

# DANUBIUS

## SUPLIMENT

XXXVIII  
2020



80 YEARS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN BESSARABIA.  
TRADITION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION



EDITURA  
Muzeului de Istorie Galați

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XXXVIII

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**Issue editors:** Liliia Tsyganenko, Yaroslav Kichuk



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# DANUBIUS XXXVIII, Supliment

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## **Foreword**

### **IZMAIL STATE UNIVERSITY: STAGES OF FORMATION**

During the years of its existence, Izmail State University of Humanities has gone through a lot: difficult formation and a tragic break in its work during World War II, moving to Izmail and adaptation to a new place, difficulties in forming the professor and teaching staff and facilities, construction of new buildings, establishing of international scientific cooperation and much more. After 80 years of its existence, the university has become not only the face of the Ukrainian Danube region; it has clearly demonstrated its readiness to be constantly updated, in order to respond to the challenges of time. The main wealth of IDGU is its lecturers, professors and students. Thousands of graduates who have left Izmail and are working throughout the country and abroad proudly and warmly refer to the Izmail State University of Humanities as "alma mater."

In August 1940, the Ackerman region was formed on the territory of the former Ackerman and Izmail counties of Bessarabia. On August 13, the Government of Ukraine adopted a resolution on the opening of a Teacher's Institute in the city of Ackerman (now Belgorod-Dniestrovsky) with three faculties: of history, of physics and mathematics, and of language and literature. Andriy Snisar was appointed the Rector. On October 1, 250 boys and girls became students of a newly established Institute. The war prevented the students to finish the academic year; the educational establishment did not work for more than three years. In November 1944, after the liberation of the Danubian territories, it was decided to resume the work of the Teachers' Institute.

Since 1944, the pedagogical staff under the Rector Viktor Semashko worked under difficult conditions of the postwar devastation, the famine of 1946-1947, and Stalinist repressions. There was constant lack of textbooks, paper, visual aids and auditorium fund. There was only one candidate of sciences among the 12 members of the teaching staff. In 1945, 11 students were graded as teachers for the first time. The institute library became an integral part of the Institute's functioning. The book fund was being formed in accordance with the requests of the faculties and included publications of socio-economic, historical, philosophical, linguistic, natural sciences,

literary, artistic literature, as well as fiction, newspapers and magazines. Thus, in 1945 alone, the library received 6,148 books.

The reforming of pedagogical education in Ukraine in early 1951 led to the transfer of the Institute to the regional center of Izmail. In 1952, the educational establishment received the name of Izmail State Pedagogical Institute. From 1951 to 1958, Dmitry Lober was its rector.

The events related to the liquidation of the Izmail region hindered the further development of the educational institution, as a result of which the Faculty of Language and Literature was transferred to Odessa State University in 1956 and in 1959 the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics was transferred to Odessa Pedagogical Institute. All these events provoked protests from the public of the region, so in July 1956 by the order of the Ministry of Education a new Faculty of training primary school teachers was started at the Izmail Pedagogical Institute. The educational base was being created again the composition of the teaching staff was being formed with great difficulties.

From 1958 to 1962, Ivan Saenko was the Rector of the institute. At the end of June 1960, the first group of students graduated from the Faculty of Primary Education. Sixty-seven students received higher pedagogical education. The demand for school specialists was rather high. This is evidenced by the contingent of students: in the years of 1960-1961 more than 520 day-time students studied at Izmail Pedagogical Institute in more than 500 studied at the correspondence department.

In 1963, thanks to the efforts of Vasily Nefedov who was the Rector, the Faculty of Foreign Languages with two departments: of English and French languages began to operate in the educational institution. Life ranged: education, clubs, sports training and competitions, social events, Komsomol meetings filled the student years. There were meetings with famous poets, writers and teachers. The sixties should be considered a period of stable development of the Institute, its positive achievements in educational and scientific-methodical work.

Former rectors Ivan Nikiforchuk (1965 - 1975) and Anatoliy Tychyna (1976 - 1986) made the significant contribution to the development of the educational establishment. In 1972 a student dormitory for 520 places was put into operation, in 1974 there was built a new educational building, and in 1986 - the second student dormitory. At that time, the departments of the Russian language and literature, and the Ukrainian language and literature, which were soon merged into the Faculty of Philology started at the Institute. In 1989, the Faculty of Ukrainian Philology and

History was established. Laboratories of technical means of training, lingual, educational and methodical offices began to function at that time.

We should also note the high training level of the further specialists. The Izmail Pedagogical Institute was the only state institution in the region that trained highly qualified personnel not only for the region and the republic, but also for other republics. The graduates worked fruitfully in the educational establishments in the Baltic countries, the Far East territories, in Uzbekistan, and Moldova. Teachers and the best students were invited to work in the foreign countries of Somalia, Algeria, and India. The teaching staff was trained in England and France.

From 1987 to the mid-1990s, Izmail State Pedagogical Institute was headed by the rectors: Anatoliy Kavalero, Volodymyr Melnyk, and Valery Seredenko. During this period, despite the economic difficulties, the Institute did not lose its capacity: there was opened a postgraduate school in five specialties, the "Scientific Bulletin of Izmail State Pedagogical Institute" was established, and in 1995 the Faculty of Engineering and Pedagogy was started. Izmail Pedagogical Institute, even in difficult times of stagnation and no less difficult period of perestroika, remained the leading educational institution and the center of science and culture in the region.

Since 1996 to October 2013, the post of Rector was held by Oleksander Lebedenko. This was a new stage in the history of higher pedagogical education in Bessarabia. Two new faculties began to function – the Faculties of pre-university training and of postgraduate education (1999), the Faculty of history (2001), qualitatively improved its staff, the postgraduate school expanded the range of specialties, there started doctoral studies in "Theory and Methods of Professional Education". "Comparative Literature Study". The material and technical base of the institute was significantly strengthened, there appeared computer classes, laboratories, the Center of Information and Communication Technologies with a local network and Internet access.

The highest achievement of the pedagogical staff of the educational institution was the reorganization of Izmail State Pedagogical Institute into Izmail State University of Humanities in accordance with the order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of March 1, 2002 (№ 95-r). The change of the status is an important factor in strengthening of Izmail State University of Humanities as an educational, scientific and cultural center of the Ukrainian Danube region. For significant contribution and for the preparation of highly qualified personnel for the public education, Izmail State University of Humanities was awarded the Silver Medal "Independence of Ukraine" and a diploma of the International Academic Rating of "Golden Fortune".

At the present stage, Izmail State University of Humanities is concentrated on the teaching of a new generation of professionals capable of working in the context of Ukraine's integration into the European space and competing in the world labor market.

The university trains specialists at the educational and qualification levels of "bachelor" and "master" degrees. Almost 2,000 students study to receive more than 35 specialties at four faculties: of the Ukrainian language and literature; of Foreign languages and literature (English, German, French, Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian); in philology (Germanic, Romance, Slavic languages); history; library and archival business; history and archeology; public administration; document science; law; social work; pre-school education; primary education; art; musical art; psychology; physical education and sports; labor training and technology; entrepreneurship; trade and exchange activities; tourism; Informatics; management; accounting and taxation; special education; Applied Mathematics; biology; natural Sciences; math; economy, etc.

At the University there is the Center for Continuing Education, the main task of which is to ensure high-quality preparation of students for successful external independent testing.

Since 2015, the university is headed by Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor Yaroslav Kichuk. Today the university is the only higher state educational institution in the Ukrainian Danube region. The educational-methodical and upbringing work is aimed at the effective implementation of the educational process in accordance with the provisions of the Bologna Declaration. It presupposes the development and improvement of credit-modular system of knowledge assessment, organization of independent and individual work of students, implementation of the latest educational technologies (application of computer equipment, local information networks, Internet, audiovisual teaching aids, electronic educational complexes, etc.).

**Liliia TSYGANENKO**

Vasyl ORLYK\*  
Svitlana ORLYK\*\*

**THE NEW FIND OF A BRONZE COIN OF KERKINITIS IN THE MIDDLE  
DNEIPER UKRAINE (HORODYSCHIE DISTRICT, CHERKASY REGION,  
UKRAINE)**

*- Abstract -*

One of the most interesting and mysterious pages in Ukrainian history is the ancient period, especially the period of interaction between the Hellenistic states of the northern Black Sea area and the population of the Middle Dnieper Ukraine (the middle of the fourth century BC - the middle of the third century BC). During those years, the first stage of the Hellenic period of the Greek colonies in the northern Black Sea area took place. It was characterized by a revival of the economic life, especially by the development of the trade with the local population and with the cities (Greek cities and colonies).

In recent years, publications by domestic and foreign scholars pointed to numerous finds of coins in the settlements from the Scythian period, in the forest-steppe zone, even findings of coin hoards. Our article is dedicated to the find of a bronze coin minted in the Kerkinitis, in the end of the fourth at the beginning of the third century BC, in the Scythian settlement near the village of Vyazivok, Horodyshe district, Cherkasy region, in the upper part of the river Vilshanka, during the fall of 2019. The find of the coin of Kerkinitis in a settlement of the Scythian period, that was located at more than 600 kms away from the then Kerkinitis and at 350 kms from the ancient Greek colony of Olbia, may testify about the spread of the northern Black Sea colonies' coins to the Middle Dnieper, in the first half of the fourth century BC. Besides, it can point to the connection between the inhabitants of the forest-steppe zone with the Greeks from the northern Black Sea region.

*Keywords:* Black Sea region; Pontic Greek polis; Kerkinitis; coin.

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### Introduction

One of the most interesting and mysterious pages in Ukrainian history is the ancient period, especially the period of interaction between the Hellenistic states of the northern Black Sea area and the population of the Middle Dnieper Ukraine (the middle of the fourth century BC - the middle of the third century BC).

During those years, the first stage of the Hellenic period of the Greek colonies in the northern Black Sea area took place. It was characterized by a revival of the economic life, especially by the development of the trade with the local population and with the cities (Greek cities and colonies).

### The Problem Statement

In recent decades, with the proliferation of metal detectors in Ukraine, the number of coins found from different historical periods, including those of ancient Greece and its colonies, has significantly increased. Unfortunately, not always scientists receive information about similar finds, that not only that are kept in private collections, instead of being in museum collections, but sometimes even disappear forever for the historical research. However, sometimes, researchers get the necessary information about such findings, which makes it possible to bring them into scientific circulation and considerably expand the source base of the historical researches<sup>1</sup>.

### Research Analyses

It is known that “the steppe Scythians and the population of the of East European Forest-Steppe region, in the Scythian epoch, during the VII - III centuries BC, had close economic relations with the Hellenic world of the Northern Black Sea region”<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, historiography does not have a clearly formulated concept of

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<sup>1</sup> Kotsur, V. (2017). Istoriohrafiiya ukrayins'koho skarboznavstva. [Historiography of the Ukrainian numismatics]. *The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual*. (1). P. 15-32. [https://doi: 10.5281/zenodo.1291720](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1291720)

<sup>2</sup> Skoryy, S. & Zimovets, R. (2014). K probleme tovarno-denezhnykh otnosheniy u naseleniya Vostochnoyevropeyskoy Lesostepi v skifskuyu epokhu. *Naukovi zapysky Kirovohrads'koho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Volodymyra Vynnychenka. Seriya: Istorychni nauky*. 21. P. 141-156. P.141.

trade relations between the inhabitants of the Middle Dnieper Ukraine and the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea region. Mostly, it is indicated the existence of commodity exchange operations. The researchers point out that, “unlike the trade with the Greek centers of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, like the domestic trade, it remained mainly a natural exchange”<sup>3</sup>. Scientists tried to decide whether there was any common equivalent in such trade, especially since the fourth century BC, when there was a significant increase in the Greek-barbarian trade<sup>4</sup>. It has been suggested that the role of monetary equivalent could be played by bronze arrowheads or even by “barbarian farming products, such as cattle or hides”<sup>5</sup>.

However, in recent years, there are publications by domestic and foreign scholars<sup>6</sup>, pointing to the numerous finds of coins in the settlements of the Scythian era, in the forest-steppe zone, even to the findings of coin hoards<sup>7</sup>. We completely support the thesis issued by the Ukrainian archaeologists S. Skoryy and R. Zymovets, that coin finds “in settlements of the Scythian time, including in the cultural stratum and in a fairly representative number, are unambiguously indicating that they were used as money by the local population during payment operations, for goods or any

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<sup>3</sup> Antichnyye gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomor'ya. Pod red. G.A. Koshelenko, I.T. Kruglikovoy, B.C. Dolgorukova. M. 1984. P.183.

URL <http://www.sno.pro1.ru/lib/agsp/10.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Hrakov B.N. Skify. Kyiv: AN URSSR. 1947. 96 s. P.41-53.

<sup>5</sup> Antichnyye gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomor'ya //Pod red. G.A. Koshelenko, I.T. Kruglikovoy, B.C. Dolgorukova. M., 1984. P.183.

URL <http://www.sno.pro1.ru/lib/agsp/10.htm>

<sup>6</sup> Skoryy, S., & Zimovets, R. (2014). K probleme tovarno-denezhnykh otnosheniy u naseleniya Vostochnoyevropeyskoy Lesostepi v skifskuyu epokhu. *Naukovi zapysky Kirovohrads'koho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Volodymyra Vynnychenka*. Seriya: Istorychni nauky. 21. P.141-156; Stolba, V. (2019). Images with Meaning: Early Hellenistic Coin Typology of Olbia Pontike. in: V. Cojocar et al. (eds.). *Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Historiography, Archaeology and Religion*. Cluj-Napoca. P. 523-541.

<sup>7</sup> Shestopal, A.V. (2007). *Skarby Cherkashchyny*. Cherkasy: Vyd. Androshchuk P.S., 120 p.; Mielczarek, M., & Orlyk, V. (2019). New find of Olbian coins. Tarashcha district, Kyiv region, Ukraine. *Skhidnoevropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*. 13. P. 33-39. DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.13.190763; Orlyk, V., Kotsur, V., & Tsyganenko, L. (2019). Klad ol'viyskikh monet “borisfenov”, naydennyi v Gorodishchenskom rayone Cherkasskoy oblasti vesnoy 2018 goda. *Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia*. 65. P. 37-48.

other services, with the Greeks”<sup>8</sup>. Yes, indeed, coin finds are “relics of internal and external trade of those times”<sup>9</sup>. Using materials from the Ukrainian Internet resource – Violity <sup>10</sup> and information from one of the “treasure hunters”, the authors managed to get information about the unique discovery of an antique Kerkinitis coin on the territory of Cherkassy region. This find is important for studying aspects of the ancient population history in the Middle Dnieper Ukraine and also for the understanding of the coins production in the ancient city of Kerkinitis.

### Statement of the basic material

We were informed about one such accidental finding, extremely important for understanding the processes in the Middle Dnieper region during the first half of the third century BC, by a resident of Cherkasy region. According to his testimony, he personally discovered an antique copper coin, in September 2019, near the village of Viazivok, Horodyshche district, Cherkasy region, in the upper part of the river Vilshanka. (Fig.1). Horodyshche district of Cherkasy region is located in the central forest-steppe part of Ukraine, in the basin of the right tributary of the Dnieper River, Vilshanka. According to the Cherkasy Regional Archaeological Inspection, “1,150 archeological monuments, including: 4 hillforts, 179 settlements, 3 soil burial grounds, 105 separate mounds and 65 mound groups have been taken into account and protected by the state”<sup>11</sup>. Among these groups of archaeological landmarks, a considerable part belong to the Scythian time, in particular, hillforts, settlements and mounds. According to the Cherkasy Regional Archaeological Inspectorate, there are 2 multilayered settlements near the indicated village<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Skoryy, S., & Zimovets, R. (2014). K probleme tovarno-denezhnykh otnosheniy u naseleniya Vostochnoyevropeyskoy Lesostepi v skifskuyu epokhu. *Naukovi zapysky Kirovohrads'koho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Volodymyra Vynnychenka. Seriya: Istorychni nauky*. 21. P. 145.

<sup>9</sup> Kotlyar, M. F. (1971). *Hroshovyy obih na terytoriyi Ukrayiny doby feodalizmu*. K.: Nauk. dumka. P. 65.

<sup>10</sup> URL <https://auction.violity.com/>.

<sup>11</sup> Neradenko, T.M. (2016). *Slovyk-dovidnyk z arkheolohiyi Cherkashchyny: naukovodovidkove krayeznavche vydannya*. Cherkasy: FOP Chabanenko YU.A. P. 102.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



Fig.1

According to the information given to us, the coin was found on a multilayered settlement that existed in Scythian times. In this settlement, the respondent had previously found some arrowheads from the VI-IV centuries BC (Fig. 2) and other metal objects, using a metal detector.



Fig.2. Without scale (Photo from the online auction Violity)

However, unfortunately, the photos of most of these items were not provided to us for a detailed analysis. The coin, which was found in a settlement of Scythian times, near the village of Vyazivok, is a copper dichalkon (Fig. 3), minted in the Greek colony of Kerkinitis (on the place of the present-day Yevpatoria).

Coins of this type belong to the latest and the most numerous series of coins minted in Kerkinitis. Today, historiography has no consensus on determining the chronology of the coinage in Kerkinitis<sup>13</sup>. This also applies to the type of coin found near the village of Vyazivok. According to A. Zograf, this type of coin was minted in the first half of the third century BC; P. Karishkovsky suggested that the last series of Kerkinitis coins “refers to the second half of the third century BC”<sup>14</sup>. V. Stolba thinks it's an emission “dated in the late fourth century BC”<sup>15</sup>. V. Anokhin<sup>16</sup> and V. Kutaysov<sup>17</sup> attribute the coin to the first decade of the 3rd century BC”<sup>18</sup>. But, in fact, this is where the similarity of the two scientists' views on the question of emission ends. The findings pertaining to the last series of the Kerkinitis coin mostly belong to a small geography, limited by their area of circulation. In particular, they are most spread within the Chersonesus polis, as well as in the area of Kerkinitis, the Chaika settlement, at Saky and Chersonesus<sup>19</sup>. Finds of such coins are also known in Olbia and in the territory of the Olbian khôra<sup>20</sup>. The coin described in our article is the first one discovered far beyond the circulation region of these coins.

The author had the opportunity to study the coin in details, personally.

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<sup>13</sup> Stolba, V.F. (1989). Yeshche raz o kerkinitidskikh monetakh II-III vv. do n. e. Drevneye Prichernomor'ye. Chteniya pamyati prof. P.O. Karyshkovskogo: Tez. dokl. konf. Odessa. P. 49-50.

<sup>14</sup> Karyshkovskiy, P.S. (1953). Yeshche raz o knige A. N. Zografa “Antichnyye monety”. *Vestnik drevney istorii*. 1 (43). P.108.

<sup>15</sup> Stolba, Vladimir F. (2007). The Numismatics of Chersonesos and Kerkinitis as Evidence of Greek and Barbarian Interrelations in Western Tauris. *Une koinè pontique. Cités grecques, sociétés indigènes et empires mondiaux sur le littoral nord de la mer Noire (VIIe s. a. C. – IIIe s. p. C.)*. Ed. by A. Bresson [et al.]. Bordeaux. P.91.

<sup>16</sup> Anokhin, V.A. (2011). *Antichnyye monety Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*. Kyiv: Stilos. P. 100.

<sup>17</sup> Kutaysov V. A. Antichnyy polis Kerkinitida. *Materialy k arkheologicheskoy karte Kryma*. Vyp. XII. Simferopol'. 2013. 400 s. (P.139).

<sup>18</sup> Kutaysov, V. A. *Antichnyy gorod Kerkinitida, VI-II vv. do n. e.* AN USSR, In-t arkheologii. Kyiv: Nauk. dumka. 1990. P.155.

<sup>19</sup> Kutaysov V. A. Antichnyy polis Kerkinitida. *Materialy k arkheologicheskoy karte Kryma*. Vyp. XII. Simferopol'. 2013. P.139.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.



Fig.3. Without scale.

Obv.: A Scythian is sitting on a rock with an axe; he is turned to the left. On the left - < KEPKI >

Rev.: A horse is turned to the left; below, - ΚΑΛΛΙΣ<...>

Wt.: 6.42 g., diam. 20 mm., die axis 1. Technique Struck

There is no consensus in historiography about the iconography of this coin, in particular about the identification of the seated male figure with a beard. For example, G. Friedlander, who introduced into the scientific circulation the Kerkinitis coin (including the type of coin we studied), believed that the coin depicted a deity or a hero. The scientist pointed to the similarity of this figure with the images of Neptune “Nettuno” and Jupiter Labraday “Giove Labrandaeus”<sup>21</sup>. G. Spassky rejected such ideas, believing that the coin depicts a seated male figure “of an unknown to us pagan deity or hero, and not Neptune or Hercules, and even less Jupiter”<sup>22</sup>. Without being clearer about the identification of the seated male figure, the researcher nevertheless drew attention to the clothing of this figure, noting that “this figure is dressed in Scythian style”<sup>23</sup>. P. Burachkov emphasized that “we

<sup>21</sup> Friedlaender G. Kerlcine citta del Chersoneso Táurico introdotta nella serie mumismatica. *Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*. 1845. N 16. P. 234.

URL

[https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view%5Blayout%5D=buch\\_item&search%5Bconstraints%5D%5Bbuch%5D%5Balias%5D=AnnaliIstitutoCorrispondenzaArcheologica1844vol16&search%5Bmatch%5D=exact](https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view%5Blayout%5D=buch_item&search%5Bconstraints%5D%5Bbuch%5D%5Balias%5D=AnnaliIstitutoCorrispondenzaArcheologica1844vol16&search%5Bmatch%5D=exact)

<sup>22</sup> Spasskiy G.I. O mestopolozhenii drevnego goroda Karkinita i ob yego monetakh. *ZOOID*. 2. 1848. P.20-35. P.32.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

hesitate in recognizing the person sitting on the Kerkinitis coins for the Scythian warrior<sup>24</sup>. Almost ten years after this publication, the same author described this image as “Male figure with a beard, sitting on the back of a defeated enemy”<sup>25</sup>. P. Burachkov suggested that coins “with a picture of a seated figure with a Scythian axe in his hand and a horse on the back side, are uncharacteristic for Hellenic coins, therefore they were intended for the people that were alien to the worship of the Hellenic gods”<sup>26</sup>. O. Oreshnikov also spoke very carefully about this image. Initially, the well-known numismatist described the coin as it follows: “The bearded figure of a man sitting on a rock to the left, leaning his left hand on the rock and holding a rod in his right hand”<sup>27</sup>. One of the variants of interpretation of this figure, according to O. Oreshnikov, could be “the river deity of Kerkinitis, like other deities of the rivers, depicted on many coins of the ancient world”<sup>28</sup>. It is true that later, at the meeting of the Moscow Numismatic Society, on March 13, 1906, O. Oreshnikov, in his report “About the image of Scythian on the coins of Kerkinitis”, changed his mind. The reason was a gold belt set found in one of the mounds in Poltava Region, which was purchased by the Historical Museum (today – The State Historical Museum in Moscow). O. Oreshnikov examined all the nine plates of this set, which were made using the same die and which depict “the figure of a seated barbarian (probably Scythian or Sarmatian), which had some similar features with the image from the coins: figures on the coin and those on the plates are dressed in short caftans, have quivers with bows, sit on low seats and both hold an object in their right hand, that has, on the plates, a certain form of some kind of weapon resembling a pickaxe”<sup>29</sup>. All this allowed him to change his previous opinion: “the speaker came to the conclusion that the figure on the Kerkinitis coins is not a river deity, but probably a local resident in an aboriginal costume”<sup>30</sup>. However, even at

<sup>24</sup> Burachkov P.O. O mestopolozhenii drevnego goroda Karkinita i o monetakh, yemu prinaldezhashchikh. *ZOOID*. IX. 1875. P.131.

<sup>25</sup> Burachkov, P. Obshchiy katalog monet, prinaldezhashchikh ellinskim koloniyam, sushchestvovavshim v drevnosti na severnom beregu Chernogo morya, v predelakh nyneshney Yuzhnoy Rossii: Sost. po monetam, prinaldezhavshim sobstvennomu sobraniyu i otchasti po ris. iz dr. sobraniy P. Burachkov. CH. 1. Odessa: tip. A. Shul'tse. 1884. P.98.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. P.99.

<sup>27</sup> Oreshnikov A.V. *Materialy po drevney numizmatike chernomorskogo poberezh'ya*. Moskva. Tipografiya O.O. Gerbeka. 1892. P.8.

URL <http://elar.uniyar.ac.ru/jspui/handle/123456789/2336>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. P. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Deyatel'nost' Moskovskogo numizmaticheskogo obshchestva s 1905 po 1911 god po otchetam sekretarya obshchestva S.I. Chizhova. *Numizmaticheskij sbornik*. 1. 1911. Moscow. P. 630.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

the end of the twentieth century, there remained researchers who did not dare to fully interpret the male figure depicted on these coins. So, in particular, in the description of this type of coins from the British Museum collection, the collectors, as in the first half of the nineteenth century, indicate “Bearded figure seated 1. on rocks holding axe (or dolphin-tipped sceptre); to 1., KEPKI”<sup>31</sup>.

For the first time in historiography, B. Koehne clearly articulated the identification of the seated male image on the Kerkinitis coin, which we are investigating. He provided this description of it: “A Scythian is sitting on a rock, on which he leans with his left hand. He has a beard, he is wearing a short tunic, and in his right hand is an axe”<sup>32</sup>. The hypothesis of B. Koehne was followed by G. Alekseev<sup>33</sup> and A. Bert'ye-Delagard. The latter supplemented it by pointing out that “the sitting figure, not unreasonably, can be considered the image of a Scythian; this is determined by clothing and weapons”<sup>34</sup>. Subsequent generations of numismats have convincingly proved the correctness of B. Koehne's hypothesis. Thus, in particular, A. Zograf said that, on the coin, it is depicted, “sitting on a rock, a Scythian in an open caftan, without a collar, similar to those in which the Scythians are dressed on the Vase from the Kul-Oba”<sup>35</sup>. L. Medvedeva fully supported this argument<sup>36</sup>. V. Stolba practically repeats O. Oreshnikov's argumentation made at the meeting of the Moscow Numismatic Society, on March 13, 1906, adding photos of the plates described by the Oreshnikov. Actually, we can see an almost identical image of the Scythian on this series of Kerkinitis coins and on the gold jewelry of the

<sup>31</sup> *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. (1993). Vol. IX. The British Museum. Part 1: The Black Sea. First edition. London: British Museum Press. Pl. XXVIII. P. 695.

<sup>32</sup> Koehne, B. (1857). *Opisanie muzeuma pokojnago knjazja Vasilija Viktoroviča Kočubeja sost. po ego rukopisnomu katalogu i izslėdovanija ob istorii i numizmatike grečeskih poselenij v Rossii, ravno kak Carstv: Pontijskago i Bosfora Kimmerijskago*. Tipogr. zagotovl. gos. bumag, 452 p. P.110.

URL: <https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qadu2bW11fWR88Cxjys-16xqDS->

[vg8vLmbD3Md1SgF7DWjVwOIE0kUduqwxdOJiaGSWoFvQIEiK1h36sMXKek5AxdUshNQUU36l1gJPGWj\\_AmPvnwCDpg2SKdMvr1bpbtjBa1NDqUxuws\\_TZMQbMUrR8seGSweTBCCm5At6K35J6CK66jU8Jfkv\\_0e0Ee12ELZqVaVHEOz6o-JbcDKWZ0edXa\\_rOfORRAM7l-9SfT955m\\_Kzg2M1g5Oc-R1htr\\_oc3Mk2i1GM-IXyJ2YAHairDpJz-dWBppUozIKzMO8GXXslA5zYI](https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qadu2bW11fWR88Cxjys-16xqDS-vg8vLmbD3Md1SgF7DWjVwOIE0kUduqwxdOJiaGSWoFvQIEiK1h36sMXKek5AxdUshNQUU36l1gJPGWj_AmPvnwCDpg2SKdMvr1bpbtjBa1NDqUxuws_TZMQbMUrR8seGSweTBCCm5At6K35J6CK66jU8Jfkv_0e0Ee12ELZqVaVHEOz6o-JbcDKWZ0edXa_rOfORRAM7l-9SfT955m_Kzg2M1g5Oc-R1htr_oc3Mk2i1GM-IXyJ2YAHairDpJz-dWBppUozIKzMO8GXXslA5zYI)

<sup>33</sup> Alexeieff G. *Notice sur une médaille antique inedité ainsi que sur deux autres tres rares de Pharzoios et de Kerkinitis*. Dresden. 1870. 15 p. 1 pi.

<sup>34</sup> Bert'ye-Delagard A.L. *Monetnyye novosti gorodov Tavridy. Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey (ZOOID)*. T.30. 1912. P.39-54. P.40.

<sup>35</sup> Zograf A. N. *Antichnyye monety. Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*. M.: Izdvo AN SSSR. 1951. T. 16. P.161.

<sup>36</sup> Medvedeva L.I. *Monety Kerkinitidy. Numizmatika i epigrafika*. T. XIV. 1984. P. 43.

Scythian epoch: “However, the closest parallel to the coin type under discussion, both with regard to composition and chronology, is offered by nine gold belt plates which S. A. Mazaraki found in 1905, during the excavations in the burial mound near the village of Aksjutincy, in the province of Poltava” , and which is stored in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. The scientist points out that: “The plates show the barbarian sitting on a stool and turned to the left, similar to the one on our coin type; his long hair falls down to his shoulders, and his beard and moustache are pronounced. The Scythian is dressed in tight trousers and a caftan girded at the waist with a composed belt, from which a quiver and a bow case are suspended. Holding a rhyton in his left hand, the Scythian is resting on a sceptre-axe with a strongly turned up butt that is easily recognizable in his right hand, bent at the elbow”<sup>37</sup>. V. Kutaisov, having carried out a detailed analysis of the iconography of the sitting figure of the Scythian, including of the axes in his right hand, suggests that on the coin of Kerkitida is depicted “Kolaksai, the first mythical king of the Scythians, and, as it were, the founder of a layer of the Scythian military aristocracy ... With this interpretation, it becomes understandable the image of the horse on the obverse of the same coin. It is the solar hypostasis of Kolaksai, that is not only the ancestor of the Scythian kings, but also the embodiment of the Sun”<sup>38</sup>. Thus, in modern numismatics, the bearded male figure on the obverse of the coin should have been clearly and convincingly interpreted as a Scythian image.

This coin has a minting defect, as a result of which the coin has the lack of coinage at the obverse and reverse, and the crack at the brim of the flan. Such defects were typical for the technology of manual coinage, due to deformation of the lens-shaped planchet during the strike of the mintmaster on the upper die. Coins of this series were typical “extremely careless in most cases coinage, fuzzy prints, often shifted during the strike”<sup>39</sup>. All of these defects are present on the Kerkitida coin that was found near the village of Vyazivok. A detailed study of this coin allows the authors to confirm the conclusions of V. Kutaisov<sup>40</sup> and E. Turovsky<sup>41</sup>. The planchet for coins of this type were casted using a Sicilian technique. In addition, it is necessary to pay attention to some other characteristic features of the coin which

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Kutaisov V. A. Antichnyy polis Kerkitida. *Materialy k arkhologicheskoy karte Kryma*. Vyp. XII. Simferopol'. 2013. P.143-144.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. P.144.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. P.147.

<sup>41</sup> Turovskiy, Ye.YA. Nekotoryye aspekty istorii Khersonesskogo polisa (v svete dannykh numizmatiki). *Numizmaticheskiye chteniya Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo muzeya 2016 goda*. Moskva. 22 i 23 noyabrya 2016 g. Materialy dokladov i soobshcheniy. M. 2016. P. 14.

was found near the village of Vyazivok. Thus, in particular, before the horse, at the end of the coin field, there is a kind of mounting, which could have arisen as a result of the overflow of the metal of the plancket at the edge of the die. This indicates the using of hot coining.

The minting defect does not allow us to classify the type of coin clearly, as there are two consecutive issues of this type of coins, that have such legends on the reverse: ΚΑΛΛΙΠΙ and ΚΑΛΛΙΠΙΠΙΟ<sup>42</sup>.

### Discussion

The coin described by the author of this article is one of the few coin finds where information has been preserved for researchers of Numismatics and Ancient History, including researchers of the Hellenistic connections with the surrounding local Barbarian population. The author invites other scholars to collaborate on the problem of finds of ancient Greek coins in the Middle Dnieper region, as well as in more Western regions of Central Europe. (Author's e-mail: [v.m.orlik@gmail.com](mailto:v.m.orlik@gmail.com)).

### Conclusions

The find of the Kerkinitis coin near the village of Vyazivok of Horodyshche district, Cherkasy region, is the first discovery of a coin of this Greek colony far beyond the Greek area from the northern Black Sea. In addition, the discovery of this coin, as well as of the arrowheads that typologically correspond to the sixth-fourth centuries BC, indicate the existence of a Scythian settlement near the village of Vyazivok, for several centuries, particularly between the beginning of the sixth century and the early third century BC.

The settlement of the Scythian epoch near the village of Viazivok, where this coin was found, is located at more than 600 kms from the then Kerkinitis and at 350 kms from the ancient Greek colony of Olbia (near the nowadays village Parutyne, Mykolaiv region) (Fig.4).

The find of this coin, at a considerable distance from the minting place and from the area of distribution of ancient Greek coins, *in the first half of the third century BC*, may be the result of the trade relations of the population of this region with the Greek colonies in the northern Black Sea region. Perhaps those are the trade connections that Herodotus pointed out: "Above the Alazonians dwell the Scythians

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<sup>42</sup> Anokhin, V.A. (2011). *Antichnyye monety Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*. Kyiv: Stilos. P. 100, #617-618.

who till the ground, and these sow their corn not for food but to sell”<sup>43</sup> (Herodotus, 1890, Book 4: Melpomene: 17).

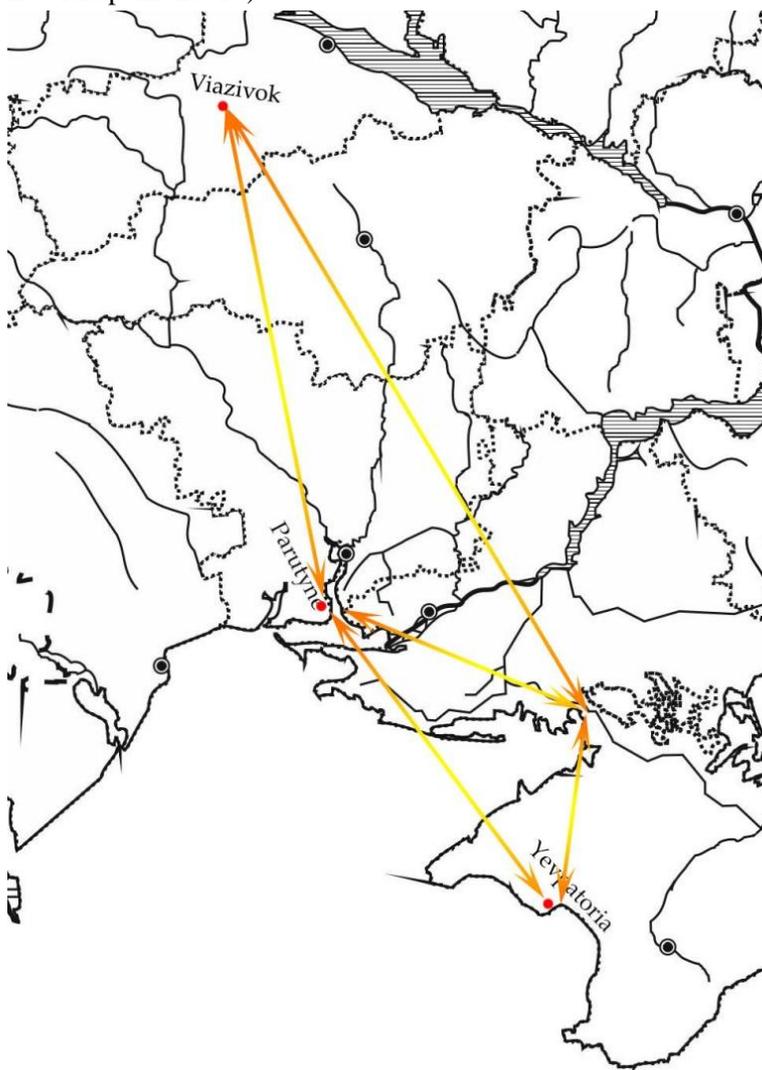


Fig.4

In addition, each new find of coins minted by the Pontic Greek cities in Central Europe is a significant “element” in the discussion on the “trade route from Black Sea to the Baltic sea”<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Herodotus Book 4: Melpomene. in: *The History of Herodotus*, parallel English/Greek. Tr. G. C. Macaulay. (1890). 17. URL <https://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hh/hh4010.htm>

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<sup>44</sup> Mielczarek, M., & Orlyk, V. (2019). New find of Olbian coins. Tarashcha district, Kyiv region, Ukraine. *Skhidnoevropeyskiy Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*. 13. P. 35.

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**THE ORGANIZATION OF HANDICRAFT GUILD AND CRAFT  
PRODUCTION ON VOLYN (END OF THE XVIII-TH – BEGINNING OF  
THE XX-TH CENTURIES)**

*- Abstract -*

The article deals with the peculiarities of the organization of the handicraft guild on the territory of Volyn at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of workshops at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is under consideration. The development of the craft production in the region, its place and contribution to the economic and social growth of the region as well as the coordination of the work of handicrafts and the Russian governmental authorities are dealt with.

*Keywords:* Volyn; craft production; handicraft guild; towns.

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**Introduction**

The investigation of the industrial development of the regions of Ukraine at different historical periods continues to be relevant research area in modern national historical science, since it is impossible to reconstruct a complete overview of the evolution of the state economy without this. For this research it is required to study the transformation processes in the socio-economic sphere of the region in terms of state affiliation of the Right-Bank Ukraine to the Russian Empire during the so-called “long” of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, from the time of joining the region to the tsarist Russia at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century before the First World War. The local economic practices of the Volyn guberniya (province) contained the elements of the West European economic and legal rules along with the legislation typical for the

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Russian empire. The dual nature of this region has been investigated. This investigation enables to study the evolution of the border region, its ability to adapt to new conditions. It gives the opportunity to recreate a synthetic model of economic development best adjusted to these changed conditions.

### **The Problem Statement**

The development of industry in the Ukrainian regions during the investigated period, i.e. the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, had significant regional peculiarities. They are caused by complex interconnection of the agricultural and social processes. The processes resulted in the existence of widespread use of manual labor for a long period of time.

The urgency of the problem of the article is enhanced by the current realities in Ukraine. The Ukrainian economy is based on market principle and this state of affairs causes the associations when comparing past and present processes in the economy of Ukraine. Therefore it is required and seems to be useful to study the positive experience of organizing the productions of entrepreneurial type, the nature of investments and their impact on the emergence of competitive production, the personal initiative of producers, their ability to respond to the challenges of time and new conditions of industrial activity. Such notion as the introduction of social partnership ideas into the practice of that time is considered to be vital for further development of the economy of the region. The purpose of our research is to perform a comprehensive analysis of the organization of guild handicraft and craft production in the Volyn guberniya (at the end of the eighteenth century – at the beginning of the twentieth century).

### **Research Analyses**

The problems of economic development of the Right-Bank Ukraine at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were given considerable emphasis in the historical investigations. The scientific achievements concerning the research of industrial manufacture questions of the Russian Empire as a whole and the Right Bank of Ukraine, including the Volyn guberniya, are varied by both thematically and methodologically.

One of the prominent researchers of craft production of the Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth – first half of the twentieth century is P. Klimenko. In the research “Workshops in Ukraine” he defines the craft being the main branch of the local economy. He studied the guild brotherhood and identified it as a formed structure, providing precise information about the apprenticeship system

in weaving and tailoring shops. The researcher supplied the statistics on the most common crafts in Volyn. He considered that the basic prerequisite of emergence of workshops had become the changes in social and economic conditions of the craft industry development.

The questions of history of entrepreneurship in Ukraine in the nineteenth century can be found in scientific investigation of T. Lasanska<sup>1</sup>. She highlighted the issues of development of the basic branches of industry and trade based on the analysis of statistical materials.

A certain outcome of the Ukrainian historians' researches of the "long" 19<sup>th</sup> century for the last two decades was performed in O. Reient's<sup>2</sup> monograph *Ukraine in the imperial era (19<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century)*. The monograph gives a comprehensive review of economic potential of post-reform Ukraine, specific features of development of various branches and crafts.

The publications of A. Zadorozhnyuk<sup>3</sup> are devoted to the study of the factory-and-work industry and guild handicraft of the Right-Bank Ukraine based on the materials of Podilska guberniya. The author has proved that workshop industry dominated in the manufactory field of the urban economy. This economic direction together with the active trading activities completely met the needs in industrial goods and services of the urban and neighboring population.

The investigation of O. Pryshchepa<sup>4</sup> is worth mentioning as a prominent one among modern works. She has studied the development of the towns of the Volyn guberniya from the perspective of the multilateral changes caused by the reforms of 60-70ss years of the nineteenth century. The author noted that the poor developed factory-and-work industry did not substitute the small commodity craft production in the towns and cities of Volyn. This branch continued to satisfy the growing daily needs of urban dwellers.

O. Karlin<sup>5</sup> has thoroughly researched various aspects of the development of cities and towns in Volyn guberniya. In particular, she considered the peculiarities of

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<sup>1</sup> Lazanska, T. (1999). *Istoriia pidpriemnytstva v Ukraini (na materialakh torhovo-promyslovoi statystyky XIX st.)*. K.: In-t istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. 282 p.

<sup>2</sup> Reient, O. (2003). *Ukraina v impersku dobu (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*. K.: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. 340 p.

<sup>3</sup> Zadorozhnyuk, A. (2008). *Promyslove vyrobnytstvo v mistakh i mistechkakh Podilskoi hubernii kintsia XVIII – pochatku XIX st.* K.: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy.

<sup>4</sup> Pryshchepa, O. (2010). *Mista Volyni u druhii polovyni XIX – na pochatku XX st.* Rivne: PP DM, 2010. 287 p.

<sup>5</sup> Karlina, O. (2015). Tsekhova orhanizatsiia remesla v mistakh i mistechkakh Volynskoi hubernii v pershii polovyni XIX st. *Staryi Lutsk. Naukovo-informatsiyni zbirnyk*. Vypusk XI. Lutsk: FOP Sikachova V. P. 205-215.

city management in the first half of the nineteenth century. The socio-economic status of the cities and towns of Volyn were characterized, the revenues and expenditures of county cities of the region during the specified period were analyzed, and the Jewish household was examined.

The national minorities of the Right-Bank Ukraine were studied by Y. Polishchuk<sup>6</sup> in the context of ethnic policy of the Russian Empire at the end of the eighteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries. He reviewed the impact of changes in the ethnic structure of the population of the right-bank guberniyas on the development of the industry of the region. The actions of the Russian autocracy in limiting the economic potential of the Polish nobility were defined. He highlighted the fact that the advantages in the development of the Volyn lands had been given to the Russians and foreign colonists.

The researchers A. Filiniuk<sup>7</sup>, A. Humeniuk<sup>8</sup>, O. Pyrih<sup>9</sup>, Nikolenko<sup>10</sup> and others paid the utmost attention in their scientific investigations to the changes in the political, legislative and economic development of towns and cities of the Right-Bank Ukraine. They also focused on the specific features of the location and the development of miscellaneous crafts of the region.

The review of the historical investigations indicates that notwithstanding the studying of the question of the Volyn industry development started in the nineteenth century, these scientific surveys are in most cases of summarizing nature. The modern national historians have considerably expanded the scope of scientific research. The following fields are particularly studied: the development of specific branches of industry; guild handicraft of the region, both in the context of changes of the Right-Bank Ukraine and the Volyn guberniya. The agricultural sector and its role in the formation and development of industrial production is revealed; the influence of the national and social composition of the urban society on the

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<sup>6</sup> Polishchuk, Yu. (2014). Etnosotsialni transformatsii na Pravoberezhzhzhi Ukrainy naprykintsi XVIII – na pochatku XX stolittia. *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu politychnykh i etnosotsialnykh doslidzhen im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy*. Vpusk 6 (74). P. 116-134.

<sup>7</sup> Filiniuk, A. (2010). *Pravoberezhna Ukraina naprykintsi XVIII – na pochatku XX stolittia: tendentsii rozvytku i sotsialni transformatsii*: monohrafiia. Kamianets-Podilskyi: Aksioma, 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Humeniuk, A. (2001). Kil'kist ta osoblyvosti miskyykh poselen Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy u 60 – 90-kh rokakh XIX st. *Naukovi pratsi Kamianets-Podil'skogo Derzhavnoho universytetu. Ictorychni nauki. Kam yanets-Podil'skyi*. T. 5 (7). P. 189-194.

<sup>9</sup> Pyrih, O. (2004). *Istoriia pidpriemnytstva Ukrainy*. K. : KNTEU. 164 p.

<sup>10</sup> Nikolenko, Yu. (2011). Rozvytok kustarnykh derevoobrobnykh promysliv v Rosiiskii imperii u druhii polovyni XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*

development of the urban economy along with the factory-and-work legislation and production capacity of enterprises are characterized.

The first form of the small commodity production was craft. It was based on personal manual labour and the usage of mechanical gears and implements. During the period under investigation this kind of activity was represented by three known forms: home craft, small commodity craft and the producing goods for markets. However, the sufficiently entire picture of the development of urban craft in the specified period cannot be viewed due to the fragmentation of the sources. It should be mentioned that neither legislation, nor audits or reports of governors do not contain the necessary data.

