy gives in formation and M. Dolnytskyi and I. Rakowski, highlighting the flora and fauna of Ukraine not avoid the attention of the Crimean Mountains and the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains.

Another important section prepared by I. Rakowski, devoted to anthropology of Ukrainians. This local anthropological type he expires from Neanderthals. The author pointed out the various components that later became the basis for the first Slavs, and also directly to Ukrainians. Quite interesting general opinion of the author, in which he follows his teacher F. Vovk, clearly classifies Ukrainian to the south, not east Slavs, proving anthropological closeness of Ukrainians especially with the population of the Balkans, but not Russia and Belarus¹².

Prehistory and archeology of Ukraine highlighted in its slogans L. Chykalenko, V. Shcherbakivsky especially Ya. Pasternak, B. Kubiyovych as they promised editor in chief of “UGE” and prepared for an encyclopedia important section devoted to anthropogeography or demography of Ukrainians. Highlighting the Ukrainian settlement, including demographic changes at different times (the

¹¹ Kryp'iakevych I. Ukrains'kyj odiah u davnynu: [Ukraina: Etnohrafiia – material'na kul'tura] / Ivan Kryp'iakevych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 429 – 430.

¹² Rakovs'kyj I. Antropol'ohichni prykmety ukrains'koho narodu: [Ukraina: Antropol'ohiia] / Ivan Rakovs'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 392.

article was supplemented with a series of maps and charts), he scored to areas of settling where the Ukrainians had majority not only Krasnodar region, but almost all Stavropolshchynu and North Caucasus, up to the borders of Karachayevo – Cherkessia, Dagestan and Chechnya. Showed V. Kubiyovych also uneven settlement of Ukrainians even on ethnic territories, especially pointing out that urban lives only 18–20% of the Ukrainian population, and it does not depend on that fact whether it is Soviet or Polish parts. The scientist also outlined the main areas of settlement of Ukrainian diaspora – Far East, Urals, Central Asia, Europe and the world¹³.

It was meaningful sketch of Z. Kuzelifrom ethnography. In it the author in accordance with the classical canons highlighted features of material culture of Ukrainians and their economy. In particular, there was described the specific regional characteristics in gathering, fishing, hunting, farming, beekeeping. However, the most attention is paid to agriculture as the most common economic form. The author also paid attention to Ukrainian cuisine and features: preparation and consumption of meat, fish, vegetables, bread. He remembered the most notable Ukrainian dishes such as borshch, varenyky, oatmeal, kvass and other sand also folk crafts¹⁴.

The continuation of ethnology thematic became I. Krypyakevych” Ukrainian clothes in ancient times”¹⁵. Not in encyclopedic way is dedicated the chapter which is devoted to art. The author of most essays of this unit V. Sichynskiy (only articles about Ukrainian Easter eggs and embroidery wrote I. Gargula and the article about the Ukrainian ceramics wrote I. Pasternak) produced real scientific exploration which did not not inferior to many informative and scale monograph of that time¹⁶.

Besides the architectural issues significant place in the section “Art” takes lighting of Ukrainian features in other areas of culture. Ukrainian Art is described in all its forms and manifestations and painting (from trypilska ceramics and ending by modernism in early XX century.) Engraving as an integral component of creating books indicating the main stages of its development and key representatives of the genre and their masterpieces; applied art (especially jewelery making), which the author also derives from ancient times and sites, which were found on the territory

¹³ Kubijovych V. Antropoehografia j demohrafiia / Volodymyr Kubijovych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 409 – 423.

¹⁴ Kuzelia 3. Etnohrafiia: [Ukraina: Etnohrafiia – materiiial'na kul'tura] / Zenon Kuzelia // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 423 – 429.

¹⁵ Kryp'iakevych I. Ukrains'kyj odiah u davnynu: [Ukraina: Etnohrafiia – materiiial'na kul'tura] / Ivan Kryp'iakevych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 429 – 430.

¹⁶ Sichyn'skyj V. Arkhitektura murovana: [Ukraina: Mystetstvo] / Volodymyr Sichyn'skyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 436 – 443.

of Olvia; weaving as a form of traditional Ukrainian art; embroidery. The latter form of folk art in a separate sketch with color illustrations that clearly demonstrated not only regional differences in Ukrainian embroidery, but also various folk technology. The section also dealt with the pottery, creating Easter eggs, made a retrospective analysis of Ukrainian pottery since ancient times, the production of artistic works from leather, paper, etc.¹⁷.

No less fully represented in the “UGE” Ukrainian music in all its related concepts and forms, and also Ukrainian Theatre and museum study¹⁸. Reproducing the image of Ukraine in broad historical perspective, the authors could not avoid this important field of Ukrainian life as folklore. After all, it connects all generations of a single cultural thread, embracing the entire array of verbal works of poetry and prose) which are stored in people's memory for a long time, sometimes for centuries, moving interpretation from generation to generation. The author of this section has become F. Kolessa¹⁹.

The article is about the Ukrainian language, its phonetic, morphological features, elements, dialect and history belongs to many authors. In particular, a general description of Ukrainian language was made by V. Simovich²⁰ [section on regional dialects wrote I. Zilinski²¹, Transcarpathian sayings described I. Pankevych²², the history of the formation of the Ukrainian language and the genesis of modern literary highlighted S. Smal-Stotskiy²³. Grammatical analysis of Ukrainian language and its dialects and lexicography and historical snapshot of Ukrainian spelling committed V. Simovich²⁴.

Equally well-known scientists highlighted in the encyclopedia the issues which were related to world history and the history of Ukraine. Generally, the historical theme is crucial for almost any encyclopedia. Could not escape this trend

¹⁷ Sichyns'kyj V. Maliarstvo: [Ukraina: Mystetstvo] / Volodymyr Sichyns'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 452 – 456.

¹⁸ Antonovych D. Teatr: [Ukraina] / Dmytro Antonovych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 509 – 518.

¹⁹ Kolessa F. Usna slovesnist': [Ukraina] / Filaret Kolessa // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 530 – 556.

²⁰ Simovych V. Mova: Hramatychni doslidy: [Ukraina: Mova] / Vasyli' Simovych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 571 – 579.

²¹ Zilyns'kyj I. Hovory: [Ukraina: Mova] / Ivan Zilyns'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 561 – 563.

²² Pan'kevych I. Istoriiia: Zakarpattia: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Ivan Pan'kevych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 682 – 685.

²³ Smal'-Stots'kyj S. Mova: Istoriiia: [Ukraina] / Stepan Smal'-Stots'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 564 – 571.

²⁴ Simovych V. Mova: Opys: [Ukraina: Mova] / Vasyli' Simovych // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 556 – 561..

and creators “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia”. Historical articles can be divided into two basic types: the slogans that contain information about historical personalities and events as the history of Ukraine and also world history, and general article with units on history of Ukraine in the chapter “Ukraine”.

Separate articles in “UGE” presented the history of Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia their authors were I. Krypyakevych (Galicia from Princely Times to 1772), K. Levitskiy (Galicia under Austrian supremacy), M. Korduba, Yu. Serbyniuk (Bukovina), I. Pankevych (Transcarpathia)²⁵. The authors of these essays have sought not only to note some important for that or other region some historical facts, but also show two points: the peculiarity of development of each region and their unity in the context of the overall Ukrainian nation. Thus, once again reinforced the idea of historical, cultural and the public unity of all Ukrainian lands, which form a united Ukrainian state besides it was considered to be the priority. Attempts to create such in the past actually paid considerable attention in the chapter “History”.

Significant place in the encyclopedia takes history of the liberation ranks in 1917–1920. The fact that many of the authors and compilers, including Editor-in-chief I. Rakovskiy were direct participants and witnesses of those events, avoid them in their slogans they could not, no matter how could not think of them in the chapter “Ukraine”. Otherwise, described the liberation movement in Galicia I. Kedryn. Actually, the creation WUPR and struggle for statehood in his essay devoted one paragraph, and the description of Ukrainian-Polish war is omitted. Instead, more attention is paid to the Polish government repression against members of the liberation movement and the military officers of Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA)²⁶.