It should be recalled that guild associations of tradesmen have played a crucial role in the development of crafts in Ukraine. First notes about them come back to the first half of the sixteenth century<sup>11</sup>. The workshops as closed organizations of tradesmen or craftsmen appeared as far back as the Middle Ages. They were relied on the mutual assistance and care. Such form of organization allowed supporting their professional interests. The guilds performed crucial functions in the urban economy: the established the monopoly in the relevant industry field in the city; defined and supported the standards of quality of goods and services; set steady prices for their goods and services; advanced the interests and needs the workshop members in the urban authorities<sup>12</sup>.

At the end of the eighteenth century the trade and craft center was established in every city of Volyn, which was closely surrounded by agrarian suburbs. The revision data of 1797–1798 shed some light on the economic situation of cities. Nine of the 12 uyezds (chief town of the district) of the Volyn guberniya contained the mentioned types of craft specializations and the number of craftsmen. There have been indicated 27 professions however the information about them in some cities is incomplete. Such professions as weavers, carpenters, founders, butchers have not been stated despite the fact that these types of crafts are known to exist everywhere. Predominantly the majority of urban craftsmen were tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, bakers and butchers. Their crafts provided the needs of the city and the surrounding countryside, that is, met the demands of the internal market.

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*Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu im. H. Skvorody.* T.V. 42. P. 60-68.

<sup>11</sup> Klymenko, P. (1929). *Tsekhy na Ukraini*. K.: VUAN. T.1: Suspilno-pravovi elementy tsekhovoi orhanizatsii. P. 91-100.

<sup>12</sup> Filiniuk, A. (2010). *Pravoberezna Ukraina naprykintsi XVIII – na pochatku XX stolittia: tendentsii rozvytku i sotsialni transformatsii: monohrafiia*. Kamianets-Podilskiy : Aksioma, 2010. P. 473.

At the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the workshops continued to exist in the Volyn cities and towns. They adapted to the new social and economic conditions. According to the Russian guild legislation the workshop consisted of the masters, journeymen and apprentices. In the cities with the guilds the persons who did not obtain the title of the master were strictly prohibited to call themselves masters, have apprentices and produce the goods for sale. But everybody could pursue the craft for own needs.

To gain the title of master one should have been at least three years in the status of journeyman, next step was a test, and the applicant should have taken it successfully at the craftsmen authority. The applicant should also have the means for employing at least one journeyman. The distinction of craftsmen into apprentices, journeyman, and masters required the master to possess a certificate of his title from. This document should have been issued by the craftsmen school or by the guild authority. The widow of the master assigned to the workshop was allowed to continue her husband's business and take the journeymen and apprentices.

The journeyman was defined as a skilled and competent worker; for improving and advancing his skills he “must be at least three years in this craft”, and assist the master in teaching the apprentices. In order to obtain the title of master, he had to submit a “trial job”, his own product, to the workshop to determine its quality. Having approved the applicant worthy to be the master, the guild submitted the decision to the craftsmen authority for next consideration, later they issued the relevant document.

The duration of studying or training was determined by the legislation and should be “not more than 5 and not less than three years”. Upon the completion the course of training the apprentice obtained from the master “the written evidence that he gained it for loyalty, obedience, respect, diligence, skill and behavior”<sup>13</sup>.

The guild documentation of the Zhytomyr workshops, in particular the shoemaker workshop, permits to learn the order of the apprenticeship of craft at that time. Only men were allowed to be engaged in the shoemaker craft. This craft belonged to the competence of men. The shoemakers' tools consisted of pads, various sewing pieces, knives, hammers, and nails. Necessary materials were wire, wax, resin, bristles, nails and pegs, horseshoes, boards for cutting leather, etc. In compliance with the written agreement, the craft training lasted from two and a half to 5 years, depending on the complexity of production operations in the manufacture of certain types of products. Upon the completion this term of training, the master

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<sup>13</sup> Pazhytnov, K. (1952). *Problema remeslennykh tsekhov v zakonodatelstve russkoho absolyutyzma*. M.: Nauka. P.19-25.

was to issue the apprentice a certificate of the journeyman. The apprentices who violated the workshop rules could complete the course of training but without obtaining this certificate. The majority of apprentices were Zhytomyr burghers, but there also were the dwellers of the neighboring villages and other cities. The fact of demanding and urgent need of the profession of a shoemaker in the labor market of Zhytomyr and the neighboring towns is evidenced by the numbers of the workers. In the years 1878 – 1879 this profession was mastered by 180 persons.

The innovation of Russian industrial legislation was the permission of the Jewish population to entry in the workshop organizations. From 1804, under the “Regulations on the Jews”, they were given the right to engage in crafts in the guberniyas within the habitation boarders. This legal act and the following ones, which governed the economic activity of the Jews, changed the industrial situation in the cities and towns of the guberniya<sup>14</sup>.

For instance, the materials of the Dubno Magistrate evidences that there were at least 10 workshops in the city, with the Christian craftsmen joining in their organizations and Jewish craftsmen in their own. Six of the workshops (two Butcher workshops: Jewish and Christian, Baker's, Furrier's, Shoemaker's and Blacksmith's) paid an annual tribute in the amount determined at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The payment was fulfilled in favor of the city owner and in a mutual agreement. Obviously, the largest and most prosperous was the butcher Jewish workshop, because its members paid as much as 600 rubles, which is four times more than the same Christian workshop, and ten times more than the rest of the shops.

The precise division of craft shops into Christian and Jewish ones existed in Kremenets. Two workshops, tailor and shoemaker, were in both communities of Kremenets, but the number of craftsmen differed greatly. If the Christians had the numerous shoemakers' workshop, and only 10 craftsmen were tailors, the Jews had the most masters as tailors and shoemaker craft was represented only by three masters. This fact may state that there was no fierce competition between the Christian and the Jewish workshops which united the masters of the same profession. The attention is to be paid to the fact that despite of the presence of several dozen of the Christian shoemakers, there existed no fur shop for the Christians craftsmen. It can be apparently explained that the required material for the work of fur craft was purchased from the Jewish furriers. The striking division between two communities of the city of metalworking crafts is also impressed. The

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<sup>14</sup> Ivashchenko, O. (1998). *Yevrei Volyni : kinets XVII – pochatok XIX stolittia*. Zhytomyr: Volyn. P. 18.

Christian craftsmen engaged in blacksmithing and metalwork, and the Jewish masters dealt with the silver and copper objects.

In compliance with the legislation, the election of chairmen or heads of the workshops was held annually; they were conducted by members of the city authorities in the presence of the city mayor; and the Jewish workshops required also the participation of the guild rabbi. Thus, in 1807-1808, the elections were held in the following Christian workshops in the city of Dubna: carpentry, shoemaker's, fur, baker's and butcher's; in the Jewish ones: fur, silver, carpentry, tailoring and butcher's. In addition to the head of workshops, there should have been elected four more vice-chairmen or "table mates"). The Christian workshops also elected one purser. They had to fulfill their duties within a year. The attempts of one of the masters to seize the guild power were punished accordingly by the city authorities

Every workshop had own cashbox. The admission of incomes and expenses were recorded in the workshop log book. The list of workshop members was approved by the craft chairman. The management of the workshops of every city was performed by the city craft control board. The members of this administrative control body were the guild chairman and the heads of the city workshops. The elections of the members of the craft control board were held every year with the participation of representatives of the city authorities. They sometimes resulted in conflicts between the members of the craft society.

At the end of the eighteenth – in the first half of the nineteenth century due to various reasons there appeared or restored the craft workshops in some cities and towns of Volyn. As an example, the cause for the joining the craftsmen of the city Starokostiantyniv and creating the professional union was the conflict between the silver workers and the coppersmiths. The disagreement concerned a distinct and fair distribution of labor between them at the end of 1796. To solve that problem the city magistrate made the decision to prepare for the formation of craft organizations. First of all, the register of all craftsmen according to their crafts was drawn up. In the middle of 1798 relying on the "Craftsmen regulation", tailors, shoemakers, furriers and bakers elected the control board of the workshops. They elected among the reputable masters: the chairman and two of his deputies. It became the starting point for four workshops of the most common crafts in Starokostiantyniv<sup>15</sup>.

The guild organization of the workshops proceeded to exist in large cities. In the towns the craftsmen jointed in the workshops to protect their interests in the sphere of state taxes, in this way they tried to reduce own financial payment. For

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<sup>15</sup> Klymenko, P. (1929). *Tsekhly na Ukraini*. K.: VUAN. T.1: Suspilno-pravovi elementy tsekhovoi orhanizatsii. P. 112.

instance, the craftsmen of Teofipol of Novgorod-Volynskiy povit (district) asked to register their workshop at the beginning of 1840s years<sup>16</sup>.

The significant growth of numbers of the craft population in all towns and cities of Volyn was

observed during the second half of the nineteenth – the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The amount of craftsmen in the cities of the guberniya increased almost six times during fifty years. The positive dynamics was obviously stated in Rivne, Volodymyr-Volynskiyi, Dubna, Lutsk and Novograd-Volynskiyi.

The craft industry continued its development in the centre of the guberniya. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the main social categories of the workshop remained masters, journeymen and apprentices. The workshops were still mass craft training centers.

From the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century the social base of craft industry started to expand. It demanded the reinforcement of monitoring and governing from the side of the craft control board. A compulsory requirement for a legitimate production activity was the manufacturer's membership of one of the local workshops. The craftsmen control board also issued the chairman certificates stating that the holder had sufficient number of implements and tools for starting his own production activity. This board also imposed penalties for non-compliance with the guild rules. The workshops, as craftsmen organizations, were liquidated in 1902, but in many cities and towns the division of workshops continued to exist as the epitome of a particular craft<sup>17</sup>.

The cities with the highest level of industrial development and the highest demographic indicators accommodated the largest number of the craftsmen in the early twentieth century. These cities were Zhytomyr, Rivne, Starokostiantyniv, Novograd-Volynskiyi. The factory-and-work industry was not yet able to fill all the niches of economic life. But at the same time small commodity handicraft production could satisfy the growing needs of the wealthy people. They became more fastidious as to the goods of mass market. Furthermore, the handicraft production continued to hold strong positions in economically backward towns of Volyn. The same situation was observed in the most remote centers (such as Zaslavi, Ovruch, Ostroh, Volodymyr-Volynskiyi). The work of the craftsmen in these regions

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<sup>16</sup> *Pamiatnaia knyzhka Volynskoi gubernii na 1917 hod / yzd. VHSK. Zhytomyr: Yzd. hubernsk. statys. kom., 1917.*

<sup>17</sup> Humeniuk, A. (2001). *Kilkist ta osoblyvosti miskykh poselen Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy.... Naukovi pratsi Kamianets-Podilskogo Derzhavnoho universytetu. Ictorychni nauki. Kam yanets-Podilskiyi. T. 5 (7). P. 192.*

was mainly custom-designed. They had regular customers or worked for the narrow local market<sup>18</sup>.

So, by the beginning of the twentieth century craft workshops remained important manufacturers of mass market goods, had a self-sufficient character and affected all aspects of life of their members. The members of these unions were the representatives of different religions of ethnic origin. The most popular and widespread among the handicraft professions were the manufacturing clothes and footwear crafts. Mechanical production had not yet displaced handicraft production in Volyn. It continued to satisfy the growing needs of the people of the region.

The crafts union performed several functions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Not only economic but social and educational functions were of the great importance. The city craft was characterized by the preservation and accumulation of knowledge, training of new professionals. These functions became the crucial force for generating new technical ideas and solutions that, although slowly but still, were realized in the manufacturing culture. Hence the structure of the society had a social – estate character and it based on social division of the labour; for that reason vocational training of young people became urgent and crucial for further development of the whole society.

The increasing number of the craftsmen created the competitiveness between them. There appeared the need for new markets. Therefore the workshops created and developed the most required crafts for meeting the growing needs of the people.

The end of the eighteenth century was affected by new changes in economic lives of the Central and East European countries. The deepening of the social division of labour together with the expansion of the sphere of monetary relations shook one of the basic pillars of the serfdom – the subsistence economy. The peasants increasingly began to engage in small commodity handicrafts.

There can be found various definitions and interpretations of the handicraft production in the scientific literature. The researchers define this notion from the ordinary homemade production to characterizing it as a peasant industry. In the opinion of A. Zadorozhniuk the handicrafts are referred to as “small, family-owned production of goods for sale, characteristic of country and urban population as a side-job in the free-from-agricultural activities period”<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Pryshchepa, O. (2010). *Mista Volyni u druhii polovyni XIX – na pochatku XX st.* Rivne: PP DM, 2010. P. 110.

<sup>19</sup> Zadorozhniuk A. (2005). Sotsialno-etnichna struktura miskoho i mistechkovoho naselennia Podilskoi hubernii ta yii vplyv na remisnyche i promyslove vyrobnytstvo.

Thus, the handicrafts were closely related to the various crafts, which were dealt with by a large part of the city population and country dwellers. The peasants were made to engage in the crafts as most of them owned small part of land for agricultural activities. Moreover this kind of activity gained popularity greatly when agricultural works were completed. The term “craft” can be considered as non-agricultural labour activities of the peasantry in order to receive additional income. Under certain conditions the peasant terminated his agricultural activity in favor of craft production. These types of workers are often called “bobyli” in the scientific researches. They are known to possess no personal land allotment. Further the agricultural overpopulation should be taken into consideration. This state of affairs was characteristic for Volyn at the last third of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, unemployed in agricultural sector workers “flowed” to handicrafts.

However, the handicraft peasants (or even burghers) should not obviously be regarded as business entities, even though, they may seem to be engaged in economic activities for the purpose of making profit as a result of using their own (or borrowed) investment and wage labour.

The researchers distinguish basically the craft production and workshop by the terms and ways of sales their production in the nineteenth century. If the work shoppers worked for particular customers and directly formed their relationships with them, then the craft industry with the marketed goods focused on the abstract consumer who would buy their goods on the market<sup>20</sup>.

The Volyn craft field was represented by various ones: iron ore industry, hunching, pottery, salting, manufacturing of building materials, weaving, and woodworking. Their development was determined by the natural and socio-economic conditions of the region.

The mill as a craft was of utmost importance. The commonly used were flour mills. The rivers were full-flowing thus allowing building dozen of the flour mills. On the Bug River alone 20 dams with water mills operated. Rowless mills were built on small rivers (Polonets, Sarny, Snakes, Turias, Studenets and others), in the beds of which pits (“sazhi”) were dug. These pits housed the upper stricken wheels of the mill. Small mills – vyshnyaky were built on the streams and operated only during spring floods.

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*Naukovi pratsi Kamianets-Podilskoho derzh. Un-tu: Ist. nauky.* Kamianets-Podilskyyi: Oiium, 2005. T. 15: Na poshanu profesora L. V. Bazhenova. P. 346.

<sup>20</sup> Pyrih, O. (2004). *Istoriia pidpriemnytstva Ukrainy.* K. : KNTEU. P. 92.

The most part of mills were small fitted with one or two wheels. According to O. Karlina calculations the Lutsk district (povit) at the end of the eighteenth century possessed 143 mills with one wheel and 36 – with two, Kremenets povit – 73 and 123 respectively, Vladimirskyi – 173 and 52<sup>21</sup>. The mills, along with the flour mills, also had grains and textile ones, most of which were located in the Kremenets district.

In Volyn there appeared special conditions for the development of iron ore industries, namely a large amount of local material required for the construction of metallurgical mills, a dense network of rivers, sufficient reservations of ore deposits. The toponymy certifies by the following names of settlements: Rudnya, Ruda, Dimarnaya, Gamarnya, Rudnyky. According to incomplete data of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the deposits of iron ore in Volyn alone occupied an area of about 32 thousand square miles. The types of iron ore have long been known in this region as brown iron, red iron and marsh ore. The marsh ore, in turn, was divided into meadow and sod, or turf. The experts of the Volyn ores testified that the latter was very pure and easily processed into iron. The fuel for the mines was forest, but it was quickly varnished by renters – speculators, who took the forest for nothing from landlords and then destroyed it barbarically<sup>22</sup>.

Ironworks comprised two parts - own enterprises (ore mines), or smokestacks, and smithies. Iron was boiled from the marsh ore in the smokestacks. The obtained cover was hammered with mechanical hammers. Later it was given to the smithies for producing different goods. In general, the whole circle of production (smokestack and smithy) was called ore workshop. But quite often the names of the separate parts of the production were used as synonyms for the word “ore workshop”. The iron ore preservations belonged to the members of Polish gentry who owned the land. They rented the land out or gave it to the complete control to the miners masters. Such states of affairs are due to the fact that special technical knowledge was required in order to organize the ore business: the master is to be able to find a place to build ore workshop, to determine the quantity and quality of iron ore, to supply the workshop and mines with the necessary equipment, and sometimes to find employees.

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<sup>21</sup> Karlina, O. (2015). Tsekhova orhanizatsiia remesla v mistakh i mistechkakh Volynskoi hubernii v pershii polovyni XIX st. *Staryi Lutsk. Naukovo-informatsiyni zbirnyk*. Vypusk XI. Lutsk: FOP Sikachova V. A. P. 211-213.

<sup>22</sup> Nikolenko, Yu. (2011). Rozvytok kustarnykh derevoobrobnykh promysliv v Rosiiskii imperii u druhi polovyni XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu im. H. Skvorody*. T.V. 42. P. 67.

The masters of several specialties worked in the workshop under supervision of chief ore master: blacksmiths, hackers, chimneys. They primarily belonged to landless peasants and worked for hire; they usually settled near the ore workshop. Seven workers worked in one ore workshop at average. The produced goods were sold in local markets. The profit received by the ore workshop was of small amount, but the rate of income (the ratio of profit to cost of production) was over 100%. The owners possessed several ore workshops for that reason they made rather significant profits. The efficient capacity of the ore workshops was at low level. In the 90's of the eighteenth century. in the west of Volyn there operated five ore mines, two of them - in the villages of Rudnya of Kremenetsky povit and the district of Volodymyrskyi – worked year round, two – in the villages of Rudnya and Bodyachiv of Lutsk povit- in spring and autumn, one (in the village of Saltis of Lutsk povit) – only during the spring flood <sup>23</sup>. The ore mined utilized as raw materials for craftsmen engaged in the processing of iron: blacksmiths, miners, locksmiths, gold and silver craftsmen, tinsmiths and others.

An important industry was the production of glassware – hutnytsvo. The basis of the workshop was a glass furnace, where glass mass was boiled in special clay pots (donnitsa). The most common were workshops with one furnace and four pots, however there were some workshops that had two furnaces and eight pots. They produced sheet glass, ordinary glass and crystal ware. The specialists of 14 different professions worked at the glass workshops: glass craftsmen, ashtray workers, tar workers, stokers (shulars) and others. The labour was rather accurately distinguished between all participants.

In 1795 in Volyn there were eight glass enterprises, in 1797 the number of this field increased to ten. Two from the eight glass workshops belonged to the metropolitan, five to landowners and one to the castellan. Six workshops worked for the market requirements and two on their own needs. The main good of production was ordinary glass. Everything required for the production was obtained from the estates of the owners of the glass workshops. <sup>24</sup>.

In the first half of the nineteenth century in Volyn 20 glass workshops were in operation. The annual income amounted to more than 23 000 rubles. Glass was produced in Zhytomyr, Novograd-Volynskyi and Kremenets povits. The

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<sup>23</sup> Tsetsyk, Ya. (2011). *Osoblyvosti sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku Volyni naprykintsi XIX – na pochatku XX st. Storinky istorii*. K., Politekhnik. Vyp. 32. P. 78.

<sup>24</sup> Mykhailyk, A. (2002). *Rozvytok remisnychoho ta kustarnoho vyrobnytstva v Pravoberezhnii Ukraini na pochatku XIX st. Pytannia istorii Ukrainy: zbirnyk nauk. statei kafedry istorii Ukrainy Cherniv. nats. un-tu im. Yu.Fedkovycha*. Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytvavry. T.5. P. 51.

overwhelming majority of workshops worked on local raw material, only two – Horodelska and Surazska of Kremenets povit received material from Korts.

The manufacturing of building materials such as lime, bricks, wall-stones became widely spread in Volyn. The goods were mainly intended for own needs of the dwellers. In 1795, only in Kovel district there were 20 small brick workshops, most of which owned by the landlords, and the bricks were manufactured for their own needs<sup>25</sup>.

The burning of potash considered to be an ancient way of wood handling. It was one of the most important branches of wood industry. This industry contained the manufacturing of resin, charcoal, shingles, rivets, hoops to barrels and other materials and goods. This process took place on the squares, the areas of forest uprooted for this purpose. The plain huts for settling of workers were built around the square. The square often became the center of a village whose inhabitants produced potash. They also were engaged in tarring, burning ash and other wood industries. Potash is a chemical substance derived from the ashes of wood and used to clean wool, bleach fabric, to produce glass, soap, paints and gunpowder.

One more significant activity of Volyn was weaving. The home-made production of hemp and flax fabric supplied for the family needs of the family. The people were engaged in this activity in winter period when all agricultural works were completed. It should be noted that weaving (for household needs) was handled only by women, while professional weavers-craftsmen were mostly men<sup>26</sup>. Fabrics were important decoration items of the interior of the house. Patterned rows, bedspreads, carpets were laid on benches, bedding and the floor; tables were covered with table clothes. Every family had many towels: patterned, with bright ornaments were utilized for decorating the interior, the plain ones were used for household purposes. In every house there was a loom. Weaving was widespread throughout the whole guberniya, but the most developed this industry was in Vladimirskyi, Kremenetskyi, Lutsk and Rivne povits. The inhabitants of the village of Silce, Volodymyr-Volynskyi povit wove great amount of canvas, row, various towels.

By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the State paid little attention to handicraft production. At that time, Russia did not have any administrative body to control or promote this activity. The study of handicrafts was carried out only in the

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<sup>25</sup> Bratchykov, A. (1868). *Materyali dlia nasledovanyia Volynskoi huberniy v statystycheskom, etnohrafycheskom i druhyykh otnoshenyia*. Zhytomir: Tip. Hubernskoho pravlenyia. Vyp.2. P. 49.

<sup>26</sup> Lanchuk, N. (1997). Rozvytok promyslovosti Volynskoi hubernii kintsia XIX – pochatku XX st. *Zhytomyrshchyna kriz pryzmu stolit: Nauk. zb. "Velyka Volyn"*. Zhytomyr: Zhurfond. T. 16. P. 30.

view of scientific researches. The main focus was only on the theoretical developments and attempts to give the definition and essence of the craft industry, as well as to identify its main features<sup>27</sup>. When analyzing the reports of the Volyn governor, we found out that handicraft production was not broken out into a separate branch of the economy for a long time. From the 70s of the nineteenth century in industrial and agricultural exhibitions, handicrafts are already allocated on separate departments. Under the influence of such exhibitions and research, the governmental authorities became interested in this type of activity.

In 1872 the Ministry of Finance established the Commission for the research of handicrafts in the Russian Empire. The task of the Commission was to analyze the reasons for the rural population leaving for the cities and their inability to pay all taxes. In March 1877, the Commission approved a study program for handicrafts, consisting of 10 items: 1) location, number of population; 2) general characteristics of crafts; 3) history of crafts; 4) economic conditions; 5) external environment and production of craft; 6) participants of the craft activity; 7) investments; 8) sales of products; 9) sanitary and cultural conditions; 10) general conclusions. All crafts were divided into eight groups according to the technology production : 1) leather goods and shoes; 2) fiber products; 3) clothing and embroidery; 4) wood products, furniture; 5) glassware, stone processing; 6) chemical products; 7) metal products; 8) mixed production<sup>28</sup>.

From the mid-90s of the nineteenth century the study of the craft production was performed also by statistics committees of guberniya. In 1894 the common research gave the first result, there was established the craft committee at the Department of Rural Economy of the Ministry of Agricultural Statistics. This committee became the administrative control body of the craft production. During 1894-1897 the first attempts were made to take a census of the craftsmen of the Russian Empire. In 1900 the Ministry of Finance was also involved in this process. The function of the Ministry was to control the fulfillment of the requirements to the factory inspectors. They were required to collect and report to the ministry the following information about local crafts: what crafts can be found in the guberniya and exact areas of their location; the number of the employed workers in each industry and what their productivity is; where the raw materials for production originate from; what the sale market for their goods is; which of the crafts require governmental support; what folk crafts are to be revived in the view of the local

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<sup>27</sup> Reient, O. (2003). *Ukraina v impersku dobu (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*. K.: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. P. 102.

conditions; inspection should decide what measures can reinforce the existing handicrafts and promote the emergence of new ones; which function of craft production is considered to be the most efficient.

The governmental inspections and establishments held significant research on collecting the data concerning the crafts of the Russian Empire. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the separate chapter dealing with the development of the craft production was contained in the survey of governors.

The survey of the Volyn guberniya for 1905 is the evidence of the government interest in the crafts. This document states that local zemstvo paid attention to the functioning of a rural school, where students acquire knowledge of certain types of production. For the sake of financial improvement of the peasants, it would be better to enable the peasantry to develop craft production, the sale of which would give additional income. Therefore, there appeared the idea to organize craft production of various goods, and for this purpose it is required to found special vocational schools in some villages of the guberniya.

The craft of pottery engaged in the regions where the deposits of clay were founded. In the 70 - 80's of the nineteenth century the pottery industry was concentrated in the Kremenets and Ovruch povits.

At the end of the nineteenth century the significant deposits of coal were discovered in the Kremenets povit.

The stone processing craft was also developed in Volyn. In 1865 the number of the engaged craftsmen of this branch in the territory of the Kremenetskyi povit was 211 persons, of which 105 craftsmen manufactured mainly the millstones, and 106 masters produced the household items and gravestones<sup>29</sup>.

The crafts of wood processing such as timber cutting and timber floating, hooping and carpentry were particularly widespread in Volyn. The development of the wood craft was facilitated by the large number of distilleries, breweries and tarp that required barrels for manufactured goods. Furthermore, the territory of Volyn was covered with oak forests, which considered being the best material for dishes manufacturing and riveting. The Volyn coopers produced the high quality oak barrels, "kyhva", "baryla" (kinds of kitchen barrels) etc. for the needs of the brewery. In the middle of the nineteenth century the coopering craft with the gradual decline of the distillery in Volyn met the needs of the local inhabitants; the purpose

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<sup>28</sup> Lazanska, T. (1999). *Istoriia pidpriemnytstva v Ukraini (na materialakh torhovo-promyslovoi statystyky XIX st.)*. K.: In-t istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. P. 86.

<sup>29</sup> *Kustarni promysly*. Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy: T. 5: Kon – Kiu. / Redkol.: V. A. Smolii (holova) ta in. NAN Ukrainy. Instytut istorii Ukrainy. K.: Naukova dumka. 2008. P. 535.

of the craft was producing the rivets for export<sup>30</sup>. The work of the cooper-craftsmen began with the preparation of material. The workshop had a small sheltered area, or they worked just outdoors. In winter the work was performed in the house. The range of manufactured goods was diverse: different kinds of barrels, spoons, bowls, mugs, buckets, etc.

The wood processing crafts were mostly concentrated in the northern povits of Volyn. A quarter of all craftsmen were engaged in the wood craft whether in the Rivne povit, even a third part of workers was employed in this craft. The main centers of wood processing were the villages Udovets (production of joinery and agricultural implements) and Verhy (cooper goods) of Kovelsky, Nudzha Vladimir-Volynskiy, Osov Lutsky, Bud of Ovruchskiy povits<sup>31</sup>.

Thus, the trades were closely connected with the various crafts. Many city and country dwellers were engaged in homemade activities as the sale of their goods provided additional income.

The researches distinguish several favored factors leading to the growth of the craft production, among which the next are worth being stated, namely: the historical tradition of the development of a particular type of craft (milling, iron ore production, distillery, pottery); proximity to the sources of raw materials; and favorable market conditions. The following trades were particularly widespread in Volyn: wood processing, potash burning, brick manufacturing and pottery, iron ore and metal processing, weaving, quarrying.

Thus, the trades and crafts played a significant role in the region's economy during the study period. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the craft workshops remained mass-produced, self-sufficient, and affected all spheres of lives of the craftsmen. The guild of craftsmen comprised the representatives of different religious and ethnic groups. The most common workshops were tailors, shoemakers, carving, baker, furrier, and carpenter. Increasing demand for goods and services led to the emergence of new workshops, in particular, chimney sweeper, goldsmiths, watchmakers, hairdressers, painters and others. The crafts union performed several functions in the second half of nineteenth century. Not only economic but social and educational functions were of the great importance. The introduction of new technical ideas and solutions was becoming the part of the manufacturing culture. The vocational training of young people became more important due to the social division of labor as the basis of a social – estate character. Thus, despite the

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<sup>30</sup> *Istoriia ukrainskoho selianstva: u 2 t.* T. 1. K.: Naukova dumka, 2006. P. 188.

<sup>31</sup> Zadorozhniuk, A. (2008). *Promyslove vyrobnytstvo v mistakh i mistechkakh Podilskoi hubernii kintsia XVIII – pochatku XIX st.* K.: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy. P. 174.

liquidation of the workshops as economic structures by the Government of the Russian Empire, the role of crafts in the urban economy did not diminished significantly. This branch of economy continued to exist to the First World War which finally ousted the workshop from urban industry.

The urban industry contained various handicrafts along with the trades. This kind of economic activity engaged town and country dwellers, this occupation served as additional income for people. The growing number of handicraft producers forced the state authorities of the Russian Empire to allocate the craft production into separate branch of the economy and to ensure its legislative functioning.

Various crafts were developed in Volyn. The character of this activity was determined by natural conditions, tradition of spreading of certain craft production, and development of trade. The most important among the crafts were the mill, iron making, hunching, pottery, salting, and production of building materials, weaving, and wood processing: carpentry, cart writing, coppering, as well as potash production. The stone processing craft proved to be attractive and profitable. The main difference between craft production and trade in the nineteenth century was seen in terms of sales.

### **Conclusions**

After the partition of the Rzeczpospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Volyn appeared in new historical realities: along with other guberniyas of the Right-Bank Ukraine it became a zone of interconnection of regional and European processes. The industrial development of the Volyn guberniya was significantly affected by its natural and geographical location, the adjacent location within the Russian Empire, along with the new socio-economic and political conditions.

The legislation of the Russian Empire extended to the Volyn guberniya. The most of urban dwellers contained the craftsmen, small traders, and employees; they were called "burghers". The Guild merchants were assigned the preferences in trade and organization of industrial areas. In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the existing estate structure was destroyed in the process of expansion of market relations.

The trades and crafts had a prominent importance in the region's economy during the period under study.

During the nineteenth century craft workshops enabled to play a decisive role in the industrial field till the beginning of the twentieth century. They remained the main form and way of mass production organization, had self-sufficient character, and affected daily lives of the craftsmen. The craftsmen unions performed

functions of socialization and vocational training of young people in addition to purely economic at the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Urban crafting was characterized by the preservation and accumulation of knowledge, the care of the training of new future professionals. The vocational training became the creator and guardian of information, new technical ideas and solutions that, albeit slowly, but still getting part of the industrial culture.

The crafts were closely connected with the trades. A great deal of citizens along with the country dwellers dealt with the crafts as it gave the additional income for them. Moreover this type of economic activity gained the popularity at the period when agricultural works were completed. The various crafts were widespread in Volyn. Their character was determined by natural conditions and the development of trade.

Thus the development of the industrial productivity was characterized by the positive dynamic in the Volyn guberniya at the period under study. The beginning period experiences certain synthesis of the existing economic elements with the new historic conditions of the region. It subsequently evolved into the establishment of economic structures inherent in the Russian Empire.

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Olga GAIDAI\*

## PROVINCIAL ARISTOCRATIC MANORS OF MYKOLAIV REGION

- Abstract -

In this article, on the basis of materials of the State archive of the Mykolaiv area and some other published sources, the questions of origin, functioning and saving of provincial estates of the Mykolaiv area are considered. Estates located in different cities and villages of Ukraine represent unique values of Ukrainian culture. In modern Ukrainian science, noble estate researchers focus their attention on the identity of the homestead world, on the role of estates as centers of formation, development and preservation of dominant features of the country's culture. The main purpose of the study is to find out the peculiarities of formation and development of the provincial noble estate of Mykolaiv region in cultural and historical aspect on the example of the estates of Arkas, Erdeli and Skarzhinsky.

*Keywords:* Noble manors; Ukrainian culture; Mostove village; Trikrati village; Bogdanivka village; Arkas; Erdeli; Skarzhinsky.

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### Introduction

An integral part of Ukraine's cultural heritage is the country's noble estate. The national values, which indisputably belong to the homestead culture, which presents special forms of life, communication, housing, economy, etc., are returning to Ukrainian culture. Estates located in different cities and villages of Ukraine represent unique values of Ukrainian culture. In the territory of Mykolaiv region there were also estates that were built in the time of the Russian Empire. These estates belonged to the prominent aristocratic families of Arcas, Skarzhinsky, Erdeli, Reno, Koble, Lambert, and others who made a significant contribution to the well-being of the city and the region. And some of the preserved estates are monuments of architectural art.

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### **The Problem Statement**

The traditions were especially carefully preserved in the countryside, in a family homestead that represented a small homeland, where the connection of generations was always maintained. True life is unthinkable without respect for these traditions, without comprehending the historical past of our people, an integral part of which was the gentry.

The phenomenon of the estate is not fully understood. The more time separates us from the period of the real existence of the homestead culture, the more relevant is the awareness of the importance of the noble estate and its various components.

The fates of most preserved estates today are of grave concern. The old estates are being destroyed and privately owned. The latter phenomenon has extremely negative consequences: the architecture and interior of the estates change according to the tastes of the customer. The estates are losing their significance as a socio-cultural phenomenon in Ukraine's cultural space. Therefore, we need to look for ways out of this situation, with the help of state structures, sponsors and philanthropists. Only such a policy will help to preserve the cultural landscape of Ukraine and become one of the elements of preserving national identity.

### **Research Analyses**

In the pre-revolutionary period, this topic was studied in the following aspects: economic (explored ways of managing the domestic economy, its profitability, methods of organization, etc.); social (studying the conditions of cohabitation and mutual influence of different groups of society - nobles, peasants, courtiers, servants, etc.); artistic and aesthetic (study of artistic trends, architectural styles, aesthetic views, etc.)<sup>1</sup>.

In Soviet historiography, a new wave of interest in estates was linked to their tragic fates after the October 1917 coup. However, the repression of the 1930s halted the research. The return to this theme occurred after World War II - in the late 40's – early 50's of XX century. An analysis of the historiography of the time shows

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<sup>1</sup> Lukomskiy, G. (1917). *Starinnyie usadbyi Harkovskoy gubernii. Uezdy: Ahtyrskiy, Bogoduhovskiy, Volkovskiy, Sumskiy, Harkovskiy*. S-Pb., Izd. N.V. Kleynmihel. 116 p.; Bochkarev, V. (1911). *Byit pomeschichih krestyan. Velikaya reforma. Russkoe obschestvo i krestyanskiy vopros v proshlom i nastoyaschem. Yubileynoe izdanie*. Moskva: Tip. I. D. Syitina. 3. P. 22-40.; Sakulin, P. (1911). *Krepostnaya intelligentsiya. Velikaya reforma. Russkoe obschestvo i krestyanskiy vopros v proshlom i nastoyaschem. Yubileynoe izdanie*. Moskva: Tip. I. D. Syitina. 3. P. 66-104.

that the object of study was predominantly the architecture<sup>2</sup> and gardening art of the noble manor<sup>3</sup>. In Soviet historiography, much attention has also been paid to the study of the socio-economic aspect of landlords. The large noble estate at different stages of its existence was analyzed, the problems of the ratio of land use methods were considered.

In modern Ukrainian science, noble estate researchers focus their attention on the identity of the homestead world, on the role of estates as centers of formation, development and preservation of dominant features of the country's culture<sup>4</sup>. Each estate had its own history and destiny, in which the lives and characters of their creators and owners were reflected<sup>5</sup>. Researchers note the presence of a special homestead worldview, which was realized in the individual and family consciousness of the nobleman<sup>6</sup>. Scientists emphasize that the value and semantic basis of the nobility's estate are the techniques and mechanisms of socialization of the nobleman's personality<sup>7</sup>, his human capacity for social and cultural interaction<sup>8</sup>.

**The purpose of the article** is to find out the peculiarities of the formation and development of the provincial noble estate of Mykolaiv region in cultural and historical aspect.

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<sup>2</sup> Zgura, V. (1923). Obschestvo izucheniya russkoy usadby. *Arhitektura*. P.3-5, 69-71.

<sup>3</sup> Vergunov, A. (1988). *Russkie sady i parki*. Moskva: Nauka. 412 p.

<sup>4</sup> Budzar, M. (2011). Istoryko-kulturna model panskoi silskoi sadyby v Ukraini XVIII- XIX stolit: teoretychni zasady doslidzhennia. *Visnyk Derzhavnoi akademii kerivnykh kadrov kultury i mystetstv: Shchokvartalnyi naukovyi zhurnal*. Kyiv. 2. P. 145-149; Budzar, M. (2015). Khudozhno-kulturna spadshchyna panskoi sadyby Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy XIX – pochatku XX st.: varyanty istorychnykh prezentatsii. *Kyivski istorychni studii : zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Kyiv. un-t im. B. Hrinchenka; redkol. Kyiv: Kyiv un-t im. B. Hrinchenka. 1. P. 98-107.

<sup>5</sup> Tovstoliak, N. (2007). Sadyba Kachanivka yak ob'iekt doslidzen sadyboznavstva. *Problemy i perspektyvy muzeiefikatsii starovynnykh dvorianskykh sadyb Ukrainy kintsia XVIII – pochatku XX st.: Materialy Kachanivskykh yuvileinykh naukovykh chytan*. Halych. P. 18-23.

<sup>6</sup> Gaidai, O.M. (2014). Parafiievskiy maietok P. Kharytonenka v istorii povsiakdennosti. *Naukovi pratsi: naukovo-metodychnyi zhurnal*. Mykolaiv: Vyd-vo ChDU im. Petra Mohyly. 215. Istoriiia. P. 7-11.

<sup>7</sup> Tsyhanenko, L. (2010). *Dvorianstvo Pivdnia Ukrainy (druha polovyna XIX st. – 1917 r.): monohrafiia*. Izmail: SMYL. 384 p.

<sup>8</sup> Biketov, S. (2015). Evoliutsiia ukraïnskoi sadyby II pol. XVIII – ser. XIX st. (vid palatsovo-parkovoho ansamblu velmozhni do “priyutu” dvorianskoi intelihentsii). *Problemy rozvytku miskoho seredovyshcha*. 2. P. 111-130.

### **Research methodology**

The basis of the research methodology is a systematic approach. This aspect of the study involves the analysis of the provincial homestead of Mykolaiv region as a complex, multifaceted phenomenon, consisting of elements, the links between which form a relatively unchanged structure and ensure its integrity. In analyzing the empirical basis of the study, traditional principles of historicism, objectivity, systematicity, concreteness, comprehensiveness, and reliance on historical sources were also used.

**The scientific novelty** is the use of previously unpublished archival sources when attempting to study homestead culture and consider provincial estates of well-known noble families of Mykolaiv region.

### **Statement of the basic material**

Provincial farmstead – a special spiritual and material complex that could exist only in rural areas. The uniqueness of the culture, its attachment to the place and the nature of the area is reflected in the natural-architectural style of the estate and in the processes of daily life. The basis of the estate mentality was the image of a native home, a family nest, which occupies a prominent place in the structure of noble culture<sup>9</sup>. It forms the socio-cultural foundation, which results in the ordering of the phenomenon of the native home. The spiritually rich atmosphere of the home, with its extraordinary charm, measured style of daily life, the ability of the inhabitants to retain the remoteness of ancient times, represented a generic nest in microcosmic space. The ideological load of the estates was focused on the full life of the inhabitants, the achievement of spiritual harmony and peace. The acquisition of a center of spiritual habitation, an ancestral nest made it possible to reasonably arrange the living space, to engage in spiritual and moral self-improvement. In this case, the artistic image of the house (manor) acts as a mediator in the relationship of man with natural and mental reality.

The provincial homestead community in southern Ukraine is multifaceted, as it summarizes the life and creative experience of all participants in the cultural process in which their inner energy and practical experience is revealed and embodied. But it is philosophical reflection that provides integration processes in the homestead community, forming a new content of culture at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a period of search for new forms of being, reevaluation of values and nihilism of individual representatives of the peasantry. The phenomenon

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<sup>9</sup> Gaidai, O. (2012). Dukhovni tradytsii rodyny Kharytonenkiv. *Istorychnyi arkhiv. Naukovi studii: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Mykolaiv: Vyd-vo ChDU imeni P. Mohyly, # 9. P. 24-28.

of interaction of noble and peasant traditions in the space of a country estate, which in the presence of some negative features does not become less significant, retains its influence on the spiritual world of the inhabitants – the mind, feelings, thinking, which contributed to the awareness, understanding and acceptance of cultural and aesthetic values bringing culture into the social quality of every resident of the estate.

Adequate perception of homestead culture society has approached only at the present stage. The practice of historical interpretations at the time of changing political and economic formations, in which the history of culture should fit within the prevailing ideology, now presupposes a return to the cultural heritage, and in particular to the heritage of the nobility. The modern gradation of national cultural values gives the noble estate a special place. At the same time, it is impossible to apply the common criteria to the object of study, given the loss of traditions of the homestead culture, the fragmented composition of the remaining estates, the impossibility of a holistic perception of its cultural and social context. The culture of the provincial aristocratic estate, whose phenomenon during its existence, during its material loss and during its spiritual revival, should, if possible, be studied in the complex of all problems - theological, cultural, historical, art. Only then will it be possible to fully comprehend and evaluate the contribution left by the provincial estate of Mykolaiv region to the development of Ukrainian culture. In the second half of XVIII – early XIX century. the ranks of the nobility of the southern Ukrainian provinces significantly increased at the expense of immigrants from European countries. An important place in this process belonged to aristocrats from Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Greece and Hungary<sup>10</sup>. A striking example of such a contribution to the socio-economic and cultural transformation of the region are the estates of the noble families of Erdeli, Skarzhinsky and Arkas.

***Erdeli Manor.*** The Erdeli family, represented by Yakiv Pavlovich, appeared legally in the village of Mostove, at that time the Olviopol district of Kherson province (now the Domanovsky district of the Mykolaiv region), at the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century. Mostove village became the ancestral nest of the Erdeli family.

Yakiv Erdeli was born on March 2, 1750. When he was 18, he enlisted in the Black Hussar Regiment. And for his military service he was given the title of noble. On February 11, 1790, his ancestry was included in the second part of the

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<sup>10</sup> Tsyhanenko, L. (2009). Dvoriany – inozemtsi v osvoienii pivdenoukrainskykh zemel (druha polovyna XVIII-XIX st.). *Chasopys ukrainskoi istorii: zbirnyk naukovykh statei*. Kyiv. #13. P. 5-19.

genealogical book of the Ekaterinoslav (later Kherson) province, as evidenced by a diploma dated February 3, 1791. In 1812, Jacob resigned and from that moment settled on his estate. The exact date of purchase of the estate is unknown. But we can say with certainty that in 1808 Mostove settlement was already owned by the Erdeli family<sup>11</sup>. The Erdeli estate was located on the western side of the Olivopol – Odessa road. The family lived in the estate until Yakiv Pavlovich's grandson – Nikolai Vladimirovich built a new one with a grand palace on a hill in the northeast part of the village.

Researcher Vladimir Kalinovsky, studying the question of whether the Erdeli mansion was built by them or inherited from the previous owners, tends to the first option<sup>12</sup>.

In the year when the estate was purchased by Yakiv Erdeli, the Orthodox church was consecrated in the village in the name of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, and some sources call it the builder of Yakiv Pavlovich.

On October 1, 1816, Yakiv wrote a testament in which he distributed the land among his family. Mostove village was reached by his son Volodimir Yakovich.

Volodimir Yakovich (1789 - 1853) was born in the village of Erdelivka, Yelisavetgrad district. In 1806 he joined the military service as a junkie, and in 1810 received the rank of lieutenant. He participated in the War of 1812 as part of an equestrian artillery company. During the battle of Borodino he was injured and sustained a head injury. He has been in several campaigns and battles, and was promoted to Staff Captain for his services. After the war, he was assigned to serve in the Siberian Line Cossack Army, where he participated in the formation and training of two cavalry and artillery companies from the Siberian Cossacks. In 1817 he was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir of the 4th degree for his services in the War of 1812. In November 1820, Volodimir Yakovich was dismissed from service as a lieutenant colonel of artillery with the right to wear an officer's uniform. He became the owner of Mostove village in 1821, after his father's death. From that moment the estate becomes a generic status.

As of October 1826, 144 peasants were counted on his estate in Mostove village. In September 1834, a reorganization of the administrative-territorial system took place in the province, which resulted in the creation of a new Ananyiv district, which included Mostove.

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<sup>11</sup> State archive of the Mykolaiv area (Derzhavnyy Arkhiv Mykolayivs'koyi Oblasti). [DAMO]. f.R-2778, op.1, spr.482. Plan uchastka zemli, raspolozhennyiy v Hutore Novyiy Vorms, prynadlezhaschiy E.Ya.Erdeli.

<sup>12</sup> Kalynovskyi, V. (2012). *Rid Erdeli. Povernennia iz zabuttia(henealoho-kraieznavchyi narys*. Mykolai: Vydavnytstvo OOO Dizain i polihrafiia. P. 11.

The name of Volodimir Yakovich is associated with a very important event in the history of Mostove village, which changed the legal and economic status of the village. At the request of Erdeli in 1827, the province of the province gave the village of Mostove the status of a town, since that time the new status began to be used in the household name and official legal relations. And in 1834 Mostove village even became the center of the newly formed Ananiev district. But 22 years later, it turned out that the status change procedure had not been completed legally because the provincial Senate had not approved the provincial decision. Because of this, in 1849 the case for the status of the town was reopened. And only in 1850 the provincial decision was approved and came into force.

Also, due to the business and administrative activity of Volodimir Yakovich, a powerful market trade was created in the town. The markets of Mostove village were held on Sundays, every two weeks, only 26 times a year, with 21 localities.