Highlighting the liberation struggle, the authors of encyclopedia could not avoid also tight and the related topics of political exile. After all, most attempts to gain independence of Ukraine, including the 1917–1920's., certainly ended with the departure of public and political leaders abroad. So, I. Borshchak the beginning of Ukrainian political emigration considered its first wave which was associated with

²⁵ Korduba M. Bukovyna do 1848 r.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Myron Korduba // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 671 – 674.; Korduba M. Bukovyna do 1848 r.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Myron Korduba // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 671 – 674.; Levyts'kyj K. Halychyna 1772 – 1918 rr.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Kost' Levyts'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 644 – 658.; Serbyniuk Yu. Bukovyna vid 1918 r.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Yuriy Serbyniuk // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 680 – 682.

²⁶ Kedryn I. Skhidna Halychyna vid 1 lystopada 1918 rr.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia] / Ivan Kedryn // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 658 – 669..

defeat speech of I. Mazepa²⁷. L. Beletskiy, R. Perfetskiy, P. Fedenko continued themes of Ukrainian emigration who tried to show their slogans fate of Ukrainian politicians in early XX century and who were forced to seek refuge abroad. Thus P. Fedenko paid attention not only politicians who deliberately went abroad, but also ordinary soldiers of the Ukrainian People's Republic (or Ukrainian National Republic, UNR), interned in the Polish camps²⁸.

Quite interesting for understanding of the contemporary world of Ukrainian intelligentsia is an article devoted to the events in the USSR (its author was a former head of government of the Directory I. Mazepa). Having a burning wish to highlight the events in Soviet Ukraine objectively, he strongly emphasized the opposition of the Ukrainian people to Soviet rule, which was not quite true. A key thesis of the essay of I. Mazepa was the approval of the final turn Ukraine into a Russian colony, which is engaged in siphoning the resources in the metropolis. In the article of I. Mazepa also described the Holodomor 1932 – 1933's in Ukraine – the forbidden topic in the USSR²⁹.

The authors of “UGE” did not limit to military-political and regional subject. Rather thorough was series of articles devoted to the development of Ukrainian writing and literature. The authors of these slogans became known writers and cultural figures of the epoch – the writer B. Lepkiy, who characterized Ukrainian writing in the Middle Ages³⁰; L. Biletsky, the author of the article about one of the least studied periods of Ukrainian history of literature – XV–XVIII century³¹.

Significant in “UGE” was given also for religious issues. The encyclopedia contains a number of slogans dedicated to church leaders, both Ukrainian and foreign, also highlights key events associated with the spiritual life of the world, and especially Christianity. However, the most attention is paid to “Ukrainian” section.

²⁷ Borschak I. Emihratsiia XVIII v.: [Ukraina: Istoriiia – politychna emihratsiia] / Il'ko Borschak // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 731 – 734.

²⁸ Fedenko P. Naddniprians'ka emihratsiia pislia 1919 – 20: [Ukraina: Istoriiia – politychna emihratsiia] / Panas Fedenko // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 736 – 741.

²⁹ Mazepa I. Naddniprianschyna pid vladoiu bol'yievykiv (USRR): [Ukraina: Istoriiia – USRR] / Isak Mazepa // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 743 – 749.

³⁰ Lepkyj B. Pys'menstvo. KhI—KhV vv.: [Ukraina: Pys'menstvo] / Bohdan Lepkyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 772 – 780.

³¹ Bilets'kyj L. Ukrains'ka literatura XV – XVIII vv.: [Ukraina: Pys'menstvo] / Leonid Bilets'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 780 – 786.

History of major denominations in Ukraine reflected in gender, united under the single name “Church”³².

A significant block of articles of “UGE” was devoted to economic problems. Thus, meaningful and informative was published an article about the economic life of the USSR, written by V. Sadowski, which describes not only agriculture but also industry, trade, forestry³³. Detailed and summary tables are articles about agriculture in Western Ukraine of Ye. Khrapliviy and also V. Sadowskiy about Galician industry³⁴. The drafters did not pass “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” and also emigration and diaspora questions, slogans in lexical part of dictionary were devoted to the chapter “Ukraine”.

In “Word on end”, the Editorial Board of “UGE” mentioned in particular the circumstances under which was carried work on the publication: “It was necessary for all sides to correspond to get necessary details and also not to exaggerate, flip entire libraries and archives, to get close to that for strange human small things, like, for example, the date of an event, fact or person, and finally so hard gained a wealth of material to squeeze in too narrow limits of our work”³⁵.

In the epilogue to his work, which is placed in the third volume of “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia”. Editors summed up the work, stressing the fact that, despite shortcomings, “Book of Knowledge” is a complete work. Once again it was stressed on the obstacles that stood at the beginning of the team and in the process of work, and how it affected the outcome. This forced to change plans in progress, and also create a separate lexical style. Names were mentioned in the epilogue there were names of 45 volunteers of encyclopedia of different professions and different social status³⁶.

Conclusions

Despite some flaws, “Ukrainian General Encyclopedia” was a huge success of Ukrainian science. The project of “UGE” was informative; it covered almost all the major known facts at the time and academic achievement. Section “Ukraine” in the third volume not only showed “unity” of its author's part, but also incorporates the latest at the time of Ukrainian achievements. Moreover, the encyclopedia became a

³² Chubatyj M. Katolyts'ka Tserkva: [Ukraina: Tserkva] / Mykola Chubatyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 896 – 914.

³³ Sadovs'kyj V. Promyslovis't' i torhovlia zakhidn'oukrains'kykh zemel': [Ukraina: Narodne hospodarstvo] / Valenyn Sadovs'kyj // UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 943 – 946.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Redaktsijna kolehiia UZE. Slovo na zakinchennia //UZE. – L'viv; Stanyslaviv; Kolomyia: Ridna shkola, [1935]. – T. 3: S – Ya. – S. 1427.

³⁶ Ibid.

work of art, supplemented by many maps (some of them, including maps of I. Krypyakevych are unique), drawings, photographs, reproductions and more. For as long time series of illustrations "Ukrainian General Encyclopedia" was the only source for learning Ukrainian uniforms and Ukrainian money in the period of Liberation competitions.

A promising direction for further research in this line should be considered the Ukrainian entsyklopedystky study on immigration in the post-war period of the twentieth century.

Olga SHIKIRINSKAYA *

**SYNTHESIS OF ARTS
IN UKRAINIAN AND EUROPEAN BAROQUE AESTHETICS**

- *Abstract* -

The paper proposes an Integrated Model on Intercultural Axis of the Baroque Esthetics, based on the concept of Synthesis of Arts, which unites different art forms into artistic whole. It continues the scientific research achieved by publishing other studies and articles in some journals or proceedings of international or national conferences, which were devoted to intermediacy. The author proves that synthesis of arts in the Baroque era is a result of actualization of interspecific interaction of spatial and temporal kinds of arts, aimed at the intention to recover the elements of lost synthesis in dialectics of development of art as such. Its kinds were historically generated forms of art activity, that allowed the specific means of material embodiment (sound in music, word in literature, plastic and coloristic means in fine art, etc.) to represent artistic picture of life. The work can be useful to both theorists and practitioners in the field of Art, Cultural and Comparative Studies.

Keywords: Synthesis of Arts, Ukrainian Baroque, European tradition, intermediacy, interrelationship.

Art exists and develops as a system of interconnected kinds, the main of them are architecture, sculpture, theatre, painting, music, dance, literature. They are connected by the factor of spiritually-practical mastering of reality according to the laws of beauty and aesthetic upbringing on the basis of artistic image. Literature interacts with other kinds of art from ancient times, aesthetic forms of primitive syncretism can serve as an example of it; appearance of theatre as a kind of art, that combined art of word, music, dance and acting; antique and medieval Ekphrasis, connected with the description of psychological condition of pilgrims because of

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watching works of art: sacral architectural objects, inner painting of temples, holy icons etc.

In different historical-cultural periods the fixation of artistic forms to synthesis was heterogeneous. A special interest to the studying of the idea of interaction of different kinds of art represents Baroque age, the characteristic features of which are intensive interpenetration and impact of one kind of art with the means of another, as a result a great expansion of thematic range and disclosure of new informative aspects of artistic image took place. Ornamentality and decorativeness as leading characteristic features of Baroque style spread either to spatial kinds of art or to the art of the word. Ukrainian Baroque as an organic part of European aesthetic style has a range of specific national characteristic features which will be revealed in this article with the help of its characterization in the context of the leading forms of Baroque worldview.

In modern art criticism literature spatio-temporal principal of classification of art prevails, it was suggested by G. Lessing in the work *Laocoon and the limits of painting and poetry* (1766). According to this principal all kinds of art are divided into three groups: *spatial (visual) kinds* of plastic arts, the basis of which is spatial building in revealing the artistic image: architecture, sculpture, fine and applied and decorative arts, graphics, and later, from the newest kinds of art photo supplemented this group; *temporal (audial, dynamic) kinds* of art, the composition of which is revealed in time, so: music that has no temporal limits unfolds in time (sound with sound) and literature, where events are represented consistently, though reserved in one spatial segment, that makes it closer to synthetic kind of art; *spatio-temporal(audiovisual) kinds* of art, that are synthetic by nature with an expressive entertaining component, for example, theatre, choreography, literature in part, and the newest – cinema art¹.

In methodological plane studying of literature in the system of arts received a significant development in the works of Oscar Walzel², who proved the connection between the phenomena of literature and development of philosophic thought of a certain period; Oswald Spengler³ offered the theory of , “apollonian”

¹Lessing, Gotthold E., *An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, John Hopkins Paperbacks, 1984.

²Walzel, Oskar, *Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste*, Verlag von Reuther und Reichard, Berlin, 1920.

³Hauser, Arnold, *Philosophie der Kunstgeschichte*, Verlag: C.H. Beck, Munchen, 1958; Idem, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, Verlag: C.H. Beck, München, 1953; Spengler, Oswald A.G., *The Decline of the West*, Ed. Arthur Helps and Helmut Werner, New York, Oxford, 1991.

and “faustian” groups of art; sociological method of Arnold Hauser⁴, who revealed the philosophy of functioning and historical development of art; works of Yuri Lotman about the structure of text and polyglotism of culture⁵.

The perspectives of the research of synthesis of arts in fiction were reviewed in the second part of the XX-th century, during the period of so-called “first crisis” of comparative literature. On the ninth Congress of international association of comparative literature in Innsbruck (1979) official acknowledgement of earlier widely discussed idea of studying of literature in the system of arts by the official section of comparative literature took place. In modern comparative researches, intermedial studios, translation and cultural area of literary interactions got a strategic meaning.

The analysis of modern theoretical-methodological basis in the field of Sister Arts Studio lets formulate the following paradigm of types of interspecific interactionism in the system of interaction of arts: association of spatio-temporal characteristics (G. Lessing); interspecific interpolation of art criticism codes (theatricality of prose, emblematicism of discourse, musicality of poetry/prose, etc.); representation of one kind of art (“media”) with the help of expressive means of the other with complementarity of the system of signs of each of them (ekphrasis, painting in cinema, architecture in photos etc.).

The problem of classification of kinds of art with an accent on their interaction and interpenetration actualized not by chance in the middle of the XVIIIth century as a necessity to comprehend the peculiarities of art of Baroque age, though it has an old tradition of aesthetic introduction about their diversity (Ancient Greek myth about Apollo and his nine muses, who symbolized kinds and genres of art; comparison of poetry and music and music with architecture and sculpture of Aristotle; classification of poetry and music as a sphere of divine in Middle Ages as dependent from inspiration kinds of art (Boethius, *De institutione musica*); presentation of painting as “a dumb poetry”, that “hears” (Leonardo da Vinci) in the Renaissance.

The aesthetic conception of Baroque art combined antique principal of “image of credibility” (Aristotle), who expressed in the technique of inheritance (mimesis) aimed to create a real image of surreal and naturally draw upon the traditions of Renaissance, correcting the main aesthetic adjustment of following to the nature and its improvement with the help of creating ideal forms of Beauty in dynamics and exquisite decorativeness. Baroque program – art critic Giulio Carlo Argan notes in

⁴ Hauser, Arnold, *Philosophie der Kunstgeschichte*, Verlag: C.H. Beck, Munchen, 1958; Idem, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, Verlag: C.H. Beck, München, 1953.

⁵ Lotman Y., *Text and polyglotism of culture / Текст и полиглотизм культуры*, Избранные статьи в 3-х т, Александра, Таллин, 1992, Т.1.

the work *The History of Italian Art* (1893) – recreates, overestimates and develops classic conception of art as mimesis, or heritage; art is a performance, and its aim is not only to understand the depicted object, but to excite, amaze and convince. Art is a product of imagination, and its final aim is to teach to develop imagination, without which there is no rescue⁶.

Baroque architecture. Artistic imagination in the context of the problem of rescue became a counterpoint of aesthetic searches of representatives of Baroque viewpoint, and first of all new style established itself in church architecture. Grandiosity of scale, spatial scope, combination of complicated curvilinear forms and, certainly, lush decorativeness of interior.

First stylish samples of baroque architecture appeared in the XVIth century in Italy. The leading Italian architects Carlo Maderno (1556-1629), Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), Francesco Borromini (1599-1667), Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1678-1744) design not only cathedrals (mainly catholic), but create masterpieces of unsurpassed palace and park architecture, created on the principals of organized artistic entity, deployed in space.

In European countries (Germany, Austria, France, Holland) Baroque style in architecture was united with traditions of rococo and classicism (Versal Louis Levau Palace), that presented to the world original in its decorative sophistication samples and unusually solemn interiors of palaces. English architecture of the XVII-XVIIIth c.c. differs in moderate expression of Baroque features with prevalence of renaissance-classical features, including palladian classicism. Extravagant samples of English monumental Baroque style belong to English architect Cristofer Ren (1623-1723), appointed to the post of royal inspector of renewing central districts of London after great fire of 1666. He became the author of projects of fifty-three capital churches, St. Paul's cathedral (1711) and numerous secular buildings of renovated in accordance to the traditions of European fashion. Within the framework of classic traditions the ambition of architect to give picturesqueness to separate parts of buildings, to provide ceremonial interiors with exquisite decorative design, including wrought iron gratings, threaded wooden benches, tombstones, etc. was reflected.

Masterpieces of Baroque architecture in Ukraine became Jesuit church of Peter and Paul (Lvov, 1630), arch. Giacomo Briano; church of meeting (Lvov, 1692), arch. Jovanni Battista Gisleni; gable of royal arsenal (Lvov, 1639), arch. Pavel Grodzinskiy; Pokrovsky Cathedral (Kharkov, 1689); Mariinsky Palace (Kiev, 1752) and St. Andrew's Church (Kiev, 1754), arch. Bartolomeo Rastrelli; Belfries of

⁶ Argan, Giulio C, *History of Italian Art / История итальянского искусства*, Радуга, Москва, 1990.

Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, Sofia's Cathedral and Mikhaylovsky monastery (Kiev, 1750s), arch. Johann Gottfried Shadel, Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Koselets, 1763), arch. Ivan Grigorovich Barsky and other numerous buildings mainly of cultural purpose.