Volodimir Yakovich died on April 16, 1853 in Mostove, leaving no legal will, so the property was distributed by the court.

Mykola Erdeli was born on May 1, 1846 in the family estate and the township of Mostove and is an indigenous mostivchanyn. He graduated from Odessa Richelieu High School and Lyceum, then – Moscow University. Mykola Volodimirovich was a well-known and effective landowner of the Ananievski district. As of 1899, he owned 4,825 tenths of 37 fathoms of land near the town of Mostovo, the village of Chupis and Schwartz in Mostivski volost of Ananiev county.

Mykola Volodimirovich conducted public activities, he was a Zemsky activist of the Kherson province, the chairman of the Ananiev congress of magistrates and an honorary magistrate, a member of the Society of Agriculture of Southern Russia, the Union of Fine Arts. He also took care of the spread of literacy in the peasant environment. As a member of the school council of Zemstvo, he made a lot of efforts for the development of public education in the county and in his hometown of Mostove. For his services in the development of health care, he was nominated for the St. Volodimir's Award of the 4th degree.

Mykola Volodimirovich built a new palace in the northeastern part of the village in the late 1970s. The new estate became a true decoration of Mostove village. Researcher of the family of Erdeli Vladimir Kalinovsky gives a description of this manor: “Built in the forms of modernity, using the modernized forms of renaissance. The plan is asymmetrical, close to rectangular, the building is elongated along the longitudinal axis in the meridional direction. Two-storey, with a basement floor. The main (western) facade is complicated by an angular risolite and an annex to the southern part of the faceted tower; the axis, which is connected to the 2nd

floor of the open gallery – the balcony of the main entrance, is slightly offset from the central position. A leading stone staircase leading to the 2-nd floor is led to the northern end, with the eastern facade accentuated by a central risalite. Internal layout – corridor, two-sided, two internal wooden stairs are located in the end parts of the corridor. The facades are characterized by a simplified, in the spirit of Art Nouveau, the decor, the narrowed proportions of openings, the silhouette created by the attics and eaves of the roofs is very expressive”<sup>13</sup>.

The estate also includes two well-preserved outbuildings, symmetrically located behind the palace in the south-east and north-west directions. They are described as follows: “They are identical in space-spatial and stylistic solution. The basis is a rectangular plan. Internal layout is enfilade, the main facades – from the east, have a central axial symmetry, fixed weakly protruding risalite with the opening of the main entrance; all openings are accentuated by wide straight sandracks and window sills, the central risalite is a tweezers of the roof”<sup>14</sup>.

After the new manor was built, Mykola Volodimirovich set up a manor park. The whole estate, together with the park, occupied an area of 30 hectares. Not far from the estate, at the bottom of the beam, according to legend, there was a pond with swans. According to some testimonies, although the locals called it the garden, the original variety of the Ederlew Park was more than three dozen deciduous and shrub names, as well as fruit trees. Fruit trees were planted along the general path from the estate to the church, and some trees survived until the last century. In Mostove, there are still lively reports that the park was open for the walking of ordinary peasants, and only a simple order and decent clothes were required. For many decades, the Erdelian garden was a resting place for the peasants of the whole area, there were folk festivals and mass festivities. By Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of January 29, 1960, No. 105, it was granted the status of “Park-monument of landscape art” and confirmed this status by Order of March 21, 2013 No. 114 of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine<sup>15</sup>. Erdel's park is still beautiful, but it has ceased to fulfill its important function: to be a place of mass rest. The park is constantly transformed into a forest.

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<sup>13</sup> Kalynovskyi, V.M. (2012). *Rid Erdeli. Povernennia iz zabuttia(henealoho-kraieznavchyi narys)*. Mykolai: Vydavnytstvo OOO Dizain i polihrafiia. P. 75.

<sup>14</sup> Kalynovskyi, V. (2012). *Rid Erdeli. Povernennia iz zabuttia(henealoho-kraieznavchyi narys)*. Mykolai: Vydavnytstvo OOO Dizain i polihrafiia. P. 75-76.

<sup>15</sup> *Nakaz vid 21 bereznia 2013 roku № 114 Ministerstva ekolohii ta pryrodnykh resursiv Ukrainy Pro zatverdzhennia Polozhennia pro park-pamiatku sadovo-parkovoho mystetstva zahalnodержavnoho znachennia “Mostivskiy park”*. Retrieved from <https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/view/FIN85421?an=1>

Mykola Volodimirovich conveyed his father's old manor along with all the buildings and the land for the construction of the Zemsky hospital. Erdeli made his proposal on May 14, 1881, at a session of the Zemski assembly. Instead, at the Ananiev district assembly, Mykola Volodimirovich was offered to take over the duties of trustee of Mostovsky hospital, and he performed this function free of charge for the rest of his life. During the session, Erdeli's statement about the transfer of the premises for transferring the draft station from the town of Berezivka to Mostove was also considered. Another proposal for opening the Bridge Post Office was immediately considered. An appropriate decision was made, and in 1882 the post office, which is still used by the villagers, first appeared in Mostove.

After the death of Mykola Yakovich the estate went to his son Boris Mykolaiovich. For some time he was the master, but during the First World War he left home and went to war. His wife Vera Kostiantinivna remained on the farm. But as a result of the events of the October Revolution of 1917, all property of the family was requisitioned and expropriated. In the new estate, in Soviet times, a village school was built. Mostove village, in Soviet times, was stripped of its status as a town and is now a village.

Thus, we see that the Erdeli family's contribution to the development of Mostove has been significant. They managed to create a cultural territorial complex, where the connection with nature is characteristic for the functioning of the manor landscapes, combined with socio-cultural and economic activities. Both estates have been preserved and are still used as a hospital and school.

**Skarzhinsky Manor.** The first of the Skarzhinsky family to begin living in the south of Ukraine was Petro Skarzhinsky. After the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 and the destruction of the Zaporizhska Sich, he received from the government an allotment in the former Bugogard Fort. The first of the Skarzhinsky family to begin living in the south of Ukraine was Petro Skarzhinsky. After the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 and the destruction of the Zaporizhska Sich, he received from the government an allotment in the former Bugogard Fort. Catherine II gave him 6558 hectares of land<sup>16</sup>. This is the beginning of the history of Skarzhinsky's management in the Novorossiysk region. The formation of a complete estate was accompanied by the continuous appeals of Petro Mikhailovich to the border expedition of demarcation of land with a request for allotment of land to him: for settlement on 75 yards near the river Arbuzyinka; planting 546.5 hectares; for the construction of the mill 131 hectares. In the summer of 1776, he applied for two

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<sup>16</sup> Doroshenko, O. (2011). *Rid Skarzhynskykh v istorii Pivdennoi Ukrainy (seredyna XVIII – pochatok XX st)*. Vydavnytstvo Iryny Hudym. P. 48.

sections of 100 yards to be allocated to him: one down the river Mertvovod on the left and the other below the road from Garda to Sich (on the Mertvovod river on the right). Subsequently, he requested additional allotments in the tract of Arbuzinka for the settlement of 25 yards. In the same year, the initiative owner bought from the village of General P. Thekeli the village of Mygia. Together with the settlement he acquired 6 895 hectares of land and 480 serfs<sup>17</sup>.

Evaluating the favorable location of the future estate on the bank of the Southern Bug, he measured the power of water and built a water mill there, which became one of the first in the land. In 1778, Petro received allotments near Filonov Brod for the settlement of 50 yards. Thus, the foundation of the farm was laid. The main task of the landowner at that time was not to lose the land. To do this, it was necessary, as soon as possible, to populate it with an adequate number of settlers; second, to get land-boundary plans.

The difficult situation of the Bug Cossacks helped him accomplish his first task. The Cossacks voluntarily went to the settlement to an energetic officer who, through his rank and authority, could protect them from all troubles. They came together to Petro Mikhailovich Skarzhinsky and the Cossacks from the winter-ravaged winter quarters. The landlord quickly planted the forest and built a church in Trikrat. But when in 1781 during the allotment of land to the state settlements, the question of the withdrawal of land from Petro Mikhailovich was decided, it became impossible. The area was inhabited, forest planted, a mill and church built. Therefore, allotments along the rivers Arbuzinka and Mertvodovod remained the property of Skarzhinsky<sup>18</sup>.

The family estate for Skarzhinsky for more than 150 years was the Trikrati. Petro Skarzhinsky very carefully approached the issue of building his own palace. He studied the features of the decoration of the facade, underground and hydraulic structures. The project for the new manor was commissioned by Dutch engineer Franz De-Volan<sup>19</sup>. He was a talented architect and fortifier. At that time he had to deal with the arrangement of many settlements at the same time. In total, De-Volan led the construction of seven cities at once: Grigoriopol, Tiraspol, Ovidiopol, Voznesensk, Mykolaiv, Odesa (Hadzhibeya), and Novocherkassk in the Kuban<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Boychuk, S. (2012). *P. Skarzhinskiy – zhivaya legenda yuga*. Nikolaev. P. 13.

<sup>18</sup> State archive of the Kherson region (*hereinafter – SAKR*), f.14.op.1. c.51. p. 89. O zemelnom uchastke pomeschika general-mayora Petra Skarzhinskogo v derevne Trikraty Olviopolskogo uezda. 1776 g.

<sup>19</sup> Boychuk, S. (2012). *P. Skarzhinskiy – zhivaya legenda yuga*. Nikolaev. P. 14.

<sup>20</sup> *Voennaya entsiklopediya* (1912). Pod red. Gen. shtaba polk. V.F. Novitskogo, voen. inzh. podpolk. A.V. fon Shvartsa [i dr.]. T. 9. Sankt-Peterburg : T-vo I.D. Syitina. P. 14.

The walls were built monolithic, the rooms were designed large, proportionate and created a coherent composition of the unity of the building. Together with the owner's estate, the residential districts and streets of Trikrati were built. One of the first woodlands in the Steppe Ukraine was planted in this estate. P. Skarzhynsky planted oaks and maples along the banks of the Mertvovod River. A small orchard (5 hectares) was planted along the banks of the Arbuzinka River and became the basis of the Trikrati garden known throughout the Novorossiysk region in the first half of the 19th century.

The management of Petro Mikhailovich was directed, first of all, to the development and settlement of the lands which he was able to acquire. Therefore, the landlord contributed to the formation of a number of settlements that exist to this day.

Petro Mikhailovich died in 1805. He is buried in the village of Trikrati behind the altar wall of St. Archangel Michael's Church. After that, the farm passed to his wife Ulyana Grigorivna, who immediately faced a number of problems of a social and economic nature. This concerned the protection and ordering of the acquired land, which could have been selected due to the ineffectiveness of the legal base. However, Ulyana Grigorivna managed to save the land. It also contributed to the development of all areas of the economy, not neglecting forestry. In Trikrati, 226 square meters of acorns were sown, which was later looked after by her son, Viktor Petrovich Skarzhinsky.

Victor Petrovich became the sole owner of all farms in the 20's of the XIX century. It was caused by the death of Mykola's brother and the illness of Ulyana's mother. The farm consisted of seven villages – Trikrati, Mygea, Bogodarovka, Mykolaivka, Spasibivka, Genevka, Nikolske and 800 serfs<sup>21</sup>. However, the Trikrati occupied the leading position in the Skarzhinsky farm. The estate became the focal point of the initiative landowner's farm. It was the first settlement within which the Skarzhinsky family lived. At the time, the Trikrati was called a town located 14 km north of Voznesensk. This estate was considered the main economy and the main residence of the owner. After estates flowed two rivers: Mertvovod, which flows into the Southern Bug and Arbuzynka that flowed into Mertvovod. The surface of the earth was flat, with only deep beams and ravines encountered in places. The town was broken down into several quarters, including a manor house, and a church not far from the central square. On the northwest side of the estate is a picturesque garden with various tree species. The garden area was about 98 hectares. For the study of the history of the landlord economy of Southern Ukraine, a certain interest

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<sup>21</sup> Boychuk, S. (2012). *P. Skarzhinskiy – zhivaya legenda yuga*. Nikolaev. P. 22.

is made by the Journal of the Ministry of State Property, where V. Koreysha's publication in the fourth subgroup of the section "Mixture" describing the estate of Trikrati, chamberlain Victor Petrovich Skarzhinsky, stated: "One of the best farms in the Kherson province and in the Russian Empire is the village of Trikrati, owned by the chamberlain of the court Viktor Petrovich Skarzhinsky"<sup>22</sup>.

Viktor Petrovich has arranged a family estate. He built a dam, which stopped the rapid flow of the river Soplitianka, on this dam built a bridge through which passed the postal road Petersburg - Odessa. There was a special post office in Trikrati: there was a permanent yard, a tavern, a stable, a forge and a kitchen. The landlord quickly settled the business in his savings. Since most of the land was located in the Kherson province, then the further development of its farms was closely linked to the socio-economic situation of this province and the southern region as a whole.

Gardening was one of the branches of economy, to which Viktor Petrovich paid a lot of attention and spent considerable money for its development. To replenish his collections, Skarzhinsky traveled to many provinces (Kyiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, etc.), where beautiful forests grew, and ordered seeds from many countries around the world. From abroad he invited the best gardeners and masters of landscape gardening to work. Some of them then stayed forever in Trikrati.

Well-known owners, economists, botanists of the XIX century left descriptions of the Trikrati garden. They noted that ash trees, maples, oaks, poplars, chestnuts, birches, alder, acacia, and mountain ash grew in the garden between the picturesque flower beds. Numerous species of pines and firs grew along with tulips, juniper, bird cherry and willow. To the south side of the garden was an extensive forest area called the Labyrinth. Its area was 87.5 hectares, schematically it resembled a maze. Nearby was an orchard, in which 240 varieties of apple trees, 130 varieties of pears, 60 varieties of plums and other trees were planted.

Later, the nurseries of Skarzhinsky will grow the alleys of Odessa, Pyatigorsk, Alushta, Alupka, Umansky Park, Voznesensk and other cities.

Viktor Petrovich also bred exotic plants: in his greenhouses were magnolias, mimosas, etc., which were carefully hidden in the winter under reed shields. About 40 openwork bridges and convenient paths are great places for hiking and horseback riding.

In the economy of Victor Petrovich cattle breeding developed at a rapid pace, products were sold both in the domestic and foreign markets.

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<sup>22</sup> *Zhurnal ministerstva gosudarstvennyih imuschestv.* (1846). Chast XX. Razd. III. P. 137-145.

It is worth noting that the economy was multi-sectoral. Along with the cattle breeding and farming, crafts developed in the estates. These include silkworm, viticulture and beekeeping.

All nobility rushed to the Skarzhinsky hunt. He liked to rest here and the royal government. Skarzhinsky's economy was considered the best in the Russian Empire. It is no coincidence that the local nobility chose a talented and hospitable owner as their leader.

After Victor Petrovich's death in 1861 his considerable farm was divided between four sons. Trikrati passed into the possession of his son, Viktor Viktorovich<sup>23</sup>. He was the last owner of Trikrati. Forestry and horticulture were not typical industries for southern farms, but were of great economic, environmental and socio-cultural importance<sup>24</sup>.

Nowadays there is a Trikrati school of art in Skarzhinsky's estate, and the park is a state reserve of the "Trikrati forest".

**Arkas Manor.** Andreas Emanuilovich Arkas was born in Patras (Greece), and he moved to Mykolayiv in 1794, together with his wife Assimina and son Zechariah. The move was forced: they, like many Greeks, escaped from the Turkish yoke. Researchers tend to believe that the ancestor of the family is Irinarch Arkas, who served the Byzantine Caesar Nikifor Focki, who lived in the X century. The anti-Turkish uprising that broke out in Greece in 1774 led to the deaths of many members of the Arkas family. The eight-year-old Andreas was captured and taken to the slave market in the Thessalian city of Larissa. In this market, he was bought by a Greek priest, a friend of Arkasov, and sent to study at the Patriarchal School in Litochoro. His natural ability and desire for knowledge led Andreas to teaching at the same school. At this time, he lived in the family of his friend Feoharis Haskar, whose sister later became his wife. After moving to Mykolaiv, Andreas who spoke 12 languages, became a teacher of classical languages and history at the Navigator school. He is known to have held a teaching position at the Black Sea Fleet headquarters, held the rank of collegiate secretary. He died in 1825 in Mykolaiv<sup>25</sup>.

Mykolai Andriiovych Arkas was born in Mykolaiv on May 8, 1818 and was in the family of twelve. His father took care of his comprehensive and serious upbringing and education. Mykola Andriiovych gravitated to the sea and maritime

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<sup>23</sup> DAMO, f. P – 2778, op.1, spr.773. Plan uchastka zemli sela Trikratyi, prinaldezhazchiy dvoryaninu V.V. Skarzhinskomu.

<sup>24</sup> Doroshenko, O. (2011). Rid Skarzhynskykh v istorii Pivdennoi Ukrainy (seredyna XVIII – pochatok XX st). Vydavnytstvo Iryny Hudym. P. 111.

<sup>25</sup> Shkvarets, V.P. (2002). *Mykola Mykolaiovych Arkas: zhyttia, tvorchist, diialnist*. Monohrafiia. Mykolaiv – Odesa: Tetra. P. 6.

service, this interest was manifested already in 1828, when preparations for war with Turkey were going on in Mykolaiv. Mykola Andriiovych, at the age of 11, was accepted as a volunteer for the 84-gun ship "Empress Maria". For his active participation in the military campaign, he was awarded a silver medal on the St. George ribbon with the inscription: "For the Turkish War of 1828-1829". After returning to Mykolaiv, Mykola Andriiovych continued to study the science course as a free listener at the Navigation School. On March 24, 1830 he was assigned to active service in the Black Sea Fleet by the Midshipman. At 15, he brilliantly passed the examination for the title of midshipman. On January 3, 1833, Arcas was assigned to the 30th Navy Crew (the Empress Maria's battleship). Mykolai Arkas participated in the landing of the landing at Cape Adler in 1837, for which he was awarded the Order of St. Stanislaus 4 degree with a bow. During his landing at Tuapse, he commanded one of the landing units. On April 15, 1845, he was assigned the rank of lieutenant-captain<sup>26</sup>.

On August 20, 1850, Mykola Andriiovych married the daughter of a true State Counselor to the Black Sea Fleet Chief Commissioner Petro Grigorovich Bogdanovich (1763-1834), Sophia Petrivna Bogdanovich. As a gift from the family, the brides received the estate of Bogdanivka near Mykolaiv<sup>27</sup>.

Since 1860, Mykola Andriiovych has been seriously engaged in the Bogdanivka economy, which at that time made a good profit. The Arkas family owned about 6,000 acres of land. In the village worked a mill, a forge, workshops. From 1861, Mykola Andriiovych spent the summer in Bogdanivka in the rank of admiral, on the advice of a doctor. To date, a well has been preserved, which locals call the "The Arcassian source" and St. Nicholas Church, built as a house temple. The house and the observation tower in the Arkas estate have been completely destroyed, and only a lilac lane remained from the planted garden. The most interesting of the architectural heritage of Arkas in the Old Bogdanivka (the modern name of the village) is the church, which today is more than 150 years old.

After taking possession of the property, Arcas began to build a stone house church of St. Nicholas. It became operational in 1860<sup>28</sup>. The parish is the only church in the whole district, including the villages of New Bogdanivka, Mala Korenikha, Bezvodniy and Podymovo hamlets. This church has survived to this day,

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<sup>26</sup> Berezovska, T. (2004). *Rid Arkasiv: prosopografichniy portret na istorychnomu tli doby.* [The genus Arkasov: a prosopographic portrait on the historical background of the day] (*Extended abstract of Candidate's thesis*). Odesa.

<sup>27</sup> Tryhub, O. (2013). Arkasivska perlyna (storinky istorii sela Stara Bohdanivka). *Kraieznavstvo. Naukovyi zhurnal.* 1(82). P. 62.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* P. 63.

however, not in its original form. It is a typical building of the house church of southern Ukraine, which was often built in their estates landowners. But fate, in its 150 years of existence, has brought many surprises to the church. After the revolution, the church functioned as a temple for some time, but then in the 1920s it was forcibly closed and adapted to grain. The church baths were demolished and the church property removed. During World War II, between 1941 and 1944, the territory of Old Bogdanivka was part of the Romanian occupation zone known as Transnistria. Judging by the stories of the locals, the Romanians decided to resume the service and, allegedly, since 1943, the church began to function again, and the service was ruled by Romanian priests. Since then, this temple has long been closed.

A school was opened at the church in 1864. At that time the children of wealthy peasants from Old Bogdanivka and surrounding villages studied at this school. The training took place in the winter, because in the summer and autumn the children had to work in their parents' farms. Mykola Andriyovych set up and economic services: workshop, smithy, oil mill, built a mill and a winery. He founded a horse farm, bred breeding horses and cows. Taurus was donated and sold to peasants. The peasants called these cows Arkasian. He also grew a garden and a vineyard.

In the Old Bogdanivka, even today, the peasants remember their masters. Memories and stories of them live in many old families.

Arkas family also purchased land in the village of Hristoforivka (now Bashtansky district of Mykolaiv region). The history of this village is also related to the Arkas family.

In 1881, after the death of Admiral M.A. Arkas, both estates were inherited by his son - Mykola Mykolaiovych (1852 - 1909), who remained in history as a Ukrainian cultural and educational figure, writer, composer and historian. He was born in Old Bohdanivka. He received various forms of education at the School of Law in St. Petersburg and the Odessa Gymnasium. He later studied at the Physics and Mathematics Department of Novorossiysk University in Odessa.

Mykola Mykolaiovych remained in the memory of the peasants as a person simple and unpretentious.

In 1881, Mykola Mykolaiovych Arkas became the owner of the Christopher Lands. It was in this village that he spent the most significant and fruitful period of his life. On the lands in the estate of Hristoforivka Arkas accidentally found a spring. He equipped him and began planting trees. It is now a large forest. According to the old-timers of the village of Arkas in the evenings arranged reading

“Kobzar” T.G. Shevchenko for all wishing peasants. He also told the story of Zaporizhska Sich, the customs of the Zaporozhians, their exploits.

Mykola Arkas considered the main purpose of the estates to be the development of a Ukrainian school, which would develop a national feeling and love for all the native ones, and bring up the real children of Ukraine. He was worried that children have poor understanding of teaching material in a non-native language. He believed that teaching children in Russian would violate established customs.

In his estates Hristoforivka and Old Bogdanivka Arkas opened schools. At his own expense he built a school in Hristoforivka, for which he received thanks from Zemstvos. He gave a lot of time to cultural and public work, became the founder and chairman of the association “Prosvita” in Mykolaiv, at his own expense opened a four-year folk school with the Ukrainian language of study in the Old Bogdanivka. This was due to the fact that during the Revolution of 1905-1907 the organization of the “Prosvita” began to emerge in the Dnieper<sup>29</sup>. Activists of “Prosvita” advocated the introduction of the Ukrainian language into public education, and attempted to open schools. One of the first such schools in Ukraine appeared then, to the great delight of the peasants, in Old Bogdanivka. The school existed for two years (1906-1908) and was then banned because of the denunciations of a local priest who refused to teach the Law of God in Ukrainian. In 1908 Mykola Arkas wrote his famous book, “History of Ukraine-Rus”, for the students of this school. Mykola Mykolaiovych rejoiced and attached great importance to the fact that at least 40 children learn Ukrainian in their native language<sup>30</sup>. After much trouble, the school was allowed to be rebuilt, but according to the law of 1876, it was Russian-speaking. Then Mykola started looking for a teacher who would teach children in Russian, but would educate them Ukrainian. He had to quietly read Ukrainian books, study poetry and Ukrainian songs with them. At the foundation of other Ukrainian schools, Mykola Arkas planned to pay 50% of the proceeds from the sale of his book “History of Ukraine-Rus”. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the estate of Arkasov consisted of 6008 acres of land (1899). In 1896, there were 55 yards in Old Bogdanivka, with 315 residents (149 men and 166 women)<sup>31</sup>. A rather original

<sup>29</sup> Gaidai, O. (1999). Mykolaivske ukrainske tovarystvo “Prosvita” v borotbi za rozvytok ukrainskoi osvity na pochatku XX stolittia. *Zapysky Istorychnoho fakultetu*. Odesa. #8. P. 145-154.

<sup>30</sup> Shkvarets, V. (2002). *Mykola Mykolaiovych Arkas: zhyttia, tvorchist, diialnist*. Monohrafiia. Mykolaiv – Odesa: Tetra. P. 271.

<sup>31</sup> *Spisok naselennyih mest Hersonskoy gubernii i statisticheskie dannyye o kazhdom poselenii*. (1896). Sost. V. Goshkevich. Herson: Tip. gub. pravl. P. 319.

monument of the maritime grandeur of the Russian Empire existed in the pre-revolutionary times in the Old Bogdanivka. In the 1920s, an optical telegraph line from Mykolaiv to Sevastopol was laid on the orders of Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports, Admiral A.S. Greig. This line was a series of stone towers located in the most elevated places at a visual distance from each other. Such a telegraph was still called semaphore. The first of these towers was located on the territory of the Mykolaiv Astronomical Observatory, and the next - near the village. Old Bogdanivka. From there, signals were transmitted down the circuit to the tower located in the village of Parutine. The steam and observatory towers have survived to this day<sup>32</sup>.

At the end of January 1918, Soviet power was established in Old Bogdanivka.

And in 1927, the former two-storey estate of Mykola Arkas in the village of Hristoforivka was transferred to a seven-year school. During the war, the Nazis destroyed and set fire to the premises. It was not until 1956 - 1957 that it was rebuilt: a high school was built on this foundation. It was connected by a transitional gallery to a newly constructed 1993 building. The St. Nicholas Church began to revive in the early 1990s. Since 1991, there has been a library of Christian literature, and since 1992 a Sunday school for children has been operating. In this way the work of the esteemed Arkas family continues and the memory of outstanding Mykolaiv people is preserved.

### **Conclusions**

The origin, development and decline of homestead culture are inextricably linked to the nobility class. After all, with the decree on the liberties of the nobles in the middle of the eighteenth century, the representatives of this class were able to settle in their own estates, and from that moment the history of homestead culture began. On December 29, 1791, a peace treaty was signed between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, ending the next Russian-Turkish war of 1787-1791. The treaty enshrined in Russia the whole of the Northern Black Sea, including Crimea, strengthened its political positions in the Caucasus and the Balkans, but most important to us - the lands between the Southern Bug and the Dniester, on which a new border was established, were moved to Russia. With these new land resources, Catherine II began to reward both loved ones and those who distinguished themselves in the Russo-Turkish wars. The estate landscape of southern Ukraine had its functional and spatial structure, which consisted of a main house with

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<sup>32</sup> Tryhub, O. (2013). Arkasivska perlyna (storinky istorii sela Stara Bohdanivka). *Kraieznavstvo. Naukovyi zhurnal*. 1(82). P. 65.

outbuildings, a farm yard with buildings, a church territory, a park with ponds or a river, grounds. The artistic organization of the manor landscapes depended on the socio-economic and political position of the owner, his taste and education, the level of professional skill of the performers, and the peculiarities of the natural conditions. Provincial estates of Mykolayiv region have combined various phenomena of historical, cultural, philosophical and religious orientation and need further research and preservation.

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Nataliia GONCHAROVA\*

## **NOBLE CHARITY SUPPORT FOR THE CADET CORPS FROM THE SOUTHERN UKRAINIAN PROVINCES**

*- Abstract -*

The formation process and the order of operation of the cadet corps are analyzed. The thesis about the effectiveness of supporting the South Ukrainian nobility and its importance in the context of optimizing the activity of the cadet corps is proved. In the period tends to increase the number of cadet corps, which created the possibility of aristocratic youth education in the region. Care nobility of education and training of their children's cadet corps had not highlighted specific military schools aimed at training military personnel, and schools for training highly cultured citizens eligible to serve on the territory of the state, military and social life.

*Keywords:* cadets; cadet corps; military school; nobles; Southern Ukrainian provinces; donations.

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### **Introduction**

Problems of military history often attract the attention of researchers. Among other topics, particular attention is drawn to the issue of training commanders for the army and navy. Of particular interest is the unique experience gained by the cadet corps in the field of military-patriotic and spiritual-moral education of the younger generation. After all, at the present stage in Ukraine, this type of educational institutions has become necessary, which must be taken into account in the formation of innovative doctrine of the national educational system.

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## The Problem Statement

Studying this problem is a topical trend in historical research, as it optimizes the process of reviving the army and creating an advanced system of modern education. In addition, the scientific solution of modern problems to improve the training of military specialists in the relevant educational institutions in Ukraine is impossible without taking into account the experience of past generations.

## Research Analyses

The history of the development of cadet corps, the analysis of the main directions of their activity are the subject of interest of modern scientists. In the article by A. Makhinko analyzes the history of cadet corps in Ukraine during XIX – early XX centuries and in the present day<sup>1</sup>. The attention is paid to a state policy aimed at increasing the number of military educational institutions and their role in officer training. The author investigates principles in the organization of training and educational system, describes various aspects of officers' training. Cadet corps in modern Ukraine and general tendencies of state cadet training are considered.

The article by M. Ermak is devoted to the history and development of cadet education in prerevolutionary Russia<sup>2</sup>. We consider a system of education and training cadets in the Russia. The author is sure that the achievements of cadet education of that time can be successfully continued and developed in modern teaching practice, when almost all law enforcement agencies have their own cadet schools, and many schools have cadet classes and more and more children are already getting cadet education in modern conditions.

In the article by I. Kolesnik is devoted to the history of cadet corps' genesis in pre-revolutionary Russia. It shows the system of cadet's training in Russia. The author summarizes that the cadet corps left the next generation an effective system of training and educating young people. The educators of the cadet corps wanted to see such features in the personality of their wards: courage, honor, dignity, decisiveness, self-control, friendship and devotion to the Fatherland. These and other personality traits of the future officer were formed in the process of instilling

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<sup>1</sup> Makhinko, A. I. (2013). Z istorii kadetskykh korpusiv v Ukraini. *Storinky istorii: zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Vyp. 35. P. 117-126.

<sup>2</sup> Ermak, M. A. (2012). Istoriko-pedagogicheskij analiz razvitiya sistemy obucheniya i vospitaniya kadet v Rossii. *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta MVD Rossii*. No. 2 (54). P.202-205.

in teachers of pupils a love of work and service<sup>3</sup>. Attention was also paid to the respect of elders, the implementation in practice of the principle of mutual assistance, discipline and diligence, accuracy, the desire for self-improvement, etc.

The article by O. Yefimova deals with the historiographical analysis of the sources on the issue of training the pupils of the Ukrainian cadet corps for the military service (the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries)<sup>4</sup>. The found literature has been grouped according to its sort: the first group includes the works of general character devoted to the history of the emergence and development of the military educational institutions in the Russian Empire generally and in Ukraine, which was part of it in particular; the second one includes the works devoted to the outstanding personalities, whose activities significantly influenced the training of domestic military cadres in different historical periods; the third group is represented by memoirs of former pupils, founders, directors, officers-educators, who worked in cadet corps in different historical periods; the fourth one includes the thesis, the subject of study of which were the ways, content, means for the formation of military cadres in pre-revolutionary times and during the period of Ukraine's development as an independent state. It is noted that the further research should be aimed at studying the socioeconomic and political preconditions for the formation and development of the training of military cadres in Ukraine in the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries.

The article by M. Lyapina deals with the main stages of the cadet education development in Russia including the current one from 1993<sup>5</sup>. The author considers the cadet education in the context of its civic, patriotic and military resources: as following secondary and higher military education and additional staff of government employees.

The article by S. Kormilets investigates issues related to the organization of military-applied training in cadet corps of the Russian Empire in the territories of

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<sup>3</sup> Kolesnik, I. V. (2016). K voprosu ob organizacii vospitaniya uchashihsysya kadetskikh korpusov v XVIII-XIX vv. *Uchyonye zametki Tihookeanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta: Elektronnoe nauchnoe izdanie*. No. 4 (2), t. 7. P. 415-420.

<sup>4</sup> Yefimova, O. V. (2017). Istoriohrafiiia problemy pidhotovky maibutnikh viiskovosluzhbovtziv u kadetskykh korpusakh Ukrainy (druha polovyna XIX – pochatok XX st.). *Pedahohika formuvannia tvorchoi osobystosti u vyshchii i zahalnoosvitnii shkolakh: zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Vyp. 54 (107). P. 20-29.

<sup>5</sup> Lyapina, M. Yu. (2013). Osnovnye etapy razvitiya kadetskogo obrazovaniya v Rossii. *Teoriya i praktika obshchestvennogo razvitiya*. No. 5. P. 159-161.

Ukrainian provinces in the XIXth – early XXth century<sup>6</sup>. The basic stages of formation and development of military training cadets, the key components of special training, and requirements that were presented to its organization are revealed. The examples of summer camp sessions in various cadet corps in Ukrainian provinces are given, the appropriateness of their location and a variety of educational process in summer camps are described. Therefore, the completely military-applied education was focused at the formation of highly educated, cultural, professional, well-trained officer, a patriot and defender of the motherland. The quality of applied military training was at a high level, as evidenced by reports of the administration of cadet corps to the main Directorate of military educational institutions.

The article by A. Chorniy concerns the formation and activities of maritime schools in the South part of Ukraine during the period of sailing fleet<sup>7</sup>. The author emphasizes that naval education in the south of Ukraine in the era of the sailing fleet covered the system of naval institutions, which focused on the training of officers and sailors for the Navy, as well as the corresponding personnel for the coast service. At the same time, in addition to the training of specialists in educational institutions, which was divided into theoretical and practical, there was also a system of retraining and improving the skills of naval officers and sailors in combat training. The level of training of the officers who were educated within the walls of the aforementioned educational establishments met the basic requirements of service on military sailing vessels of any type.

The subject of the study's authors S. Wozniak and I. Tonkonog – the content; forms and methods of training of cadets at the Petrovsky Poltava cadet corps in the late XIX – early XX century<sup>8</sup>. The authors argue convincingly that thorough preparation cadets provides high professionalism of teacher's institutions that use a set of different methods and tools. Weapons solid knowledge; formation and skills of pupils in the Poltava cadet corps helped complete system of training of the future

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<sup>6</sup> Kormilets, S. V. (2014). Viiskovo-prykladna pidhotovka v kadetskykh korpusakh Rosiiskoi imperii v XIX – na pochatku XX stolittia. *Pedahohichni nauky: teoriia, istoriia, innovatsiini tekhnolohii*. No. 10 (44). P. 123-132.

<sup>7</sup> Chorniy, O. (2012). Viiskovo-morska osvita na Pivdni Ukrainy v epokhu vitrylnoho flout. *Naukovyi chasopys NPU imeni M.P. Drahomanova. Istorychni nauky: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Vyp. 9. P. 249-257.

<sup>8</sup> Vozniak, S. M., Tonkonoh, I. V. (2016). Pidhotovka kadetiv u Poltavskomu kadetskomu korpusi. *Viiskova osvita: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats Natsionalnoho universytetu oborony Ukrainy imeni Ivana Cherniakhovskoho*. No. 1 (33). P. 35-41.

of the military; which included the study of theoretical subjects; practical training; individual work of students outside of class and independent work.

There are highlighted the aspects of establishing and functioning of the Kyiv St. Volodymyr cadet school, its role in the educational system of the Russian Empire in the article by T. Bulgakova<sup>9</sup>. The author describes its state during the revolution events of 1917–1919 and the period of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

The article by Y. Komirenko is based on different sources, which cover pre-revolutionary experience of cadet corps, shows the way how instructions of directorate General of military-educational institutions are followed in Poltava, Kyiv, Odessa and Sumy cadet corps in the second half of XIX – early XX century, which is said in works of general M. Dragomyrov<sup>10</sup>. Within the context of military educational reform of 1860–1870, in spite of the reorganization of form, structure and context of military educational process, the main goal stays to be the same – to prepare regular officers; afterwards the priority was placed on educational process, directed towards the formation of a defined world view, personality traits and moral qualities, necessary for the serviceman professional activity. Another work by Y. Komirenko is dedicated to the investigation of the issues connected with the reforming in 1860's of cadet corps in military gymnasiums and implementation in learning and educational process of the conception of education study of Y. Herbart. The problem was examined in the aspect of ethnopsychological factors, which determined the specific nature of pedagogical experience of cadet corps of Dnipro Ukraine in the field of education and made this experience successful, unlike the rest of provincial institutions of military education of Russia<sup>11</sup>.

However, the issue of the development of cadet corps in the context of identification of noble charity assistance, the study of the importance of such support for the effective existence of military educational institutions has not been sufficiently studied. We have selected these questions for the purpose of our research.

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<sup>9</sup> Bulhakova, T. O. (2013). Istoriiia rozvytku Kyivskoho Volodymyrskoho kadetskoho korpusu (za dokumentamy Derzhavnoho arkhivu m. Kyieva). *Arkhivy Ukrainy*. No. 3, P. 127-137.

<sup>10</sup> Komirenko, Yu. A. (2013). Moralne vykhovannia v kadetskykh korpusakh Naddnyprianskoi Ukrainy druhoi polovyny XIX – pochatku XX st. u konteksti formuvannia viiskovoi pedahohiky yak novoi naukovo-praktychnoi haluzi. *Pedahohichnyi dyskurs*. Vyp. 15. P. 349-355.

<sup>11</sup> Komirenko, Yu. A. (2017). Vprovadzhennia u pedahohichnu praktyku kadetskykh korpusiv Naddnyprianshchyny u 1860-kh rr. kontseptsii vykhovalnoho navchannia (etnopsykholohichnyi aspekt). *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats Khersonskoho derzhavnoho universytetu: Pedahohichni nauky*. Vyp. 75. t. 1. P. 50-53.

### **Statement of the basic material**

In the history of the Russian empire XIX – early XX century. The important role was played by the army, especially its officer corps. In its preparing significant importance had military schools, including cadet corps. Cadet Corps called secondary military schools of closed type, created mainly for children of nobles. Noble Empire state actively became involved in the founding of the cadet corps. Nobles made funds in addition to the state appropriation for the maintenance of military schools, “contributing in this matter by the Government, which cares about the benefits of the nobility, as though in terms of arranging housing and assigned amount from the treasury, but, given the considerable needs of the institution needed help from the provinces”<sup>12</sup>. The peculiarity was that state oriented local nobility at a charity act.

It is advisable to recall that the establishment of military education in the Russian Empire associated with the opening of the Land (1731) and Marine (1752) noble cadet corps to “nobility of his early years taught in theory and then in practice was suitable”<sup>13</sup>. This type of military schools became a center for training of officers of the Russian Army XVIII century. This is evidenced by the growth of these institutions. If the period from 1800 to 1882 was founded 18 cadet corps, in 1917 there were already 31<sup>14</sup>. It should be noted that the cadet corps XVIII century. Conducted training not only officers but also civil servants, due to insufficient civic education in the study period. Except in cases of nobles trained a small percentage of children from middle class. Noblemen prepared for military service, the middle class – to the teaching activities. We agree with N. Alexandrova, that in such circumstances institution manifested more is “closed” because children are not assimilated bourgeois in nobility environment and opposed him<sup>15</sup>.

The beginning of the systematic law on the organization of the cadet corps was laid by Emperor Nicholas I in 1830. It was then issued “Regulations for military schools second class”, which determined the composition of schools, their internal ordering procedure, rules of admission and release of inmates. The document has formulated goal of establishing military schools “to give young Russian nobility

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<sup>12</sup> Grekov, F. V. (1910). *Kratkij istoricheskij ocherk voenno-uchebnyh zavedenij 1700-1910*. M.: Tipografiya Vilde. 190 s.

<sup>13</sup> Ob uchrezhdenii kadetskogo korpusa: Ukaz imennoj, dannyj Senatu, Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii, I, t. VIII, No. 5811, 29 iyulya 1731 g.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Aleksandrova, N. V. (1998). Specifika vospitaniya i obrazovaniya rossijskogo dvoryanstva v poslednej chetverti XVIII veka. “*Magistra Vitae*”: *elektronnyj zhurnal po istoricheskim naukam i arheologii*. No. 1 (8). P. 26-30.

decent education in the direction they must have to approve in pupils these rules piety and pure morals and teaching them everything that defined them military rank need to know, to make them able to serve the emperor with honor and the welfare of their lives to establish an unwavering commitment to the throne”<sup>16</sup>. The formation of several cadet corps explained by the desire to create the possibility of minor “brought up for military service near their families”. In 1848 was issued a special instruction with detailed instructions regarding the “spirit, purpose, direction, methods and scope of moral and mental training in military schools”. This guideline received legislative approval.

In the course of reforms 60-70-ies. XIX century. Government undertook the reorganization of military education. Radical changes in this area have been linked to the activities of the War Minister D. Milutin. In 1863 military schools were established, which took over the function of the former cadet corps special classes and institutions began preparatory military schools. In the new schools was significantly expanded general course on reducing teach military affairs. So cadet corps turned into secondary schools with elements of vocational training, and special training of military personnel carried out in schools, which were created at the district headquarters. With the transformation cadet corps in military school was issued Regulations on the institutions approved in 1866.

Period of Counter-Reformation has come after accession to the throne of Alexander III in 1881 in the country. The change in government policy felt the military schools also. Military schools were reorganized into the cadet corps again. In 1882 the emperor ordered that these institutions continue to be guided further regulations in force then to modify them by law<sup>17</sup>. In the same year began drafting the new Regulations on the cadet corps, and were taken into account all previous resolutions on military-educational institutions, issued in 1830 in the previous year’s report the Minister of War, approved by the emperor, were set out the main principles needed reforms in the military schools. In particular, attention was drawn to the fact that students of military schools, to give them a general education and training, not prepared to go to military school designed to train front-line officers in the army. Therefore, it was considered appropriate to provide a cadet arrangement, which would correspond to their destination as institutions that prepare their students to go to military schools. But above all that the law ought main objectives

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<sup>16</sup> Vysshee utverzhdyonnoe obshee polozhenie dlya voenno-uchebnyh zavedenij vtorogo klassa: Ukaz imennoj, dannyj Senatu, Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii, II, t. V, ch. 1, No. 3615, 20 aprelya 1830 g.

and overall direction of education and training cadet who had to serve the principle source for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare the faithful and reliable servants of the throne and the fatherland<sup>18</sup>. The project was approved in 1886 was considered appropriate to provide a cadet arrangement, which would correspond to their destination as institutions that prepare their students to go to military schools. But above all that the law ought main objectives and overall direction of education and training cadet who had to serve the principle source for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare the faithful and reliable servants of the throne and the fatherland<sup>19</sup>. The project was approved in 1886 was considered appropriate to provide a cadet arrangement, which would correspond to their destination as institutions that prepare their students to go to military schools. But above all that the law ought main objectives and overall direction of education and training cadet who had to serve the principle source for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare the faithful and reliable servants of the throne and the fatherland. The project was approved in 1886 who had to serve the principle source for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare the faithful and reliable servants of the throne and the fatherland<sup>20</sup>. The project was approved in 1886 who had to serve the principle source for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare the faithful and reliable servants of the throne and the fatherland. The project was approved in 1886.

Separately dealt noble tradition liquidated scholarships to schools to military cadet corps. Thus, in relation Southern provinces discussed the transfer of 20 scholarships from Ekaterinoslav province, 1 – from Tavria, 4 – from Kherson<sup>21</sup>. Note that the number of noble fellowship was to be changed depending on the difference in pay, which was collected from students in military schools and cadet corps.

As mentioned, the main statutory instruments that regulate the organization of educational process in the cadet corps, was the “Regulations on the cadet corps” approved by Alexander III February 14, 1886. During the drafting of the “Regulations” had declared his main task “firmly and defined legally set goals and

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<sup>17</sup> Polozhenie o kadetskih korpusah, vysochajshe utverzhdyonnoe 14 fevralya 1886 goda (1886). SPb.: Tipografiya M. M. Stasyulevicha, 94 s.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

general direction of education and training cadets should serve as the starting principle for the proper development of the educational activities cadet corps designed to prepare loyal and trusted servants of the throne and the fatherland”<sup>22</sup>. In the first chapter “Regulations” formulated the goal of preparatory military schools: “cadet corps intended to provide minor designated for military service in the officer ranks and most distinguished sons of officers general education and training appropriate to their appointment”.

So whatever way cadet corps organization changed from the mid XIXth to the early XXth century. The main purpose of the educational process remained training staff officers. Orientation on military affairs, which featured military schools from the rest, defined primarily moral nature and focus of the training.

The specificity of the cadet corps as preparatory level in the structure of military educational institutions stipulated priority educational process aimed at forming a certain type of ideology and specific character traits required serviceman in the implementation of his professional activity. In the fourth chapter charter document cadet corps provides a detailed definition of the tasks of the educational process, to be implemented in these schools, “Education in the cadet corps, vividly imbued with the spirit of the Christian faith and strictly consistent with the general principles of the Russian government, has as its main goal training of youths who are educated for future service king and the country, through a gradual, from childhood to develop those faithful cadet concepts and aspirations, which serve as a solid foundation of true devotion to the throne conscious conquest of power and the law and a sense of honor, goodness and truth. In accordance with this objective case education has in each cadet to fully develop physical and mental abilities; the right to form character, instill the deep piety and loyal duty and firmly arranged through the makings of moral qualities that are very important for the education of the future officer”<sup>23</sup>.

In order to prepare professionals for several military districts of the Russian army, Southwestern, Southern and Kharkov – in the second half of XIX – early XX century. the territory of the Dnieper opened four cadet corps: Poltava (1840), Kyiv (1852), Odessa (1899) and Sumy (1900). Let us dwell on the history of the cadet corps, in which the young can learn nobles Southern provinces, and hence their retention was attended by representatives of noble status in the region.