Characteristic features of architectural buildings of so-called "Cossack Baroque", created by order of Cossack sergeant-major became: picturesque plastics, prevalence of vertical lines, sophistication and graceful ease, exquisite ornamental design of facades, using of traditions of folk art of Orthodox temple architecture in the context of stylish entity and organic unity with natural landscape.

Fundamental feature of Baroque art became the ambition to synthesis of arts, embodied in organic combination of architectural ensembles with sculpture, painting and decorative art, directed to impress the imagination of a viewer by a disturbing play of light and shadow, contrasts and scales, materials and textures. Cut-off effects, principals of asymmetry, expression of forms, pompous decorativeness and mirrors created chimera atmosphere of swiftness of life, its theatricality, evoked a sharp sense of thin border between real and illusory, terrestrial and heavenly worlds, dramatic tension, tragic awareness of transience of life.

Sculpture and sculptural groups became an integral part of architectural buildings of Baroque age as a religious and secular purpose. Samples of Baroque sculpture impress by dynamic and exquisite forms and have a decorative function. A source of sculptural images and plots were the Holy Scripture for religious buildings of catholic and Greek catholic religious community and antique mythology for equipment of secular buildings and park landscapes. "Michelangelo of Ukrainian Baroque" is considered to be Johann (Yang) Georg Pinzel, whose works can be seen today in the museum of sacral sculpture named after J. G. Pinzel in Lvov. Their uniqueness is that they are all made of wood. The characteristic feature of the works of the author is broadcast of culminating point of tension of heroes, because of this fact strengthened emotionality and dramatism. The priority of a form over the contents of plots is reached by luxurious attire and a great amount of details: numerous wrinkles on clothes, beauty and airiness of hair, perfect facial features. Excess theatricality was underlined by using expensive and bright materials (marble, gilding, bronze).

Baroque painting orients itself on the plots with underlined dramatic conflict of religious, mythological or allegoric contents. The top of tension, inhuman passions and superhuman opportunities are fixed there, as a rule. Masters of Baroque age aimed to show a person with a complicated inner world, that realizes fully all the dramatism of its existence. Another notable peculiarity of painting of this time

became an interest to the grand portraits of dignitary and members of their family, intended to decorate interiors. Cut-off contrasts, breaking of principals of linear perspective, intensification of illusion of deepness, orientation on the space of pictures in infinity are inherent to them.

Decorative and applied art of Baroque age differs in enhancement of forms and sophisticated design with mainly gilded equipment. Walls of interiors were stretched with the cloth with interwoven golden and silver needles, trellises with fringe and brushes. As a rule furniture was massive, chairs – with chiseled legs and high backs, twined round with skin and embossed ornament with golden painting. Originality of decorative and applied art of Baroque age is characterized by the combination of visual compositions with a great amount of figures, decorative drapery, lush curbs of bouquets, fruits, birds, sophistication of the whole composition. Its designation fits the main challenge of baroque aesthetics – to impress the recipient with luxurious equipment of the work of art. Pompous ornamentality, sharp contrasts, ambition to implement motion, dynamics, progress of time correspond this aim.

Baroque in music is focused on the expression of emotions: display of riot of emotions, ecstasy in particular. In technique of fulfillment contrast forms of realization come first (among innovations – aria); in church music – contrasts of soloists, choir and orchestra. New instrumental forms appear: *vocal* (opera, oratorio, cantata, choral, mass, etc.): genre (sonata, suite, fugue, score, canzone, symphony, toccata, prelude, etc.); the development of counterpoint comes first (simultaneous music lines). A significant role in baroque music belongs to stringed instruments (violin, alto, cello, contrabass), copper (trumpet, French horn, pipe) and wind instruments (flute, bassoon, oboe). Such a variety of choice allowed to search for new means of expression, increase the range and complexity of music performance, decorate works with masterly techniques. Dramatic expression, popularization of synthetic in its basis of fictional forms of music works (opera, music drama, etc.) contributed to their complication, laid the foundation of modern music tonality (major/minor).

European music of the XVII-XVIIIth c.c. is a powerful representative of baroque aesthetics as a dominant style of the specified epoch. All the figurative baroque means are characteristic to music works of this period: increased expression, aesthetics of affect, pathos, antithetic combination of “voices” of different cultural traditions. “Music, – Marina Lobanova accentuates in the monograph “West European Music Baroque: problems of aesthetics and poetics” (1994), – in accordance with general cultural aspirations, gravitates to the “synthesis

of art". Its connections are clear with allegoric and emblematic studies, that connected verbal and pictorial range with the theory of "wit", establishing laws of new artistic logic and aspiring to searches of increased expression, polysemy of art, its ability for sense reboot and injection of tension"⁷. In the following work the author studied such specific baroque phenomena as "music emblem", "music allegory", "conchetto", etc. in the context of thesis about intention to synthesis of art as an aesthetic background of baroque artistic means.

The peculiarity of secular music of Baroque age became the appearance of adjacent genres, connected with staged forms of music works (opera, music drama); combined vocal-instrumental forms (oratorio, cantata); art of alternation and antithesis of sounding of an executive staff of ensemble-orchestra concert (concreto grosso); mastering improvement of the forms to the highest levels of skill. Baroque masterpieces of opera entered the treasury of world culture (Antonio Vivaldi, Henry Purcell, Handel, Claudio Monteverdi, etc.). Genre of oratorio is represented vividly in the works of J. S. Bach, Yandel and other authors.

The development of baroque music has expressive national peculiarities. The art of playing the violin is widely spread, they could not only accompany vocal voices, but also replace them in practice. A vivid representative of English music of Baroque age became Henry Purcell (1659-1695), a talented composer of unusual capacity, music works of which differ in identity and original expression. It should be mentioned that there is an inextricable link of secular and sacred music, as works of leading musicians of Europe were heard in churches and cathedrals for organ and chant, and musicians took positions of organists (Bach), bandmasters (Monteverdi), choristers of chapels (Vivaldi, Purcell).

The formation of music art in Ukraine took place in the context of great activity of music workshops, that were formed in Kamenets-Podolsk (1758), Lvov (1580), and later they were opened in Ostrog, Kiev, Negin and other places. Norms of music spelling differed for irmoloyny (liturgical) singing and for parthenny (concert) forms of polyphony. Parthenny (from Latin partes – voices) singing became a peculiar business card of Kiev music school, becoming popular at courts of Russian Empire. *Music Grammar* of Nicolai Dietskiy (1630-1690) became the first music study guide in the theory of writing and performing parthenny singing in western Europe.

"Polyphonic composition", "mussulish agreement" of music school "Kiev singing" presents the art of polyphonic, lumpy-harmonious, metrically organized singing, that was opposed by theorists of music art of Ukrainian Baroque age to

⁷ Lobanova, M., *Western European Musical Baroque: problems of aesthetics and poetics / Западноевропейское музыкальное барокко: проблемы эстетики и поэтики*, Музыка, Москва, 1994, p.9.

“organ humming” and was executed for “their disgrace”. The quantity of voices could be from three to twelve, and in court chapel music passages were developed for twenty-four and even forty-eight voices in the processing of melodies of echoes chant and others. Numerous works of Kiev parthenny singing has baroque characteristic features of performing: expressiveness, antithesis in broad chant melody of different groups of choir, that improved by coherent melodic-harmonious background as a whole. The art of “sequence of all phenomena” of a music work was achieved by a perfect knowledge of different intervals, consonances and dissonances. The theory of parthenny singing of Kiev school that was compared with philosophy or grammar, represents pan-European principal of baroque aesthetics, connected with the orientation to the synthesis of art, where the opportunities of aesthetic display were seen.