Cadet corps in Poltava was founded by imperial decree of 1836. The document said in part: “...wishing that this useful and military institutions served as

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

a monument to the famous victory won at Poltava Peter I, say to call this building Petrovsky-Poltavsky and its foundation day celebrated annually on the day of victory on June 27 that young nobles, who are brought up in this place, in preparation for a field as military, talked more about the glory that once gained their ancestors in fields of Poltava, and, inspired by their odvyhamy sought themselves to become faithful sons of the fatherland and worthy servants of the throne”<sup>24</sup>.

Into the corps were taken to Poltava nobility Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kharkiv and Chernihiv provinces. Noble condition above provinces from January 1, 1830 began raising funds for the future of the institution. He decided to make annually by 10 kop. soul of each census<sup>25</sup>. In 1838 nobles was donated 281368 rubles silver<sup>26</sup>. This year approved the Regulations on Petrovsky-Poltavsky cadet corps. At the opening of the housing capital donated four provinces assigned to the corps, reached 632 thousand rub., another 300 thousand rub. were released state treasury<sup>27</sup>. Do not stay indifferent liberal state and to the urgent need for housing in their own room. Noble Assembly, held in 1836, despite the poor harvest for six years, “filled with profound feelings of awe and gratitude loyal to the monarch by the foundation in Poltava in favor of Little cadet corps” decided on the placement of buildings cadet corps “collect from each gentleman in the number of registered males and 1 rub. for four years, starting with the collection of 1836 so that the annual fee by 25 kop. estimates tabled in rural general obligations”<sup>28</sup>. The total amount of funds allocated nobility of Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kharkiv and Chernihiv provinces to Poltava cadet corps in 1838, reached 2 million rubles<sup>29</sup>. In the arrangement of buildings neranzhovanoyi company Kharkiv and Chernihiv nobility donated more than 27 thousand rub. silver, Ekaterinoslav nobles and the maintenance of the company in 1854 donated 150,000th capital. Poltava cadet corps started in 1840 the total number

<sup>24</sup> Ob imenovanii uchrezhdaemogo v g. Poltave kadetskogo korpusa Petrovskim-Poltavskim: Ukaz imennoj, dannyj Senatu, Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii, II, t. XI, ch. 1, No. 8751, 5 yanvary 1836 g.

<sup>25</sup> Pavlovskij, I. F. (1907). *K istorii Poltavskogo dvoryanstva (1802-1902). Oчерki po arhivnym dannym s risunkami.* T. I. Izdanie Poltavskogo dvoryanstva. Poltava: Elektricheskaya tipo-litografiya torgovogo doma I. Frishberg i S. Zorohovich, 277 s.

<sup>26</sup> O pozhertvovanny dvorian na obustroistvo kadetskoho korpusa, TsDIAUK, f. 267, op. 1, spr. 68, ark. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Pavlovskij, I. F. (1907). *K istorii Poltavskogo dvoryanstva (1802-1902). Oчерki po arhivnym dannym s risunkami.* T. I. Izdanie Poltavskogo dvoryanstva. Poltava: Elektricheskaya tipo-litografiya torgovogo doma I. Frishberg i S. Zorohovich, 277 s.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Varadinov, N. V. (1862). *Istoriya Ministerstva vnutrennih del.* SPb.: Tipografiya Ministerstva vnutrennih del, ch. 3, kn. 2, 746 s.

of students – 100 cadet – up to 70 people had to hold their own on the amount donated by the nobility of these four provinces. In support, in the collection of data on military-educational institutions of Russia read: “to make children of nobles provinces to Petrovsky-Poltavsky cadet corps assigned based on calculating the cost of annual maintenance (194 rubles silver) and a proportion to the amounts of donations, the nobility of each province made, namely Ekaterynoslav – 24, Poltava – 10, Kharkov – 13, Chernihiv – 16. Total – 63 people<sup>30</sup>.

By order of Nicholas I in 1833, it was decided to open a military school in the Kiev for the nobility of Volyn, Kyiv, Podil, Taurian and Kherson provinces. In 1847 these provinces gathered nobles subscribed almost 200 thousand rub. silver for the construction of a building for the institution in which young nobles had to learn the area. In addition, the nobles pledged to donate to the opening day of the Kiev building on its continued maintenance for 5 kop. from each man that was annually make about 67 thousand rub. silver<sup>31</sup>. Typically, the cadet corps received as an honorary prefix to the name of the institution named chief - a member of the imperial family or famous military commander. Nicholas granted the nobility of Volyn, Kyiv, Podil,

The official opening of Kiev Vladimir cadet corps took place in 1852. By 1857 it was non-ranked cadet corps created for training junior cadets who had to continue their education in other cases. During issued in 1858 a special position in the case were brought up 400 cadet averaged over 5 common and 2 special classes<sup>32</sup>.

The Odessa cadet corps opened in 1899 by the command of Emperor Nicholas II who also approved the Regulations. The idea belonged to the commander of the Odessa District, Earl A. Musin-Pushkin, who spoke about the necessity of creating such cadet corps in Odessa in the mid 90's. of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, as a special school for children of military personnel. It was assumed that there would teach mostly orphans whose parents were officers of the Russian army<sup>33</sup>. An exceptional attention to the hull showed the Grand Duke Konstantin,

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<sup>30</sup> Melnickij, N. (1857). *Sbornik svedenij o voenno-uchebnyh zavedeniyah Rossii (suhoputnogo vedomstva)*, t. 2, ch. 4, SPb.: Tipografiya Glavnogo Shtaba Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva po Voенno-Uchebnym Zavedeniyam, 146 s.

<sup>31</sup> Zavadskij, N. P. (1901). *Vladimirskij-Kievskij kadetskij korpus. 1851-1901. Istoricheskij ocherk*. K.: Tipografiya R. K. Lubkovskogo, 145 s.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Citovich, V. V. (1906). *Odesskij Velikogo knyazya Konstantina Konstantinovicha kadetskij korpus za pervye sem let ego sushestvovaniya*; Pod red. S. V. Petrovskogo. Odessa: Tipografiya E. I. Fesenko, 229 s.

after whose death in 1915 Odessa cadet corps was granted its patronage. The case became known as Odessa cadet corps of Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich.

In 1914 a decision establishing the Naval Cadet Corps in the Sevastopol. This institution had become the second in the Empire Training for Navy after St. Petersburg. Given the difficult external and internal factors, body no longer functioned year since its opening in 1916.

At the end of the XIX – early XXth century prestige cadet corps decreases due to deterioration in their state of educational work and the reluctance of young people to engage in noble military affairs. In these circumstances, the main military government military schools were forced to take measures to improve the quality of training to improve knowledge and faculty buildings.

Other military schools opened in the Southern Ukrainian provinces. At the end of the XVIII century in Kherson was founded marine artillery school, which later transferred to the Nikolaev. Until five years of college, teaching children of nobles were taken from 12 to 16 years. The school lasted until the opening in the city. Nikolaev in 1837 2nd marine training of crews which entered as the 1st artillery company. As part of the 2nd artillery crew training mouth was a decade until it was disbanded in 1847. In 1826 based on the navigation, school was established Black Sea mate mouth. It adopted boys aged 10 to 16 years – children of nobles, officers and officials. Those who are educated at private boarding and passed the examination immediately credited to the midshipmen. Since 1827, the establishment of the Corps naval navigators, company began to prepare specialists of the housing. Company gave a solid professional, theoretical training and life. The training naval crew started in 1837 initially consisted of one artillery company reorganized from the former Naval Artillery School and four naval companies. By the artillery company nobility, adopted children aged 13 to 16 years. Science course was designed for five years.

### **Conclusions**

Therefore, the main purpose was to prepare the cadet corps for the future of defenders of the fatherland and the throne. Government was concerned that it was noble youth majority of pupil's cadet corps. This is consistent with the needs and the noble class. That is why these military schools received substantial donations from the nobility community's respective provinces. In the period tends to increase the number of cadet corps, which created the possibility of aristocratic youth education in the region. Care nobility of education and training of their children's cadet corps had not highlighted specific military schools aimed at training military personnel,

and schools for training highly cultured citizens eligible to serve on the territory of the state, military and social life.

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Natalia MOROSHAN\*

## **HONORS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO THE BESSARABIAN NOBLEMEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XIX-TH – EARLY XX-TH CENTURY FOR THEIR CHARITY ACTIVITY**

*- Abstract -*

The article shows that, during the period comprised between the middle of the XIX-th century – the beginning of the XX-th, the state actively supported the charity initiative and encouraged active philanthropists in every way. The government offered to the Bessarabian aristocrats involved in charitable causes: gratitude, ranks, medals, orders. The state awards had a strong motivational effect and stimulated further charity activities.

*Keywords:* nobility; charity; Bessarabia; Eastern War; Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878; Russo-Japanese War.

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### **Introduction**

The 60-70's reforms of the XIX century caused profound changes in the society of the Russian Empire that significantly expanded the social base for charity development on Ukrainian lands and affected the scale, forms and directions of charitable activity. In modern times, the state could not cope with the social problems of society. The main forms of the charity were public organizations and individuals.

### **The Problem Statement**

Charity became the norm for a considerable number of subjects of the empire, including representatives of the nobility. The aristocrats were the social stratum that provided the material preconditions for the growth of the charitable activity. It has become a family tradition, passed down from generation to generation. This was

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also motivated by purely pragmatic approaches: individual donations, charitable organizations memberships were the means of achieving official and public recognition, enhancing the authority of one's own name and public image of the family<sup>1</sup>.

In turn, the state highly appreciated the efforts of philanthropists as a source of additional funding. The nobles received titles, ranks, posts, and were awarded medals and orders for their donations. This gave incentive to charity activities, which increased respectability and allowed to change social status. In addition, the sense of duty, self-worth, religiosity, hospitality and nobility remained the characteristic features of the average aristocrat.

### **Research Analyses**

The issue of rewarding Bessarabian nobles for charitable assistance during the military conflicts of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have not been the subject of a separate scientific study. Historians O. Sakovich, V. Nadykta<sup>2</sup> considered the general questions about the awards during the Eastern War. The history of creation, the statutes and the order of handing Russian medals of Peter the Great until 1917 were the objects of study of O. Kuznetsov, M. Chepurnov<sup>3</sup>. Some aspects of charitable assistance from the nobles in the times of war were analyzed by L. Tsyganenko<sup>4</sup>. The purpose of this article is to highlight the peculiarities of the awarding process of the Bessarabian nobility representatives for charity work during the military conflicts of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

### **Statement of the basic material**

In the middle of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, there was a time of three large-scale armed conflicts involving the Russian Empire – the Eastern War of 1853-1856, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-

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<sup>1</sup> Donik, O. (2005). Blagodiynist v Ukrayini (XIX – pochatok XX st.). [Charity in Ukraine (XIX – beginning of XX century)]. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*. (4). P. 159-177.

<sup>2</sup> Sakovich, A. & Nadikta, V. “V vozdayanie otmennoy hrabrosti...” (nagradnyie i pamyatnyie krestyi i medali Kryimskoy voynyi 1853-1856 godov). [“In rewarding excellent courage ...” (prize and commemorative crosses and medals of the Crimean War of 1853-1856)]. *Military Crimea*, URL: <http://military.sevstudio.com/nagrady-medali-kw/>, date of accessing: 02/22/2020.

<sup>3</sup> Kuznetsov, A & Chepurnov, N. (1992). *Nagradnaya medal*. [Award Medal]. Moscow: Patriot. Vol. 1 (1701-1917). 416 p.

<sup>4</sup> Tsyganenko, L. (2010). *Dvoryanstvo Pivdnyia Ukrayini (druga polovina XIX st. – 1917 r.)*. [Nobility of the South of Ukraine (second half of the 19th century – 1917)]. Monograph. Izmail: SMIL. 384 p.

1905. As a consequence, an important social problem of assisting the warriors and their families arose. Representatives of almost all segments of the country population expressed their desire to help the soldiers and their families. Nobility was marked by particularly generous donations. The aristocrats of Bessarabia did not stand aside from this process. The assistance provided by the nobility representatives was invaluable considering the lives they saved.

The activities of the Bessarabian nobles in assisting the army during the military conflicts of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries did not go unnoticed. On the basis of archival and newspaper materials, the author systematized and offered the following graduation of the honors and awards received by representatives of the Bessarabian nobility for charity:

- ✓ Acknowledgments (the collective and individual).
- ✓ New (higher) ranks.
- ✓ Medals:
  - “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”;
  - “In memory of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878”;
  - “In memory of the Russo-Japanese War”.
- ✓ Orders:
  - St. Stanislaus II and III degrees;
  - St. Anne I, II, III and IV degrees.

The aristocrats received collective and individual acknowledgements from government officials and the royal family for active charity work during the XIX – early XX centuries.

During the Eastern campaign, the emperor repeatedly expressed his collective gratitude to the nobles for their military assistance during the war. Thus, on October 28, 1854, Alexander II honored the nobility of Katerynoslav and Kherson provinces and Bessarabia. On August 3, 1853, the emperor honored the Bessarabian nobles for supplying the army with horses, and in August 1855, Nicholas I honored the nobility of the southern provinces for their duty of care for horses in wartime<sup>5</sup>.

Among the archival files of the State Archives of Odessa Region, there was found a document of gratitude received by the inhabitants of Beltsy for the help of servicemen who moved through the city in 1853. In the summer of 1854, the Chisinau aristocrats received gratitude from the emperor for 341 rubles collected for

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<sup>5</sup> The National Archives of the Republic of Moldova (hereinafter referred to as NARM), f. 88, inv. 2, c. 1385, P. 85.

soldiers and wounded in crossing troops across the Danube<sup>6</sup>. The National Archives of the Republic of Moldova materials recorded a letter of gratitude from the emperor to the nobles of Izmail for their valuable assistance to the navy personnel<sup>7</sup>.

After the war ended, on October 17, 1856, the emperor honored all the states of the Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tavriya provinces and Bessarabia for their charitable activities. In addition, the nobles of Bessarabia were honored with a “Special Certificate” with words of gratitude, which was deposited in the Chisinau Cathedral. On October 27, 1856, all the nobles of the city were invited to the solemn event dedicated to the letter transfer to the church.

Individual gratitudes were given to the most active county leaders of the Bessarabian nobility. Thus, aristocrats P. Bilan, O. Kalmutsky, P. Ossovsky, E. Tverdohlebov were awarded with personal gratitude from the emperor for their charitable activities and “... excellent performance of duties in the war hours”<sup>8</sup>.

In the autumn of 1855, personal gratitude was received by the nobles Anastasia and Catherine Rizo for 407 rubles collected at a charity concert, which were donated to the needs of wounded soldiers. In October 1854, personal gratitude was conveyed to the nobles F. Chushli, P. Ilashko, A. Keremedjoglo for treating the troops passing through the South Ukrainian lands<sup>9</sup>.

Thus, during the Eastern War, the most common form of gratitude received by Bessarabian aristocrats was collective.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, representatives of the Bessarabian province nobility received collective and individual thanks. At the end of November 1877, the inspector of the Kiev and Odessa military district hospitals, General A. Kushelev honored the Bessarabian aristocrats for the sanitary provision of the Chisinau hospital. F. Urusov, M. Okulich, G. Navrotsky, M. Kuznetsova, O. Ereemeev received a personal gratitude “... for their hospitality during the visit of the asylum seeker M. Zhedrinsky”<sup>10</sup> from Princess Elizabeth. E. Shumanskaya, I. Chubarov, K. Markovskaya were noted for the material donations to the Chisinau Infirmary<sup>11</sup>.

In general, during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, gratitude (individual and collective) was not widely used.

<sup>6</sup> The State Archives of Odessa Region (hereinafter referred to as SAOR), f. 1, inv. 215, c. 9, P. 50.

<sup>7</sup> NARM, f. 2, part. 4, inv. 1, c. 6366, P. 3.

<sup>8</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 1, c. 1471, P. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Bessarabian regional statements*. (1854). No. 14, October 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Bessarabian provincial statements*. (1877). No. 47, May 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Bessarabian provincial statements*. (1877). No. 86, November 14.

During the Russo-Japanese War, the state traditionally continued to express its collective gratitudes to the nobles. Thus, Empress Maria Fedorovna, patron of the Russian Red Cross Society, expressed her gratitude "... for such energetic and successful activity of the Bessarabian nobility"<sup>12</sup> after hearing of the great donations of wine and tobacco from the aristocrats of Bessarabia.

In the Spring of 1904, Nicholas II expressed his gratitude to the Bessarabia nobility for their generous donations to the charity. Acknowledgment was given that summer to the philanthropic nobles who were involved in providing the Bessarabian sanitary unit. In October 1904, the Ladies' Committee of the Bessarabets Charitable Organization received gratitudes from Empress Alexandra Fedorovna for sending 63 boxes of warm clothes to the soldiers. On May 28, 1905, the nobility of the Russian Empire, the Bessarabian aristocrats in particular, were given collective gratitudes for their high level of organization of noble trains from the commander-in-chief of the naval forces General M. Linevich. In summer of the same year, the Chisinau nobility assembly received gratitude for the donated funds to the needs of the active army from the chief of sanitary service<sup>13</sup>.

In January 1905, the population of Bessarabia province was honored for material assistance to the Volyn Regiment by Colonel G. Mileant. Later, the Red Cross Society Executive Committee honored the aristocrats of Bessarabia Province for their active participation in the charity during the military conflict.

Individual acknowledgements were given to the nobles: S. Panteleyev for providing tobacco for the military; O. Buznya, O. Kishinskaya, I. Chopakoglo for underwear sets for sick soldiers. Empress Maria Fedorovna personally noted the following: L. Belikovich (for her active charity work at the Ackerman Women's Committee and sending the 6th transport from Bessarabia to the Far East with linen, dressing materials, wine and warm clothes); the Khotyn noble leader P. Krupensky (for charitable parcels with underwear and warm clothes for servicemen); O. Stuart (for the help of the Volyn Regiment)<sup>14</sup>.

Thus, during the Russo-Japanese War, the practice of giving rewards became more widespread. In contrast to the Eastern War, the Bessarabian nobles were more likely to get individual gratitude.

During the military conflict of 1853-1856, the aristocrats of the South Ukrainian lands were given ranks for charitable activities. Bessarabian leader of the nobility E. Balsh received the rank of state advisor "... for assisting the government

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<sup>12</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 2, c. 104, P. 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Bessarabian provincial statements*. (1905). No. 63, July 4.

<sup>14</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 2, c. 104, P. 30, 35, 48.

in moving troops and providing families of lower ranks”<sup>15</sup>. After the Russo-Japanese War, the Bessarabian Vice Governor I. Block and the head of the Provincial Governor A. Stuart were transferred from statical to actual advisers for their active charitable activities.



The next kind of awards were the commemorative medals awarded to the aristocrats of the region for their charitable assistance to the active army during each military conflict. After the end of the Eastern War and the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856), the tsarist government established the medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856” and a cross as an analogy to those issued to the participants in the war of 1812 “... to those who by service or title have acquired this right to receive it in the period from June 14, 1853 to March 31, 1856”<sup>16</sup>. In a September 11,

<sup>15</sup> SAOR, f. 1, inv. 193, c. 24, P. 303.

<sup>16</sup> Volkanova, N. (2016). Protsey nagorodzhennya bessarabskikh dvoryan medallyu “V pamyat minuvshyey voynyi 1853-1856 godov”. [The process of awarding Bessarabian nobles with the medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”]. *Current Trends in History, Sociology,*

1856 manifesto, Alexander II identified a list of persons to whom, depending on the degree of participation in the war, these medals were to be awarded “on the ribbons of the orders of the Great Martyr and Saint Patriarch George, the Holy Apostle Andrew the First-Called, the Holy Prince Apostle Vladimir and Saint Anne”. At the same time, the “Rules for the distribution of a bronze medal and a bronze pectoral cross in memory of the last war of 1853-1856” were approved<sup>17</sup>.

The medal on the St. Andrew ribbon was given to servicemen of the cavalry, naval and other agencies, who were directly involved in the war or were in the territory that had the border status. In addition to the military, it could be obtained by a militia representative who participated in war or was in military territory. The military and civilian ranks of all departments, as well as the ranks of the militia and the Little Cavalry Cavalry Regiment № 4, who marched from the places of formation were awarded with the medal on the Vladimir ribbon. This medal was also given to nobles for the most generous donations during the war. The note to the rules made it clear that medals of light bronze were awarded to all ranks of the military and naval departments, and of the dark bronze were given to ranks of the civilian department.

The analysis of archive documents suggests that Bessarabian nobility were more likely to receive medals made of dark bronze on Andrew or Vladimir tapes.

At the end of 1856, the tsarist government decided to award the Bessarabian aristocrats with the medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”. According to the rules, on December 14, 1856, the lists of Bessarabian nobles, who were to be awarded with a medal on the ribbon of Andrew, were approved and sent for consideration. Initially, it was planned to reward those members of the nobility who had been in active service in Bessarabia during the Eastern War, had an officer rank, and reached the age of 16. Later it was decided to give such medals to persons of noble descent without officer rank, since the whole territory of Bessarabia was in a state of war during that time, thus two lists were compiled: officers and nobles without ranks.

An unfinished list of 33 medal nominations was found among the SAOR archival files, which included representatives of different ranks: regional leader of

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*Political Science and Philosophy: Materials of the International Scientific and Practical Conference* (Lviv, September 23-24, 2016). Lviv: NGO “Lviv Foundation of Social Sciences”. P. 39.

<sup>17</sup> *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii*. [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire]. (1856). The Second Meeting. No. 30877: On the All-Merciful Grant of Mercy and Relief to the People on the Occasion of the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty, August 26. T. 31. St. Petersburg: Type. 2nd Degree Own. EIV Offices. P. 789-813.

the nobility (E. Balsh), leader of the nobility in Akerman (E. Tvardohlebov), outgoing adviser (A. Katakazi ), Title Counselors (I. Christie, O. Staty, O. Rodidyan, O. Shlyarevsky), Provincial Secretary (V. Potichinsky), College Secretary (I. Skrivano), College Registrar (E. Serbinov), College Asseseurs (O. Brokozovsky, S. Donych, D. Rousseau, E. Balas), a nobleman without a rank (E. Leonard) and others<sup>18</sup>.

NARM archival materials supplemented information on the awarding of Bessarabian aristocrats. Thus, in early autumn of 1857, the medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856” in dark bronze on Vladimir ribbon was received by 424 aristocrats of the Bessarabia region<sup>19</sup>.

The rewards of the Bessarabian nobles continued. Thus, in March 1859 the hereditary Sorok district nobleman of the Baksan village V. Granevsky was presented with the medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”.

At the end of the victorious military conflict for the Russian Empire of 1877-1878, it was decided to create a model for a new medal “In memory of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878”. The award was established on April 29, 1878 by order of Emperor Alexander II to reward persons who participated in the fighting of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.



<sup>18</sup> SAOR, f. 1, inv. 194, c. 244, P. 24, 28-29, 33-34, 38, 40-45.

<sup>19</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 1, c. 1474, P. 53.

The medal was presented in three variants – silver, light and dark bronze. The silver medal was awarded to soldiers who defended the Shipkin Pass or Bayazet during the blockade. Warriors who were involved in at least one of the battles were presented with the light bronze award. The dark bronze medal was given to persons of all classes who participated in the military assistance during the hostilities.

The medal “In memory of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878” from dark bronze was given to the mayor of Chisinau K. Schmidt in 1878. During the military conflict of that period he directly assisted the active army: he organized the care of sick and wounded soldiers in hospitals and military-sanitary trains passing through Chisinau; coordinated the reception of troops. Later, in 1881, a shelter for crippled and sick soldiers was built at the site where the manifesto for the declaration of war with Turkey was read out. The mayor of Chisinau persuaded landlord K. Ryshkan, owner of the race field, to donate the field for building a refuge. In addition, K. Schmidt personally supervised all stages of construction of the boarding house<sup>20</sup>.

The government promptly responded to the active charity work of the population during the Russo-Japanese War, in particular of the nobility representatives. Already in March 4, 1906, in the Russian Empire, by order of Emperor Nicholas II, a medal “In memory of the Russo-Japanese War” was developed, which was made of silver, light and dark bronze.

The combatants in the Far East who worked in hospitals, trains, dressing points, or assisted the population in evacuations during the war were eligible for the medal. The award in light bronze was given to all soldiers, sailors, regardless of rank and position, volunteers who had at least once fought a battle with the enemy on land or at sea. Dark bronze honors were awarded to military personnel who did not participate directly in the fighting but were in the service of the active army.

The light bronze medal “In Memory of the Russo-Japanese War” was awarded to M. Zobotkin, a Bessarabia Province hereditary nobleman, who participated in the Russo-Japanese conflict. The aristocrat came from the Tver province hereditary nobles, he owned 660 acres of land in the Ackerman district of Bessarabia province. The nobleman was a participant in the war with China (1900-1901) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). M. Zobotkin was honored with many awards: St. Stanislaus II degree, St. Anna II and III degree, St. Vladimir

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<sup>20</sup> Garusova, O. (2014). *Karl Shmidt – gorodskoy golova Kishineva*. [Karl Schmidt – Mayor of Chisinau]. Chisinau: Cartier. P. 101-103.

IV degree, had a medal for fighting in the Far East, light bronze medal in memory of Russian-Japanese the war<sup>21</sup>.

Thus, the Bessarabian aristocrats have been honored with many awards for their charitable assistance to the active army, servicemen and the affected population during the military conflicts of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the most popular form of gratitude was the commemorative medals “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”; “In memory of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878”; “In memory of the Russo-Japanese War”.

Nobles were awarded with orders for active assistance during the wars of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The lowest in the awards hierarchy was the Order of St. Stanislaus, which was the most common award. Such award, among others, was given to the collegiate assessor of the Bessarabian Regional Board V. Shchusev, who during the Russo-Turkish War of 1853-1856 helped in the displacement of 1 300 seriously ill and wounded soldiers from abroad in Bolgrad<sup>22</sup>.

Already after the war, in 1861, Lieutenant V. Kalmutsky, the Soroca-Yassky leader of the nobility, was awarded the Order of St. Stanislaus of the Third Degree “... for his assistance to the troops during the last war”<sup>23</sup>. As a person, awarded the Order of St. Stanislaus II degree, he had to pay 30 rubles, and later received a pension of 115 rubles. For the active assistance of the army during the Eastern War, the Order was awarded to S. Lambrovich, D. Ziloti and others.

During the military conflicts of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the authorities actively awarded the Order of St. Anne to encourage the country's most generous benefactors. The nobles of the region were also awarded 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th degrees for their donations to the army. Participants in the military action of 1877-1878 were representatives of the Bessarabian nobility, who personally participated in the military conflicts. Among them there was the Sorok district leader of the nobility M. Pleshkov, who came from the nobles of the Voronezh province. For his courage, shown during the capture of Tirnovo in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, he was awarded the Order of St. Anne of IV degree and the light bronze medal “For the campaign of 1877-1878”<sup>24</sup>.

The Order of St. Anne of the Third Degree for merits in the wartime of 1853-1856 was awarded to the county leaders of the nobility – V. Kalmutsky (Soroko-

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<sup>21</sup> “The Izmail Archives” Municipal Institution (hereinafter referred to as IAMI), f. 47, inv. 1, c. 51, P. 3-24.

<sup>22</sup> SAOR, f. 1, inv. 215, c. 10, P. 47-49.

<sup>23</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 1, c. 1418, P. 63-64.

<sup>24</sup> IAMI, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 19, P. 137-138.

Yassky County), D. Ziloti (Chisinau-Orhei County), aristocrats – M. Skordel Casimir, D. Rousseau.

During the war of 1853-1856, E. Balsh was the regional leader of the nobility. He did not only organize and coordinate all the charitable activities of the nobles of the region, but also personally donated money and horses to the needs of the army. For his generous donations, on March 4, 1855, he was awarded the Order of St. Anne of the Second Degree, "For the assistance of the army in times of war"<sup>25</sup>. The same distinction in 1856 was awarded to the county leaders of the nobility: Ackerman E. Tverdohlebov, Kahul V. Ossovsky, Bender I. Bilan and nobleman M. Kutskevich-Kishkin.

After the end of the war in 1904-1905, the highest (I) degree of the Order of St. Anne was awarded the Chisinau district leader of the nobility F. Semigradov. Awarding was thus one of the least common forms of recognition. More often, this award was given to aristocrats during the Eastern War.



<sup>25</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 1, c. 1472, P. 2.

Analyzing the award process, we found a pattern: the greatest number of awards aristocrats received after the losing wars. The Crimean company became one of the most generous awards in the country's population for the empire. We believe that this is how the government tried to encourage philanthropists, encourage them to take on new charitable causes and reduce the negative “taste” of defeat.

It should be noted that the nobles themselves were not ashamed to remind of their charitable deeds and services to the state. Yes, after the end of the Eastern War, A. Rousseau applied for his award with the Order of St. Stanislaus IV degree – “... for my sacrifice for the troops in the course of the last domestic war”<sup>26</sup>. In June 1861, his request was granted and he received the coveted award.

A similar situation occurred with the commemorative medal “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”. Thus, a nobleman from Yassi A. Lagafet sent a request for a medal, which he received on the Vladimir ribbon at the end of 1856. Because of a reminder, “... Moldavian boyar of Chisinau I. Fuchs and nobleman A. Bashot” were awarded<sup>27</sup>.

Retired collegiate assessor M. Augustovsky mentioned the personal contribution to the war in 1855 in the amount of 94 rubles 26 kopecks in a letter to the governor and asked for a medal for his deed. In response, a letter was sent stating that Augustus' surname was not included in the genealogy book of the Bessarabian nobility, and therefore he was not entitled to a medal. In early 1857, M. Augustovsky, provided documents of aristocratic origin and received the desired award.

## **Conclusions**

Thus, the merits of the nobility in the years of military conflicts of the mid-nineteenth – early twentieth centuries were not forgotten after their completion. Based on the analysis of archival and newspaper materials, we have identified four types of awards received by Bessarabian aristocrats for their charitable activities. The most common were collective and individual gratitude; medals “In memory of the last war of 1853-1856”, “In memory of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878”, “In memory of the Russo-Japanese war”; Orders of St. Stanislaus and St. Anne. The state awards had a strong motivational effect and stimulated further charity activity.

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<sup>26</sup> NARM, f. 88, inv. 1, c. 1418, P. 48.

<sup>27</sup> SAOR, f. 1, inv. 194, c. 244, P. 67, 128, 142.

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Vira TSERKOVNA\*

## **BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION REGARDING THE EDITORS OF *KISHINEVSKIE EPARHIALNYIE BEDOMOSTI***

*- Abstract -*

The article is devoted to the biographical information of the editors of *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti* (Chişinău Diocesan Records) from 1867 to 1917. In order to create a collective portrait of the editors are analyzed origin, education, career, the range of scientific or journalistic interests, awards and significance of their activities for the region.

*Keywords:* collective portrait; *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*; Bessarabia; Chişinău diocese; clergy; editor.

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### **Introduction**

At the turn of 20 - 21 centuries a relatively new direction in the study of historical and cultural processes was intensively developing in Ukrainian historical science. The object of such research is a person who belongs to a certain historical period, territory, community and culture. Historical and biographical researches make it possible to personify the past, recreate portraits of individual historical figures, social or professional groups, demonstrate the general and logical, individual and specific through the representatives of a particular region. Especially relevant are such studies in the field of local and regional history.

### **The Problem Statement**

An important component of historical and regional studies of Bessarabian history are local periodical. A special place among the official provincial publications and the private press is taken by the “Chişinău Diocesan Records” (hereinafter referred to as “CDR”) that covered various aspects of religious life of

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the population and activities of the Orthodox Church and the clergy. For a more complete study of diocesan periodicals and its significance in the public life of the region it is necessary to study the biographies and creative heritage of its editors.

### Research Analyses

A variety of materials published on the pages of “CDR” have become the subject of research by such Ukrainian historians as N. Volkanova<sup>1</sup>, T. Erich<sup>2</sup>, V. Kochmar<sup>3</sup>, I. Tatarinov<sup>4</sup>, A. Fedorova<sup>5</sup>, V. Tserkovna<sup>6</sup>. Among the fundamental prosopographic publications it is worth mentioning the *Biographical Dictionary of Graduates of the Kiev Theological Academy* in 4 volumes, that was

<sup>1</sup>Volkanova, N. (2017). Blahodiina diialnist dvorian Bessarabii na storinkakh mistsevoi presy (seredyna KhIKh – pochatok KhKh st.). *Naukoviz apysky Ternopilskoho natsionalnoho pedahohichnohou niversytetu imeni Volodymyra Hnatiuka. Ser. Istoriiia. Vyp.2. ch. 3. P. 29-33.*

<sup>2</sup>Yerych, T. (2014). Istoriiia tserkovnykh bratstv Pivdennoi Bessarabii u druhiu polovyni KhIKh st. (za materialamy “Kyshynivskykhieparkhialnykhvidomostei”). *Materialy XX Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi internet-konferentsii “Problemy ta perspektyvy rozvytku nauky na pochatku tretoho tysiacholittia u krainakh SND”*. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. P. 96-98. URL: [http://conferences.neasmo.org.ua/uploads/conference/file/2/conference\\_27-28.2.2014.pdf](http://conferences.neasmo.org.ua/uploads/conference/file/2/conference_27-28.2.2014.pdf); (2013); Zminy systemy navchannia ta vykhovannia v Kyshynivskii dukhovnii seminarii v seredyni KhIKh st. *Intelihentsiia i vlada*. (29). P.14-23.

<sup>3</sup>Kochmar, V. (2010). Eparhialnye vedomosti kak istochnik izucheniya pravoslaviya Yuga Ukrainyi. *Visnyk Odeskoho natsionalnoho universytetu*. T. 15. (21). P. 45-54.

<sup>4</sup>Tatarinov, I. (2013). Diialnist Kyshynivskoi yeparkhii z mobilizatsii materialnykh resursiv na viiskovi potreby (lypen-hruden 1914). *Intelihentsiia i vlada*. (29). P. 71-79; (2015); Mobilizatsiia sviahchennosluzhyteliv Bessarabii do Dukhovnoho zahonu v 1914 r. *Intelihentsiia i vlada*. (32). P. 307-316.

<sup>5</sup>Fedorova, A. (2015). “Kishinevskie eparhialnye vedomosti” kak istochnik dlya izucheniya staroobryadtsev v Yuzhnoy Bessarabii. *Intelligentsiya i vlast*. (33). P.163-173.

<sup>6</sup>Tserkovna, V. (2015). Istoriiia sela Railianka za materialamy “Kyshynivskykh yeparkhialnykh vidomostei”. *Kraieznavstvo*. (1–2). P.110-116;(2015). The Orthodox clergy of Romania in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (on the materials of “Chisinau Diocesan Records”). *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research*. Vol. 5. (2). P. 125-133; (2016). Vypusky Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii – vydatni predstavnyky pravoslavnoho dukhivnytstva Rumunii XIX st. (za materialamy “Kyshynivskykh yeparkhialnykh vidomostei”). *Naukovyi visnyk Izmailskoho derzhavnoho humanitarnoho universytetu: zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Seriiia “Istorychni nauky”*. (34). P. 138-142; (2017). “Kyshynivski yeparkhialni vidomosti” yak dzherelo tserkovno-kraieznavchykh doslidzhen Pivdennoi Bessarabii XIX st. *Teoretychni, metodychni ta praktychni problemy istorii, filosofii, sotsiologii, politologii, pravoznavstva: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats za materialamy naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii (20 sichnia 2017 r.)*. P.144-150; (2019). Biohrafichni materialy na shpaltakh “Kyshynivskykh yeparkhialnykh vidomostei”. *Naukovyi visnyk Izmailskoho derzhavnoho humanitarnoho universytetu: zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Seriiia “Istorychni nauky”*. (43). P. 180-190. DOI 10.31909/26168774.2019-(43)-18

conceived as an “academic portrait”: the collective image of the Kiev Theological Academy in the individual fates of its wards and includes respectively articles about many editors of “CDR” – graduates of this institution<sup>7</sup> and the encyclopedia “Kyiv Spiritual Academy (1819 – 1924) in names”<sup>8</sup>. At the study of biographies and creation of collective portraits of historical figures and corporate groups, such as Bessarabian nobles of 19<sup>th</sup> century, bishops of the diocese of Chişinău late 19th–early 20th century were engaged such researches as L. Tsiganenko<sup>9</sup> and V. Tserkovna<sup>10</sup>. The biographies and identities of the “CDR” editors have not yet become the subject of scientific analysis and generalization.

### Statement of the basic material

The idea of creating diocesan records as a special type of church publication belongs to Kherson Archbishop Innokenty (Borisov), who developed his sample program in 1853. After his death, in 1859, Archbishop Dimitriy (Muretov) presented this program to the Holy Synod for discussion, arguing the need for its realization of financial and administrative benefits. By the decree of the Synod of December 31, 1859 the request of the lord was granted and the program was sent to the diocesan bishops<sup>11</sup>.

The evolution of church periodicals in the Bessarabian region began after formation of the Chişinău and Khotyn diocese in 1813 at the initiative of the Exarch of Moldavia and Valahia Gavriil (Bănulescu-Bodoni), who was appointed Metropolitan of and Khotin<sup>12</sup>. The painstaking work of the metropolitan was

<sup>7</sup>*Biograficheskiy slovar vyipusnikov Kievskoy duhovnoy akademii: 1819–1920-e gg.: Materialy iz sobraniya prof. protoiereya F. I. Titova i arhiva KDA: v 4 t. / [sost. V. I. Ulyanovskiy]. K.:Izdatelskiy otdel Ukrainskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi.*

<sup>8</sup>*Kyivska dukhovna akademiia (1819–1924) v imenakh : entsyklopediia: v 2 t. / uporiad. i nauk. red. M. L. Tkachuk; vidp. red. V. S. Briukhovetskyi. K.: Vydavnychidim “KM-Akademiia”.*

<sup>9</sup>Tsiganenko, L. (2017). Bessarabski dvoriany v XIX st.: materialy do prosopohrafichnoho portretu. *Teoretychni, metodychni ta praktychni problemy istorii, filosofii, sotsiologii, politologii, pravoznavstva, Zbirnyk naukovykh prats za materialamy naukovopraktychnoi konferentsii (20 sichnia 2017 r.)*. P.150-155.

<sup>10</sup>Tserkovnaya, V. (2017). Collective Portrait of the Chişinău Diocesans During the Period Between the XIX-th Century and the Beginning of the XX-th. *Danubius*. Vol.35. (3). P. 13-26.

<sup>11</sup>Troytskyi, A. (2003). Eparhialnyie vedomosti. *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*. T. 18. P. 493-497. URL: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/190001.html>

<sup>12</sup>Lyman, I. Rosiiska pravoslavna tserkva na pivdni Ukrainy ostannoii chverti XVIII – seredyny KhIKh stolittia. *Personalnyi sait istoryka Ihoria Lymana*. URL:<http://www.i-lyman.name/RPCerkvaPivdUkr.html>

successful and in March 1814 he received permission from the Holy Synod to open a printing house at the bishop's house<sup>13</sup>. From the day it was founded until the death of Metropolitan Gabriel (Benulescu-Bodoni), 19450 copies of church books were published in the Chişinău printing house for the amount of 225 252 lei<sup>14</sup>.

The history of the first periodical church publication started under the Archbishop of Chişinău, Antonii (Shokotov), with the Decree of the Holy Synod from February 17, 1867<sup>15</sup> had "CDR" been published from July 1, 1867 to 1917, in 1867 – 1904. – twice a month, and in 1906 – 1917 – weekly. Over the entire period of the publication's existence more than 1,5 thousand issues were printed with a circulation of 600 – 700 copies. First, "CDR" was printed in the printing house of the bishop's place, from 1886 until October 1906 in the private printing house of E. Shliomovich, and starting from No. 41 in the diocesan printing house<sup>16</sup>.

From 1867 to 1871 materials in the journal were printed in parallel in Russian and Moldavian languages. Each issue consisted of formal and informal parts. Since 1872 the nature of the published material became more of a book, a scientific one, and since 1906 the publication of spiritual and journalistic articles has significantly revived and "CDR" was placed "among the first printed diocesan authorities"<sup>17</sup>.

The diocesan records had a united structure and a common program, but the coverage of many issues was determined by the specifics of the diocese and the position of the local ruler. Until 1906 he had the right to appoint and dismiss the editor, censor, proofreader, and clerk, and these appointments were determined by the education, views, mentality, and intellectual horizons. The successful evolution of "CDR", as well as other diocesan publications, largely depended on the

<sup>13</sup>Stadnytskyi, A. (1892). Bessarabskaya ekzarsheskaya tipografiya pri Kishinevskom Arhierieyskom Dome. *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*. (1–2). P. 17–18.

<sup>14</sup>Fushtei, N. (2013). Izdatelskaya deyatelnost mitropolita Gavriila Benulesku-Bodoni. *Codrul Cosminului*. (1). P. 32.

<sup>15</sup>Parhomovich, A. (1911). Redaktoryi i tsenzoryi "Kishinevskih Eparhialnyih Vedomostey" (s 1867 po 1911). *"Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti"*. (28). P. 1043.

<sup>16</sup>Alfer'eva, L., Sodal', V. (2019). Kishinevskie eparhialnyie vedomosti. *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*. T.35. P. 213-215. URL:

<http://www.pravenc.ru/text/%20%D0%9A%D0%B8%D1%88%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%91%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B5%20%D0%B5%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B8%D0%B0%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD%D1%8B%D0%B5%20%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%20.html>

<sup>17</sup>Redaktoryi i tsenzoryi "Kishinevskih Eparhialnyih Vedomostey" (s 1867 po 1911). *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*. (28). P. 1043.

personality of the editor, who determined the content of the paper, its concept, editorial policy and the financial condition of the edition.

In order to create a collective portrait of “CDR” editors is considered and analyzed the available biographical information according to the following criteria: origin, education, clergy, career, scientific or journalistic interests, editorial policy, awards.

“CDR” were published on the basis of a single model of the official provincial newspaper “Bessarabian Provincial Gazette”. As you may know, each issue consisted of the official and unofficial parts, which were edited separately. At different times during the 50 years of its existence (1867 – 1917), the official and unofficial parts of the records were headed by 17 editors (see table).

№	Name and Surname	Years of life	Years of editing
1.	Archimandrite Varlaam (Chernyavskiy Vasily Nikiforovich)	1819 – 1836	July 1867
2.	Skvortsov Mihail Ivanovich	1825 – 1871	July 1867 – November 1870
3.	Pakhovskiy Petr Fedorovich	1841 – 1891	1870 – 1875
4.	Ganitskiy Mihail Antonovich	1843 – 1886	1872 – 1880
5.	Bochkovskiy Hrisanf Ivanovich	1831 – 1903	1875 – 1887
6.	Shpanovskiy Leonid Platonovich	1843 – 1903	January – July 1881
7.	Chudetskiy Pavel Ivanovich	1844 – 1886	1881 – 1883
8.	Epuri Makariy Ivanovich	1848 – 1903	1883 – 1885
9.	Stadnitskiy Avkseniyy Georgievich	1862 – 1936	1887 – 1895
10.	Yanovskiy Aleksandr Vasilevich	1848 – ?	1896 – 1905
11.	Parhomovich Iosif Mihaylovich	1846 – ?	1905 – 1908
12.	Kurdinovskiy Vasily Grigorevich	1871 – ?	1908 – 1916
13.	Bogoyavlenskiy Aleksey Aleksandrovich	1873 – ?	1909 – 1913
14.	Reshetnikov V. V.		1913 – 1917
15.	Archimandrite Damian (Govorov Dimitriy Grigorevich)	1855 – 1936	January - April 1916
16.	Smelov I. E.		и.о. April 1916- April 1917
17.	Aleksiy (Gromadskiy Aleksandr Yakovlevich)	1882 – 1943	и.о. April - July 1917

The analysis of the table indicates that the average age of the Chişinău “CDR” was 40 years. The youngest editor at the time of his appointment was A. G. Stadnitskiy, who was 25 years old, and I. M. Parkhomovich and archimandrite Damian (Govorov) took up their duties at the age of 59 and 61, respectively. The average duration of editorial duties was 4 years. Editor K. I. Bochkovskiy–12 years old, A. V. Yanovskiy–almost 10 years and A. G. Stadnitskiy– 8 years were responsible for the release of “CDR”. The shortest period – 4 months – took archimandrite Damian (Govorov) in 1916 and Alexy (Gromadskiy) in 1917.

By their origin all the editors of “CDR” belonged to the clergy. Most of them came from poor families of rural priests, clerks, and psalm-goers (94%). Only M. I. Skvortsov was born in a famous professor family, his father was the well-known Kiev archpriest, professor of philosophy at the Kiev Academy and teacher theology at Kiev University of St. Vladimir, Doctor of Theology Ivan Mikhailovich Skvortsov<sup>18</sup>. From all of the editor eleven were from Ukrainian lands: archimandrite Varlaam, P. F. Pakhovskiy, M. I. Epuri, A. G. Stadnitskiy– immigrants from the Bessarabian province; M. I. Skvortsov, M. A. Ganitskiy, L. P. Shpanovskiy– from the Kiev province; K. I. Bochkovskiy, I. M. Parkhomovich, V. G. Kurdinovskiy– from the Poltava province; A. V. Yanovskiy– from the Volyn province. P. I. Chudeckiy and A. A. Bogoyavlenskiy were born in the Kostroma province, archimandrite Damian (Govorov) – in the Taganrog district of the land of the Don Army, and Alexy (Gromadskiy) – in the Sedletsk province of the Kingdom of Polish and Russian Empire. The biographical information about the editors V. V. Reshetnikov and I. E. Smelov unfortunately are limited, it is yet to be found.