Baroque style in literature established itself from the end of the Renaissance and is met to a certain extent up to the end of the XVIIIth century. Its characteristic features are dramatism, irrationalism, ornamentality and solemnity. A noteworthy difference of Baroque style is unusually high percent of stylistic means: metaphor, hyperbola, antithesis, that can be compared with those numerous curls and spirals, common to architecture and decorative and applied art of this age. Wherein excessive verbal ornamentation harmonize wonderfully and doesn't come off the main text. Fragile balance between form and contents is based on the strict sequence of structure of artistic work. The rules of their building were written in numerous poetics and rhetorics (the most famous in Ukraine are “Poetic garden...” of Mitrofan Dovgalevskiy, 1736), based on antique (Aristotle, Horatio, Cicero), renaissance (I. Vida, U. Scaliger, Y. Pontan) and modern western European compendiums (M. K. Sarbevskiy).

Antinomy of Baroque ideology is based either on the aptitude to irrational artistic thinking, or the display of real life, description of heroes, setting including numerous botches of natural details, images of disintegration in particular (worms, pus, dust, etc.). The attention to a man's inner world becomes a counterpoint of baroque aesthetics. Sense of living of a person, his dialogue with God and search of his place in changing world obey one aim – to astonish, evoke emotions as many as possible. The authors of Baroque age de Quevedo, Calderon, Scarron, Marino, Grimmelshausen, Bunyan, Donn, Skovoroda) achieved this with the help of complexity of interpretation of their works, openness of which differs them from the works of the previous epoch. Common metaphor of works unites them, the leading concepts of which became statements “life – dream”, “life – theatre”, “life – maze”, “life – fair”, vanitas, memento more, theatrum mundus, etc.

In literary works of baroque age numerous architectural, sculptural, music concepts are represented. A specific form of dialogue of different kinds of art through the interaction of different artistic references was formed: artistic images and stylistic means; that have a symbolic character for baroque aesthetics. Intermedial citation is represented by the names of famous architectural buildings, sculptural pictures, pictorial and music concepts. Wherein interference of one cultural code into another on the background of their interaction on the artistic level.

Studying of literature in the system of arts (“Sister Arts Studio”) takes a priority position in modern literary criticism, as it allows to research deeply close relations between different artistic forms, their connection, mutual influence, including researches, numerous descriptions of aesthetic effect in literature and inspirations from different kinds of art.

Synthesis of arts as a main sign of general cultural paradigm of the XVII-XVIIIth c.c. contributed a significant development of synthetic by its nature genres, that appeared in renaissance theatre: opera (opera-series/opera-buffa), oratorio, music drama. In Ukraine intermedias as a part of school drama received a considerable popularity. Small scenes of comic character that were played by two-three persons between actions of the main play, were characterized by a cheerful buffoonery, parody, dynamics, connection with folk-domestic singing tradition.

In this way in baroque age intermediacy is a result of actualization of interspecific interaction of spatial and temporal kinds of art, directed to the intention to give back the elements of lost synthesis in dialectics of development of art. It was considered that its kinds were historically generated forms of creative activity, that let specific means of material embodiment (sound in music, word in literature, plastic and coloristic means in fine art, etc.) represent artistic picture of the world.

Exactly in this period emblematics, heraldry, symbolism and allegorics, ornamental filling of books are spread, that was accompanied by graphic picture of mysterious figures. Unlike the view about harmony and order of forms as the basis of aesthetic taste inherent to classics and Renaissance Baroque aesthetics was based on dramatic confrontation of a man and world, irrationalism, tragic collision of ideal and sensual beginnings. The study of a complicated inner world of Baroque age is connected with reconstruction of a specific performance of contrasts in artistic phenomena: effective visualization of images, cut-off characteristics, dynamics of action, its magnitude, using of decorations, masks, screen, curtain, carnivalization of discourses.

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Galina OLEINIKOVA*

A SYNERGETIC APPROACH OF THE MULTICULTURAL SPACE OF THE WORLD

- Abstract -

Modern society is characterized not only by the accumulation and acquisition of new knowledge, but also developing individual possibilities for the formation of own knowledge in the space of different cultures, creating a single spatial grid - "multicultural space". To expand the horizon of research and rethink the habitual in the new categorical-conceptual perspective of multiculturalism, a new interdisciplinary trend in science – synergetics, is allowed. It studies the processes of formation of complex systems and revealing the general laws of the evolution of systems of living and inanimate nature.

Keywords: single spatial grid, multicultural space, interdisciplinary trend, model of cultural intelligence, synergetics.

Modern society is often called postindustrial. It means that it is dominated by the innovative sector of the economy and high-quality, impartial science with a diverse knowledge in industry. Society, science and culture are a single entity that is constantly evolving, enriching, complementing and providing impulses for the further development of humanity. In its turn, changes in both science and society directly affect the growth of consciousness, which leads to the stimulation of the emergence of a new personal quality of time, space, the "nonlinearity of the medium", in which human being is more consciously and scale-wise.

The changes that have taken place in the last decades in the world have affected all spheres of human life. As G. Oleynikova notes, "active changes in society, occurring today, substantially change the existing of social norms in the structure of society. These changes are actively comprehended at different levels and contribute to the formation and development of new scientific fields aimed at

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understanding and verifying these changes”.¹ The problem of value orientations in cultural life remains invariably relevant and significant to society. Culture is the legacy and value of our society. Therefore, it is important to trace how cultural relationships develop, how they affect the value of young people’s consciousness, which can affect the political, economic, and cultural aspects of society.

It is obviously the fact that modern society characterizes itself not simply to accumulate and acquire new knowledge, but also develops individual opportunities for the formation of own knowledge in the space of different cultures, creating a single spatial grid – “multicultural space”, where various spheres of human activity, religion, Mythology, art, everyday and innovative pictures of the world, coexist and interact in all types of local cultures.

Multicultural space is a social environment in which the cultural components of the entire socio-cultural environment of a person interact. It is the concept of culture and education, with the dominant position of human rights in cultural and social life. It is an equality of nations and cultural models, the inadmissibility of racism and chauvinism in state politics and private life.

According to N.A. Eveleshina, multiculturalism is a collection of socio-psychological characteristics that ensure the possibility of peaceful coexistence of subjects as representatives of various cultures in a democratic heterogeneous society.²

The concept of multicultural space is actively discussed in various scientific fields, in politics, in social and educational programs. Thus, issues of multiculturalism are affected in the work of such researchers as J. Banks, K. Grant, O.V. Gukalenko, N.V. Kuzmina, I.Yu. Makurina, L.L. Suprunova, P. Yang and others.

For many years, mankind is interested in issues related to fundamental physical and philosophical sciences: what is the essence and complexity of the world around us? Where to find equilibrium in the transition from simple to complex, from the lowest to the highest in the biological evolution of the existing world? Such questions are of concern to many people. Humanity is trying to find an answer, above all mentioned ones, to the general philosophical question of the existence of man in the real world of space, his essence and his role in the universe.

According to Osterman L. at the present stage of the development of science, three approaches to the study of human culture are widely discussed and explored – a philosophical concept or philosophical culture, a psychological culture,

¹ G. Oleinikova, *Gender asymmetry of the vocabulary in the genre of detective prose*, 2017, p.153.

² N. Evleshina, *Social education in a children's public association*, 2009, p.173.

a narrative or a narrative culture (Humanities) and a multicultural Pedagogics or multicultural education.³

Many questions of the multicultural space, namely economic, philosophical and others, reveal only the top of the whole issue. The inner essence, the internal organization of styles and way of life, remains undisclosed. To expand the horizon of research and to re-think habitually in the new categorical-conceptual perspective allows a new interdisciplinary trend in science – synergetics, which studies the processes of formation of complex systems and reveals the general laws of the evolution of systems of living and inanimate nature.⁴

According to the researcher S.A. Lamzin, the mastering and comprehension of the world can not be imagined without synergistic interactions “of different spheres of culture and various ways of mastering the world (scientific, artistic, philosophical and religious).”⁵

As noted by T. I. Dombrovan, synergetics is a new, higher level of systemic research, which incorporates many of the essential achievements of individual natural sciences disciplines.⁶

This interdisciplinary trend in science has developed in the 70s of the XX century. Synergetics (derived from the Greek word: συνεργία – joint action, cooperation, concerted action) is the theory of self-organization of complex systems.

The term “synergetics” was introduced into scientific use by the English physiologist Ch. S. Sherrington more than a hundred years ago. At the end of the twentieth century, the German physicist G. Hacken, when analyzing the system of concepts describing the mechanisms of self-organization, interdependent processes of development in the world, begins to use this term.⁷ Following G. Hacken, a Belgian scholar, a prize winner of the Nobel Prize I. Prigogine (“Self-organization in nonequilibrium systems”, “Philosophy of instability”, etc.), as well as a number of other scientists (S.P. Kurdyumov, M.V. Volkenshtein, Yu.A. Urmantsev and others) actively use the term synergetics to study various systems that have their internal and external manifestations.

This scientific direction studies the processes of formation of complex systems and reveals the general laws and principles of the evolution of systems of living and inanimate nature, physical, technical, social and others. G. Haken notes the possibility of applying synergetics to various systems that relate to a large

³ L. Osterman, *The current is against: The remarkable events of a long life*, 2004, p.464.

⁴ T. Dombrovan, *Integral theory of English communication*, 2015, p.65-67.

⁵ S. Lamzin, *Postmodernism and learning foreign languages*, 2014, p.14-25.

⁶ T.I. Dombrovan, *Integral theory of English communication*, 2015, p.66.

⁷ G. Hacken, *Synergetics Hierarchy of instabilities in self-organizing systems and devices*, 1965.

variety of disciplines, which allows us to recognize new approaches to the analysis and study of complex systems in general.⁸

Systemicity and principles lie at the heart of the processes of self-organization, in systems of a very different nature: physical, chemical, biological, technical, social, and others. In our view, the study of culture from the standpoint of synergetics makes it possible to synthesize existing scientific data and present a culture as a complex system, which is organized into certain structures, without explaining what “force forces the system to choose one or another configuration, one or another path of development”.⁹ Due to this situation, this discipline helps to represent the functioning and development of complex systems, combining different methods and concepts, confirming the existence of important ideas of unpredictability, randomness, nonlinearity of the methods of developing the laws of the complex structures in the period of their evolution.

Thus, synergetics acts as a kind of cultural and methodological basis of the renewed scientific picture of the world in a modern society and it is one of the most important characteristics of modern culture. It is a synergetic paradigm that provides an opportunity for the formation and development of a more versatile creative personality, and directing the process of culturological learning to modeling the new process of cognition, forming a person's readiness for understanding and respect for incultural phenomena, creating a kind of interaction, which is one of the most important characteristics of modern culture. There is a kind of communicative-creative process that allows the person to represent something already known to him earlier as a new, unexpected and perspective point of discussion. A factor of “unexpectedness” and “perspective” is the system of instability, nonlinearity, the analysis of which allows for a synergistic approach.

It is worth noting that in the process of analysis, as a rule, a person has a new vision and a qualitative change in thinking on a given question, with a change in his inner motivation and further strategic effect of his activity.

The application of the synergistic approach to the study of multicultural space makes it possible to draw attention to those aspects of logical thinking that help to see and reveal those peculiarities of human life spheres, their specifics, culture, which usually remain beyond the scope of human attention. There is a kind of self-organization of personality systems in the study and comparison of arbitrary changes in the spatial component.

The underlying idea of multiculturalism is that there is no better or worse culture. All cultures differ in their content, each with its own advantages and disadvantages, and the significance of culture is determined by individuals. The

⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁹ L. Osterman, *The current is against: The remarkable events of a long life*, 2004, p. 464.

principle of multiculturalism assumes that the essence of education should reflect the study of different ethnic cultures, the universal wealth of all people inhabiting the planet.

Multicultural education arose as a result of the request of various social groups in ensuring the harmonious involvement of children both in the culture of their people and in their own cultural traditions. In many modern societies, models of multicultural education are the basis for the formation of cultural traditions, methods and forms of education that recognize the phenomena of cultural diversity as a social norm of personal values of a person as a result of creative intercultural mutual enrichment.

Ideas of multicultural education can be found in the works of A.Disterweig, J.A. Komensky, I.L. Pestalozzi, P.F. Kapterev, A.S. Makarenko, V.A. Sukhomlinsky, K. D. Ushinsky and others.¹⁰

The above material demonstrates the fact that the modern cultural space is a complex, non-linear, self-organizing system that is represented in various directions created by mankind for the realization of certain physical, biological, economic and cultural tasks. This approach in education allows to unite all the scientific potential and create a single synergetic paradigm for studying the modern multicultural educational space in which the model of cultural intelligence (the term of C. Erli and S.Anga) enables a person to build different versions of “world pictures” and the ability to interact with subjects of other cultural environment.

Over the past two decades, the ideas of a multicultural space have been actively discussed in the field of education, modernizing the latter on the basis of an adequate theory and practice of “the non-conflicting existence of numerous diverse cultural communities in one social space”¹¹ and forming the research field of the “multicultural educational space” concept.

As V.G. Vinenko noted, “the synergetic paradigm correlates with the formation of a new type in the context of noospheric philosophy”.¹² Modern society needs to create special conditions for education, in which the learning process itself will proceed from the position of interaction between society and nature, the boundaries of which determine the leading position of reasonable human activity.

It seems to us that the modern model of education, and especially linguistic education, can not be imagined without synergistic interactions “of different spheres of culture and various ways of mastering the world (scientific, artistic, philosophical, religious)”.¹³ It is the synergetic paradigm that allows us to direct the learning

¹⁰ S. Gural, *Discourse analysis in the light of synergistic vision*, 2009.

¹¹ Z. Abasov, *Innovations in Education and Synergetics*, 2007, p.580.

¹² V. Vinenko, *Synergetics in school*, 1997.

¹³ P. Berger, *Social construction of reality*, 1995, p.15.

process to the formation and development of a creative personality and to serve as a methodological basis for modeling the organization and self-organization of the learning process. So, on the basis of comparative analysis with the previously studied material, within the framework of the synergetic approach, a kind of qualitative reloading of the acquired experience takes place with the obligatory condition for the formation of the logical thinking of the student or a pupil. The knowledge and methods that usually tend to go beyond the traditional methods of instruction fall into consideration, self-organization of the personality system is observed during the arbitrary change of the basic parameters. "In this case, not all state parameters have the same value; certain parameters of the state (fast variables) can be expressed through other (slow variables), which are determined by the order parameters, as a result of which the number of independent variables decreases".¹⁴

As mentioned above, synergetics finds its application in all spheres of human activity. So, in the humanities, in such sciences as Sociology, Economics, Pedagogics and Linguistics, the most cognitive studies are carried out in the field of research of socio-historical processes from the position of synergetic nonlinearity.

The questions of creation of global pictures of modernity and ecology are being considered, models of biospheres are being built as a self-organizing system, "in the study of scientific problems of an extremely wide spectrum – from problems of technology and ecology to the most burning political problems, from studying the work of the human brain and consciousness to logical reconstruction and forecasting the development of science and culture in general".

For humanitarian knowledge, in general, the synergistic approach is interesting as the universal paradigm, exploring the points of contact between "living and nonliving" nature. In multicultural space, as a system of "subject-cognition – the process of interaction", the specificity of the synergetic approach is manifested in the fact that communicants can belong to different cultures and have specific, often unmatched socio-cultural parameters. "Inanimate" nature in this multicultural situation is an abstraction taking place in the sphere of interaction and communication between communicants. The process of interaction between communicants is "a complex system of abstract structures: the subject of intercultural communication, a system of notions about the purpose and process of intercultural communication, expressed in a material" lifeless "object, i.e. an agreement on cooperation, the creation of a partner training and producing something in the structure of".¹⁵

Historically, it has been proved that multicultural communication in its form of presentation can proceed both negatively and positively. For example, war,

¹⁴ E. Sorokina, *Learning a third foreign language in a multicultural environment*, 2012.