The editors of “CDR” were appointed the best representatives of the church intelligentsia, who received an excellent spiritual education. As a rule, after graduating from a religious school, gymnasium or seminary, the best pupils continued their studies at theological academies, that allowed them to carry out the informational and spiritual tasks that were put before the church periodicals. All editors of this periodical had a higher theological education: twelve editors graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy: M. I. Skvortsov, P. F. Pakhovskiy, M. A. Ganitskiy, H. I. Bochkovskiy, L. P. Shpanovskiy, P. I. Chudetskiy, M. I. Epuri, A. G. Stadnitskiy, I. M. Parkhomovich, archimandrite Damian (Govorov), I. E. Smelov, Alexy (Gromadskiy), four – St. Petersburg Theological Academy: archimandrite Varlaam, A. V. Yanovskiy, V. G. Kurdinovskiy and

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<sup>18</sup>*Biograficheskiy slovar vyipusnikov Kievskoy duhovnoy akademii: 1819–1920-e gg. Materialyi iz sobraniya prof. protoiereya F. I. Titova i arhiva KDA: v 4 t. / [sost. V. I.*

A. A. Bogoyavlenskiy. They were awarded the degree of Ph. D of theology, most of them – with the right to obtain a superannuated master's degree in the spiritual school service. Three clergymen who later served as the editor of "CDR" defended master's theses: archimandrite Varlaam– "On the Changes in the Order of the Liturgies of John Chrysostom, Vasily the Great and Grigory Dvoeslov, Indicated in Pomeranian Answers and the Sword of Spirit", A. G. Stadnitskiy – Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni, Exarch of Moldavia and Valahia (1808–1812) and Metropolitan of Chişinău (1813 – 1821), M. I. Skvortsov–the research topic is unknown, all of these were approved to the degree of Master of Theology. After working at "CDR", A. G. Stadnitskiy in 1904 was awarded a doctorate in church history for his book *Studies and Monographs on the History of the Moldavian Church* which received the full Uvarov Prize from the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Romanian Royal House medal for scientific achievements<sup>19</sup>.

Most of the editors combined editorial work with teaching and inspector positions in religious institutions. It should be noted that most of them were intensively engaged in scientific, journalistic and educational work long before their appointment to the post of editor and continued this work after leaving the editorial office. Thirteen out of the seventeen "CDR" editors were teachers of the Chişinău Theological Seminary. Among the editors of "CDR" there were rectors of the Chişinău Theological Seminary, archimandrite Varlaam, M. A. Ganitskiy, archimandrite Damian (Govorov), A. V. Yanovskiy and inspectors of this seminary A. A. Bogoyavlenskiy, P. I. Chudetskiy, as well as secretary of Chişinău Consistories V. V. Reshetnikov. Most clergymen taught languages (Russian, Latin, Ancient Greek, Jewish, German, French), theological subjects (dogmatic theology, biblical history, homiletics, liturgy, church singing), civil history, logic, psychology, mathematics, physics. In addition to official spiritual, teaching and administrative duties, these clergy were members of various Orthodox missionary, charitable, school or historical and archaeological societies, committees and councils.

The first issue of "CDR" was signed by two editors: the rector of the Chişinău Theological Seminary – archimandrite Varlaam and professor of the same seminar and church journalist M. I. Skvortsov who took an active part in organizing the paper and compiling the "CER" program.

In 1861, Archimandrite Varlaam, after returning to his native Chişinău seminary and getting the rank of archimandrite, was appointed the rector of the

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Ulyanovskiy]. K.: Izdatelskiy otdel Ukrainskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi. 2019. T. 3: R–Ya, P.146.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. P.232.

seminary, taught liturgy, homiletics, church law, dogmatic and moral theology and made a great contribution to the development of spiritual education in Bessarabia. In addition, he was the rector of monasteries, the dean of the monasteries of the Chişinău diocese, a member of the Spiritual Consistory, a member of the Provincial Statistics Committee<sup>20</sup>. On the pages of “CDR” were printed several of his articles, mainly on theological topics. After the first issue, archimandrite Varlaam refused to proceed with editorial work and M. I. Skvortsov was the sole editor until June 1870.

In addition to taking care of organizational, financial and editorial issues, the editors published their own notes, articles, and materials on the pages of this publication. The number of articles, their content, quality and nature of publications depended on the personality of the editor, his scientific interests and his worldview. For example, M. I. Skvortsov, who was at the origins of the statements, published over eighty articles on theological topics in the journal during his editorial period. He also printed his thoughts in the journal under the heading “Thoughts” (“Misli”) that were mostly of a religious and moral character.

P. F. Pakhovskiy devoted a lot of time to editing the articles sent to “CDR” by the authors; sometimes he printed his notes, but often anonymously. Basically, these were biographical<sup>20</sup> and anniversary publications and obituaries<sup>21</sup>.

In this regard, the biography of M. A. Ganitskiy, who after graduating from the Kiev Theological Academy in 1867, was first appointed to the post of assistant inspector of the Chişinău Seminary, then to the post of teacher of the Latin language in the same seminary, is very indicative. In 1872 he was elected the editor of “CER” and performed these duties until 1889 inclusive. At the same time, he worked as a teacher of history and physics at the Chişinău Diocesan Women's School, then as a teacher of civil history, and acted as a priest of the Harlampie Church of Chişinău and as a priest at the Chişinău Cathedral. In addition, in 1878 Ganitskiy was a member of the Chişinău Spiritual Consistory, a member of the Bessarabian Provincial School Council, from 1883 he was the chairman of the council of the Chişinău Diocesan Women's School, and from 1884 he was a member of the Chişinău Diocesan School Council. By the decree of the Holy Synod of June 7, 1885 he was appointed the rector of the Chişinău Theological Seminary and elevated to

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<sup>20</sup>Igumen Irinej (Tafunya). (2009). Stranitsyi iz istorii Kishinevskoy duhovnoy seminarii. *Tyragetia*. (2). P. 141-157.

<sup>21</sup>Parhomovich, A. (1911). Spisok rektorov i inspektorov Kishinevskoy duhovnoy seminarii za vremya stoletnego (s 31 yanvarya 1813 g.) suschestvovaniya ee. *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*. (25). P. 955.

the rank of archpriest<sup>22</sup>. M. A. Ganitskiy being the editor of “CDR” published a lot of his articles and materials, most of which are on the history of the Chişinău seminary and diocese.

The fifth editor of the “CDR”, K.I. Bochkovskiy also occasionally placed his articles in an editable publication, mainly these were his sermons<sup>23</sup>.

L. P. Shpanovskiy who was the second editor under K. I. Bochkovskiy for only a few months published only one of his articles in the journal, “The Splitter of Habakkuk and His Works”. After that he went to serve in the Ministry of Education. A. Parkhomovich notes interesting facts from the life of L. Spanovskiy: he was a skilled sculptor, invented a special musical instrument in the form of harmonics for which he received a bronze medal at the Paris exhibition<sup>24</sup>.

From 1881 to 1883, the rector's duties of “CDR” were performed by P. I. Chudetskiy. Studying at the Kiev Theological Academy at the historical department he thoroughly mastered German and French, studied foreign literature, both secular and spiritual. In 1877 in Kiev the first work of P. I. Chudetskiy, *The Experience of Historical Research on the Number of Russian Monasteries Closed in the 18 and 19 centuries* was published. He was transferred to the seminary in Chişinău to the post of inspector by the Holy Synod in 1878. Despite the fact that he was not an editor for a long time P. I. Chudetskiy published a number of his works in the diocesan sheets, mainly on pedagogy: the book *Native Language. Training in Mechanical Reading and Writing*, the articles “On Extracurricular Reading of Books with Pupils of the Seminary”, “Visual Training”, “Historical View of Spiritual Education in Russia” and others<sup>25</sup>.

After P. I. Chudetskiy the second editor under H. I. Bochkovskiy was the teacher of Greek at the Chişinău Seminary – M. I. Epuri. Colleagues noted his diligence and accuracy, administrative abilities, thanks to which he was appointed a superintendent of the Chişinău Theological School by decree of the Holy Synod. Among the few publications in the diocesan sheets there are articles on theological subjects: “A General View of Worship in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church”, “Holidays in the First Three Centuries of the Christian church”, “Extra-

<sup>22</sup>*Biograficheskiy slovar vyipusnikov Kievskoy duhovnoy akademii: 1819–1920-e gg.: Materialyi iz sobraniya prof. protoiereya F. I. Titova i arhiva KDA: v 4 t. / [sost. V. I. Ulyanovskiy]. K.:Izdatskiy otdel Ukrainskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi. 2014. T. 1: A–Y. P. 325.*

<sup>23</sup>Ibid. P.188.

<sup>24</sup>Parhomovich, A. (1911). Redaktoryi i tsenzoryi “Kishinevskih Eparhialnyih Vedomostey” (s 1867 po 1911). *Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*. (28). P. 1050.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. P.1053.

liturgical Readings and Interviews and Their Significance in the Matter of Religious and Moral Education of the People”<sup>26</sup>.

A famous representative of the Bessarabian clergy A. G. Stadnitskiy later Metropolitan Arseny who edited “CDR” for 8 years and was actively engaged in scientific activities, studying the history of the Orthodox Church in Bessarabia. As professor I. V. Korsunskiy once said, A. Stadnitskiy “was not only the editor of the diocesan newspaper, but also its most active and prolific employee”<sup>27</sup>. In 1888 the Holy Synod began to publish the “Church Gazette” in connection with which the official section was reduced in all diocesan sheets and the unofficial increased<sup>28</sup>. During the period while A. G. Stadnitskiy was on duty, the unofficial department was replenished with the articles of a religious and moral nature, appeared publications in which the practical questions of diocesan life were raised - about the clergy and the church school, about the split in the church, sectarianism, libraries. “CDR” published a great amount of A. Stadnitskiy’ articles at that time. The circle of scientific and journalistic interests of the editor was quite wide. Here are just a few of them: theological topics (about church reading, about the sacred robes of clergy, about fasting, about the state of schism and sectarianism in Bessarabia, about the Christian world, about the relationship between faith and knowledge, about missionary work, various pastoral instructions); church history (the origin and formation of the chants of the Orthodox Church, the history of heterodox confessions in Bessarabia); the history of Bessarabia, the Izmail diocese, the Chişinău theological seminary, the noble boarding house at the Chişinău seminary, the bishop’s house, the exarch’s printing house, about church life in Romania and the situation of the Orthodox clergy.

The rector of the Chişinău Theological Seminary, archpriest A. V. Yanovskiy, who was a censor for almost 9 years and editor of “CDR” for almost 10 years made a great contribution to the development of the diocesan press in Bessarabia. During the editorial period this clergyman was the chairman of the Trinity Church seminary, the deputy chairman of the Orthodox Christ-Christmas Brotherhood, a member of the Committee of the Orthodox Messenger Society, the foreman of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society, the chairman of the loan and savings fund for servants of religious schools of Chişinău, Committee of the Chişinău Public Library and a member of the Bessarabian Provincial Sanitary Executive Commission. Being on these positions archpriest

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid. P.1054.

<sup>27</sup>Mitropolit Arsenij (Stadnickij). URL: [https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Arsenij\\_Stadnickij/](https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Arsenij_Stadnickij/)

A. V. Yanovskiy as noted by A. Parkhomovich was the personification of competence, industriousness, authority, and was distinguished by a calm and soft character<sup>29</sup>. Among the materials published in “CDR” A. V. Yanovskiy wrote mainly texts on the occasion of major Orthodox holidays and anniversaries of crowned persons.

A striking representative of the regional intellectual elite was I. M. Parkhomovich who served in the Chişinău Theological Seminary for over 35 years. He taught at the missionary department, specialized in exposing the Russian schism and sectarianism, conducted public conversations with schismatics at the seminary, recited the Law of God at the Chişinău Women's School, and was a member of the pedagogical and administrative meetings of the Seminary Board. From 1905 to 1908 I. Parkhomovich headed the editorial committee of “CDR” and since then it was published every week<sup>30</sup>. At the same time as the head of the editorial board, he performed a number of other duties: a member-treasurer of the Orthodox Missionary Society in the Chişinău department, a member of the committee for conducting religious and moral readings and out-of-office interviews, a member of the committee for monitoring the activities of missionaries of the Chişinău diocese. In addition, he was a founding member and a member of the Council of the Chişinău religious-enlightening Christ-Christmas fraternity, edited his publications, a member of the Chişinău diocesan missionary council, a member-treasurer of the council of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society, a full member of the Epiphany fraternity at Kiev Theological Academy, a founding member and a member of the steering committee of the Three Hierarchical Seminar Brotherhood for aiding students of the seminary, member and main philanthropist of Chişinău Alexander Nevsky fraternity, member of the Bessarabian branch custody of Empress Maria Alexandrovna of the Blind, a member-employee of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup>Kochmar, V. (2010). Eparhialnyie vedomosti kak istochnik izucheniya pravoslaviya Yuga Ukrainyi. *Visnyk Odeskoho natsionalnoho universytetu*. T. 15. (21). P. 45-54.

<sup>29</sup>Parhomovich, A. (1911). Spisok rektorov i inspektorov Kishinevskoy duhovnoy seminarii za vremya stoletnego (s 31 yanvarya 1813 g.) suschestvovaniya ee. “*Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*”. (23). P. 895.

<sup>30</sup>*Biograficheskiy slovar vyipusnikov Kievskoy duhovnoy akademii: 1819–1920-e gg.: Materialyi iz sobraniya prof. protoiereya F. I. Titova i arhiva KDA: v 4 t. / [sost. V. I. Ulyanovskiy]. K. :Izdatskiy otdel Ukrainskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi. 2015. T. 2: K–P. P. 471.*

<sup>31</sup>Kuzmina, S. (2016). Vykhovantsi Kyivskoi dukhovnoi akademii braty Parkhomovychi: osvityani, bohoslovy, istoryky. *Kyivska akademiia*. (13). P. 33-61.

Working as an inspector and teacher of the Chişinău Diocesan Women's School he published a huge number of reports and historical notes on the school's status on the pages of the paper in order to draw attention to women's education. Another area of his journalistic and scientific activity was theological research on the "two-fingers sign of cross" and legality of the Old Believer church hierarchy. The results of these surveys were also published in "CDR" and some Chişinău diocesan authorities repeatedly published it as a separate collection<sup>32</sup>.

A special attention deserves the activity of I. Parkhomovich together with his brother A. Parkhomovich and other representatives of the local intelligentsia and clergy associated with the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society that was created to study the history of Christianity in Bessarabia, diocesan governance structure, church life and life of the population of Bessarabia, statistics of parishes, churches, monasteries<sup>33</sup>. Despite the difficulties in work due to the dismissal of leaders, conflicts, lack of finances and administrative assistance from the bishops, the passivity of ordinary members of the community, local clergy enthusiasts continued their historical and church research. Thus, I. Parkhomovich studied the history of the Chişinău diocese through the biographies of the bishops, the history of the Bessarabian vicariates, the history of the Chişinău theological seminary and theological educational institutions connected with it. Some materials and articles were published in "CDR" and most of them were in collections of proceedings of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society. The Parkhomovich brothers did not participate in only one of the nine issues of the publication. From 1867 to 1904 more than 60 articles by I. Parkhomovich and a large number of obituaries of former seminary teachers were published in "CDR" only on theological topics.

An active supporter of the study, preservation and popularization of historical monuments as well as church history in Bessarabia was the literature teacher of the Chişinău Theological Seminary V. Kurdinovskiy, who since 1908 was the editor of "CDR" and the Proceedings of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society. These publications included some of his works on theological, philosophical, historical and archaeological topics, including *The Apocalypse of Andrei Kesariyskiy*, *The Main Problems of Ethics in its Philosophical Sanctification*, *Religious Motifs in the Poetry of A.S. Pushkin*, *Notes on the Theory of Literature*, *Materials for the History of Bessarabia (Case of Lancaster schools)*,

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid. P. 47.

*Easter Traditions in Bessarabia, Archaeological Trip to Bessarabia, List of the Oldest Churches of Bessarabia, Essay on the Official Activities of A. Parkhomovich and about his Resignation*<sup>34</sup> For 1909 – 1914 9 volumes of works of the “Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society” were published and edited by V. Kurdinovskiy<sup>35</sup>.

It should be noted that until November 1909 both of “CDR” departments were run by one editor or two at the same time according to the mutual distribution of editorial duties between them. Since December 1909 on the basis of the order from the Chişinău Ecclesiastical Consistory received from Seraphim, Bishop of Chişinău and Khotin, a separate editor was to manage each department of the publication independently<sup>36</sup>. The editor of the informal department until 1916 was V. Kurdinovskiy, and the secretary of the Chişinău Consistory A. Bogoyavlenskiy was appointed an editor of the official department.

A. Bogoyavlenskiy, like most editors, was also a member of the Council and a librarian of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society, and a member of the Chişinău Diocesan Messenger Council. He published some of his articles in the unofficial department, for example, “Review of the Diocese by His Grace Seraphim, Bishop of Chişinău and Khotin from April 27 to May 5, 1910,” “On the Centenary of the Accession of Bessarabia”.

After A. Bogoyavlenskiy the Secretary of the Chişinău Consistory V. V. Reshetnikov was appointed the editor of the official department, who performed his duties until the closing of “CDR”. After V. G. Kurdinovskiy from January to April 1916, archimandrite Damian (Govorov) held the post of editor of the unofficial newsletter department. In 1911 he was appointed rector of the Chişinău Theological Seminary, streamlined the educational and economic work, and under his leadership the centenary of the seminary was widely celebrated. Damian (Govorov) was also elected the foreman of the Bessarabian Church Historical and Archaeological Society, actively engaged in scientific and journalistic activities. He is the author of a number of historical and biographical essays, articles

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<sup>33</sup>Tsyganenko, L. (2011). Z istorii stvorennia Bessarabskoho tserkovnoho istoryko-arkheolohichnoho tovarystva. *Naukovyi visnyk Izmailskoho derzhavnogo humanitarnoho universytetu: zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Seriiia “Istorychni nauky”*. (30). P. 163-167.

<sup>34</sup>Kurdinovsky, Vasily Grigoryevich. URL:<http://histpol.pl.ua/ru/lichnosti/muzykanty-i-muzykovedy?id=8517>

<sup>35</sup>Tsyganenko, L. (2011). Z istorii stvorennia Bessarabskoho tserkovnoho istoryko-arkheolohichnoho tovarystva. *Naukovyi visnyk Izmailskoho derzhavnogo humanitarnoho universytetu: zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Seriiia “Istorychni nauky”*. (30). P. 166.

<sup>36</sup>Parhomovich, A. (1911). Redaktoryi i tsenzoryi “Kishinevskih Eparhialnyih Vedomostey” (s 1867 po 1911). “*Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti*”. (29). P. 1075.

on theological and church-social topics, some of which were published in “CDR” during his service<sup>37</sup>.

Under archimandrite Damian, with the blessing of Anastasius, Bishop of Chişinău and Khotin, without changing the program previously approved by the Holy Synod, changes were made in both sections of the headings. The official department was supposed to publish personalized Highest decrees, orders, awards, determinations of the Holy Synod, orders of Mr. Ober-Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, changes in service, orders of the diocesan authorities, appointments, dismissals, diocesan news, idle priestly and psalm places, obituaries and other official news. The unofficial department was intended for posting speeches by the archpastor, articles of diocesan employees on local topics, foreign dioceses, diocesan news, novels of spiritual literature, answers to church-related questions of subscribers. In connection with the rise in price of paper and printing materials the records were planned to be published without a color cover and the volume should not exceed two printed pages, and large articles of employees were going to be issued as a separate appendix<sup>38</sup>.

Under such a program “CDR” were published until June 1917. After archimandrite Damian, the teacher of the Chişinău Theological Seminary I. Smelov was appointed acting editor of the unofficial department. The biographical information of this editor has yet to be restored. His works in the publication were limited, taking into consideration historical circumstances, by the article about the congress of shepherds in order to study Innocentism and several reports about wounded soldiers and an orphanage.

From April to July 1917, the acting editor of the informal department was Alexy (Gromadskiy). Prior to his appointment and relocation to Bessarabia in 1917, he served as a diocesan observer of church affairs in the Kholmok Spiritual Consistory. A. Gromadskiy is the author of a large number of historical and theological works and made a lot for the Orthodox book publishing and journalism, but in a later period<sup>39</sup>. He did not post his articles in “CDR”.

<sup>37</sup>Stankov, K. Damian, *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*. T. 13. P. 713–714, URL: [http://www.pravenc.ru/text/%D0%94%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%B0%D0%BD%20\(%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2\).html](http://www.pravenc.ru/text/%D0%94%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%B0%D0%BD%20(%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2).html)

<sup>38</sup>Arhimandrit Damian, (1916). Ot redaktsii “Kishinevskih Eparhialnyih Vedomostey”. “Kishinevskie Eparhialnyie Bedomosti”. (1–2), P. 60–62.

<sup>39</sup>Labyntsev, Yu. A. Aleksij, *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*. T. 1. P. 664–665, URL: [http://www.pravenc.ru/text/%D0%90%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B9%20\(%D0%93%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9\).html](http://www.pravenc.ru/text/%D0%90%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B9%20(%D0%93%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9).html)

Most of the clergy who held the post of “CDR” editors were awarded various hierarchical and church-wide awards for pastoral service, theological, scientific and administrative activities, spiritual and educational work. Also, for active missionary, social, and educational activities of clergymen, they were awarded extra-service awards – state orders and medals. Archimandrite Varlaam, P. F. Pakhovskiy, H. I. Bochkovskiy, P. I. Chudeckiy, A. V. Yanovskiy.; the Order of St. Anne –archimandrite Varlaam, L. P. Shpanovskiy, P. I. Chudetskiy, M. I. Epuri, A. V. Yanovskiy, archimandrite Damian (Govorov); the Order of St. Stanislav–M. A. Ganitskiy, L. P. Shpanovskiy, P. I. Chudeckiy, A. V. Yanovskiy.

### **Conclusions**

Thus, in the late 19 – 20 centuries, “Chişinău Diocesan Records” remained the only church periodical to cover various aspects of the religious life of the population and activities of the Orthodox Church and its clergy in the region. The papers had a single structure and a common program, but the coverage of many issues was attributed to specifics of the diocese and official position of the local ruler, who had the right to appoint and dismiss editors. Over the 50 years of the publication’s existence (1867–1917), the official and unofficial departments were headed by 17 editors, most of whom belonged to the regional intellectual elite, came from the clergy and received excellent academic spiritual education. First of all, the editors of “CDR” were clergy, subordinate to the local bishop, which means they were the conductors of the official policy of the Russian Empire in the region aimed at strengthening the position of Russian Orthodoxy and expanding Russification. Engaged in teaching, active social, scientific, journalistic, charitable and educational activities, the editors together with their like-minded people contributed to the dissemination and development of studying, preservation and popularization of historical knowledge, church history, the study of the life and customs of Bessarabia population.

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## THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE XIX<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE SPREAD OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN EUROPE

- Abstract -

The article deals with agriculture sciences establishment in the Western European countries and its influence on the development of other sciences. After analyzing the scope of scholarly articles, we found out that the second part of the XIX century was a critical period in agriculture sciences establishment. During this period, numerous scholarly articles were published, focusing on the theoretical aspect of agricultural education. Germany, Austria and France were the countries that played a crucial role in the development of agriculture as a science. However, this development was not entirely sustainable till the XX-th century.

*Keywords:* agriculture; science; agronomy; researchers; education; Europe; higher education institutions.

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### Introduction

After having declared its political independence, our society felt the urge to make certain changes in every sphere of life. The first urgent tasks were fundamental reforms in the national education system, which would correspond to the European requirements. Nowadays, taking into account the development of certain scientific fields and the education system of Ukraine, we identified a

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research gap in the subtle transformations in the education system of Ukraine, which were coming about from the second part of the XIX century till the beginning of the XX century. During that period, Ukrainian scientists gained valuable agricultural experience and reached outstanding scientific achievements. However, for an extended period, these achievements have remained undiscussed and unacknowledged<sup>1</sup>.

Agronomy is a respectful field of agricultural science, although first scholarly articles were written in the second part of the XIX century, and the establishment of the agricultural scientific disciplines took place in the second part of the XIX century – the beginning of the XX century. The significance of agricultural science is estimated by the level of its value for people. The development of agricultural science has been strongly related to human needs.

The history of this field of science has not only theoretical but also practical value because numerous agricultural issues occur time and again. Only after analyzing the history of education development, researchers can improve the modern education system of Ukraine and suggest its further development. Moreover, applying systematic and complex approaches to research of agricultural education in Ukraine as well as in Europe, scientists can predict the future development of agriculture<sup>2</sup>.

### Research Analyses

At the end of the XIX century, numerous scholarly articles were devoted to defining the development of agricultural science in Europe. The first scholarly works were “Higher Agricultural Education in Russia and Abroad”<sup>3</sup> by I. I. Meshchersky and “Review of Agricultural Establishments in England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy”<sup>4</sup> by V.V. Veshnyakov. These articles highlight the historical aspect of the establishment of agriculture as a university

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<sup>1</sup> Kostenko, O. (2017). Istorychni peredumovy stanovlennia silskohospodarskoi nauky osvity v krainakh Yevropy pershoi polovyny XIX st. – pochatku XX st. [Historical Aspects of Agricultural Sciences Establishment in European Countries (in the first part of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century)]. *Izmail State Humanities University Scientific Bulletin. Historical Sciences Series.* (37). P. 214-218.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Meshchersky, I. (1893). *Vyishee selskohozyaystvennoe obrazovanie v Rossii i za granitsey.* [Higher agricultural education in Russia and abroad]. St. Petersburg. P. 6-11.

<sup>4</sup> Veshnyakov, V. (1866). *Obzor selskohozyaystvennyih uchrezhdeniy v Anglii, Frantsii, Belgii, Gollandii, Germanii i Italii.* [Overview of agricultural institutions in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy]. St. Petersburg. 787 p.

subject in European university curriculums. The articles by the aforementioned Russian researchers have been of significant importance until now.

**The article aims** to define the development of agricultural science in the Western European countries, to highlight its characteristics and its influence on science development.

### **Statement of the basic material**

The shift of the Western European countries to capitalism was quite a continuous process while it had lasted for decades or even centuries. Furthermore, agriculture evolved and gradually became a part of capitalism. In the first part of the XIX century, there was a necessity to enhance the effectiveness of agriculture as a branch of science and apply for new technological advances. The cultural and economic prosperity of European countries fostered the research of agriculture as a science.

The development of the agricultural sciences and education in the first part of the XIX century immediately influenced technological progress. As Jean-Baptiste Boussingault and Justus Liebig had revealed how fertilizers enhance the natural fertility of soil, and the growth of plants, the production of artificial fertilizers increased significantly. At the end of the XIX century, it was scientifically proved that the physical-chemical processes in soil could affect soil fertility. Moreover, researchers who had elaborated the theories of humus and mineral nourishment of the plants made agronomists pay attention to the issues of soil fertility, soil enrichment with fertilizers, and enhancement of the growth of plants<sup>5</sup>.

Since such scientific advancements in agriculture, there occurred the need to spread and implement the scientific findings. The most efficient way to reach that goal was to establish specialized educational institutions.

It is worth mentioning that Germany was the first European country to establish agricultural education despite continuous confrontations of two mainstreams of agriculture schools; that is, one agriculture school focused more on the theoretical university education, while another school focused on providing practical knowledge of agricultural sciences.

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<sup>5</sup> Kostenko, O. (2017). Istorychni peredumovy stanovlennia silskohospodarskoi nauky osvity v krainakh Yevropy pershoi polovyny XIX st. – pochatku XX st. [Historical Aspects of Agricultural Sciences Establishment in European Countries (in the first part of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century)]. *Izmail State Humanities University Scientific Bulletin, Historical Sciences Series*. (37). P. 215.

The development of agricultural education in Germany consisted of two stages. The first stage began in the first part of the XVIII century when there was an urge to free German farmers from slavery. In that period, the course in agricultural science was implemented in the curriculums of German economic schools<sup>6</sup>. The first course on agriculture was taught in 1727 when the King of Prussia Frederick William I created the department of economics at the University of Halle<sup>7</sup>. The topics on agriculture were incorporated in the lectures on economics.

During the XVIII century, similar departments were established at all German universities. Consequently, in 1727 the department of economics was founded at the universities in Frankfurt an der Oder, then – in other German cities: Rinteln and Göttingen. Later almost all German universities opened the department of economics. In 1777 Louis IX of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, opened the Specialized Economic University of Giessen. At this university, the following courses were taught: chemistry, mineralogy, physics, botany, mining and construction work, veterinary medicine, bookkeeping, and agriculture. In general, agriculture studies were part of the curriculum of numerous German universities<sup>8</sup>.

Even before closing the departments of cameralistics, the development of agriculture studies was of significant importance. In 1782 Albrecht Daniel Thaer, an outstanding German agronomist, wrote in his scholarly article “English Agriculture” that there should be a specialized university for teaching agriculture studies. In his famous work *The Principles of Rational Agriculture*, he stated: “agriculture must therefore borrow from all these sciences some principles, used for the foundation of its own science, and, even if these sciences are not a significant part of its teaching, agriculture nevertheless must have all of them at its disposal”<sup>9</sup>. For that purpose, he believed that universities should co-operate with all branches of agriculture. Therefore, future agronomists could have skills and knowledge in the production processes.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid. P. 216.

<sup>7</sup> Zaykevych, A. (1893). *Agronomiya, kak nauka voobsche i universitetskaya v chastnosti*. [Agronomy as a General Science and as a University Science]. *Proceedings of the Second Kiev Regional Agricultural Congress*. Editor: S.M. Bohdanov. Kyiv: Publishing House P. Barsky. P. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Shkolyi selskohozyaystvennyie. (1903) [Agricultural Schools]. *Encyclopedic Dictionary / Editors: F.A. Brokhhaus, I.A. Efron*. St. Petersburg. Volume XXXIX a, (78). P. 626-633.

<sup>9</sup> Zaykevych, A. (1893). *Agronomiya, kak nauka voobsche i universitetskaya v chastnosti*. [Agronomy as a General Science and as a University Science]. *Proceedings of the Second Kiev Regional Agricultural Congress*. Editor: S.M. Bohdanov. Kyiv: Publishing House P. Barsky. P. 28.

Not only Albrecht Daniel Thaer had made a significant contribution to the development of agricultural sciences at German universities, but he also focused on the elaboration and further implementation of his agriculture theory and cofounded the first agriculture university in Zille (the Kingdom of Hannover). However, this university existed for a somewhat short period: from 1790 till 1804. The main reason for its failure was teaching agriculture sciences without any focus on the profitable part of agriculture. After analyzing the theoretical framework, we can state that the main agriculture courses were taught effectively at the universities; however, other sciences were regarded as additional and not quite relevant.

Next year, Carl August von Hardenberg, a Prussian minister, offered Albrecht Daniel Thaer to move to Prussia, where he was promised to cofound a school in a mansion, which was close to Berlin. After collecting all the donations from farmers, Thaer opened an agriculture school in Möglin for family farmers<sup>10</sup>.

The mansion was regarded as a comprehensive school of agricultural education. Students of this school were required to participate in all agricultural activities as the school was located in a suburb, which was perfect for any agriculture work. Therefore, the first agriculture academy in Europe was founded more on practical aspects rather than on theoretical ones. However, according to Professor Golz, who taught “History of German Agriculture”, this agriculture academy in Möglin also taught some theoretical aspects of agriculture and was suitable for conducting scientific experiments. Later on, this academy was focusing more on the agricultural theory because the academy was close to Berlin, a scientific hub. More importantly, after a three-year teaching period, in 1808 Thaer became a professor at the University of Berlin, where he was teaching till 1819: in winter semesters, he taught at the University of Berlin; in summer semesters, he taught at the Möglin Academy<sup>11</sup>.

The Prussian government highly valued the scientific contribution made by Albrecht Thaer. As a result of his work, Prof. Thaer was rewarded with a title of privy councilor, the Möglin School became The Royal Agricultural Academy, and professors of The Royal Agricultural Academy were state-funded. The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III clearly stated in his decree of 1 July 1805 that specialized agricultural institutions should be created and fully supplied with necessary equipment; moreover, studying agronomy should be interrelated with

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<sup>10</sup> Lokot, T. (1912). *Selskohozyaystvennyie instituty i universitetskaya agronomiya*. [Agricultural Institutes and University Agronomy]. *Reports and minutes of the general meetings of the Kiev Agronomic Society*. Kyiv: Publishing House T.H. Mainandlera. P. 2-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* P. 6.

agricultural activities. Although the King fully supported the agricultural education, he issued his decree a bit late because, by that time, the majority of the departments of agriculture studies had become a part of the departments of physics and mathematics of the Faculty of Philosophy.

When in 1819 Albrecht Thaer died, his son Albrecht Philipp Thaer became a head of the school. In 1837 one of the three state-funding programs for agriculture studies was in the Möglin School. However, according to S. M. Kholodetsky, who visited the Möglin School in 1844, this institution was going through a crisis because teaching methods required upgrading<sup>12</sup>. Consequently, after celebrating his 50<sup>th</sup> birthday, Albrecht Philipp Thaer decided to close the school in 1861. He explained his decision stating that the requirements for agricultural education were inappropriate for such institutions as the Möglin Academy. However, the Ministry of Agriculture financially supported this academy; according to the reports, the Ministry paid 920 rubles to the Möglin Academy.

For a long period, the Möglin Academy was the only agricultural institution in Prussia. Therefore, the first specialized agricultural institution in Europe was in Prussia. In 1818 Mathieu de Dombasle, a French agronomist, opened the second agricultural school in Rauville (Meurthe, France). Agricultural schools in Möglin and Rauville fostered rapid development of agriculture independently from universities. The majority of higher education institutions founded in Germany and France were independent.

In Germany, in the 1840s, agriculture sciences were evolving somewhat gradually. After the Möglin Academy, the next agricultural academies with a practical approach were German academies in Hohenheim and Idstein (1818), in Scheißeheim, in Elden (1835), and in Regenwald (1842)<sup>13</sup>.

When in Prussia a specialized agricultural committee was set up on 29 June 1844, the first legislation on agricultural education development was adopted. According to this legislation, new agricultural academies were opened in Proskau (1847); in Poppelsdorf (1847); in Vehend (1851), and Waldau (1858)<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Khodetsky, S. (1844). Ocherki sovremennogo sostoyaniya uchebnyih zavedeniy po selskomu hozyaystvu v Germanii. [Review of Educational Institutions of Agriculture in Germany]. *Ministry of State Property Journal*. (XIII). p.II. P. 308-314.

<sup>13</sup> Lokot, T. (1912). Selskohozyaystvennyie institutyi i universitetskaya agronomiya. [Agricultural Institutes and University Agronomy]. *Reports and minutes of the general meetings of the Kiev Agronomic Society*. Kyiv: Publishing House T.H. Mainandlera. P. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Meshchersky, I. (1893). *Vyisshee selskohozyaystvennoe obrazovanie v Rossii i za granitsej*. [Higher agricultural education in Russia and abroad]. St. Petersburg. P. 9.

The majority of academies were entirely independent agricultural intuitions. Some of these academies adopted a practical approach of agricultural education, taking into account students' skills. One of the most famous academies of that time was the Hohenheim Academy, founded by Prof. Schwarz.

Despite the aforementioned practical approach of teaching, for the first time, agricultural academies started cooperation with universities by hiring university teachers, applying pedagogical methods, and using university auditoriums. These changes led to the amalgamation of agricultural academies and universities. Consequently, agricultural education adopted a slightly more practical approach rather than a theoretical one: academies became independent and private agricultural schools. Teaching agricultural sciences was not only at agricultural academies but also at specialized technical and secondary schools in Europe. Consequently, the course called "Agriculture" was taught at various European universities, polytechnical institutes, and economic schools<sup>15</sup>.

The next stage of agricultural education development in Prussia was the foundation of specialized institutions subordinated to universities. In 1835, at the University of Greifswald, the new agricultural academy was opened in the mansion of Elden. The foundation of one of the oldest agricultural academies – the Elden Academy – emphasized that secondary education played a significant role in agricultural education development. The Elden Academy was founded in 1827 at the University of Greifswald. Professor Schulz was invited to arrange the studying process at the academy<sup>16</sup>.

The key principle of such academies was effective cooperation with universities. As a result, students who graduated from the Elden Academy could become not only agronomists but also civil servants. As it was mentioned in numerous scholarly articles, this academy had more agricultural courses than any other academy in Germany. It is also worth mentioning that the Jena Institute seemed to be highly popular and, for a long period, remained one of the most visited institutes in Germany.

Another example can be the Poppelsdorf Academy, which was founded at the University of Bonn. In the beginning, this academy belonged to the University of Bonn; however, later it functioned independently from the university. Moreover,

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<sup>15</sup> Paulson, F. (1904). *Germanskije universiteti*. [German University]. St. Petersburg. 413 p.

<sup>16</sup> Veshnyakov, V. (1866). *Obzor selskohozyaystvennyih uchrezhdeniy v Anglii, Frantsii, Belgii, Gollandii, Germanii i Italii*. [Overview of agricultural institutions in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy]. St. Petersburg.

various courses in agriculture studies were taught effectively at the University of Berlin and at the University of Halle.

Justus Freiherr von Liebig, an outstanding German researcher, harshly criticized the independent agricultural institutions. In his works *Letters on Chemistry*, *Influence of Sciences on Prosperity of Population*, *Familiar Letters on Chemistry and Its Relation to Commerce, Physiology and Agriculture* (1863), Justus von Liebig protested strongly against the independence of the agricultural academies: "Open agricultural academies like the Möglin Academy have more disadvantages than advantages. For example, at these academies natural sciences were not taught, although these sciences made remarkable progress. Such academic disciplines as chemistry, physics, botanicas were not taught at the academies; therefore, agricultural education is more comprehensive when agricultural academies cooperate with universities"<sup>17</sup>.

Furthermore, Justus von Liebig was against agricultural education, which included practical aspects and stated that theoretical and practical parts of studying should not interrelate. After Liebig had criticized the autonomy of the agricultural academies, the agricultural education transformed: agricultural schools and universities were amalgamated. After Liebig's speech about new sciences at the opening of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, the amalgamation of the agricultural schools and universities was a fundamental reform at that time. Consequently, the academies in Möglin, Waldau, Elden, Proskau, Taranda were closed; and new institutes at the universities were established.

For example, when the Prussian Agricultural Academy was opened in Waldau, an agricultural community of Saxony appealed to the government to implement agricultural courses at the University of Halle. Consequently, at the University of Halle, the Department of Agriculture was opened, the head of which was Prof. Julius Kühn in 1863<sup>18</sup>. All in all, in 1862 agricultural sciences began to be taught at the University of Halle<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Zaykevych, A. (1893). *Agronomiya, kak nauka voobsche i universitetskaya v chastnosti* [Agronomy as a General Science and as a University Science]. *Proceedings of the Second Kiev Regional Agricultural Congress*. Editor: S.M. Bohdanov. Kyiv: Publishing House P. Barsky. P. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Bohdanov, S. (1895). *Illyustrirovannyiy selskohozyaystvennyiy slovar*. [Agriculture Dictionary (with pictures)]. *Encyclopedia of Agriculture*. Kyiv, 1446 p.

<sup>19</sup> Zaykevych, A. (1893). *Agronomiya, kak nauka voobsche i universitetskaya v chastnosti* [Agronomy as a General Science and as a University Science]. *Proceedings of the Second Kiev Regional Agricultural Congress*. Editor: S.M. Bohdanov. Kyiv: Publishing House P. Barsky. P. 60.

While analyzing the 25-year scientific contribution of the Department of Agriculture at the University of Halle, A. E. Zaykevych wrote: “The popularity of the agricultural studies at the University of Halle was rising”<sup>20</sup>. The Department of Agriculture was extended: a few laboratories and Ph.D. programs were opened at the university. Existing only for nine years, the University of Halle became the most popular university among all agricultural institutions in Germany<sup>21</sup>.

The example of the University of Halle was followed by various German agricultural institutions: the University of Leipzig (1869), the University of Giessen (1871), the University of Göttingen (1872), the University of Kiel (1873), the University of Königsberg (1876), the University of Breslau (1881)<sup>22</sup>. This shift in agricultural education led to that agriculture as a science became independent from other sciences at the universities. The significance of this science in XIX fostered the interest in agriculture, sustained its independence, and provided the basis for the further progress. Therefore, the theoretical approach of teaching became slightly more dominant over a practical one.

It is worth mentioning that there was no mansion at the University of Halle. There were numerous educational auditoriums and open spaces; for example, research rooms, botanic gardens of agricultural plants, a zoo of livestock and farm animals, laboratories of agricultural physiology, various collections of samples, etc. Prof. Thaer considered the Möglin Academy more as a research facility rather than an educational institution. However, the majority of agricultural institutions at the German universities were poorly supplied with equipment so that professors who worked at those departments were somewhat frustrated with such conditions. For example, there were numerous letters written by professors who were demanding more equipment for laboratories. For example, such professors as Brislovsky and Rümker, an outstanding specialist in the theory of selection in Germany, stated the condition of agricultural departments at the universities was quite poor. Nevertheless, the development of agricultural sciences continued in other European countries.

In the 1850s, the peak of the development of agricultural sciences was in Austria. Agricultural studies were taught at the University of Altenburg and at Vienna University of Technology. Moreover, agricultural studies were popular at the

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Bohdanov, S.M. Selskohozyaystvennyiy institut pri universitete v Galle. [The Agriculture University of Halle]. *Ministry of Education Magazine*. (266). III. P. 29.

<sup>22</sup> Lokot, T. (1912). Selskohozyaystvennyie instituty i universitetskaya agronomiya. [Agricultural Institutes and University Agronomy]. *Reports and minutes of the general meetings of the Kiev Agronomic Society*. Kyiv: Publishing House T.H. Mainandlera. P. 7.

universities in such Austrian cities as Linz, Graz, Klagenfurt, and in other European cities: Prague, Ofen, Brno, and Krakow<sup>23</sup>.

As it was mentioned before, France was the first European country that attempted to introduce agricultural education. In 1818, Mathieu de Dombasle provided a project of a farm in Lorraine. In 1822, he opened the famous farm in Roville: the first educational institution in France. In Grignon, Mathieu de Dombasle founded the agricultural college, which was in the mansion of King Karl X<sup>24</sup>.

On discussing agricultural education in France, the national committee passed the law on agricultural education in France on 3 October 1848. Consequently, three different levels of the agricultural education were implemented. Unfortunately, the National Agricultural University of Versailles existed only for three years: from 1849 till 1852. Even though no students graduated from the university, this university contributed to the development of agricultural sciences in France and the improvement of teaching methods. For example, only this agricultural university offered two-year public courses and three-year exchange programs for three most diligent students to gain a pedagogical experience.

In Belgium, agricultural education began in 1832 when the College of Veterinary Medicine and Farming was set up by private individuals in Kurgeme. Since 1849 the Belgium government implemented educational reforms to improve agricultural education. This issue was discussed in both chambers of the Parliament; due to importance of this issue, the Parliament increased financial support of agricultural education. For a considerable amount of time, the Turton College was regarded as a higher educational agricultural institution, and, only in 1860, the Belgium government decided to establish another agricultural institution of a higher education in Gembloux. Interestingly, at the Agricultural College of Gembloux, from 1863 till 1864, there were only 75 students, 32 of them were foreigners: three exchange students from Russia and eleven students from Poland<sup>25</sup>.

In the Netherlands, there was no institution of agricultural education till the end of the XIX century. At the Universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Groningen, the courses on agriculture were taught by professors of botanicas and chemistry.

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<sup>23</sup> Veshnyakov, V. (1866). *Obzor selskohozyaystvennyih uchrezhdeniy v Anglii, Frantsii, Belgii, Gollandii, Germanii i Italii*. [Overview of agricultural institutions in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy]. St. Petersburg.

<sup>24</sup> Meshchersky, I.I. (1893). *Vyishee selskohozyaystvennoe obrazovanie v Rossii i za granitsey*. [Higher agricultural education in Russia and abroad]. St. Petersburg. P. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Veshnyakov, V. (1866). *Obzor selskohozyaystvennyih uchrezhdeniy v Anglii, Frantsii, Belgii, Gollandii, Germanii i Italii*. [Overview of agricultural institutions in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy]. St. Petersburg. P. 312.

In Italy, in the middle of XIX, there were five educational institutions of agriculture, some of them were subordinated to universities. In 1862, the Ministry of Agriculture controlled such agricultural institutions as the Farming and Forest School of Turin, the Farming Institute of Kashin (near Florence), the Farming and Veterinary Medicine School of Pisa, the Farming Institute of Parma, the Department of Agronomy at the technical institutes of Turin, Milan, and Florence. Moreover, the Ministry of Public Education introduced agricultural courses at the universities of Turin, Neapolis, Bologna, Modena, Perugia, Palermo, Messina, Catania, Ferrara, Urbino, Macherata, and Cameroon.

Agriculture courses were taught at the universities for the students from the Engineering Department. However, when a new law on the national education was adopted in the 1860s, the courses on agriculture were excluded from the curriculums (except for the University of Turin)<sup>26</sup>.

In Great Britain, agricultural education was developing differently in all kingdoms. In England, there was only one higher education institution of agriculture, which was located in Cirencester. In Scotland, there was no agricultural institution; however, there were agricultural courses at the University of Edinburgh and other higher educational institutions. In Ireland, there were numerous secondary schools of agriculture in the middle of the XIX century.

In the second part of XIX century till the beginning of the XX century, there was a discrepancy in opinions concerning the teaching methods, although the practical approach of teaching agricultural sciences was dominant. For example, the National Agriculture Institute of Paris, secondary agriculture schools in Vienna and Berlin had no agriculture fields, but instead of agriculture fields there were research facilities at those universities. During the courses, students had only excursions to agriculture fields so that they could gain some practical agricultural skills<sup>27</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that scientific discoveries by researchers of all departments of agriculture belonged to the National Research Foundation. For example, according to the statements by O. Sokolosky, there were agricultural research facilities at the universities in the 1920s; those research facilities fostered

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<sup>26</sup> Fausek, V. (1897). *Nekotoryie nauchno-prikladnyie uchrezhdeniya Italyanskogo ministerstva zemledeliya*. [Scientific Facilities of Ministry of Agriculture in Italy]. St. Petersburg. P. 34.

<sup>27</sup> Viner, V. (1912). *Organizatsiya opyitnyih uchrezhdeniy v Germanii, Avstro-Vengrii, Shveytsarii i v tsarstve Polskom*. [Organization of Educational Institutions in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and in Poland]. St. Petersburg. P. 18.

the development of agricultural sciences in England. England was divided into twelve agricultural regions; each of them had an agriculture school<sup>28</sup>.

In the XVIII century, the western part of Ukraine belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Consequently, the government of the Empire had control over the education system of the western part of Ukraine from 1774 till 1790. The Ministry of Education of the Austria-Hungary passed various laws on school education and formed an effective system of education in the second part of the XVIII century till the beginning of the XIX century. Local universities facilitated the foundation of agricultural education and establishment of the first scientific facilities<sup>29</sup>. In Lviv and Peremyshl, there were universities with four faculties: the faculty of philosophy, the faculty of law, the faculty of medicine, and the faculty of theology. The University of Lviv was the first university of classical education on the territory of Ukraine. It was founded at the Jesuit Collegium in 1661. Before 1862, the official language that was used at the university was German, but since 1862 Polish was a dominant language at the university. Like all European universities, the University of Lviv had a botanic garden. At the end of the XIX century, there were a few agricultural schools at the University of Lviv<sup>30</sup>. Among all the universities established in the XIX century on the territory of Ukraine, which were under the control of the Austria-Hungary, there was a famous institution of higher education founded in 1875: the University of Chernivtsi, the official language of which was German. The university consisted of three faculties: the faculty of theology, the faculty of philosophy, and the faculty of law. The university had three faculties till 1919-1920. According to the information in the encyclopedias published at the beginning of the XX century, at the university there were a botanic garden and a chemistry laboratory<sup>31</sup>. In the XIX century, universities on the territory of Ukraine which was under the control of the Russian Empire had no collaboration with universities in Western Ukraine. The Russian system of education was similar to the German system of education; consequently, reforms in German universities

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<sup>28</sup> Sokolovsky O. *Z podorozhuvannia do Anhlilii (naukovi zvity)*. [Travelling to England (scientific reports)]. P. 109-119.

<sup>29</sup> Kostenko, O. (2017). Istorychni peredumovy stanovlennia silskohospodarskoi nauky osvity v krainakh Yevropy pershoi polovyny XIX st. – pochatku XX st. [Historical Aspects of Agricultural Sciences Establishment in European Countries (in the first part of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century)]. *Izmail State Humanities University Scientific Bulletin. Historical Sciences Series*. (37). P. 218.

<sup>30</sup> Lvov [Lviv]. *Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1903). Editors: F.A. Brokhaus, I.A. Efron. St. Petersburg. Volume XVIII. (35). P. 134-135.

<sup>31</sup> Chernovets. [Chernovets]. *Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1903). Editors: F.A. Brokhaus, I.A. Efron. St. Petersburg. Volume XXXVIIIa. (76). P. 608-609.

concerning the agricultural education had an impact on the development of agricultural education in the Russian Empire and foundation of the departments of agriculture at Russian universities.

After analyzing higher agricultural education in Europe, we can draw a conclusion that the first country where agriculture was acknowledged as a science was Germany. In Germany, state agricultural education was of crucial importance. Furthermore, German universities were remarkably successful because of the high professionalism of teaching staff. For example, due to the scientific achievements made by Prof. Thaer, the Möglin Academy became a famous institution of agricultural education; the Hohenheim Academy became famous due to Prof. Schwarz, Prof. Wereklin, and Prof. Pabstu; the Elden Academy became famous due to Prof. Schulz; the Poppelsdorf Academy, due to Prof. Garstein; the University of Halle, due to Prof. Julius Kühn<sup>32</sup>. All of them were famous German scientists and agronomists in the XIX century. Basing on the scientific work by the German researchers, Ukrainian professors elaborated on curriculums for agriculture schools in Ukraine. One of the outstanding Ukrainian professors was S. M. Khodetsky, who made a significant scientific contribution in the field of agriculture at the Imperial University named after St. Volodymyr<sup>33</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

After analyzing agricultural education in European countries, we can conclude that the foundation of agricultural education in Europe was a continuous process that lasted during the XIX century. The development of agricultural education depended on the economic demands of a country. In the middle of the XIX century, the issue of establishing agricultural education raised in the majority of European countries. In the second part of the XIX century, the theoretical approach of teaching agricultural sciences was dominant at European universities. Furthermore, at European universities, there were the departments or even institutes of agriculture sciences. Due to the research work at those universities and high scientific demand, numerous departments of agriculture sciences were opened at the European universities. Although there were two different ways of the agricultural education development, till the beginning of the XX century, there was no agreement among

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<sup>32</sup> Stebut, I.A. (1889). *Selskohozyaystvennoe znanie i selskohozyaystvennoe obrazovanie*. [Agricultural Knowledge and Education]. Moscow. P. 169.

<sup>33</sup> Lokot, T.V. (1912). *Selskohozyaystvennyie instituty i universitetskaya agronomiya*. [Agricultural Institutes and University Agronomy]. *Reports and minutes of the general meetings of the Kiev Agronomic Society*. Kyiv: Publishing House T.H. Mainandlera. P. 2-8.

researchers on the most efficient way of the development of agricultural sciences in European countries.

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Viktor DROZDOV\*

## **LIVING STANDARDS OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF SOUTHERN BESSARABIA IN 1917**

*- Abstract -*

The article examines the living standards of the population of Southern Bessarabian towns after the Revolution of February 1917, discloses the factors that negatively affected the financial position of the urban people, and measures that the local authorities introduced in order to resolve the crisis situation in the towns of the region. It was established that food, economic and financial crises caused a dramatic deterioration in the living standards of the urban population of Southern Bessarabia in 1917 and led to the crisis of the local self-government. On the basis of archival materials the author of the article has depicted the reaction of townspeople to the problems of shortages, rapid price increase and falling incomes of the population.

*Keywords:* urban population; living standards; First World War; the February Revolution; Southern Bessarabia.

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### **Introduction**

With the beginning of the First World War, the living standards of the urban population of the Russian Empire significantly deteriorated. Increasing prices, deficiency of essential goods and fuel, shortage of labor, the decline of many sectors of the economy and trade, loss of revenues in the city budget were the result of long-term maintenance of military operations and tsarist failure to reorient the economy to the military needs. The front-line position of the territory and the cessation of foreign trade links, which were an important source of income, also had a negative impact on the urban population of Bessarabia. In 1915-1916 the urban population already experienced financial and food crises. The policy of the Provisional

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Government, which came to power as a result of the February Revolution, did not stop the impoverishment of the urban population.

### The Problem Statement

The author aims to highlight the changes in the living standards of the towns of Southern Bessarabia in 1917, to reveal the problems of the social and economic situation of the towns in the region, in particular the shortage of food products and high cost, as well as the attempts made by the local authorities to resolve them.

### Research Analyses

The state of the urban population of Ukrainian lands during the First World War and the revolutionary events of 1917 are the subject of the study of many scholars, in particular O. Reient, O. Serdiuk<sup>1</sup>, G. Turchenko<sup>2</sup>, O. Vilshanska<sup>3</sup>, V. Molchanov<sup>4</sup>, O. Onishchenko<sup>5</sup> and others. However, the problem of living standards of the urban population of Southern Bessarabia has remained outside the attention of historians. T. Kitanina<sup>6</sup>, V. Borisov, A. Chernobaiev<sup>7</sup>, A. Fedorov<sup>8</sup>, I.

<sup>1</sup> Reient, O., Serdiuk, O. (2004). *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina. [The First World War and Ukraine]*. Kyiv: Geneza.

<sup>2</sup> Turchenko, G. (2014). Sotsialno-ekonomichni protsesy v pivdennoukrainskomu rehioni. [Social and economic processes in the Southern Ukrainian region]. *Velyka viina 1914-1918 rr. i Ukraina [The Great War 1914-1918 and Ukraine]*, vol. 1, Kyiv: TOV "Vydavnytstvo "KLIIO"". P. 408-432.

<sup>3</sup> Vilshanska, O. (2004). Povsiakdenne zhyttia naseleння Ukrainy pid chas Pershoi svitovoi viiny. [The everyday life of Ukrainian population during the First World War]. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*. (4). P. 56-70.

<sup>4</sup> Molchanov, V. (2014). Vplyv Pershoi svitovoi viiny na zhyttievyi riven naseleння Ukrainy. [Influence of the First World War in Ukraine standard of living]. *Problems of the history of Ukraine of the 19th - beginning of the 20th centuries*. (23). P. 92-102.

<sup>5</sup> Onishchenko, O. (2014). Zahostrennia ekonomichnykh problem u mistakh Ukrainy u 1917 r. [Worsening of economic problems in cities in Ukraine 1917]. *History of trade, taxes and duties*. (1). P. 41-46.

<sup>6</sup> Kitanina, T. (1985). *Vojna, hleb i revoljucija. (Prodovol'stvennyj vopros v Rossii. 1914 - oktjabr' 1917 g.)*. [War, bread and revolution (The food issue in Russia. 1914 – October 1917)]. Leningrad: Nauka.

<sup>7</sup> Borisov, V., Chernobaiev, A. (1997). *Hleb, vojna, revoljucija: Prodovol'stvennaja politika na JUge Rossii v period pervoj mirovoj vojny i revoljucii (1914-1918)*. [Bread, War, Revolution: Food Policy in the South of Russia during the First World War and the Revolution (1914-1918)]. Moscow: AIA, Lugansk: LSHI.

<sup>8</sup> Fedorov, A. (2010). Organizacija prodovol'stvennogo dela v revoljucionnoj Rossii (mart-oktjabr' 1917 g.). [Organization of the food activity in revolutionary Russia (March – October 1917)]. *Proceedings of the higher educational institutions. Volga region. Humanitarian sciences*. (2). P. 19-27.

Sakhnevich<sup>9</sup> and I. Shpektorenko<sup>10</sup> were engaged in the study of the food problem in 1917 and its influence on the living standards of the population. Some aspects of the state of the towns of Southern Bessarabia in the years of the First World War were studied by L. Tsyganenko<sup>11</sup>, V. Drozdov<sup>12</sup> and I. Tatarinov<sup>13</sup>.

### Statement of the basic material

A serious problem that negatively affected the state of the urban population of Southern Bessarabia was the food crisis. The attempts made by the central and local authorities to solve the food problem and stop the rapid price increase in 1914-1916 were not successful. At the end of 1916 and at the beginning of 1917 there were food shortages in all the towns of Bessarabia Province. The Governor who carried out the duties of the Authorized Chairman of the Special Food Council was central to the organization of supplying the population of the region with food. In the towns there were special bodies involved in organizing the purchase and supply of the necessary goods, determining the monthly rate of the population needs in essentials. However, the joint actions of central and local authorities could not overcome the problem of food shortages. Particularly acute was the problem of shortage of sugar, the stocks of which in the second half of 1916 in many towns did not suffice<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Sakhnevich, I. (2014). Pravovye osnovy prodovol'stvennoj politiki Vremennogo pravitel'stva. [Legal basis for the food policy of the Provisional Government]. *Legal notes*. (1). P. 138-143.

<sup>10</sup> Shpektorenko, I. (1998). Z istorii prodovol'choi polityky Tymchasovoho uriadu v Ukraini (1917 r.) (na materialakh Katerynoslavskoi hubernii). [Concerning the history of the food administering by the Provisional government in Ukraine (1917) (based on the materials of Katerynoslavs'ka hubernia)]. *Southern Ukraine*. (1). P. 120-127.

<sup>11</sup> Tsyganenko, L. (2016). Nevidomi storinky z istorii vyboriv Izmail'skoho miskoho holovy v 1917 r. (za materialamy rehionalnoho arkhivu). [Unknown pages of the history of the election of Izmail Mayor in 1917 (based on the materials of the regional archives)]. *Problems of the formation of Ukrainian statehood: Collection of scientific works on the materials of the scientific and practical conference with international participation (to the 25th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence)*. Izmail: RVV IDGU. P. 141-147.

<sup>12</sup> Drozdov, V. (2016). Defitsyt spozhyvchykh tovariv u mistakh Pivdennoi Bessarabii v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny. [Deficiency of consumer goods in the cities of Southern Bessarabia during the First World War]. *Scientific Bulletin of the Izmail State University of Humanities*. (34). P. 60-65.

<sup>13</sup> Tatarinov, I. (2017). "Sukhyi zakon" v Bessarabii chasiv tymchasovoho uriadu. [The "dry law" in Bessarabia of the Provisional Government]. *Theoretical, methodological and practical problems of history, philosophy, sociology, political science, jurisprudence*. Ізмаїл: RVV IDGU. P. 134-138.

<sup>14</sup> Drozdov, V. (2016). Defitsyt spozhyvchykh tovariv u mistakh Pivdennoi Bessarabii v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny. [Deficiency of consumer goods in the cities of Southern Bessarabia

There was also a lack of wheat and flour. The prohibition by the imperial government to sell meat and meat products by the law of June 30, 1916, as well as the introduction of grain extraction by the decision of the Minister of Agriculture O. Rittikh of November 29, 1916 only deepened the food crisis. According to O. Reient and O. Serdiuk, in early 1917 trade stocks in all regions of Ukraine dropped dramatically<sup>15</sup>.

After the February Revolution, the Provisional Government introduced a number of measures to resolve the food situation. A National Food Committee was established, and on March 25, 1917, the "Provisional Regulations of Local Food Bodies" was adopted, which established provincial, county, municipal, district and rural food committees. Provincial food committees enjoyed extensive rights and exercised general food management in the province, served the Minister of Agriculture for the needs of the army and the population, provided information about the food situation, promoted the organization of agricultural production and organized the provision of the population with essential goods<sup>16</sup>. The specificity of the food bodies of Bessarabia was their militarization, since they consisted of representatives of the Romanian and Southwestern fronts that led them to be more subordinate to the military command than to the Ministry of Food<sup>17</sup>.

The analysis of the minutes of the municipal council meetings suggests that the work of the food committees was ineffective. In March 1917, the Akkerman Municipal Duma considered the work of the food committee insufficient and decided to reorganize it<sup>18</sup>. At the meeting of the Izmail Community Council of July 13, 1917, they considered the petition of the townspeople on the need to re-elect the members of the Municipal Food Council because of their inaction and incompetence. "Since the day of the Food Board functioning, no reduction of the town's urgent needs has been noticed, but on the contrary, the town's needs have

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during the First World War]. *Scientific Bulletin of the Izmail State University of Humanities*. (34), P. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Reient, O., Serdiuk, O. (2004). *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina. [The First World War and Ukraine]*. Kyiv: Geneza, P. 364.

<sup>16</sup> Gyns, G., comp. (1917). *Uzakonenija i rasporjaženija po prodovol'stvennomu delu za 1914-1917 gg. [Legislation and orders for the food business for the years of 1914-1917]*. vol. 1. Petersburg: Izdanie ministerstva prodovol'stvija. P. 38-39.

<sup>17</sup> Borisov, V., Chernobaiev, A. (1997). *Hleb, vojna, revoljucija: Prodovol'stvennaja politika na JUge Rossii v period pervoj mirovoj vojny i revoljucii (1914-1918)*. [Bread, War, Revolution: Food Policy in the South of Russia during the First World War and the Revolution (1914-1918)]. Moscow: AIA, Lugansk: LSHI. P. 54.

<sup>18</sup> The National Archives of the Republic of Moldova (hereinafter – NARM), f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5121, P. 58.

been aggravated,” was stated in the petition – “Therefore, in order to prevent serious disturbances in connection with the lack of essential goods, we ask for the speedy fulfillment of our request”<sup>19</sup>.

One of the important measures of the Provisional Government was the introduction of the state grain monopoly on March 25, 1917, according to which the grain harvest of past years and the future harvest of 1917, except for the amount needed for food and household needs of owners, entered into the disposal of the state and could be alienated by state food bodies at fixed prices<sup>20</sup>. There was also a monopoly on sugar, matches, tobacco and other goods. In addition, regulations were made on the standardization of consumption and supply of foodstuffs, the establishment of firm essential goods prices, requisitioning and the prohibition of the export of food products from the places of their production, etc.

On August 27, 1917, by the decision of the Provisional Government, firm bread prices were doubled, which led to an aggravation of the food problem, contributed to the increase in inflation and the overall cost of living. Another consequence of rise in bread prices was the growth of speculation. Every day, the Izmail-Bolgrad District Food Board reported that in the towns private individuals sold and purchased a great quantity of wheat delivered by the peasants. “Wheat is bought at prices higher than firm prices, is hidden in mills, where it is milled to flour. All this leads to the fact that peasants evade to supply Government counteragents with wheat at firm prices, since they have the ability to sell it secretly at high prices. Meanwhile, the urban population is threatened with hunger and the consequences of it can be terrible”, – it was mentioned in the letter of the Izmail-Bolgrad District Food Board to the Chief of the Police of Vilkovo on September 2, 1917<sup>21</sup>.

The food policy of the Provisional Government did not achieve its goals and did not solve the food problem. The problems in the army food supply negatively affected the state of the population, especially on the front-line territories. For example, the mandatory decision of the Provincial Food Committee of August 11, 1917 in Bessarabia Province was to prohibit a slaughter of cattle for the needs of the population and for all rear establishments, as well as the sale and purchase of meat

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<sup>19</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5037, P. 114.

<sup>20</sup> Sakhnevich, I. (2014). *Pravovye osnovy prodovol'stvennoj politiki Vremennogo pravitel'stva*. [Legal basis for the food policy of the Provisional Government]. *Legal notes*. (1), P. 140.

<sup>21</sup> Municipal Institution “The Izmail Archives” (hereinafter - MIIA), f. 4, inv. 1, c. 551, P. 70.

of these cattle for cooking<sup>22</sup>. Also, on September 15, 1917, the census of grain stocks (rye, wheat, emmer wheat, millet, buckwheat, lentils, peas, beans, corn, barley, oat, flour, bran, cereal, grain waste, cattle cake) began and all the grain entered into the disposal of the state at firm prices, except for a certain amount that remained to the owner to feed the family, the workers, the cattle and for the crops. Upon request of the local census authority every owner was to announce the amount and storage location of the bread stocks he had, as well as the number of persons, livestock and tithes of land. Local food authorities were responsible for verifying this information. In the case of hidden bread stocks, they were alienated at half price<sup>23</sup>.

Another consequence of the food crisis was a violation of the exchange of goods among the urban and rural people. In an appeal of the chairman of the Izmail-Bolgrad District Food Board I. F. Fitov to the grain growers of October 20, 1917, about the necessity of surrendering grain balances to provide the army and the urban population with bread, it was indicated that the peasants refused to provide the towns with bread because they did not provide peasants with manufactory and other things. "Because of the high cost of all items and the lack of bread, the urban people are in worse conditions than the rural ones, because they are forced to buy everything edible, and do not have anything inedible ... – it was pointed out in the appeal. – Hunger riots, which may arise in towns as a result of the refusal of the village people to give bread, ruin the homeland"<sup>24</sup>.

The issue of supplying Danube towns with bread was considered at the meeting of the Izmail-Bolgrad District Food Board on November 4, 1917. In the report of the chairman I. F. Fitov it was said that the peasants did not hand over the surplus of grain, despite the repeated appeals and demands of the board, and the urban population in the near future would face the problem of hunger. "Up to now, only Izmail is in a relatively safe condition, – he said. – The towns of Bolgrad, Reni, Kiliia and the suburb of Vilkovo are completely unsecured"<sup>25</sup>. Because of this, the board was forced to run to the requisition of wheat and rye from peasants. The serious problem that hindered the supply of towns with bread was the illegal sale of grain to speculators by peasants. In addition, even the local food boards of Kiliia and Reni, without the permission of the district administration, rushed to buy wheat from the peasants at inflated prices. The main reason for such unlawful actions was the

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<sup>22</sup> MIIA, f. 4, inv. 1, c. 551, P. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. P. 79.

<sup>24</sup> MIIA, f. 292, inv. 1, c. 228, P. 424.

<sup>25</sup> MIIA, f. 4, inv. 1, c. 551, P. 95.

inactivity of rural food boards and town police. In particular, I. F. Fitov pointed out that in Kiliia, Reni and Bolgrad, white bread from smuggled wheat was sold everywhere. According to the results of the report, it was decided to establish special requisition commissions to collect grain balances from the peasants, as well as take decisive measures to combat grain smuggling and speculation. Urban food boards were recommended to bake bread from a mixture of 45% wheat flour, 45% rye and 10% corn to save wheat, as well as to enter the card system for the sale of bread, releasing 1.5 pounds per day for a single person and 2 pounds for workers. It was also proposed to keep stock records of grain among urban and suburban people, leaving every homeowner the stock of wheat and rye which is only necessary for the living of the family before the new harvest and to exclude such persons from bread soldering<sup>26</sup>.

In addition to the food crisis, the problem with fuel was quite acute. The mandatory decree of the 6th Army Commander of September 3, 1917 prohibited deforestation in all local forest areas and the export of cut wood from an area bounded by the Danube River, the Prut River and the line from the village of Sancha to the village of Kogylnyk and further along the Kogylnyk river until its fall into Lake Kunduk<sup>27</sup>. The entire cut wood was transferred to the Army Operational Commission, which was to divide it between the population and the army.

The financial position of Southern Bessarabia towns deteriorated significantly as a result of the rapid rise in prices. According to official data, the purchasing power of the ruble as of March 1, 1917 decreased by almost 4 times compared with the prewar year<sup>28</sup>. A striking example of the sharp rise in the prices of essential goods is the comparison of average reference prices in Akkerman in May-June 1917 (see Table 1) based on the data from the Bessarabian County Provincial Government<sup>29</sup>. Within one month, prices for cereals, flour and potatoes increased significantly, prices for sugar, tea, lard and soap increased slightly. Meat prices remained unchanged and salt prices declined.

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<sup>26</sup> MIIA, f. 4, inv. 1, c. 551, P. 96.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. P. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Reient, O., Serdiuk, O. (2004). *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina. [The First World War and Ukraine]*. Kyiv: Geneza. P. 371.

<sup>29</sup> NARM, f. 6, inv. 1, c. 954, P. 28-34.

Table 1

## Average Prices of Essential Products in Akkerman in May-June 1917

Name of the product	May 1917		June 1917		Percentage of increase
	rubles	copecks	rubles	copecks	
Wheat flour, pood	3	35	4	50	34
Corn flour, pood	1	60	3	50	119
Wheat, pood	1	85	2	90	57
Corn, pood	1	20	1	80	50
Oat, pood	1	80	2	45	36
Barley, pood	1	30	2	05	58
Wheat groats, pood	6	00	8	00	33
Sugar, pood	11	60	11	80	2
Tea, pound	2	40	2	70	13
Salt, pood	2	40	1	60	-50
Soap, pood	28	00	30	00	7
Lard, pood	28	00	30	00	7
Meat, pood	18	00	18	00	0
Potatoes, pood	2	40	3	50	46

High prices mostly affected those categories of the urban population, the only source of which was the salary, in particular officials, workers of medical institutions and teachers. They repeatedly asked to raise salaries as a result of price increase. Thus, members of the Akkerman County Administrative Board in 1915 calculated that to provide the minimum needs of one person, 55 rubles per month was necessary. At that time, prices in comparison with 1914 increased 1.5-2 times, and the average salary of the employee was about 50 rubles a month. At the same time, 44 people from 84 members of the board had salaries of less than 40 rubles a month. During 1916 salaries were raised twice: the first time – by 15-30%, the second – by 25-65%. However, some essential goods prices increased to 500%<sup>30</sup>. In the submission of the staff members of the Office to the mayor of Akkerman, which was considered at the meeting of the Municipal Duma of March 21, 1917, the difficult economic condition in which they occurred was reported: “Many of us have to live from hand to mouth. This is about food; as for clothing and footwear, they are worn out and we can’t even think of buying them. The time will come when having

<sup>30</sup> МІІА, ф. 47, inv. 1, с. 430, P. 5.

no shoes or other necessary clothing, we will not be able to come to work. Such a difficult economic condition is adversely reflected on our spiritual mood, because the idea of the daily bread and other needs gives no peace to us”<sup>31</sup>.

On April 29, 1917, the officials of all departments of the Akkerman County Council, the Administration Board and the workers of the Small Loan Cash Department, gathered at a general meeting in order to apply to an extraordinary County Council Assembly for the permission to issue an allowance to pay in the amount from 50 to 200%. As a result, since May 1, 1917, the size of the additional salary of workers was set according to the size of the salaries of the staff: the maximum amount of the allowance (200%) was intended for persons who received an annual salary of not more than 25 rubles, and for those who received a higher salary, the size of the premium gradually decreased to 50%<sup>32</sup>. However, such measures did not help to improve the position of officials. Due to the increase of firm bread prices on August 27, prices of other products increased about 3-10 times. The petition of the Akkerman County Board of November 9, 1917, concerning the increase in salaries, indicated that the extraordinary high cost was hardly reflected on the financial position of those workers who had a family and received a small salary. In particular, with the approach of the winter, expenditures on the purchase of firewood increased, the price of which increased by 330% in comparison with the last year<sup>33</sup>.

In another petition of the officials of the Akkerman Administrative Board, the Small Loan Cash Department and other institutions, they complained about a significant deterioration in the property status of officials, who, due to a fixed salary, were most affected by the high cost. “Essential product prices are incredibly rising with every week, the document said. – At present time in order to make ends meet, the officials are forced to restrict themselves in everything”<sup>34</sup>. In the comparative table of essential product prices attached to the petition (*see Table 2*), it was noted that the prices as of October 10, 1917 compared with the prices of 1914 increased minimum by 275%, maximum by 1900%, and on average – by 1150%.

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<sup>31</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5121, P. 35.

<sup>32</sup> MIIA, f. 47, inv. 1, c. 430, P. 10-13.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. P. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. P. 2.

*Table 2*  
**Comparative Table of Essential Product Prices**  
**(as of October 10, 1917)**

Name of the product	At the beginning of the war		Nowadays		Percentage of increase
	rubles	copecks	rubles	copecks	
Bread baked, pound	–	05	–	22	450
Flour of middling quality, pood	1	50	9	50	533
Sunflower oil, pound	–	18	2	80	1450
Butter, pound	–	25	4	–	1500
Mutton, pound	–	07	–	90	1040
Potatoes, pood	–	35	6	–	1600
Milk, quart	–	10	–	80	700
Eggs, a dozen	–	20	2	–	900
Fish, pound	–	10	1	50	1400
Kerosene, quart	–	15	–	55	275
Soap, pound	–	12	2	–	1533
Coal, pood	–	50	6	50	1200
Footwear	8	–	110	–	1280
Rubbers	2	50	20	–	700
Printed cotton, arshin	–	15	2	–	1233
Tights	3	–	40	–	1233
Cloth	4	–	70	–	1650
Water, barrel	–	25	5	–	1900
Firewood, pood	–	10	1	50	1500

At the same time, the officials of the Akkerman County Council for the whole period of the war received the following high cost allowances: the salary of 30 rubles – 185%, 60 rubles – 120%, 200 rubles – 60%<sup>35</sup>. At the same time, as a result of rising bread prices, workers' wages increased. This led to the fact that a shoemaker or a tailor was paid more than a boardman. The petition noted that if the salary is not raised, the officials' escape will have a systemic character.

The same situation was observed in Izmail. At the beginning of 1917, the officials of the Izmail Municipal Administrative Board received an allowance in an

<sup>35</sup> MIIA, f. 47, inv. 1, c. 430, P. 2.

amount of 35-70%, and the employees of a municipal hospital received an allowance in an amount of 10-35% depending on the salary<sup>36</sup>. The increase in salaries did not improve the situation due to the dramatic rise in prices. In May 1917, at the meeting of the Izmail Municipal Council, several requests were made to raise wages in connection with the high cost. In particular, the doctor of the municipal hospital asked for an increase in pay, stating that the hospital workers due to low wages are dismissed or are planning to retire<sup>37</sup>. The employees of the administrative board, the water station and the power plant, the office clerks of the municipal care, and others like that appealed with similar statements. As a result, some salaries were raised, but part of the petitions were rejected. An interesting fact is that even the secretary of the Izmail Municipal Council K. M. Alexandrov turned in a resignation because of the low salary. Due to the lack of candidates, he was asked to remain in the post, his salary being increased to 200 rubles<sup>38</sup>. In July 1917, a special commission was formed by the Community Council to review the salaries for municipal employees and to prepare a draft document for their fair increase<sup>39</sup>. This document having been discussed, it was decided to establish new salaries for 36 posts since October 1, 1917. Some of the salaries were doubled. For example, the salary of the secretary of the Municipal Council increased to 400 rubles<sup>40</sup>. Also, since September 1, 1917, salaries for public school teachers increased.

It should be noted that the municipal authorities sometimes did not even have the funds to pay salaries to municipal officials. In April 1917, at the meeting of the Izmail Community Council the question of how to replenish the city budget in connection with the absence of funds was considered. Among the funds raised, even 13.000 rubles were temporarily used, which had come from the sale of matches owned by the Serbian government and had been requisitioned in Izmail<sup>41</sup>. In June 1917, the Izmail Community Council also decided to receive a short-term loan of 10 thousand rubles at a local credit institution to pay staff salaries<sup>42</sup>.

Despite the extremely difficult financial position of the population, the local authorities were forced to make decisions on increasing taxes and fees due to the lack of budget revenues, as well as on collecting arrears. Considering the issue of finding additional funds for spending at the July meeting, the Izmail Community

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<sup>36</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5037, P. 9.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. P. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. P. 57.

<sup>39</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5037, P. 122.

<sup>40</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 707, P. 15-16.

<sup>41</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5037, P. 129-133.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. P. 97-98.

Council decided to invite the townspeople to pay the town fees in advance by the end of the year, as well as to intensify collection measures. One of the measures was to set a 7-day deadline for payment of arrears, and in case of non-payment, to sell the debtor's property. At the same time, the secretary of the Municipal Council reported that the measures to collect arrears did not produce significant results, since one part of the debtors was located outside the town and the other was not able to pay them due to the difficult financial situation<sup>43</sup>. At the same meeting, fees for the use of water from the municipal water system and for the use of electricity were doubled. In September and October of 1917, the Municipal Council of Izmail made changes to the municipal budget, increasing the fees from restaurants, billiards and bakeries (the total tax amounted to 540 rubles instead of the previously established 270 rubles), factories, plants and mills (1495 rubles instead of 675 rubles), carrier's trade (1600 rubles instead of 602 rubles), horses of private individuals (360 rubles instead of 36 rubles), cars, motorcycles and bicycles (300 rubles instead of 99 rubles). There was also double duty on using scales and a duty on using trade places increased fivefold<sup>44</sup>.

The deterioration of living standards prompted the urban population to violate the law, in particular to unauthorized occupation of urban arable land. The cases of unauthorized occupation of land by residents of Izmail and the suburbs were reported back in 1916. This area was about 55 dessiatines (a dessiatine is a land measure equivalent to 2.7 acres)<sup>45</sup>. In 1917, residents of the suburbs of Izmail, with the permission of the municipal council, distributed the municipal arable land with an area of 1 626 dessiatines among each other for annual use on the lease rights through their Suburban Rural Committee for a fee of 7 rubles and 50 copecks per dessiatine<sup>46</sup>. The funds received in an amount of more than 12 thousand rubles the Committee had to convey to the Municipal Administrative Board, but, despite the commitment, it refused to return them. At the same time, the representatives of the Committee decided to separate the suburbs from the town of Izmail and become self-governing units. In October 1917, they declared to the Municipal Administrative Board of Izmail that the land belonged to the suburbs, but they did not intend to pay for it<sup>47</sup>. The lack of these revenues, which were the main source of income, hit the municipal budget dramatically.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid. P. 111-113.

<sup>44</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 707, P. 10-15.

<sup>45</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 696, P. 175-176.

<sup>46</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 706, P. 35.

<sup>47</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 724, P. 68.

At the end of October, the Izmail Municipal Council again considered changes to the budget with the purpose to introduce new taxes. The need for their introduction was due to the critical state of municipal finances. The acting head of the Mayor E. K. Lashkov pointed out that taxes to the municipal treasury almost did not come due to the unauthorized occupation of the municipal arable land by residents of the suburbs. The only solution, in his opinion, was the introduction of new taxes on some goods, despite the fact that it would contribute to increasing prices on them, which were already too high. Against their introduction was the chairman of the Municipal Council I. G. Adler, who spoke for the forced collection of municipal duties from the residents of the suburbs and for the petition to get a loan in lending institutions. As a result, the Municipal Council decided to introduce new taxes and at the same time apply to the government with a request to give the town a loan in an amount of 100 thousand rubles<sup>48</sup>.

The critical conditions, which the towns were in, led to the crisis of the local self-government. On March 28, 1917 the Mayor of Akkerman G. A. Spilioti resigned. In addition to him, some members of the Municipal Duma also stepped down from the post<sup>49</sup>. In Izmail at the beginning of April 1917 Mayor D. F. Tulchianov resigned, and newly elected Mayor I. F. Fitov immediately abandoned his post<sup>50</sup>. Acting Mayor I. S. Dromashkov in the telegram to the District Commissioner of Izmail District of June 20, 1917 described the state of municipal finances as follows: "There is no money in the local treasury. There is nothing to satisfy the urgent expenditures (maintenance of the hospital, guardianship, fire brigade, salaries of teachers and officials of the administrative board, water supply, power plants and other enterprises). There are no revenues to the treasury"<sup>51</sup>. In September 1917, E. K. Lashkov was elected as the acting mayor, who, in one of his appeals to the provincial commissioner wrote: "The municipal economy is taken in a destroyed form, the treasury is empty, and there is a great deal of debts around. Some branches of the economy naturally have to die"<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 707, P. 21.

<sup>49</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv.1, c. 5121, P. 56-57.

<sup>50</sup> Tsyganenko, L. (2016). Nevidomi storinky z istorii vyboriv Izmail'skoho miskoho holovy v 1917 r. (za materialamy rehionalnoho arkhivu). [Unknown pages of the history of the election of Izmail Mayor in 1917 (based on the materials of the regional archives)]. *Problems of the formation of Ukrainian statehood: Collection of scientific works on the materials of the scientific and practical conference with international participation (to the 25th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence)*. Izmail: RVV IDGU. P. 143-145.

<sup>51</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 728, P. 18.

<sup>52</sup> MIIA, f. 2, inv. 1, c. 724, P. 68.

The sanitary condition of the cities was also inadequate. In particular, the chairman of the Izmil Community Council I.G. Adler announced at the meeting the need for emergency measures to clean the town. Due to the deployment of troops in the city, many yards were abandoned and some houses were converted into stables. All this threatened with the spread of infectious diseases. In addition, there was virtually no medical staff in the city: there was only one municipal doctor, who was in charge of the municipal hospital and was performing the duties of a sanitary inspector<sup>53</sup>.

The town of Reni was even in a more critical position. In the three years of the war, this town, being in close proximity to the theater of warfare and being repeatedly subjected to artillery fire, was in serious economic and food crises. As a result of the inactivity, Mayor I. P. Gaitani was dismissed. The catastrophic state of the city economy was reported in the petition of the Reni Municipal Administrative Board to the provincial commissioner of June 17, 1917: "All fences in the town are destroyed for using them as firewood, the wooden parts of the buildings in the city are destroyed and taken for burning, and extremely numerous private houses and city barns are destroyed and brought to naught. Besides, the municipal land and the land of townspeople are either interrupted by trenches, or serve as military bivouacs, or else they are occupied with artillery batteries or grazing livestock..."<sup>54</sup>. In conditions of excessive high cost, the paying capacity of the population was extremely low, and funds of the local treasury were almost non-existent.

**Conclusions.** The dramatic decline in the living standards of the urban population of Southern Bessarabia was due to the increased food crisis, price escalation of essential goods, and the lack of sufficient funds in municipal budgets to resolve the difficult economic situation. Municipal authorities, despite the attempts to solve the problems of shortage of goods and high prices, could not improve the living conditions of the urban population. Under these circumstances, the municipal economy came into decline, part of the workers were forced to retire in search of a better luck, speculation, smuggling and other illegal actions were developed.

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<sup>53</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 5037, P. 130.

<sup>54</sup> NARM, f. 9, inv. 1, c. 4332, P. 151.

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Ivan TATARYNOV\*

**THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUTHORITIES DEPLOYED IN ORDER TO  
MAINTAIN THE PUBLIC ORDER IN THE PROVINCE OF BESSARABIA  
IN 1917**

*- Abstract -*

Based on archival materials and periodicals, the article analyzes the activities of public authorities in maintaining public order in the Bessarabian province in 1917. The author analyzed the political situation in the region. Particular attention was paid to legislative activities, food policies and anti-alcohol campaigns of the Provisional Government.

*Keywords:* First World War; Bessarabia; Provisional Government; “anti-alcohol” regulations; food issue.

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**Introduction**

The First World War has greatly changed the traditional way of peaceful life. Under the new conditions, the society succumbed to regular pressure in the form of constant mobilizations and requisitions, a shortage of essential goods and food. Under such circumstances, a surge of national discontent was becoming quite a real danger. Therefore, the governments of the belligerent countries did their utmost to retain citizens under authorities, by means of the introduction of martial law, various decrees and directions. Particularly it was typical for the border areas, where the violation of public order could lead to the disastrous consequences for the front.

The Bessarabian province was one of the front-line territories of the Russian Empire during the First World War. This fact has set a number of tasks, which required an immediate solution to maintain public order, to the local authorities.

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### The Problem Statement

At the beginning of 1917, Russia found itself in very difficult conditions. On the fronts of the First World War, the Russian army could not gain a decisive advantage over the enemy. In the rear due to the difficult conditions of wartime, a food and social crisis was brewing. As a result of a number of factors, a change of power took place. The purpose of this article is to investigate how life has changed in the Bessarabian province after the February Revolution compared to 1914, as well as to identify how the new government maintained order.

### Research Analyses

Modern Ukrainian historiography is actively conducting research on the history of the First World War. In this direction of historical science, the real luminaries are A. Reent, A. Serdyuk<sup>1</sup>. However, it should be recognized that there are very few scientific works devoted specifically to the history of the Bessarabian province during the First World War. Most studies deal with this subject only fragmentarily<sup>2</sup>. Only in recent years have appeared some publications of L. Tsyganenko<sup>3</sup>, V. Drozdov<sup>4</sup>, which cover certain aspects of the history of the region in this period. Particularly interesting are the works of the Russian historian M. Oskin<sup>5</sup>, who specializes in studying the Romanian front of the First World War and

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<sup>1</sup>Reient, O.P. & Serdiuk, O.V. (2004). *Persha svitova viina i Ukraina* [World War I and Ukraine]. K. : Heneza. 480 p.

<sup>2</sup>Caranov, V. K (ed.). (2002). *Istoriya Respubliki Moldova s drevnejshih vremen do nashih dnei* [History of the Republic of Moldova from the Ancient Times to the Present]. Kishinev: Elan Poligraf. 360 p.; Repida, L. (2008) *Suverennaya Moldova: istoriya i sovremennost'* [Sovereign Moldova: history and modernity]. Kishinev: Inst. Patrimonial. 384 p.

<sup>3</sup>Tsyhanenko, L. (2015). Dunaiska ekspedytsiia osoblyvoho pryznachennia na pochatkovomu etapi Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Danube Special Purpose Expedition at the First Stage of the First World War]. *Challenges and Prospects for the Development of Science at the Beginning of the Third Millennium in Europe and Asia*. Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi. P. 33-35.

<sup>4</sup>Drozdov, V. (2016). Defitsyt spozhyvchykh tovariv u mistakh Pivdennoi Bessarabii v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny [Consumer Goods Deficiency in Southern Bessarabia During the First World War]. *Izmail State Humanities University Scientific Bulletin*. (34). P. 60-65.

<sup>5</sup>Oskin, M. V. (2018). Raspad i demobilizaciya Rumynskogo fronta zimoj 1917-1918 g.: mezhdru krasnymi, belymi i interventami. *Rusin*. (53). P. 64-81. <https://doi.org/10.17223/18572685/53/5>; Oskin, M. V. (2019). Demobilizaciya Rumynskogo fronta zimoj 1917–1918 g. i sud'ba russkogo voennogo imushchestva v Moldavii i Bessarabii [Demobilization of the Romanian Front in the Winter of 1917–1918 and the Fate of Russian Military Property in Moldova and Bessarabia]. *RUDN Journal of Russian History*. (18). P. 31-49. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8674-2019-18-1-31-49>

the territories adjacent to it. The main source for writing this article was archival materials of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.

### **Statement of the basic material**

Before the First World War there were two branches of government in Russia: a well-defined vertical of state power and local self-government bodies. The governor and his staff was the main link between the central departments and the province. The governor was entrusted with the powers of the master of a province and was responsible for everything what happened in it.

The Chief Commander of Odessa Military District, Governor-General M. Ebelov played an equally important role in maintaining order in the Bessarabian province.

The First World War officially began on August 2, 1914 for the Russian Empire. Emperor Nicholas II appealed to his subjects with a manifesto, in which Germany declared a war on Russia. However, the mobilization processes in the empire and preparations for the war began a few days earlier. It also concerned the introduction of martial law in the border areas.

On July 28, 1914, the leadership of the Bessarabia province reported the district police chiefs with secret encrypted telegrams that they are obliged:

- to stop issuing passports and certificates for the right to cross the border by all persons liable for military service;
- to fulfill all the requirements of the military command for the protection and defense of the areas entrusted to them;
- to ensure the full protection of all institutions of the civil department;
- to strengthen supervision over the prevention of strikes and attempts on the integrity of factories that produce military equipment;
- to detain suspicious persons and to report about them to the governor and higher ranks of the military district in person.

On July 31, 1914, after the transfer of these orders, the governor M. Gilchen informed the population of Bessarabia about the introduction of martial law on the territory of the province.<sup>6</sup>

In the following months, various decrees and circulars were introduced in the Bessarabian province, the purpose of which was to create favorable conditions

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<sup>6</sup>Tatarynov, I. (2014). Osoblyvosti viiskovoho stanu v Bessarabskii hubernii (1914-1915 rr.) [Features of martial law in Bessarabia province (1914-1915)]. *Black sea. Scientific journal of academic research*. Tbilisi. (10). P. 53.

for mobilization, requisition, fighting with enemy agents and most importantly for maintaining public order.

It should be noted that the Bessarabian province played an important military and strategic role. The Special Expedition was deployed in the Bessarabian town of Reni, which aim was to provide food and ammunition to the allied Serbian army, but the region itself was a frontline base.

The war threw serious challenges for the local authorities. First of all, the problems of the social sphere were aggravated: assistance to the population assistance to the war-affected, the fight against the shortages. In addition, the regional authorities had to take over the implementation of central and military power decisions of national importance. The solution of these tasks was possible only through joint efforts of the provincial administration and local self-government bodies.

Despite all efforts aimed at keeping the country and society in readiness, by 1917 the imperial power in Russia severely undermined its authority. As a result, the February Revolution took place, the monarchy was deposed, and the Provisional Government came into power.

The new government liquidated the institution of governors and created the relevant structures to implement its political program – provincial and district commissariats. The head of the provincial zemstvo K. Mimi became a provincial commissar of Bessarabia, his deputy was a large landowner V. Christie. Five of the eight district commissars were also large landowners. The old zemstvos and municipal dumas were preserved as local self-government bodies. The commissars of the Provisional Government relied on provincial, municipal and district executive committees and participation in elections of these authorities was determined by the existence of a property qualification.<sup>7</sup>

Fundamental changes have begun in the country. These changes affected the activities of local military and civilian authorities to maintain public order. Thus, on April 9, 1917, Governor – General M. Ebelov abolished a number of mandatory resolutions adopted in the previous years of the war. Thus, on April 9, 1917, Governor-General M. Ebelov abolished a number of mandatory resolutions adopted in the previous years of the war. For example, it was not forbidden to drive cars

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<sup>7</sup>Caranov, V. K (ed.). (2002). *Istoriya Respubliki Moldova s drevnejshih vremen do nashih dnei* [History of the Republic of Moldova from the Ancient Times to the Present]. Kishinev: Elan Poligraf. P. 173.

during the dark hours of the day, all sorts of demonstrative marches and manifestations were allowed. Even the ban on “visiting houses” was lifted.<sup>8</sup>

There was a radical turn in the policy of the state regarding “Russian Germans”. In particular, the authorities' actions to evict the Germans were suspended after the February Revolution. In March 1917, the Minister of Agriculture of the Provisional Government A. Shingarev telegraphed that the requisition of the lands of the German colonists had been officially suspended. Moreover, it was urgently ordered to inform the population of the colonies with a fervent appeal to strain all efforts and begin the spring fieldwork. The minister expressed the hope that “he population of the colonies, devoted to the interests of the motherland, free Russia from now on, will respond to the appeal of the Provisional Government and will hasten to provide all the surplus of grain stocks required by the army”.<sup>9</sup>

To gain the further disposition of the German colonists, on April 11, 1917, the Akkerman District Constituent Council authorized the German rural community to restore the work of parish schools, closed by the Governor – General's decrees in 1914.<sup>10</sup>

The local population understood freedoms proclaimed by the Provisional Government in their own way. After the February Revolution, facts of unauthorized seizure by peasants of public and private land began to occur in Bessarabia. Accordingly, on April 27, 1917, a special telegram was transmitted from Governor - General M. Ebelov. It was reported that the peasant section of the Odessa Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the Union of Farmers, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the Council of Deputies of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, as well as representatives of the army and navy, decided: there should be no unauthorized seizure of the land. According to the decision of grain growers congress in Odessa, rural gatherings were given the right to approve a decision on plowing only empty, uninhabited land plots, with payment of rent to landlords after harvesting. The land for corn was forbidden to plough. The final issue about the fate of the land was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

The Provisional Government intended to continue the war “to the deep end”. Therefore, a full order should have been in the rear. In this regard, after the first declarations and appeals for new freedoms, measures began to be toughened against those who violated public order.