¹⁵ N. Alifirenko, *Cognitive-semiological aspects of linguo-culturology*, 2006.

political conflict, economic crisis affect the behavior and life of human society, which in turn affects the types of synergetics that can be characterized as positive or negative. So, if the goal of interaction between communicants is to learn new, unusual and exciting, then this is a manifestation of positive synergetics.

If the interaction is manifested in order to suppress, there is a negative synergetics, which predetermines the negative perception of the world around us and the mutual communication between communicating interlocutors will be conducted in a negative direction.

In communicative ontology, the main goal of human communication is communication. In other words, ordinary human communication is an exchange of semantic information, whereby through communication and transformation of information, communicants act on each other. The result of such an interaction may be a negative or positive result. As G. Haken points out, the positive result of direct multicultural communication, i.e. without intermediaries, is a consequence of a deep knowledge of the culture and language of the interlocutor and a positive attitude towards them in the process of interaction. Negative result of intercultural communication takes place when the interlocutors are closed on understanding the values of their country, culture and their significance and do not take into account the specifics of their own and others' culture. As a result of such communication can be the formation of a negative effect, unjustified, unfair assessment of its partner.¹⁶

Consequently, the synergistic approach in a multicultural environment makes it possible to differentiate the nature of synergistic processes in different fields of purpose, depending on the purpose of their communicative orientation: positive, negative, negative, etc., creating a certain self-organizing system.

Thus, it can be concluded that the study of a multicultural space within the framework of a synergetic approach can be represented as a process in which interest is awakened, a personal individuality capable of building special relations with the surrounding external world, with different cultures, thereby creating its own subjectively spatial self-organizing circle, own activity with the subsequent long-range plan of coexistence.

¹⁶ G. Haken, *Synergetics. The hierarchy of instabilities in self-organizing systems and devices*, 1980, p.406.

Alexey ZAPOROZHCHENKO*

CULTURAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF POSTINDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

- Abstract -

The article analyses the main positive and negative aspects of postindustrial (informational) civilization. The author of the article pays attention to the most actual anthropological risks in existence and the development of postindustrial civilization at present, shows that extremism and terrorism in a certain sense may be regarded as problems, which are caused by the peculiarities of postindustrial culture. The article encloses several concrete suggestions on overcoming separate anthropological problems inherent to postindustrial civilization. From our point of view it is necessary to identify the most essential risks of postindustrial civilization both at present time and in future perspective, to aim at definite ways out of the systemic crisis on some aspects of anthropological problems; to show that such phenomena of present time as extremism and terrorism in some sense are the problems of anthropological character, typical to postindustrial civilization. Positive manifestations of informational epoch have entered the life of a person by leaps and bounds: due to informational technologies the work of the police, medical and educational establishments have changed greatly; almost all countries of the world began to use modern methods of social prognostics. Nowadays, technological innovations, which improve the quality of everyday people life, are developing greatly.

Keywords: postindustrial civilization, informational society, anthropological problems, civilization, informational technologies, prognostication.

Last decades philosophers, culture experts and sociologists, going into the question of human history and culture periodization, use the civilized approach more

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often, as they consider it the most modern, actual and adequate to the present. According to such approach, the humanity during its history goes through preindustrial, industrial and postindustrial or informational stage of civilization.

Modern epoch is for the most developed countries of the world the time of transition from industrial to postindustrial (informational) stage of civilization. A number of the most progressive, technologically developed countries of the world found themselves on this stage of the development at the end of the XX century. According to cultural and sociological conceptions of postindustrial civilization the most essential of its signs are:

- the domination of the service sphere over the production sphere;
- the change of the social structure of the society (the principle of the division of the society into social classes according to economic character gives way to the principle of the stratification of the society on the basis of criteria of competence, professionalism, demand at the labour-market);
- the constant improvement of informational technologies, innovations;
- the production, distribution and consumption of information is the main sphere of economic life of the society;
- the implementation of the monitoring system for planning and socio-economic system control and so on.

The basis of the postindustrial society concept was laid by Z. Bzhezinsky, Bell, A. Toffler. The Japanese scientist Y. Masuda in the work *Informational society as a postindustrial society* (1983) made a culturological analysis of postindustrial civilization and described the main principles of the totally informational society. However, this concept represented idealized image of the society with faithful and human social relations, absolutely effective home and foreign politics, directed to the solvation of all global problems of the present¹.

Actually, the transition of the society to postindustrial civilization has many positive aspects. But the same process carries inside a lot of negative problems, including the anthropological character. In the given article we shall make the attempt to show the essence of the main anthropological problems of postindustrial civilization, which at present are more or less dangerous, that is why – actual, and, consequently, demand complex understanding and suggest way for their solvation.

The problem of crisis of morality system, sharpening of the global problems of humanity under postindustrial civilization last years were considered by foreign and Ukrainian theoreticians of postindustrial civilization.

English scientist Jaron Lanier, the specialist in the field of informational and biometrical technologies, in his rather big work, *You are not a gadget. Manifesto*,

¹ A. Danylyev, *Globalization of the modern world*, Kyiv, 2013, p. 80.

warns people about an awful perspective to become not personalities, but robots in the soulless crowd of people, who no more act as personalities, they went beyond the subjects of their own actions, but became objects of informational influence, considers the mechanism of undesirable transformation of human personality of informational epoch².

The philosopher and psychologist A.Nasaretyan, who has recently reedited his solid work *Civilized crisis in the context of universal history. (Synergetics – psychology – prognostics)* also touches the stirring problem of informational society. In the last edition of this book the author comes to conclusion that the reason of crisis in postindustrial civilization, the same as the crisis of the previous civilizations, is the non-balanced people's activity and tries to define the chances of modern civilization to overcome complex crisis³.

The philosopher N.Karavayev in the article "About the anthropological problems of informational society" studies the essence of anthropological problems of modern society, suggests his own definitions of such notions as "informational society" and "informational technologies", analyses different types of influence of informational technologies on the person. In the works of D.Ph., professor A.Gorban, especially in his article "Anthropological crisis as a state of society of transitional period", the essence of anthropological crisis of modern postindustrial civilization is seen in the threat of a loss of human basic existential senses of his life, which though becomes more free, comfortable, but at the same time empty, senseless, shallow, becomes thoughtless entertainment⁴.

Ukrainian researchers such as V.Aksenova, O.Dzoban, A.Daniliev, S.Krymsky, D.Muza, O.Danilian, A.Golub, N.Lazarovich, I.Tarasenko and others also touched the theme of anthropological problems of modern society. In his article "Spirituality in informational society", I.V.Tarasenko shows the problems of the spiritual crisis of a person in informational society. The author of the article considers that the development of creative abilities of people may cause the development of spirituality, and, consequently, will allow the person to develop in harmony in postindustrial civilization⁵. N. Lazarovich in the report "Person in the sense dimensions of anthropogenic civilization" on the international scientific conference, devoted to the problems of globalization, pointed that postindustrial civilization is characterized by a definite "diffusion" of social norms, traditional

² G. Lanier, *You are not a gadget. Manifesto*, Moscow, 2011, p. 39.

³ A. Nazaretyan, *Civilizational Crises in the Context of Universal History*, Moscow, 2014, p. 215.

⁴ A. Gorban, *Anthropological crisis as a state of society in transition*, Odesa, 2011, p.127.

⁵ I. Tarasenko, *Spirituality in the Information Society*, Lviv, p.23.

valuables, makes a person into a “social function” and “means”, which generates the crises of identity⁶.