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<sup>8</sup>National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, Fund 2, List 1, File 9435, P. 219.

<sup>9</sup>Municipal institution “Izmail archive” (further MIIA), Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P. 93.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. P. 123.

In many places, peasants committed illegal actions against landowners, prevented harvesting, removed prisoners of war and workers, forced landowners and tenants to pay them more than the standard set by the government. They demanded from the owners to raise previously agreed prices for labor and seized forcibly bread, feedstuff, mowing and inventory. Such actions, according to the Minister of Food A. Peshekhonov, threatened to leave the whole country and army without bread.

On July 31, 1917, the Provisional Government approved a decree providing for measures to stop any unlawful actions on the part of the population that prevented farmers from sowing and harvesting fields. On July 31, 1917, the Provisional Government approved the decree providing for measures to stop any illegal actions on the part of the population, which prevented farmers from sowing and harvesting fields. Now representatives of local authorities were forbidden to take out decrees and resolutions that could give rise to criminal and illegal actions against landowners. The farmers had to make every effort to sow and harvest crops and hay. If they could not cope with this on their own, it was necessary to appeal to the Food Board. They were subjected to criminal liability for actions that prevented landowners from farming. All decisions on sowing and harvesting were to be taken solely by the food committees and boards, provided that all bread that was subjected to alienation would be placed at the disposal of the state. Other committees had no right to take upon themselves the solution of these issues, and their decisions were not obligatory for the population.<sup>11</sup>

On August 13, 1917, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief L. Kornilov approved by his order drastic measures against those who prevented the procurement of food for the army. In his turn, the Minister of the Interior of the Provisional Government, I. Tsereteli, took all the necessary steps to prevent the independent land distribution before the land reform. On September 23, 1917, the new Supreme Commander-in-Chief A. Kerensky also issued a decree on ending the unauthorized solution of the land question.<sup>12</sup>

The February revolution could not provide peasants with land and change the order of things that had developed over 3 years of fighting. Therefore, the new government had already verified through compulsory restrictions on free export and trade, as well as mass requisition.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>MIIA, Fund 4, List 1, File 551, P. 27.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. P. 31, 33, 74.

<sup>13</sup>MIIA, Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P. 179.

In August 1917, in Bessarabia, in order to save fish resources for the army, local fishermen were forbidden to fish from 8 pounds or more in the area where the troops were disposed (at that time it was the lower stream of the Danube and its adjacent lakes).<sup>14</sup> Thus, the inhabitants of the Danube region remained without the possibility of conducting one of their main trades.

The strict policy of the Provisional Government had provoked active protests from local residents. In the summer of 1917, the newspaper "Bessarabian Life" in the article "Notes from the Province" reported: "The peasants are indignant that the requisition of bread and especially of livestock place a heavy burden only on their shoulders. Look, they say, – how many horses and cattle remained by the landlords? Why do not they take the cattle away from them? But they take the last cow away from us".<sup>15</sup>

In August 1917, the Interim Government raised grain procurement prices by 100%, which led to a sharp increase in prices for consumer goods. The food situation in Bessarabia has worsened.<sup>16</sup>

A pound of baked bread in Chisinau in October-December 1917 cost 22 kopecks against 2 kopecks in 1913, it means that it went up 11 times while the salary increased only doubled. In addition, this product was significantly worse quality. "Local bread traders, selling low-quality bread for retail, raise prices every day, what causes fair complaints from the population," the Free Bessarabia newspaper said.<sup>17</sup> Another newspaper said: "Instead of flour, bakers send bran or flour with sawdust and it explains a lot of gastric diseases in the city, even doctors explain some deaths. The situation of the poor class is desperate".<sup>18</sup>

In 1917 the cities and villages of the province survived an acute shortage of food. In May 1917, the newspaper Svobodnaya Bessarabia reported that in Chisinau "bread tails are increasing day by day, children go to bed hungry".<sup>19</sup>

At the provincial congress of Bessarabia councils (September 1917), delegates depicted a difficult picture of the food situation in the province. A deputy of the Bendery Council said: "The high cost is desperate. The situation is critical." A representative from Bolgrad Kalinin noted: "The food issue is in a terrible state.

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<sup>14</sup>MIIA, Fund 4, List 1, File 551, P. 65.

<sup>15</sup>Bessarabian Life, 1917, July 21, No. 177.

<sup>16</sup>Aftenyuk, S. (ed.) (1964) *Revolucionnoe dvizhenie v 1917 godu i ustanovlenie Sovetskoy vlasti v Moldavii* [The revolutionary movement in 1917 and the establishment of Soviet power in Moldova]. Kishinev. P. 77.

<sup>17</sup>Free Bessarabia, 1917, September 12, No. 123.

<sup>18</sup>Bessarabian Life, 1917, May 21, No. 127.

<sup>19</sup>Free Bessarabia, 1917, May 12, No. 29.

There is no bread on the market, but only speculators sell it".<sup>20</sup> Later, they reported from Khotin that "the county is surviving an acute flour crisis. In many places, people have to go hungry due to lack of flour".<sup>21</sup>

Public committees formed after the February Revolution tried to resist such predatory steps and interfered actively in the activities of cooperatives that were in charge of procuring food for the army and the urban population. In response to this, in June 1917 the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent an explanation to Bessarabia, in which it was stated:

- the activity of cooperatives for the procurement of food products for the army and the population were not subjected to control by local public committees;
- intervention of the latter hampered the work of cooperatives and caused discord in the food matters;
- control over the activity of cooperatives for the procurement of food belonged only to the Ministry of Food.

In the wake of events that took place after the February Revolution in Russia, "anti-alcohol" regulations in Bessarabia, introduced since 1914, began to be violated.<sup>22</sup> For example, wine trade was noticed in Ackerman in March 1917.<sup>23</sup> According to the governor-general in the same period, "women in the villages are wearing metal hot-water bottles filled with alcohol under the dress, which they secretly sell".<sup>24</sup>

To restore order, on March 31, 1917, Bessarabian provincial commissar K. Mimi forbade any sale of wine, both retail and wholesale, from cellars and wine shops, as well as in hospitals, hotels and restaurants.<sup>25</sup> The local government and the police, which replaced the royal gendarmes, had the duty to monitor the fact that

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<sup>20</sup>Bereznyakov, N.V. (ed.) (1957). *Bor'ba za vlast' sovetov v Moldavii (mart 1917 – mart 1918): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* [The struggle for the power of the Soviets in Moldova (March 1917 - March 1918): Collection of documents and materials]. Kishinev. P. 96.

<sup>21</sup>Free Bessarabia, 1917, November 5, No. 157.

<sup>22</sup>Tatarynov, I. (2014). Antyalkoholni zakhody v Bessarabskii hubernii u 1914-1915 rr. [Anti-alcohol measures in Bessarabia province in 1914-1915]. *Scientific notes of the Ternopil national pedagogical university named after Vladimir Gnatyuk. Series: History*. Ternopil. (1). P. 38.

<sup>23</sup>MIIA, Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P. 95.

<sup>24</sup>MIIA, Fund 292, List 1, File 233, P. 8.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. P. 91.

there was no place for wine trade even during the holidays. However, there was no longer any complete control over the situation.<sup>26</sup>

In the late summer of 1917, cases of people who appeared drunk on the streets became more frequent. The response to this phenomenon was the intensification of “anti-alcohol measures”. Henceforth “for the appearance in a public place in the state of an obvious alcoholic intoxication, the guilty persons were subjected to a monetary sanction of up to 300 rubles or imprisonment for a period from 2 months to 1 year and 6 months or to arrest for more than 3 years”.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the decree of March 31, 1917, the provincial commissar issued another one on September, 13 of the same year. To prevent and suppress any attempts to disrupt the order and peace due to the sale of alcohol and drunkenness, any sale of wine within Chisinau and the province was banned. In case of revealing infringements, the culprit was punished, and wine was destroyed on the spot.<sup>28</sup>

The new revolutionary local government also took certain steps to fight with the alcohol trade. For example, on August 25, 1917, the Committee Board of the Workers’ and Soldiers’ of Bolgrad had raised the issue of prohibition of the production of wine. The chief of staff of the 6th Army L. Radus-Zenkovich ordered the creation of a special commission for this purpose, chaired by the chief of the stage and economic department of the army headquarters with the participation of 2-3 local residents.<sup>29</sup>

On September 23, 1917 in Bolgrad, a joint meeting of the executive committee of public organizations and the municipal council was held, at which such decision was made: “All the wine in the city is to be registered, special commissions are to be created for this purpose. The latter have to inspect all the wine stores of winemakers in the town”. In early October 1917, such a commission under the leadership of Colonel B. Stankevich was established under the quartermaster of the 6th Army. It included town representatives as well as the military.<sup>30</sup>

However, such moderate steps did not lead to the necessary changes. As a result, on October 29, 1917, unknown people defeated the wine storage in Bolgrad, and riots began. On the same day, local authorities resorted to more serious steps. The following order was issued: “To establish order in the town and prevent excesses that can violate the normal life of the town in the future, the Bolgrad Public

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<sup>26</sup>MIIA, Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P.270.

<sup>27</sup>MIIA, Fund 2, List 1, File 705, P.1.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid. P. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. P. 5.

<sup>30</sup>MIIA, Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P. 35, 41.

Security Committee states that those guilty of the vodka storage and its sale, as well as those convicted of instigating riots, will be tried, and local residents will also be expelled from the area where the troops are disposed”.<sup>31</sup>

The situation in neighboring Izmail was much more peaceful. Therefore local authorities tried to legalize the sale of alcohol. At that time, there were two clubs in the town – a casino and a public meeting. Military men from troops located in the vicinity visited them. These clubs were the only places for the rest and leisure for them after returning from positions. Using the order for the 6th Army from October 13, 1917, which allowed to release 1/8 of a bottle of wine per person per day, self-government of Izmail appealed to the Bessarabian provincial commissar with a request to allow the sale of wine in the clubs “exclusively serving it to the table with food”. According to the local administration, this request could solve two tasks: all the stocks of wine in the area of the city would be destroyed with the troops, and the members of the clubs would subsidize the local budget. However, on November 9 of the same year, the provincial commissar reported to Izmail about the impossibility to satisfy such a petition.<sup>32</sup>

After the February Revolution, as well as throughout the country, new revolutionary bodies of power began to be created in Bessarabia – the Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies. From March 21 to 26, the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were created in Bendery, Chisinau, and by May they acted in all district cities and in many cities of the region. In the military garrisons, the large number of which in the province was determined by closeness of the Romanian front, Soviets of soldier's deputies were created and in the county centers Soviets of peasant deputies were formed. In the summer of 1917, the united executive committees of the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants' deputies were created in some counties. The programs of the Soviets included the struggle to establish an 8-hour working day, improve working conditions, raise wages, democratize the army, liquidate landowner tenure and land transfer to peasants.

The main role in the councils was played by the Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries, the Jewish parties “The Bund” and “Poalei Zion”. Until the late autumn of 1917, the Bolsheviks did not have independent political entities in Bessarabia, but they were part of the united social democratic organizations. The Soviets, consisting of representatives of parties that entered the coalition of the Interim Government, pursued a policy of containing the masses, sought to return the revolution to the mainstream of reforms.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid. P. 41.

<sup>32</sup> MIIA, Fund 2, List 1, File 705, P. 11, 15.

Due to the struggle against the speech of General L. Kornilov, under the pressure of public opinion, the provincial and Bender district commissars were removed. Under the Chisinau Council, a Committee for the Protection of the Revolution was created and it was headed by the bolshevik A. Volkov. Many Soviets demanded the immediate arrest and trial of L. Kornilov with his henchmen. The II County Congress of Peasants, which was held in Chisinau on September 9-13 sentenced "Kornilovism" too. The congress was attended by the representatives of the county executive committee of peasant deputies, the Central Moldovan Military Executive Committee and Rumcheroda (the executive committee of the Soviets of the Romanian Front, the Black Sea Fleet and Odessa region), which also included Bessarabia. The delegates spoke against the coalition of the Soviets with the Interim Government, for the transferring all power to the Soviets, for the immediate conclusion of a democratic peace. They decided to organize the Councils regulation of the distribution of basic necessities and to provide and organize cooperatives, bakeries and shops for this purpose.<sup>33</sup>

In March 1917, a group of intelligentsia – V. Stroescu, V. Gore, V. Herz, P. Halippa – united around the Cuvântul Moldovenesc newspaper and announced the creation of a new Moldavian National Party (MNP). Members of the Moldavian party joined it. This Party also united the Moldovan military in Odessa, led by Captain E. Catelli. Under the influence of the national movement, the party formulated some principles of administrative-territorial autonomy between the Prut and the Dniester.

The program task proclaimed the creation of the Moldavian autonomy within the Russian Federation. In order to strengthen and increase the role of MNEs in society organizationally, the Central Moldovan Military Executive Committee (CMMEC) was formed in Chisinau in June 1917 from the representatives of soldiers' committees. Before the general election to the Constituent Assembly, the governing body (legislative and representative) Sfatul Tsarij was formed, which included 120 representatives of Bessarabian political public organizations.<sup>34</sup>

In general, it is worth noting that the local administration managed to maintain order in Bessarabia. However, everything had radically changed after the October Revolution and the overthrow of the Provisional Government. At this time, the army, taken to extremes due to poor supplies, began to get out of the control of

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<sup>33</sup> Zhukov, V. I. (ed.) (1987). *Istoricheskoe znachenie prisoedineniya Bessarabii i levoberezhnogo Podnestrov'ya k Rossii* [The historical significance of the accession of Bessarabia and the left-bank Transnistria to Russia]. Kishinev: 1987. P. 261.

<sup>34</sup> Repida, L. (2008). *Suverennaya Moldova: istoriya i sovremennost'* [Sovereign Moldova: history and modernity]. Kishinev: Inst. Patrimonial. P. 109.

the command. The soldiers left their positions massively and went home. At the end of 1917, many deserters from the Romanian front flooded Bessarabia and looting had begun. To avoid this, in some districts rural volosts were ordered to organize armed self-defense. The local intellectuals had to gather healthy people into “national self-protection”. Everyone took weapons and rose to defend their settlements. It was noted in the order that “because of anarchy and decay, without getting food and clothes, the army of the Romanian front left the front... the cold and hungry army in search of shelter and food can sweep away all the towns and villages in anger, as it had already happened”. It was recommended to convene rural gatherings immediately and to start organizing stations to feed the troops that could pass through the villages. Each conscious peasant should be given 5-10 poods of wheat to make bread to the soldiers who could come to “be greeted hospitably and peacefully peace”.<sup>35</sup>

The military command did not admit the power of the Bolsheviks. The reorganization of armed formations in order to reassign them to local authorities began. For example, on November 11, 1917, the Committee of National Commissars of the Sixth Army decided: all Bessarabian officers, soldiers, doctors, officials and members of a militia unit who were on leave or on medical treatment within Akkerman and Izmail districts, should immediately appear in Akkerman and Bolgrad to join the newly formed Bessarabian regiments. The main aim of these formations was to protect the property and security of citizens of the Bessarabian province “from violence and robberies covering the native land”. These officials were to arrive to Bolgrad to the Commander of the Novobessarabsky Regiment (Aleksandrovskaya Street), or to Ackerman to the commander of the 227th Ukrainian Reserve Regiment (Dumbrzova Street). The Akkerman Infantry Regiment was formed from them.<sup>36</sup>

The victory of the Bolshevik coup was regarded as a threat not only by national organizations, but also by organizations of all-Russian parties that had a majority in the Soviets of Bessarabia. These organizations represented the interests of the petite bourgeoisie. They believed that the fate of the country should be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Representing the interests of the social lower classes, the Bolsheviks opposed private property; they put forward the slogans of creating a society of universal equality and social justice.

These circumstances contributed to the unification of all anti-Bolshevik forces. On November 9, 1917, the Chisinau Committee for the Protection of the

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<sup>35</sup> MIIA, Fund 779, List 1, File 105, P. 269.

<sup>36</sup> MIIA, Fund 782, List 1, File 3, P. 22.

Revolution and the Constituent Assembly was created and included the representatives of the Chisinau Executive Committee (body of the Interim Government), the provincial executive committee of the Soviets of the RS and SD, the Central Military Museum, the Moldovan Military Congress, the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, the Bund, the Chisinau city Duma, provincial zemstvo, as well as county committees for the protection of the revolution.<sup>37</sup>

In November, political parties, local governments and national organizations nominated their representatives to Sfatul Tsariy. On December 4, 1917 the first meeting was opened. It adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of the Moldavian Democratic Republic. The composition of the government was approved – a 9-person board of directors headed by P. Erhal.

On December 15, 1917, Sfatul Tsariy proclaimed Bessarabia the Moldavian Democratic Republic, equal in rights as part of the united Russian Democratic Federal Republic.<sup>38</sup> Bessarabian province, as one of the administrative regions of Russia, ceased to exist.

### Conclusions

We can make a conclusion on the basis of an analysis of archival documents that in 1917 the Bessarabian authorities took a number of actions aimed at maintaining order in one of the key front-line provinces of Russia. In general, they managed to control the public attitudes in the region. The region was filled with deserters and Bolshevik subdivisions. Under such circumstances, the fragile order, maintained during the Provisional Government, was completely destroyed. It should be noted that the declared subject matter requires further investigation with the involvement of new archival sources.

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<sup>37</sup> Caranov, V. K. (ed.) (2002). *Istoriya Respubliki Moldova s drevnejshih vremen do nashih dnei* [History of the Republic of Moldova from the Ancient Times to the Present]. Kishinev: Elan Poligraf. P.180-181

<sup>38</sup> Nazariya, S. (2013). *Sfatul Cerij, "ob'edinenie" s Rumyniej i otnoshenie k nemu moldavan i nacmen'shinstv Bessarabii (1917-1918 gg.)* [Sfatul Tsarii, "unification" with Romania and the attitude towards it of the Moldavians and of the national minorities of Bessarabia (1917-1918)]. *Rusin.* (33). P. 140-141. <https://doi.org/10.17223/18572685/33/10>

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Tetiana YERYCH\*

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## **CULTURAL VALUES OF THE MUSEUMS FROM SOUTHERN UKRAINE LOST DURING THE YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

*- Abstract -*

The article discusses the loss of museums in the south of Ukraine during the Second World War. Valuable collections of Ukrainian relics that were in museums of Ukraine were exported as “trophy” to the territory of Nazi Germany. The selection and export process was controlled by special teams, which included not only the military, but also representatives of the scientific elite of the Third Reich. The question of the return of exhibits remains unresolved so far, which causes again and again to return to the designated topic.

*Keywords:* Southern Ukraine; museums; collections; exhibits; loss of cultural property.

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### **Introduction**

Museums have an important place in the cultural life of society, realizing their inherent protective function. The Second World War caused terrible losses to the historical and cultural heritage of Ukraine: some cultural objects died as a result of hostilities, the other was evacuated to the rear of the country and did not return completely after the re-evacuation. A significant amount of cultural property (archival, library, museum exhibits) was exported to Germany. At least 330 thousand museum exhibits and about 21 million storage units were removed from Ukrainian museums.

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### Formulation of the problem

The research topic is relevant, since the task of spiritual revival of Ukraine, determining prospects in all sectors of national culture, further development of democracy, national consciousness require focused work in the field of search and return of cultural values in order to transfer them to their rightful owners. The purpose of the article is to elucidate the features of the occupation regime of museum and historical values in southern Ukraine; elucidation of cultural and historical losses and the consequences of World War II for the further development of museum business in Ukraine. The territorial scope of the article is determined by the boundaries of the historical region of the southern part of mainland Ukraine.

In the modern administrative-territorial plan, these are the Nykolaev, Odessa, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia regions. According to the division of the period 1941-1944 – this is the general district (“Nikolaev”) of the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” and part of the Transnistria governorate (Odessa and western regions of the Nikolaev region).

### Research Analyses

The problem of cultural and spiritual losses of Ukraine during political and military conflicts has always interested historians. Numerous scientific, historical, documentary works are devoted to it. Among the Ukrainian scientists who dealt with this problem should be named M. Koval<sup>1</sup>, who proved that “the attitude of the Nazi invaders to the values of Ukrainian culture was determined by the Nazi scale of” racial value “of the enslaved peoples, among which the Ukrainian, in fact, was no place”. To this galaxy of scientists we include the researcher S. Kot<sup>2</sup>, who works on the issues of displacement of Ukrainian cultural values. A part of the dissertation research recently was also devoted to the issues of national and cultural heritage of Ukraine during the Second World War. This study N.V. Shevchenko<sup>3</sup>, M. Dubik<sup>4</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Koval, M. (1996). Pohrabuvannia ta znyshchennia fashystskymy zaharbnymy muzeinykh, arkhivnykh ta bibliotechnykh tsinnostei Ukrainy (1941-1944 rr.). *Povernennia kulturnoho nadbannia Ukrainy: problemy, zavdannia, perspektyvy*. Vyp. 6. P. 34-42.

<sup>2</sup> Kot, S. (1996). Problemy povernennia vtrachenykh muzeinykh tsinnostei v Ukrainu v konteksti istorii ta mizhnarodnoho prava. *Povernennia kulturnoho nadbannia Ukrainy: Problemy, zavdannia, perspektyvy*. Vyp. 6. P. 119-125.

<sup>3</sup> Shevchenko, N. (2008). Kulturno-osvitni zaklady Mykolaieva v period okupatsii. *Naukovi pratsi: Naukovo-metodychnyi zhurnal*. Mykolaiv: Vyd-vo MDHU im. Petra Mohyly. T.83. Vyp. 70. Istorychni nauky. P.142-147.

<sup>4</sup> Dubyk, M. (1996). Do istorii diialnosti natsystskykh ustanov v Ukraini pid chas okupatsii u 1941-1944 rr. *Povernennia kulturnoho nadbannia Ukrainy: problemy, zavdannia, perspektyvy*. Vyp. 6. P. 194-198.

etc. Among foreign researchers, who study the identified problems, are P. Grimsted, G. Boryak<sup>5</sup>, T. Sebta<sup>6</sup>. Various documents and personal information were included as sources for the writing of the article, including: the order of the Ministry of Occupied Oriental Regions of the Reich Commissioners of Ostland and Ukraine to preserve cultural and scientific values for export to Germany; correspondence between the headquarters management and the AWG of Ukraine regarding the work and use of Tile staff and Professor Kundert in Odessa<sup>7</sup>, etc.

### **Statement of the main material**

The origin and formation of museum institutions in Ukraine took place in the general vein of the development of museum business in the Russian Empire. At this time, most of the domestic museums were concentrated at church institutions and had a corresponding direction of their activities. The first assembly houses bore the imprint of social relations, reflected the spiritual, cultural and ideological interests of the ruling elite and often served as a means of strengthening its power.

In the eighteenth century, there was considerable interest among the educated elders in collecting and preserving monuments of Ukrainian antiquity and art (Poletics, Myklashevsky, Skoropadsky, Sudyenko, Hanenko, Lizogub, Apostles, Razumovsky, etc.). It was not yet a museum in a scientific sense, as the collections were for private use.

Museums as special institutions began to appear in the first half of the nineteenth century. These were mainly archeological, historical, local and art museums. During this period several museums of different profiles were opened, including Nykolaiv (1806), Feodosia (1811), Odessa (1825), Kerch (1826), Kharkiv – the first city art museum in Ukraine (1886), Kiev – City Museum of Antiquity and the Arts (1899). The main funds of these museums were archaeological materials. University museums also appeared, in particular, in 1807 at Kharkiv University (archaeological, zoological, mineralogical, museum of fine arts), 1809 – zoological at Kiev University; 1834-1837 Museum of Antiquities, Numismatic, Fine Arts and others at Kiev University, 1865 – Zoological cabinet at the Imperial Novorossiysk

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<sup>5</sup> Hrimsted Kennedi P. (1994). Nyshchennia ukrainskykh muzeiv, arkhiviv, bibliotek u roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Pamiatky Ukrainy*. Vyp. 3-6. P. 92-105.

<sup>6</sup> Sebta, T. (1999). Dokumenty Ainzatsshtabu reikhsliaitera Rozenberha pro diialnist v ukrainskykh bibliotekakh pid chas natsytskoi okupatsii (1941-1944 rr.). *Naukovi zapysky: Zb. prats molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv*. NAN Ukrainy, In-t ukr. arkhheohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im M.S. Hrushevskoho. T. 4. P. 398-412.

University in Odessa. An important reason for the founding of museums and libraries was also the rapid development of large cities due to industrialization<sup>8</sup>.

The southern region occupies a special place in the history of the Ukrainian museum. It is the southern lands at the beginning of the XIX century, it became the epicenter from where the waves of the museum movement dispersed throughout Ukraine. This is due to the rapid economic development of the Ukrainian South at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the growth of cities such as Odessa, Nikolaev, Kherson and others, and the focus on newly developed lands of powerful scientific and cultural potential. Not the last role was played by the enthusiasm of the intelligentsia for science – archeology, and especially the archeology of antiquity, namely, the lands of the south of Ukraine provided an opportunity to join the study of this historical era<sup>9</sup>.

Without dwelling in detail on the history of the development of museum work, it is worth noting that in total in 1917 there were 36 museums in Ukraine. They played an important role in the preservation of cultural values, contributed to the dissemination of enlightenment of the Ukrainian people, its cultural development, the formation of national consciousness<sup>10</sup>.

The revival of Ukrainian statehood, the rise of the national movement during the national democratic revolution (1917-1921), of course, positively influenced the development of the museum. At this time, museums, which were created earlier, continue to operate, new museum centers, the first state monuments and protection institutions are appeared. The indicated period has become an important and fundamentally new stage in the transformation of the museum industry of Ukraine – at this time state regulation of the activities of museum institutions begins to be implemented.

In the 20 years of the twentieth century, only in Odessa, such historical building as: the Odessa State Art Museum, the Odessa National Art Museum, the All-Ukrainian Museum of Jewish Culture, Mendele Moher Sforim and more were founded .

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<sup>7</sup> *Perepyska mezhdru Upravlenyem shtaba y HRH Ukraini otnosytelno raboti y yspolzovanyia sotrudnykov shtaba Tyle y profesora Kunderta v Odesse* [Elektronni resurs]. Rezhym dostupa : <http://err.tsdav.gov.ua/1/webpages/61535226dzherela>

<sup>8</sup> Shydlovskiy, I. (2012). *Istoriia muzeinoi spravy ta zoolohichnykh muzeiv universytetiv Ukrainy*. Lviv : LNU im. Ivana Franka. P. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Kurchenko, T. (2011). *Formuvannia muzeinoi merezhi pivdnia Ukrainy u pershii polovyni XIX stolittia*. Kraieznavstvo. Vyp.4. P. 178.

<sup>10</sup> Tiurmenko, I. (2004). *Kulturolohiia: teoriia ta istoriia kultury*. Navchalnyi posibnyk / Za red. I.I. Tiurmenko, O.D. Horbula. Kyiv: Tsentr navchalnoi literatury. P. 254.

In the thirties of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian Museum underwent several heavy blows: the vast majority of museum experts were arrested on charges of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”. A number of museums, especially districts and regions, were liquidated<sup>11</sup>. There was even a fabrication by the organs of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR the case of the so-called “Russian-Ukrainian Fascist Bloc”, which according to the investigation there were about 40 cells in different cities. Members were employees of museums and monument conservation institutions in Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, Poltava, Vinnitsa, Uman, Konotop, Berdichev, Myrhorod, Nizhyn.

Ukraine suffered the largest losses in its entire centuries-old history as a result of military operations and occupation during the Second World War. On the eve of the war, government bodies made significant efforts to export historical and artistic values to the deep rear. In accordance with the general plan for the evacuation of museums, the funds of the central and local museums were divided into three phases of evacuation (in terms of value)<sup>12</sup>. In total, from 22 to 26 museums from 174 (data for 1940) were exported to the rear areas of the USSR, that is, only 13 percent of their total number. These were mainly the museums of Kiev and several regional centers – Kherson, Odessa, Nykolayiv, Poltava, Sumy, Kharkiv, Chernihiv. Evacuated funds of Ukrainian museums were scattered across a vast territory.

Employees of the Odessa Museum of Western Art July 30, 1941 it was possible to remove from Odessa part of the funds of his museum (4 drawers) and the museum of Russian and Ukrainian art (11 boxes) with valuable paintings packed. According to various estimates, the number of exported masterpieces ranged from 500 to 750 works of art. Among them were paintings by Paolo Veronese, Guido Reni, DB Teopolo, D. Canaletto, A. Magnasco, D. Ternis, P. Brueghel, J. Brueghel, H. Holpain, P.P. Rubens, K. Bryullov, D. Levitsky, F. Rokotov<sup>13</sup>.

However, the actual circumstances of the evacuation of cultural property were significantly different from the schemes defined by the directives. The rapid onset of the war did not allow the implementation of what was planned. The evacuation of the funds of Ukrainian museums, archives and libraries in the eastern regions of the

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<sup>11</sup> Rudyi, H. (2010). Problema zberezhenia muzeinoi spadshchyny Ukrainy: za rezultatamy analizu materialiv respublikanskoi periodyky. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. Vyp.6. P. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Akulenko, V. (2011). Pravovyi status evakuiovanykh z Ukrainy u skhidni raiony SRSR muzeinykh, bibliotechnykh i arkhivnykh tsinnostei pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Zbirnyk nauk. prats*. Vyp. 19. P.9.

<sup>13</sup> Kalashnikova, V. (2010). Istoryko-kulturni tsinnosti Ukrainy v umovakh “novoho poriadku” (1941-1944 rr.): teoretychnyi aspekt. *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho natsionalnoho universytetu*. Vyp. XXVIII. P. 242.

USSR took place in difficult wartime conditions, in an atmosphere of haste and confusion. Some cars were attacked by German aircraft, after which cultural values disappeared without a trace. Traces of others were lost for unknown reasons. The museum funds of 10 regions of Ukraine remained non-vacuumed. Less than half of the evacuated museum and archival valuables reached their destination – they were bombed or robbed along the way<sup>14</sup>.

The evacuation of Ukrainian cultural property was scattered across a vast territory that covered the Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan). Ensuring their safety was extremely difficult. In addition, under conditions of insufficient control, the facts of theft of Ukrainian cultural property and their appropriation in places of storage in evacuation were indicative. Products made of precious metals and stones were taken out by special groups of the NKVD and did not leave any documents. The fate of many of these monuments is still unknown. Characteristically, before the retreat of the Soviet troops, inventory books and registration cards of many museums were destroyed, and after the liberation of Ukraine, the NKVD officers seized and destroyed pre-war stock documents and documents on the evacuation of funds of individual museums.

As for the German command – it carefully studied the future enemy in the prewar time. Therefore, they showed special attention to museums, archives and libraries. A special apparatus was formed, the task of which was to identify, preserve and prepare for the export of “trophy” cultural property to Germany. The following were involved in the export of cultural property: the “Künsberg Group”, which was directly subordinate to Ribbentrop and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The operational headquarters of the Reichsleiter Rosenberg was involved in the case, who was entrusted with the collection of information and accounting for all cultural values captured by the Germans. There were also specialized centers – the “Separate Headquarters of Libraries” and the headquarters “Fine Arts”. An important role in the context of preparing museum valuables for export was played by *sondershtabs*. They were engaged in individual branches of science and culture, and their employees were highly qualified specialists - scientists, doctors of sciences, professors. They conducted an inspection and assessed objects of culture and science, monuments of architecture and history, selected cultural objects for export to Germany, evaluating them not only from the point of view of importance for

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<sup>14</sup> Shchetnikov, V. (2012). Problema vyvezennia kulturnykh tsinnostei z Transnistrii u 1941-1944 rr. ta yikh povernennia u pisliavoienni period. *Naukovi pratsi istorichnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho natsionalnoho universytetu*. Vyp. 33. P. 111.

fulfilling the tasks of the operational headquarters, but also of artistic or scientific value<sup>15</sup>.

Art exhibits, getting in Germany, ended up in different collections or museums. Most of the “captured” paintings were planned for the so-called “Museum of the Fuhrer” in Linz, which was never built<sup>16</sup>. Reichsmarschall G. Goering created a grand art gallery in his castle Karinhalle. Since the beginning of World War II in July 1944, 137 wagons with paintings, rare furniture, and jewelry from various European collections were delivered to the Nazi Reich.

In the official documents of the Reich, it was constantly emphasized that all actions to confiscate works of art, library and archival funds were carried out only for their “salvation” in the occupation zone, “collection of material” and a safe place at the counter, so that “they survived this war and remained for subsequent generations”.<sup>17</sup>

In Ukraine, the Nazis in the early days of the occupation robbed and destroyed the museum of Odessa, Poltava, Berdichev, Nikolaev, Kremenchug and others; irreparable damage was inflicted to the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, the ancient architectural masterpieces in Chernihiv were destroyed (Spassky Cathedral of the 11th century, Borisoglebsky Cathedral of the 12th century, Pyatnitskaya Church of the 12th century), architectural ensembles of Kharkov, Kiev and other cities; the invaders destroyed examples of statues, mirror cases, vases, shot paintings and books from machine guns.

The main working group of Ukraine of the Rosenberg Operational Headquarters was responsible for search and evacuation operations related to archives, libraries and museums in the occupied territories. Within this group there were several specially created teams and groups that conducted local search activities.

A separate place in this structure belongs to the working groups working in the south of Ukraine. The basis of this region was Odessa, Nikolaev Kherson and Zaporizhzhya regions.

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<sup>15</sup> Smolii, A. (2011). Ukraina v Druhii svitovii viini: pohliad z XXI stolittia. *Istorychni narysy*. Red. kol.: V. A. Smolii, H. V. Boriak, Yu. A. Levenets, V. M. Lytvyn. K.: NVP "Vydavnytstvo Naukova dumka, NAN Ukrainy". Kn. 1. S. 584.

<sup>16</sup> Akulenko, V. (2011). Pravovyi status evakuiovanykh z Ukrainy u skhidni raiony SRSR muzeinykh, bibliotechnykh i arkhivnykh tsinnostei pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Zbirnyk nauk. prats*. Vyp. 19. P.8.

<sup>17</sup> Zynych, M. (1999). Diialnist operatyvnoho shtabu A. Rozenberha z vyvezennia kulturnykh tsinnostei z SRSR. *Vitchyzniana istoriia*. Vyp. 4. P.159.

In November 1941, by order of the head of the Main Working Group "Ukraine" Franz Zaibot, a special unit "Southern Ukraine" was created, headed by Hans-Joachim Rudolph. First, Nikolaev became the place of stay, and later Kherson. Representatives of the Sondershtab "Nauka" special forces "Southern Ukraine" worked in Odessa.

At the first stage of the war, the "Künsberg group" was especially distinguished (a special SS battalion under the command of Sturmbannführer Eberhard Baron von Künsberg). His units moved along with the front line troops and were designed to identify, select and retrieve archival and library values intended for shipment to Germany.

In the first months of the occupation, the Germans withdrew hundreds of unique items from Odessa museums – 200 paintings, 80 porcelain items, 60 bronze items, 40 pieces of ancient weapons, 30 carpets, 10 ivory items and other museum valuables.<sup>18</sup> In total, more than 130,000 exhibits were removed from Odessa museums.

The museums of Nikolaev and Kherson were robbed. So, in December 1941, members of the "Southern Ukraine" working group in the Nikolaev History Museum organized an exhibition for German military personnel who have the right to choose any museum exhibits, leaving a receipt to the director.<sup>19</sup>

In the fall of 1943 the most valuable archaeological finds from the museums of Nikolaev (about 500 items in 6 boxes) were delivered by the representative of the special headquarters "Ancient History", director Remoli from Nikolaev to Koenigsberg and placed at the Institute of Ancient History under the supervision of its director professor La Baum.<sup>20</sup> Particular attention in the collection belonged to exhibits about the stay of the ancient Germans (Ostrogoths) in the territory of modern southern Ukraine. From the Kherson Historical Museum, the Germans took out more than 50 boxes of specially selected museum material. After the liberation of Kherson, in a note on the damage caused by the war, the museum director A.

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<sup>18</sup> *Perepyska mezhdru Upravlenyem shtaba y HRH Ukrayny odnosytelno raboti y yspolzovanyia sotrudnykov shtaba Tyle y profesora Kunderta v Odesse* [Elektronni resurs]. Rezhym dostupa: <http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua/1/webpages/61535226dzherela>

<sup>19</sup> Boitsov, M. (1998). Kartoteka Z Operatyvnoho shtaba "Reikhsliaiter Rozenberh". *Tsennosty kulturnykh na okkupyrovannnykh terrytoryakh Rossyy, Ukrayni y Belorussyy. 1941–1942*. M.A. Boitsov T.A. Vasyleva. M.: Yzdatelstvo Moskovskoho unyversyteta.

<sup>20</sup> *Rasporiazhenye mynysterstva okkupyrovannnykh vostochnnykh oblastei reikhskomysaram Ostlanda y Ukrayny o sokhranenyu kulturnykh y nauchnykh tsennosteï dlia vivoza ykh v Hermanyiu. Prestupnyye tsely - prestupnyye sredstva: Dokumenty okkupatsyonnoi polytyky fashystskoi Hermany na terrytoryy SSSR (1941-1944 hh.)*. M.: Hos-polytyzdat. 1963. P. 45.

Isakov stated: “The Kherson Museum of Art (in the premises of the historical department) should be considered non-existent”.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, the exhibits of the Zaporizhzhia Local History Museum were completely lost. It is interesting that during the occupation (1942-1943), archaeological excavations were conducted in the vicinity of Zaporizhzhya.<sup>22</sup> The Germans were primarily interested in the monuments associated with the “Aryan heritage” – the culture of corded ceramics and tribes of the Gothic Germans, who in the III-IV centuries created their own state in the Northern Black Sea. The materials found were intended to substantiate the claims of the Third Reich to the occupied Ukrainian lands and to support the theory of the supremacy of the “Aryan race”.<sup>23</sup>

According to the first official post-war data published in the newspaper Pravda (1948), the losses of Ukrainian museums after the war amounted to more than 40,000 exhibits. In 1987, the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian Culture Fund announced new loss figures – 130,000 items.<sup>24</sup>

At the final stage of the Second World War, to organize the process of returning valuable property, a special Office for the return of equipment, property and valuables (hereinafter referred to as the Office) was created under the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR. Among the tasks of this structure was the search and return of cultural, historical and scientific values that had been exported during the years of occupation. Also, employees of the Union Control Commission (hereinafter – UCC) were engaged in the search for cultural property. To assist the UCC in the search for the exported property, the authorized UCC of the Ukrainian SSR were sent: workers of the corresponding people's commissariats and central organizations.<sup>25</sup>

An investigation by the commission found that rare museum valuables were stolen from art museums of Ukrainian – Russian and Western arts by various officials during the occupation: paintings by Russian and foreign artists (Repin, Ivanov, Kuindzhi, Makovsky, Nesterov, Strozzi, Vassolini etc. ), antique art sets of

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<sup>21</sup> *Istoriia muzeiu. Khersonskiyi oblasnyi kraieznavchyyi muzei* [Elektronnyi resurs]. Rezhym dostupu: URL: <http://hokm.ks.ua/promuzey.html>

<sup>22</sup> Turchenko, F. (2013). *Zaporizkyi rakhunok Velykii viini. 1939–1945*. F. H. Turchenko, V. M. Moroko, O. F. Shteinle, V. S. Orlianskyi [ta in.]; F. H. Turchenko (nauk. red.). Zaporizhzhia: Prosvita. P. 215.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. P. 216.

<sup>24</sup> Koval, M. (1996). Pohrabuvannia ta znyschennia fashystskymy zaharbynkamy muzeinykh, arkhivnykh ta bibliotechnykh tsinnostei Ukrainy (1941-1944 rr.). *Povernennia kulturnoho nadbannia Ukrainy: problemy, zavdannia, perspektyvy*. Vyp. 6. P. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Kalashnikova, V. (2010). Istoryko-kulturni tsinnosti Ukrainy v umovakh “novoho poriadku” (1941–1944 rr.): teoretychnyi aspekt. *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho natsionalnoho universytetu*. Vyp. XXVIII. P. 243.

high-value furniture, antique china, statues, carpets. Among the stolen paintings are real works by Giordano, Caravaggio, Maratti, Lawrence, Dow, Bryullov, Shishkin, Kuindzhi, Grekov.

Most of the values found after the war are now stored in the special funds of the Hermitage, the Museum of Fine after Pushkin, State Historical Museum (Moscow). Similar funds were also created in some central ministries and departments of the USSR (Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Defense, Archival Administration, etc.), as well as in the Union Academy of Sciences. For half a century, these trophy values have been hiding from the public, although among them there may be cultural monuments from museums of Ukraine.

### **Conclusions**

The fate of many relics remaining abroad is unknown. Even if the transportation routes and the current location of the museum exhibits are known, there are no documents confirming that the items were really stolen from Ukrainian museums. Many Ukrainian masterpieces settled not only in museum collections in Germany, but also in numerous private collections. The situation is aggravated by the fact that even organized exported goods from Ukraine were listed in German documents as “Russian” or “Soviet”.

On the other hand, the collections of many German museums in 1945 were exported to the USSR and other European countries. So the problem of restitution (return) of cultural property arose and which has not yet been completely resolved.

In the conditions of the existence of independent Ukraine, the question of returning lost cultural property was presented at the level of official state policy. An absolute achievement in this direction should be considered the creation and activities of special state bodies, which are entrusted with the task of implementing state policy on the return of cultural values of Ukraine during the Second World War. The task of returning cultural property to Ukraine continues to remain an important area of national interests and is maintained at a high state level.

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Liliiia TSYGANENKO\*

**REPRESSIONS AGAINST THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN  
BESSARABIA IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SOVIET POWER  
(JUNE 1940 – JUNE 1941)**

*- Abstract -*

The issues of the repressive policy of the Soviet power, in the first year of its establishment on the territory of Southern Bessarabia, towards different representatives of the ethnic groups is here considered. Special attention is given to the analysis of the situation of the representatives of the Romanian nationality, who entered the top three of the most affected regional ethnic groups. Based on previously unknown sources, an attempt of a real assessment of the magnitude of the crimes done by Stalinism towards the Romanian people of Southern Bessarabia was made. The age, profession and place of residence, the most frequently used prosecution methods and prison terms for the so-called “public enemies” are also analyzed. With concrete examples, the falsity of the Soviet punitive system, the absence of real rights and freedom guarantees for the people of the country are shown.

*Keywords:* Romanian people; Southern Bessarabia; Soviet power; repressions; deportations; NKVD.

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**Introduction**

The destruction of the totalitarian regime and the establishment of a democratic system is an important but very painful process of the formation of society. It is a period of reconsideration of its history, learning from the past, desire to avoid previous mistakes and crimes in future. It’s hard to disagree with the researcher V. Rulinskiy, who stated that “in Russia, an adequate historical assessment of the destruction of innocent lives, repressions against social classes and

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nations, all crimes of the Bolshevik regime, couldn't have been done for years".<sup>1</sup> The dissolution of the USSR, the liberalization and democratization of the modern Ukrainian independent state made it possible to assess the Soviet past objectively. Since the 90s, the researchers have started to study openly the issues connected with the atrocities of the Soviet totalitarian regime. Significant experience was gained and many secrets were revealed; however many moments are out of historians' attention.

### **The Problem Statement**

In the lead-up to the Second World War, the Soviet government has already had significant "experience" in holding mass punitive operations, where the representatives of different nationalities and denominations had become victims. Ukrainians, Romanians, Jews, Germans, Russians, Poles, Belarusians, etc. got into the bloodshed of the totalitarian regime. For the majority, "the acquaintance" with NKVD finished in a tragedy – arrests and prison sentences, confiscation of property and deportation, dispatch to "the labor front" in Siberia, Central Asia. Many of those who had been repressed didn't return home alive. Modern Ukraine gave the task to the society to tell the names of all illegally repressed. We must perpetuate the memory of our contemporaries who became victims of political repressions, convey this memory to future generations and exclude the possibility of a recurrence of the horrors of the totalitarian regime forever. This task is especially relevant for the border regions, the historical development of which resulted from the frequent changes of governmental identity. These territories also include modern Southern areas of the Odessa region or Ukrainian Danube region, also known under the title of "Southern Bessarabia" or "Budjak". Its inhabitants fully experienced all "the advantages" of Soviet communism, being trapped in the policy of terror, humiliation and extermination.

### **Research Analyses**

The problem of the atrocities committed by the Communist authorities towards the representatives of different peoples gained a strong development after the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine. Having received the access to previously closed NKVD-KGB archives, the Ukrainian historians wrote a large number of articles and monographs. And if, at a state-wide level, the number of works about the repressions and deportations done by the Communist authorities is

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<sup>1</sup> Rulinskiy, V. (2014). "Problema viny" v kontekste preodoleniya totalitarisma: o polze nemetskogo opyta. Trudy po rossievedeniю. *Istoriya i istoricheskaya pamyat*. P.186-208, P. 186.

of hundreds, the regional aspects of this problem still remain insufficiently analyzed. For the first time in national historiography, N. Shityuk undertook a comprehensive study of the mechanism of mass repressions against the population of the South-western region of Ukraine, during the time of Stalinism.<sup>2</sup> S. Vasilenko focused on the issues of the complex characteristics of the post-war repressions of the totalitarian regime against the Ukrainian people.<sup>3</sup> The relations between the Soviet power and the church were analyzed by V. Voynalovich,<sup>4</sup> N. Mihaylutsa.<sup>5</sup> O. Bazhan's articles were devoted to the issues of sovietization and terror on the territory of Odessa region<sup>6</sup>. O. Dovbnia made a thorough analysis by exposing the problems of political repressions against different categories of people in Southern Ukraine, between 1918 – 1953<sup>7</sup>. The researches on the repressions against the national minorities became an important aspect of historiography. L. Lyuks<sup>8</sup>, V. Kononenko<sup>9</sup> studied the persecution of Jews in Ukraine; the tragedy of the Germans were shown in the works of O. Kurabtsev<sup>10</sup>; the atrocities of the Communist authorities towards the Poles of Ukraine were covered by S. Makarchuk<sup>11</sup>.