V.I. Aksenova in the article “Anthropological dimensions of communicative – informational awareness of the sense of being” among the other problems, caused by postindustrial civilization, considers the problem of survival of the whole mankind, tells about the necessity of the formation of “noospheric” type of thinking of every person, the sense of mutual responsibility for the destiny of planet and the Universe⁷.

From our point of view it is necessary to identify the most essential risks of postindustrial civilization both at present time and in future perspective, to aim at definite ways out of the systemic crisis on some aspects of anthropological problems; to show that such phenomena of present time as extremism and terrorism in some sense are the problems of anthropological character, typical to postindustrial civilization.

During the second half of the XX-th – the beginning of the XXI-st centuries the scientists, collaborating the concept of postindustrial society, came to conclusion that from the point of view of culturology and futurology the main factor of this society is the production and use of scientific-technical and other kinds of information, i.e. the main article (goods) in this society is information, and the main activity – intellectual labour.

Modern computer technologies, which form technological base, on which postindustrial civilization functions and develops, play the most important role in the formation of informational space. In production sector, the firms, which produce computers and software, go first. An important role in the formation of this sector belongs to such big corporations as Microsoft, IBM, Intel, Apple, which continue growing today.

Positive manifestations of informational epoch have entered the life of a person by leaps and bounds: due to informational technologies the work of the police, medical and educational establishments have changed greatly; almost all countries of the world began to use modern methods of social prognostics. Nowadays, technological innovations, which improve the quality of everyday people life, are developing greatly: there appeared gadgets, which can control physical rate of person’s state of body, the systems of finger scanner RFID-sensors for tracing goods and GPS-systems for routes in real time; the technology “clever house”, based on distance control of someone’s own accommodation came into man’s life; there will appear household appliances with embedded processor, which is able to choose

⁶ N. Lazarevic, *Semantic dimensions of technological civilization*, Lviv, 2010, p.20-21.

⁷ V. Aksenova, *Anthropological demensions of informational awareness of the meaning of life*, Kirovograd, 2013, p.11.

optimal algorithm of work independently. Computers are widely used in medicine, industry, agriculture, scientific researchers, in prognostics and study.

But the scientists-anthropologists warn, that in spite of all achievements of informational civilization, postindustrial epoch may become the last period in the existence of a man of a modern biological type – *Cro-Magnon*, or the man as a biological species on the whole!

In the very beginning of the postindustrial civilization development the upper levels of social stratification were taken by technocrats-intellectuals, who made informational break and computer revolution, having open the epoch of the “*man-Net*”. But later, especially when internet becomes easy to access to the masses, when social nets appear, the society was divided into those, who make information and computer programs and those, who consume them. So some researchers of the problems of postindustrial civilization put forward a hypothesis about person’s structure mutation, which happens under the influence of a lot of mechanisms, peculiar to informational epoch.

The researchers consider the risk of the loss of identity and escape from reality to be the most essential risk which awaits the modern person, as they lead to the diffusion of idea about the private status, aim and sense of life. The risk of the hyperactivity of the man of informational epoch in the result of “reprogramming” himself to the new types of activity in the absence thereof possessiveness of methodology of the novelty seeking, which causes tiresome, depression, which people often try to take off by playing computer games or use different kinds of dependence, which worsen the situation more is also very actual. Such hyperactivity usually leads to the appearance of serious mental disorders.

The amount of disabled children increases practically in all the developed countries and is already associated with the beginning of extinction of *Cro-Magnon* as a biological species, – wrote the science-fiction writer Stanislav Lem⁸. The writer tells about the risk to lose physical health as postindustrial civilization suppose that the majority of working people must be involved in office job, and this in its turn lowers their physical activity and in future leads to a certain diseases caused by sedentary life. If the first symptoms are headaches, backache, increased fatigability, eyes colic, irritation, and so on, then in future there can appear serious chronic diseases of cardiovascular system, nervous and other systems on their base.

Long wok before computer monitor, frequent use of pads and so on worsens the man’s eyesight. Besides, constant increase of high-frequency radiation intensiveness (mobile phones, Wi-Fi, microwave pollution and so on) and its influence on the man’s brain is a serious threat.

⁸ D. Muza, *Information Society: Claims, Opportunities, Problems, Dnepropetrovsk*, 2013, p.114.

Anthropological risks of the loss of spirituality and the loss of mutual trust may become significant obstacle on the way of the development of postindustrial society and is the threat for the further existence of the society and the man itself as a biosocial creature. Under condition of easy possibility of finding like-minded persons in internet nets by users, manipulation and making a zombie from the side of those, who are attached to use people in his extremist purposes, increases the threat and large scale of extremist mood and terrorist attacks. It is not a secret that today a very peaceful earlier center of Europe (France, Belgium, Ukraine) suffers from terrorism and extremism. Due to internet communication terrorists of different nationalities have an opportunity today to support systematic contacts and help each other: spread the materials of extremist content, exchange experience, give the necessary information, deals about cooperative trainings, grant refuge, weapon, about terrorist attacks. Very often states concerned stand behind the terrorist organizations (especially when they want to make damage to some other state), manipulating these terrorist groups through their special services (more often in Internet). Thus, the problems of terrorism and extremism may also be attributed to the problems of anthropological and cultural character, as extremist ideas themselves misrepresent people's state of mind and promote human spiritual characteristics misrepresentation, destroy universal values and in the most pessimistic prognostics may lead to the destruction of the human civilization.

Thus, postindustrial civilization gave people the presence of necessary facilities, comfort conditions of work, qualitative medicine, effective education, accessible communication facilities with any place of our planet, many other goods, which may cause human extinction as a biological species, but which people cannot refuse. The researchers-futurologists of today present both optimistic prognoses, relevant to the followers of scientism, and extremely pessimistic, in which sometimes anthropological risks of the postindustrial civilization are overstated, which is a characteristic of antiscientism. But as ancient wise Greek philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) said – the truth is somewhere in the middle. That is why what our future will be, what will be the future of the mankind – depends on our generation. To preserve our health, the possibility to complex, harmonic self-development, to master the methodology of organization of time for work and time for rest – is the task for every modern person. To create more internet-resources, directed to the development of spirituality, moral human qualities; to introduce censorship (at least partial) on the resources, specialized on the demonstration of “elements of permissiveness” (sexual orgies, unjustified cruelty, tortures) eventually, to fulfill the dream of such IT-specialists, as J. Lanier – to create computer programs, which will take into account the user's personality and bring him up and re-educate for providing the proceeding of existence and the

development of the spiritual, rational, physically developed person (and it is better if this person will remain *Cro-Magnon!*) – it is a very important, global task of nowadays IT-specialists.

For the theoretician-specialists and for those who are interested in the problems similar to those which were raised in this article, there exist a lot of directions, which contain much unexplored. Without taking into consideration the global tasks of IT-specialists, such moments should be noted:

1. The problem of extremism and terrorism, which to a considerable degree depends on the quality of informational space and is the consequence of the loss of identity, loss of spiritual values, and popularization of violence and cruelty claims much more attention.
2. More thorough study of the consequences of the microwave pollution on the man from the medical point of view for the purpose of collaborating certain safety rules, for example for office workers is claimed.
3. The problems of rational censorship of social nets and sites propagating video with violence and pornography remained without consideration. Vice versa, today there is an opportunity to watch such video of disabled children or miserable animals, which make pain to human soul and don't allow anyone to come back to normal state of mind.

Other cultural and anthropological problems of postindustrial civilization are also very important and, in spite of great interest of the researchers to them, they claim more attention to themselves in connection with the increasing degree of their actuality.

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DANUBIUS

SUPLIMENT

XXXV
2017

MODERNITY, POST-MODERNITY, COMMUNISM, POST-COMMUNISM.
UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS

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Issue editors: Lilia Tsyganenko, Mykola Mykhailutsa,
Ovidiu Cristian Nedu, George Enache

ISSN 1220 - 5052

EISSN 2392 - 7992

www.revistadanubius.ro