The territory of Southern Ukraine, especially the lands of the Ukrainian Danube region (Southern Bessarabia), were less “lucky” in respect of research. In 2015, the Odessa based historian, S. Matveeva, published a book, *The Repressions and Expropriation in Bessarabia (1940-1941, 1944-1945, 1948-1952)*, where

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<sup>2</sup> Shityuk, M. (2001). *Masovi represii na pivdni URSS v 20-ti – na pochatku 50-h rokov*. Dr. hist. sci. diss. Abstr. Kyiv, 36 p.

<sup>3</sup> Vasilenko, V. (2011). *Povoienni represii proty naselennia Ukrainy (1944-1953 rr.)*. Cand. hist. sci. diss. Abstr. Zaporozhia, 23 p.

<sup>4</sup> Voynalovich, V. (2005). *Partiino-derzhavna polityka shchodo religii ta relihiinykh instytutsii v Ukraini 1940-1960: politilohichni dyskurs*. K. : Svitihliad Publ., 741 p.

<sup>5</sup> Myhailutsa, M. (2004). Zdiisnennia orhanamy DPU – NKVS Ukrainy represii proty Pravoslavnoi tserkvy na Odeshchyni (1920-ti – 1940-vi rr.). *Z arkhiviv VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB*. no. 1/2 (22/23). P. 429-450.

<sup>6</sup> Bazhan, O. (2012). “Velykyi teror” na Odeshchyni. *Pivdennyi Zakhid*. Odesyka. Issue 14. P. 181-209.

<sup>7</sup> Dovbnia, O. (2018). Politychni represii na Pivdni Ukrainy (1918-1953 rr.): suchasna vitchyzniana istoriohrafiia. *Scriptorium nostrum*. no. 1(10). P. 10-26.

<sup>8</sup> Lyuks, L. (1999). Evreyskiy vopros v politike Stalina. *Voprosy istorii*. no. 7. P. 41-59.

<sup>9</sup> Kononenko, V. (2017). *Yevreiske naselennia Podillia: sotsialno-demohrafichni zminy ta natsionalno-kulturne zhyttia (40-I rr. XX st. – pochatok XXI st.)*. Dr. hist. sci. diss. Vinnytsia, 530 p.

<sup>10</sup> Kurabtsev, O. (2005). Represii proty nimetskoho naselennia v Ukraini v seredyni 40-h – na pochatku 50-h rokov. *Naukovi pratsi: naukovo-metodichnii zhurnal*. Mikolaiv. MDGU im. Petra Mohili Publ. vol. 45. Issue 32. P. 70-75.

<sup>11</sup> Makarchuk, S. (2003). Pereselennia poliakov iz zahidnih oblastei Ukraini v Polshchu u 1944-1946 rr. *Ukrainskii istorichnii zhurnal*. no. 3. P. 103-115.

valuable documents and materials allowing "...to return the people with complicated fortune, deserving respect and the deepest gratitude, from nothingness"<sup>12</sup> were presented. As a whole, the issue of an objective assessment of the processes of sovietization of the lands of Southern Bessarabia has yet to be solved by contemporary researches.

The documents that had been chosen by the author from the archives and museums of Odessa, Izmail, Tatarbunaryi, Bolgrad, Reni and others served as the main source for writing this article. Besides, the materials of the commissions on the restoration of the rights of the rehabilitated persons from several areas of the South Odessa region were partly used.

### Statement of the basic material

As it is known, on June 28, 1940, Red Army troops entered the territory of Southern Bessarabia. Since the early days, for the local people, the way of life, relations and authorities drastically changed. In the region, the process of reforming continued till December 1940. As a result, a new administrative formation - Izmail region - appeared on the map<sup>13</sup>; significant changes in the economical, financial, communal and political spheres of life took place<sup>14</sup>.

Stalinist regime used "the experience of getting love to Soviets" for strengthening the Communist power of the Danube region. Moreover, Communist ideology wasn't popular with local people – "...most people didn't consider the Soviet model of life as the best alternative to the Romanian pre-war regime"<sup>15</sup>.

The repressions against local people began from the first days of establishing the Soviet power. A remarkable fact was that any person was exposed to persecution, arrest and repressions, whatever his social status, nationality,

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<sup>12</sup> Matveeva, S. (2015). *Repressii i raskulachivanie po Bessarabii (1940-1941, 1944-1945, 1948-1952 gg.)*. Odesa. Atlant Publ. 545 p.

<sup>13</sup> O perenesenii tsentra Akermanskoy oblasti Ukrainskoy SSR iz gor. Akerman v gor. Izmail I pereimenovanii Akermanskoy oblasti v Izmailskuu oblast. Ukaz prezidiuma Verhovnogo soveta SSSR ot 07.12.1940. *Sbornik zakonov SSSR I ukazov Prezidiuma Verhovnogo Soveta SSSR. 1938 – July 1956*. Ed. by Cand. jur. sci. Mandelshtam Y. I. Moscow. Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo yuridicheskoy literatuy Publ. 1956.

<sup>14</sup> See details in: "Pro natsionalizatsiyu bankov, promishlennyh i togovykh predpriyatiy, zheleznodorozhnogo i vodnogo transporta, sredstv svyazi v Bessarabii; Pro natsionalizatsiyu zhilih domov v Akermanskoy I Chernovetskoy oblastyah; Pro natsionalizatsiyu promishlennyh, kommunalnyh predpriyatiy, gostinits, aptek i aptehnyh skladov na territorii Chernovitskoy I Akermanskoy oblastey". Izmailskiy arhiv, coll. R – 470, aids 1, fol. 1, P. 14, 18, 26, 30, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Tsau Igor. *Stalinskiy teror v Sovetskoy Moldavii, 1940-1954 gg.* Available at: <http://dacoromania.net/article/stalinist-terror-soviet-moldavia-1940-1953>

religion, profession were. According to our information (still incomplete, the collection of information is going on), in the Ukrainian Danube region, in the first year of Soviet power (June 1940 – July 1941), almost 1500 people (892 heads of families and 600 other members of the families) were exposed to repressions. The national composition of the repressed was very mixed. Ukrainians, Jews, Romanians, Russians, Bulgarians, Germans, Poles, Moldavians, Greeks, Gagauz, Albanians and others were arrested. In our article, we are emphasizing the analysis of the repressions against the representatives of the Romanian nationality, one of the most affected group of local people.

Out of 892 heads of families, repressed from June 1940 till June 1941 in Southern Bessarabia, 162 people or 20% were men of Romanian descent. The number of the Romanians exposed to arrests, repressions and deportations, amounted to 336 persons, out of which 241 people (71,7%) were men and 95 people (28,3%) – women<sup>16</sup>.

The age of the repressed differed a lot – from 71 years to several months of age. The age of 228 people (62,3% of the total number) has been determined. For more detailed information see Table 1.

*Table 1*  
**Age profile of the Romanian population of Southern Bessarabia, repressed from June 1940 to June 1941**

age	years	number	%%
from 60 to 71 years	1881 - 1870	9	3,9
from 50 to 59 years	1891 - 1882	24	10,5
from 40 to 49 years	1901 - 1892	35	15,3
from 30 to 39 years	1911 - 1902	33	14,5
from 20 to 29 years	1921 - 1912	64	28,1
from 10 to 19 years	1931 - 1922	35	15,3
from 0 to 9 years	1941 - 1932	28	12,2

The table shows that the most affected age group were the Romanians from 20 to 29 years – their number was of about 30% of the total number of the repressed. The number of the representatives of the other age groups varied from 10 to 15%. If we single out children (under the age of 14) from the category from 10 to 19 years, it will be a truly horrifying picture: children (from several months to 14 years, as

<sup>16</sup> All calculations were made by the author, based on archival sources.

members of the repressed families) constituted almost 20% of the deported Romanian population of the region.

Daniil Mashkoutsan's family lived in Izmail, on Kostake Negri Street (now – Gogolya Street). At that moment, he was 71 years old. He was the owner of a large plot of land in the country (120 hectares of vineyard). He ran agribusiness with his two brothers. A part of his relatives lived in Romania. With the establishment of the Communist regime, at the beginning of July 1940, the two Mashkoutsan brothers were arrested and their fate is unknown. Daniil wasn't likely to be arrested due to his age. However, "the sympathy" of the Communists wasn't long. On June 13, 1941, the family was deported, along with his wife, son and daughter-in-law, to Central Asia<sup>17</sup>.

In the same group, Dimitriy Karagozha, who was 65 years old at the moment of deportation, went to a special settlement, in Matuk area, Aktyubinsk region (Kazakhstan). His wife (born in 1885), two daughters (born in 1919 and 1921), son Yakov (born in 1912) were repressed with him. Dimitriy Karagozha's grandchildren were 8 and 6 years old at the moment of expulsion<sup>18</sup>.

Archival documents give us information about the youngest "enemies of the Soviet power". On June 13, 1941, Viktor Varzarov (at the age of 9 months) and his parents were expelled to Martuk district, Aktyubinsk region (Kazakhstan), as socially dangerous elements<sup>19</sup>. Agripina Gutsu, resident of the village Starosele, was 4 months old at the moment of deportation<sup>20</sup>. Mihail Makarie's daughter – Valentina, who was taken with her mother to Pahta-Aral sovkhov, Chikment region (Kazakhstan), was only 3 months old<sup>21</sup>.

Most of the repressed Romanians were the residents of Danubian cities and villages – 187 people or 55,6%. Before being arrested, the largest number lived in Izmail (126 persons), Reni (31 persons) and Bolgrad (15 persons). Among the villages whose residents were the most repressed and deported, we single out: Kiliya district – the village of Kitay (now the village of Chervonyiy Yar), Drakulya (now the village of Trudove); Reni district – the village of Bolboka (now the village of Kotlovina), Kartal (now the village of Orlovka), Frikatsey (now the village of Limanskoe).

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<sup>17</sup> Izmailskiy arhiv, coll. R – 470, aids 1, fol. 1 P. 4, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Matveeva, S. (2015). *Repressii i raskulachivanie po Bessarabii (1940-1941, 1944-1945, 1948-1952 gg.)*. Odesa. Atlant Publ. P. 71.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. P. 67.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. P. 68.

<sup>21</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 131, 136.

Among the repressed, we can name some residents of the cities and towns: M. Dokos, A. Dumitru, V. Kartelyanu, A. Kokosh, N. Konstantinesku (Izmail), S. Antina, P. Chernya, M. Kasadzhinov, V. Kirmiziu, F. Kroytoru (Reni), D. Ionesku, D. Ispas, M. Karayvanchi, I. Merlich, F. Muntyanu (Bolgrad). The residents of rural area are: G. Akchibay, K. Apruda, M. Burniani, L. Kozhokaru (the village of Kitay), A. Gareba, I. Grab, I. Zadorino, S. Kramichi ( the village of Drakulya), I. Georgiu (the village of Babel), M. Doskalesku, I. Mynya ( the village of Kartal), K. Mitish (the village of Bolboka), F. Pelin (Satu-Nou) and many others.

The professions of the representatives of the Romanian population of Southern Bessarabia, trapped by the Soviet punitive campaign, were very varied. Most of them were individual farmers and also representatives of commercial occupations (owners of stores, shops, warehouses, restaurants, drugstores), manufactures, merchants, different employees. There were also teachers, doctors, agronomists, accountants, tailors, longshoremen, messengers, among those arrested during the first year of the Soviet power.

Before being arrested, Mefodiy Nereutsa (born in 1898), lived in the village of Mihaylovka, Sarata region. He was an individual farmer and was arrested on June 26, 1941, because of the prosecution of anti-Soviet agitators. Due to his military action, Mefodiy Nereutsa was transferred to Vologodsky prison. Under article 58-10, he was sentenced to death by fire squad, by a Special conference order, on October 10, 1942. His place of burial is unknown<sup>22</sup>.

Ivan Shkepu (born in 1920), a native of the village of Erdek-Burno (now the village of Utkonosovka, Izmail district) ,started “a training course for the workers of the cooperatives of indigenous people of liberated Bessarabia”, specialty “planner”, in November, 1940. In the evenings, he worked as an accountant. Shkepu was arrested on December 18, 1940. On June 5, 1941, he was sentenced to 8 years in prison by NKVD Troika Special meeting order, under article 58-10, and transferred to the place of sentence, Siberia. The official reason for arrest was “anti-Soviet agitation”. I. Shkepu was informed about the verdict only in February 1943, in Tomsk prison cell. The lack of justification of the prosecution caused protests from I. Shkepu, that resulted in another trial and a new sentence – 10 years of imprisonment, with disqualification for three years. “I got to know what Gulag is, - I. Shkepu wrote in his application for rehabilitation, - hunger, cold, forced labor and inhuman treatment of the imprisoned by the prison administration. In jail, I had to work on a tree felling, at the construction of a dam with wheelbarrows, at Siberian

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<sup>22</sup> Matveeva, S. (2015). *Repressii I raskulachivanie po Bessarabii (10940-1941, 1944-1945, 1948-1952 gg.)*. Odesa. Atlant Publ. P. 73.

frost (- 40-50°), in Kolyma and Yakutia underground gold mines, in the permafrost. There I lost my health, faced permanent disability with a diagnosis of lymphocytic leukemia (blood cancer), but miraculously I stayed alive”<sup>23</sup>. I. Shkepu spent 11 years and 7 months in prison. Being afraid of NKVD persecutions, I. Shkepu’s parents “had to go to Romania in 1944, since their son had been declared a public enemy”. The house where I. Shkepu and his parents had been living before the arrest was confiscated by the village council. I. Shkepu was rehabilitated in 1971 – “the conviction...was overturned and the trial was closed because of the absence of any crime”<sup>24</sup>.

Nikoly Paslavliy (born in 1893), Romanian, a native of the village of Tashlyk (now – the village of Kamenskoe, Artsyz district), lived in Izmail, in a house on Veytoyany Street (now – Pokrovskaya Street), at its corner with Hotinuluy (now – Khotinskaya Street). He was a private practice doctor. “At night, on June 13, 1941, without being charged, our family was woken up and sent to the Asian regions of the country, with no permission to take any property, all their belongings being robbed afterwards” – N. Paslavskiy’s son remembered<sup>25</sup>.

Ivan Mynya (born in 1893), a native of the village of Kartal (now – the village of Orlovka), a teacher of rural school, was arrested on June 8, 1941, by Reni RO NKVD, on the charge of counter-revolutionary agitation (art. 54-10 p. 2 CC USSR). On August 19, 1942, he was convicted to 10 years of imprisonment and forced labor, by the decision of the Special meeting, at NKVD USSR. Ivan Mynya was rehabilitated on November 30, 1989, according to the conclusion of Odessa region Prosecutor’s office<sup>26</sup>.

What were these people guilty of, what did the Soviet power indict them for? Punitive authorities had a special “price list” of prepared prosecutions, with legislative penalties and prison sentences. One of the widespread accusation was “exploitation of labor”. This category included peasants – landowners, masters of mills, trade and industrial enterprises (workshops, bakeries, shops, restaurants, etc.). But, as a rule, security officers didn’t stop at the prosecution. Trying to make fabricated cases evident, different “political” accusations went in the course. And here the imagination of NKVD members had a field of operations: people were indicted of being a secret agent, a socially dangerous element, a former member of bourgeois party (sometimes several at once). The most frequently occurring words

<sup>23</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 35, P. 7-16.

<sup>24</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 35, P. 20.

<sup>25</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 174.

<sup>26</sup> Izmailskiy muzey Pridunavya. Certificate no. 116 of Odessa Department of National Security of Ukraine, 29.07.1991.

of prosecution in the documents were “anti-revolutionary, anti-Soviet activity; anti-revolutionary and anti-Soviet agitation; statements against the collectivization and pro-Romanian mood”.

Some of the archival cases are notable in this regard.

F. Trandafilov (born in 1890), a native of Izmail, owner of a two-storied household, that was at the intersection of Queen Mary and A. Kuza streets and consisted of 14 rooms. Until the summer of 1940, a part of the household was used, through renting, by the offices of the Romanian Bank. After the Soviet rule had been established, F. Trandafilov’s house got into “The list of households around the Akerman region that should be nationalized” (the decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Soviet Union, №1301, of 5 October 1940)<sup>27</sup>, and its owners ended up in the street. But that wasn’t enough and, on June 23, 1941, F. Trandafilov was arrested for “holding anti-Soviet agitation”, under article 58-10 p. 2 CC USSR, and was transferred to Vologodsk prison, where he died in May 1942<sup>28</sup>.

G. Pyntya (born in 1874), a native of Izmail, was arrested on June, 13, 1941. From the certificate of the prosecutor’s office of the Region of Odessa, from 20 January 1992, № 13/716-92: “Citizen Pyntya Georgiy Georgievich... was arrested for political reasons – as he was a white officer during the Civil War, escaped from the Soviet Union to Bessarabia, and, living in Izmail before being arrested, he was a cleric and a member of the Liberal Party. In prison, G. Pyntya died on October 10, 1941. By the order of the prosecutor’s office of the Region of Odessa, from 11 January 1960, the criminal case against him was dropped, resulting in Georgiy Georgievich Pyntya’s rehabilitation”<sup>29</sup>.

I. Ponesko (born in 1879) a “... native of Izmail, Romanian, owner of a sawmill, non-party, was arrested by UNKVD, in Izmail region, on July 7, 1940, being accused of anti-revolutionary activity (art. 54-13, 54-11 CC USSR). He was sentenced by NKVD USSR Special meeting on June, 5, 1941, to 8 years in labor camp. I. Ponesko was rehabilitated by the order of the Presidency of Odessa Regional Court, on 10 December 1956”<sup>30</sup>.

People who got in the cells of NKVD were doomed at severe sentences – term (5-10 years) in the so-called penal labor camps, imprisonment or even sent to fire squads. If a person survived and served his term, as a rule, he was not allowed to

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<sup>27</sup> Izmailskiy arhiv, coll. R – 470, aids 1, fol. 1. P. 23, 47,62.

<sup>28</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 219.

<sup>29</sup> Arkhivnyi otdel Izmailskogo gorodskogo soveta, coll. 242-T, aids 3-L, fol. 202.

<sup>30</sup> Izmailskiy muzey Pridunavya. Certificate no. 116 of Odessa Department of National Security of Ukraine, 29.07.1991, P. 23.

return home and was sent into exile, to special settlements, under the supervision of the police.

The members of the repressed families didn't have a better fate – as a rule, they received the status of “member of the family of a public enemy” and were exposed to deportation. Among the most “popular” destinations where the representatives of the Romanian ethnic group were sent from Southern Bessarabia, were regions such as: Aktubinsk (Kazakhstan), Samarkand (Uzbekistan), Tomsk, Sverdlovsk, Vorkutinsk, Vologodsk, Krasnoyarsk.

Arrests and repressions began in Southern Bessarabia once with the establishment of the Soviet power. In the first day of the Soviet rule in the region – June 28, 1940 – the first arrests took place. Almost all the mouths of July and August of 1940 local people lived in fear – everyday, anybody who could arouse any suspicion to the new Communist power, could have been arrested, according to the in advance compiled lists or to recent denunciations. The arrested were former Romanian police officers, employees of city and rural authorities, teachers, lawyers, notaries and doctors. The owners of houses, who rented rooms, were the next. The first wave of repressions also included shopkeepers, owners of warehouses, mills, commercial facilities at the local bazars, fishermen.

By the end of August and in September, the wave of repressions weakened slightly. If 46 persons were arrested from 28.06.1940 to 23.08.1940, there were only 6 arrests in September. However, it was a temporary quiet, and, in October 1940, the second wave of repressions began. According to our information, in two Autumn months (October and November), 32 representatives of the Romanian ethnic group of the region were arrested. The third wave of repressions took place in Spring – “public enemies” were searched for most fiercely in March-April 1941. However, the most terrifying attack on the population of Southern Bessarabia was in June 1941, when, only on June 13, more than 70 persons were arrested. This wave of repressions was particularly cruel - families were separated by force – women and children were separated from men. They were allowed to take only some personal belongings and a small supply of food. There were no trials or formal accusation – everybody was loaded like cattle in a freight car and were sent to an unknown destination, under the guard of Red Army soldiers. The worst part is that repressions and arrests continued in spite of the outbreak of war. We find the dates of the arrests in the documents – 26 June 1941, 28 June 1941.

The above described events left a deep scar on the destinies of the repressed and deported people. The label “public enemy” or “public enemy's relative” cost career, well-being and life for many of them. As one of the numerous examples, we

can give an extract from the application of a Romanian citizen, V. Perchaka, to the General Prosecutor of the USSR, dated on 26 April 1991. From the application, we got to know that, in June 1941, the two-year-old V. Perchak and his grandmother were deported to Southern Kazakhstan. At that time, his parents lived in Romania (they were students). Only in 1953, after his return from the exile, V. Pechak managed to reunite with his parents. On his return to Romania, V. Perchak finished a pedagogical school and two higher education institutions. “But never in my life I could get any good job, as «I had been in USSR». This label followed me the rest of my life... What was my life spoiled for? Who is to blame?”<sup>31</sup>

### **Conclusions**

In conclusion, the review of the dramatic events from June 1940 – June 1941, in the Ukrainian Danube region, allow us to state that arrests, repressions and deportations were some of the methods of frightening local people, used by the Soviet authorities. During the first year of sovietization of the region, the repressions had a mass character, that resulted in terrible consequences for the economical, political and social life of the region. Ethnically, the representatives of all nationalities were at risk, though some of them were specially targeted; the representatives of the Romanian population were among them. A significant decrease of the number of people, forced relocation of a part of the residents to the most remote and in fact unsuited to life regions of the country, mutilated fates and thousands of lost lives of our compatriots – this is still not a complete list of the realities of the policy of sovietization in the Danube region. To respect the memory of the victims and of the people with broken lives, we need further thorough research of the atrocities committed by Communists on Ukrainian lands.

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Alyona AKCHEBASH\*

## **THE ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS ON THE TERRITORY OF IZMAIL REGION IN 1944-1953**

*- Abstract -*

Based on the materials of archival and investigative cases, as well as a wide range of little-known or not involved in scientific circulation documents, the article reveals some aspects of the mechanism of political repressions in 1944-1953 in the Izmail region. The functioning of repressive state apparatus in the war and the first postwar years, the activity of the Soviet state security bodies on the organization and carrying out of reconnaissance-sabotage and counterintelligence work in the territory of the Izmail region in 1945-1953 were analyzed.

The development of the legal status, organizational structure and activities of the Soviet military counterintelligence bodies in the postwar period has been studied. It is established that during this period there were significant changes in their structure, powers and departmental subordination. The main powers of military counterintelligence bodies, which were concentrated in the areas of combating “anti-Soviet and hostile elements”, are analyzed.

It is established that these powers were exercised by the Soviet military counterintelligence bodies by repressive methods, in violation of the general principles of law, fundamental human and civil rights and freedoms..

*Keywords:* military counterintelligence bodies; Smersh bodies; martial law; national defense committee (NDC); NKVD; NKGB.

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### **Introduction**

The question of the impact of punitive and repressive measures on people's lives in the USSR has been silenced for many years in Soviet historical science. Persecution by the Soviet authorities and denial of access to archival sources made any research on the chosen issue impossible. It was only after the collapse of the

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Soviet Union, when access to archives was made available, that the study became available. The study of post-war life at the regional level allows us to analyze not only the peculiarities of the punitive and repressive system in a particular region, but with the help of the collected material to reproduce the general picture of life in post-war Ukraine.

As a large number of documentary sources of the Soviet period remains classified today, the chosen issues remain relevant and timely.

### Research Analyses

In recent years, many studies have appeared, which to a greater or less extent reveal the functioning of various structural units of the repressive-punitive and administrative Soviet bodies in Ukraine in the postwar period. It is necessary to note the works of M. Shityuk<sup>1</sup>, S. Vasylenko<sup>2</sup>, L. Tsyganenko<sup>3</sup>, V. Litvinenko<sup>4</sup>, A. Ugach<sup>5</sup>, A. Kokurin<sup>6</sup>, V. Okipnyuk<sup>7</sup>, T. Pershin<sup>8</sup>, D. Vedenev<sup>9</sup>, G. Savchin<sup>10</sup>, O. Bazhan<sup>11</sup>, O. Kalyuk<sup>12</sup>, E. Burov<sup>13</sup>, M. Mykhailutsa<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Shytiuk, M. (2001). Masovi represii na pivdni URSS v 20-ti - na pochatku 50-kh rokiv. [Tekst] dys...d-ra ist. nauk: 07.00.01 Shytiuk M. M.; In-t istorii Ukrainy Nats. akad. nauk Ukrainy. K. 435 ark.

<sup>2</sup> Vasylenko, S. (2015). Povoienni represii proty selian Ukrainy (1944 – 1953). *Istorychnyi arkhiv*. Vyp. 15. P. 22-28. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Ians\\_2015\\_15\\_4](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Ians_2015_15_4)

<sup>3</sup> Tsyhanenko, L. (2019). Repressyy na zemliakh Yuzhnoi Bessarabyy (yiun 1940-yiun 1941 hodov). Dunărea-Nistru: Anuar Dunav-Dnestr: Hodyshnyk. Univ. de Stat Taraclia “Grigorii Ţamblac”; nauch. Kom. Maryia Paslar y dr.; redkol.: Vasyly Kondov y dr. Taraclia: S.n. Vol. 6. P. 104-112.; Tsyhanenko, L. (2018). Represovane dvorianstvo Odesy: 1919 rik (za materialamy “Odeskoho martyrolohu”) IV Mizhnarodnii naukovo-praktychnii konferentsii “Pivden Ukrainy u vitchyzniani ta yevropeiskii istorii”. Odesa 13-14.09.2018. Odesa, Ekolohiia. P. 85-90.

<sup>4</sup> Lytvynenko, V. (2014). Vydily viiskovoi tsenzury ta politychnoho kontroliu NKVD–NKHB SRSR u Chervonii armii ta Viiskovo-morskomu floti (kin. 1930-kh – berezen 1946 rr.). *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KHB*. 1. P. 96-343. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za\\_2014\\_1\\_6](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za_2014_1_6)

<sup>5</sup> Uhach, A (2013). Diialnistadianskoj kontrrozvidky pid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny v istoriohrafii.. *Visnyk dniproperetrovskoho universytetu. seriia istoriia ta arkeolohiia*. 21.P. 180-186.

<sup>6</sup> Kokurin, A. (1997). NKVD-NKHB-SMERSH: struktura, funktsyy, kadry (1941–1943). *Svobodnaia misli*. 8. P. 118-128.

<sup>7</sup> Okipniuk, V (2018) Radianski orhany viiskovoi kontrrozvidky v Ukraini u period Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Istoryko-pravovy chasopys* 1 (11). P. 24-30.

<sup>8</sup> Pershyna T. (2010) Realii voiennoi povsiakdennosti v Ukraini, 1943–1945 rr. (deiak aspekti problemy) *Storinky voiennoi istorii Ukrainy*. 13. P. 202-215.

<sup>9</sup> Viedenieiev, D. (2014). Rozvidualno-dyversivna ta kontrrozvidualna diialnist orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky za liniieiu frontu v 1941–1945 rr. (za dokumentamy NKVS–NKDB

However, despite the enormous historiographical achievements in the study of the history of the activity of the Soviet punitive and repressive bodies in Ukraine, there is still no general comprehensive work that would cover the existence of Soviet special bodies, their number in southern Ukraine in 1945-1953. This is especially true of the history of the implementation of the Soviet rule in some regions and in particular in the Izmail region. The work of researchers in this direction continues, and provides deeper and more thorough factual and generalizing materials.

The source base for the article was the materials of archival and investigative cases of T.A. Nikolenko, M.M. Mazokha, M.M. Zholya. and M.P. Zholya, stored in the Archives of the USSU in Odessa region, as well as materials of the municipal institution "Izmail Archive" and the Sectoral State Archives of the SSU. The article used documents from the scientific-documentary serial publication "Rehabilitated by history. Odessa region".

The purpose of this article is to study the peculiarities of the activities of the Soviet administrative and punitive-repressive bodies in the Izmail region in 1944-1953 in relation to the local population in order to establish the Soviet political system. The main tasks of the work are to study the legal and organizational-structural basis of the activities and functioning of the NKVD in this area and during the period under study.

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Ukrainskoi RSR.) *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KHB.* 2. P. 291-352. URL [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za\\_2014\\_2\\_12](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/za_2014_2_12)

<sup>10</sup> Savchyn, H. (2016). *Systema vykonannia pokaran u zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy v period 1944–1953 rr.*: monohrafiia. Lviv: LvDUVS. 200 s.

<sup>11</sup> Bazhan, O. (2011). Represyivna diialnist orhaniv VUNK–DPU–NKVS–KDB na Kyivshchyni u 1919–1980-ti rr. *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB.* 1. P.156-234. URL [http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu\\_2011\\_1\\_156](http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu_2011_1_156)

<sup>12</sup> Kaliuk, O. (2006). *Viiiska NKVS(MVS) v Ukraini(1939-1953 rr.): istoryko-pravovyi aspekt.* [Tekst] dys... kand. yuryd. nauk: 12.00.01 Kaliuk O. M.; Kyivskyi natsionalnyi un-t vnutrishnikh sprav. K.182 ark.

<sup>13</sup> Burova, Ye. *ODUVS formuvannia i stanovlennia orhaniv NKVS v pivdennii chastyni Bessarabii pislia yii vkhodzhenntia do skladu URSR (serpen 1940 – liutyi 1941 rr.).* URL [http://app.nuoua.od.ua/archive/41\\_2011/42.pdf](http://app.nuoua.od.ua/archive/41_2011/42.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> Mykhailutsa, M. (2004). *Zdiisnennia orhanamy DPU-NKVS Ukrainy represii proty pravoslavnoi tserkvy na Odeshchyni (1930-1940-vi rr.).* *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB.* 22. P. 429-450. URL [http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu\\_2004\\_22\\_1\\_429](http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/gpu_2004_22_1_429)

### **Statement of the basic material**

After the restoration of Soviet power in 1944, the second wave of Sovietization of the region began in southern Bessarabia.

In accordance with the resolution of the SNC of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) of August 21, 1943 “On urgent measures to rebuild the economy in areas liberated from German occupation” in a short time began to establish a Soviet-style political system, which included ideological education of a Soviet man and his “cleansing” of the ideas of collaborationism and the desire to return Romanian power in the region. The authorities declared ruthless struggle against counter-revolutionary elements, spies and saboteurs of capitalist countries. In this context, the “millstone of political repression” caught individual peasants, owners of industrial and commercial enterprises. One of the bodies entrusted with the function of “cleansing” was “SMERSH”.

The counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” was established to implement the resolution of the SNC from 19.04.1943 by the order of the NKVD from 15.05.1943 № 00856 “On the organization of counterintelligence departments” SMERSH “in the NKVD troops”, according to which the 6th Department of special departments of the NKVD was reorganized into the counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” (from the abbreviation “Death to spies!”). They relied primarily on SMESH the fight against espionage, sabotage, terrorism and subversive activities of foreign intelligence in units and institutions of the NKVD, anti-Soviet elements that penetrated them, with betrayal and betrayal of the homeland. This order approved the Regulations on the counterintelligence department of the NKVD of the USSR “SMERSH” and its local bodies. According to it, the SMERSH bodies had the right to conduct intelligence work, to arrest NKVD servicemen and related civilians suspected of criminal activity<sup>15</sup>.

The post-war process of establishing the Soviet model in the liberated territories primarily involved the restoration of the punitive and repressive system, which included state security agencies, internal affairs, courts and prosecutors' offices of general jurisdiction, military tribunals and extrajudicial structures (special meetings). Their vertical and horizontal structure was almost completely duplicated in all regions of the USSR.

In fact, along with the liberation of territories from Nazi troops, the implementation of programs to Sovietize the regions was carried. Therefore, the

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<sup>15</sup> Materialy Derzhavnoho arkhivu MVS Ukrainy. F.45. Op.1. Spr. No.110 “Prykazy NKVD SSSR za 1943 hod s No.0033 po No.001854”, koleksiia dokumentiv.

activities of law enforcement agencies - the KGB (MGB) and the NKVD (MIA), developed in the direction of strengthening operational and investigative, investigative and counterintelligence functions, which aimed not only to get rid of enemies and opponents of the Soviet power, but also to provide support and effective local government party apparatus. In particular, the order of the NKVD of the USSR of April 4, 1944 “On the announcement of the staff of the NKVD Vinnytsia, Volyn, Drohobych, Zhytomyr, Izmail, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odessa, Rivne, Stanislav, Ternopil, Chernihiv and Chernivtsi oblasts” the staff list and structure of oblast administrations were established<sup>16</sup>.

The Izmail archive contains materials that testify to the activities of law enforcement agencies in the city of Izmail in the first postwar years. Thus, on August 29, 1944, by the decision of the Izmail City Committee, premises at 19 Dmytrivska Street were leased for the North Black Sea Water Department of the KGB.<sup>17</sup>

On September 2, 1944, the deputy head of the UNKGB in the Izmail region, Colonel of State Security Pavlov, appealed to the chairman of the Izmail city council, Comrade Dyachin, with a request to assign a house on Kotovskaya Street to the following numbers.: 39,41,43,45,46<sup>18</sup>.

By decision №10 of the Izmail City Executive Committee, dated September 4, 1944, the UNKVD transferred the premises at 109 Suvorova Avenue to house the prison<sup>19</sup>. On September 12, 1944, the Izmail City Executive Committee assigned premises to the UNKVD on the following streets: Bolgradskaya, №35-37 (37 rooms) and №33 (5 rooms); Bolgradska – corner of Eminescu № 35-37 (9 rooms); Krasivaya №24 (6 rooms)<sup>20</sup>. All this indicates that, first, even at the regional level, the NKVD had a considerable influence on local authorities and could in fact dictate its terms to it; secondly, despite the post-war devastation and the need for premises for schools, kindergartens, industrial offices and shops – the best houses in the city were given to the punitive authorities of the Soviet government. Here we do not even mention the allocation of housing for the heads of punitive and repressive

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<sup>16</sup> TsDAHOU Spr. 1370 (Materialy, dokumen-ty y stenohramy 1-ho Vseukraynskoho soveshcha-nyia zamestytelei nachalnykov UNKVD po kad-ram oblastei Ukrainy, 23-26 yiunia 1944 h.). 187 ark.

<sup>17</sup> KU Izmailskyi arkhiv. F. R-788. Op. 1. Spr. 1. Ark. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Ark. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Ark. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Ark. 24.

bodies, who took away their best houses, arguing their seizures of other people's property by the fictitious claim that the former owners fled to Romania.

During 1941-1944, NKVD and SMERSH special forces accumulated a considerable amount of information about the mood of the local population. Being in the occupied territories during the war became an indisputable factor of "unreliability", and work with the occupiers in various institutions, organizations, enterprises – a pretext for accusations of "anti-Soviet agitation", "treason", "espionage" and "aiding". For many years, this mark fell on millions of Soviet people, and the count of being in the occupied territories, which appeared in various personnel questionnaires, meant the actual destruction of a career and even a person's life.

In the arsenal of the punitive authorities there were many levers, one of the strongest was the Criminal Code, under the articles of which it was possible to "fit" virtually any case. Immediately after August 1944, arrests and persecutions began under repressive articles of the Criminal Code. One of the most common accusations was "anti-Soviet agitation" (Articles 54-10 of the Criminal Code).

Consider a specific example. In Izmail, in June 1947, there lived Mykola Mykolayovych Mazokha, 33, an employee of the City Fire Brigade (hereinafter CFB). He was arrested by the counterintelligence department of the Izmail Region Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on June 6, 1947. The reason for his arrest was a denunciation of Mykola Mazokha, in which he was accused of anti-Soviet remarks.

The Resolution on the Initiation of a Criminal Case states that M.M. Mazokha, among his colleagues, expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet government and criticized some of its measures, spread lies about the Soviet Union and agitated against the collective farm system. Thus, on December 5, 1946, on the day of Stalin's constitution in the premises of the CFB M.M. Mazokha stated: "They say that all Soviet people have the right to work and rest and self-education according to the constitution – this is not true, the constitution provides the right only to work, and nothing more; work, work and have nothing"<sup>21</sup>.

In January 1947, M.M. Mazokha expressed his opinion on the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR: "There is no benefit for the people from the elections, we will still elect deputies for our own misfortune." The statements of the detainee in March-April 1947 seemed burdensome from the point of view of the investigation: "Under Soviet rule, you work, work and have nothing, but if you earn,

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<sup>21</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 24189-p, Ark. 4.

you'll still be taken away, it was good under the Romanians that all you earn is all yours"<sup>22</sup>.

The interrogation report of June 9, 1947, clearly traces the efforts of the investigative bodies to prove Mykola Mazokha's commitment to the Romanian authorities. According to him, the protocol states that in 1930-1932 he worked for hire in the city of Izmail. In 1932 he left for Romania, and in 1936 he was drafted into the Romanian army. He served as a private in the artillery of Galati. In October 1937, M. Mazokha was demobilized and he moved to the city of Ploiesti. In the summer of 1941 he returned to Izmail, got a job in the UNKVD as a locksmith, then was mobilized into the Red Army. He served in the 278th Regiment in the 9th Machine Gun Company. During the retreat of Soviet troops to Odessa, near the town of Bilyaivka, along with most of the officers and soldiers, he was taken prisoner by the Germans. The prisoners, including Mykola Mazokha, were kept in a camp in Chisinau. In November 1941, by order of the Romanian government, all prisoners of the camps of Bessarabian origin were released. M. Mazokha returned to Izmail and continued to work as a locksmith in the workshop. Several times, he was summoned for questioning by a Romanian security guard, during which he was threatened with execution for service in the Soviet army<sup>23</sup>.

The content of the protocol leaves no doubt that the convicted Mazokha did not maintain contact with the Romanians. All claims against him were unfounded.

The search report also recorded the seizure of only a few personal documents - a passport, a temporary ID instead of a military ID and a registration certificate of a private workshop.<sup>24</sup> Witnesses were then interrogated. All of them, as one, confirmed that M.M. Mazokha systematically carried out counter-revolutionary agitation, which consisted of hostile protests against Soviet rule and party activities<sup>25</sup>.

The military tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Odessa region of the CFB fighter M.M. Mazokha was accused of committing crimes under Article 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced to 6 years in a labor camp with defeat in civil rights for 3 years and confiscation of property<sup>26</sup>. It should be noted that his guilt MM Mazokha did not admit, during the trial he repeatedly repeated that he did not conduct any counter-revolutionary agitation against the Soviet government.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Ark. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. Ark. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Ark. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Ark. 61.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Ark. 75.

In 1990, the prosecutor of the Odessa region VV Datsyuk appealed to the presidium of the Odessa regional court with a request to terminate the case and revoke the verdict of the Military Tribunal of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Odessa region from July 23, 1947 against MM Mazokha on the basis of Art. 6. paragraph 2 of the CPC of the USSR<sup>27</sup>. The protest of the prosecutor was satisfied by the presidium of the Odessa regional court, the case against MM Mazokha. was closed, the verdict of the Military Tribunal of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Odessa region was revoked on the basis of Art. 6. paragraph 2 of the CPC of the USSR<sup>28</sup>.

On March 1, 1990, Mykola Mykolayovych was rehabilitated for lack of corpus delicti. The distance of almost 50 years delays the indictment of a crime and the reversal of a sentence for an uncommitted crime. All his life a man had to live with the stigma of “enemy of the people”.

The next fairly common article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was 54-1a, “Betrayal of the Motherland”.

Among the residents of the Izmail region repressed in the mid-1940s are representatives of all professions, nationalities, social and age groups. Representatives of the intelligentsia who criticized the Soviet government during the Romanian period, guerrillas and underground fighters who fought and risked their lives to restore it, ordinary people loyal to any government – everyone could be widely accused of anti-Soviet activities, betrayal, aiding and abetting; prosecuted as a criminal, undergo a lengthy investigation, interrogation, imprisonment, camp.

Numerous private entrepreneurs (restaurateurs, shopkeepers, tailors, hairdressers, cooks, owners of cafes, workshops, etc.) were repressed as “helpers of the enemy”, who were forced to sign a cooperation agreement with the authorities during the war.

Mykola Mykolayovych Zholya became a victim of punitive and repressive measures in 1944<sup>29</sup>. According to archival documents M.M. Zholya was born in 1920 in the city of Izmail, graduated from 7th grade, by origin – Moldavian, non-party, profession – hairdresser. At the time of his arrest, he held the position of Deputy Chief of Staff in the NKVD City Fire Brigade. According to the Resolution of the counterintelligence department of the UNKVD “SMERSH” in the Izmail region on the election of a measure of restraint Mykola Mykolayovych was accused of committing crimes under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. Ark. 85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Ark 86.

<sup>29</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 236641, Ark. 2.

SSR<sup>30</sup>. The arrest warrant of November 7, 1944 states the reason for the arrest, namely living in the territory temporarily occupied by the German-Romanian invaders in the city of Izmail, contributed to the establishment of the German-Romanian regime, namely voluntarily surrendering to the Germans, he arrived on the territory at that time occupied by the German-Romanian troops, immediately went to work for the enemy and, together with the police, actively pursued patriots of the Soviet homeland. With weapons in his hands, he participated in raids around the city of Izmail and, with the aim of gaining full confidence from the German-Romanian authorities, filed a petition to classify him with people who had “Regina Ednika” (as it is indicated in the documents) (ethnic roman), thereby embarking on the road of treason of the Soviet homeland<sup>31</sup>.

It should be noted that during a search of the house of MM Zholya no physical evidence was found<sup>32</sup>. Two weeks before the arrest warrant, all acquaintances and colleagues of Mykola Mykolayovych, members of his family, were invited for questioning. Interrogation records contain incriminating materials and statements<sup>33</sup>. One can only guess under what pressure or even torture these statements and testimonies appeared.

In particular, his colleague Dmytro Yakymovych Kolesnikov revealed the details of M. Zholya's activity known to him. He said that between 1941 and 1944, prisoner Zholya became a Romanian citizen and changed his name to Jolescu. He was also accepted into the ranks of INCOOP (National Cooperation Institution) for his special achievements before the Romanian authorities.

On November 23, 1944, an indictment was signed. M. Zholya signed the document, but again the question arises under what circumstances it was done.

During the interrogation on November 23, 1944, Mykola Mykolayovych Zholya pleaded not guilty. The case file shows that under pressure from investigators, he was forced to GIVE TESTIMONY of how he received the status of “Regina Ednika / Volksdeutsche (origine etnică)”<sup>34</sup>. It was revealed that it was Mykola Mykolayovych’s father, Mykolay Petrovich Zholya, who had written a petition to the Romanian government to obtain Romanian citizenship and to classify himself and his family members as “ethnic Romanians” in the region. The petition was granted. According to M.M. Zholya, the protocol states that the assignment of the status of “ethnic Romanian” allowed MP Zholya to get permission to open a

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Ark. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. Ark. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Ark. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Ark. 16.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Ark. 32.

shoe repair shop. Also during the interrogation M.M. Zholya said that in early 1944 he was mobilized in the Romanian army, served in the city of Izmail, was involved in patrolling the city. His responsibilities included checking available documents with the military, as well as detaining people who did not have a special pass.

*The information provided to the investigating authorities during the interrogation on November 23 by Mykola Mykolayovych became a verdict for his family. The next day, on November 24, Mykola Petrovich was detained. According to the Resolution on indictment, he was charged with Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR<sup>35</sup>. Like his son, he was accused of promoting the German-Romanian regime, renouncing Soviet citizenship, and accepting Romanian citizenship, thus betraying his homeland.*

On December 1, 1944, the first interrogation of Mykola Petrovich Zholya took place. He did not admit his guilt. Obtaining the status of “ethnic Romanian” was explained by the need for the Romanian authorities to allow the development of their own workshop.

During one of the interrogations, on December 12, 1944, answering the investigator's questions, he openly said that his family received food stamps, and that he was also a member of the state commission for the qualification examinations of artisans. These facts usually testified against him. During further interrogations, the investigator was interested in questions about the receipt of documents by Zholya's family for evacuation to Romania, when the Red Army approached Izmail. However, according to the protocols, Mykola Petrovich did not have such information.

On December 15, 1944, a resolution was issued, signed by the assistant to the operative officer of the UNKVD “Smersh” Idomenko on the termination of the investigation. Then we provide the text of the document:

“Extract from the minutes of the 33rd Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR dated September 8, 1945:

Listened to:

Case № 249 / UNKVD of the Izmail region on charges:

Zholya Mykola Mykolayovych, born in 1920, Izmail, Moldovan, citizen of the USSR, non-party, worked in the city fire brigade of the NKVD in Izmail. During the German occupation he took German citizenship (“Volksdeutsche”). Accused under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

*Approved:*

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Ark. 32.

*Zholya Mykola Mykolayovych to be sent to the Montenegrin special correctional labor camp for 5 years for treason. The term is counted from November 9, 1944* <sup>36</sup>.

Listened to: case № 249 / UNKVD of Izmail region on charges:

Zholya Mykola Petrovich, born in 1895, village Bart of the Izmail region, a Moldovian, a citizen of the USSR, non-party, worked as a disinfecter of the city sanitary-epidemiological station in the city of Izmail. During the German occupation he took German citizenship ("Volksdeutsche"). Accused under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

*Approved:*

*Zholya Mykola Petrovich for treason to send to the Montenegrin special correctional labor camp, for a period of 5 years. The term is counted from November 24, 1944* <sup>37</sup>.

What is surprising in these decisions. "Treason" – one of the most severe articles of the Criminal Code, the sentence of which usually ended in execution, here we see a fairly loyal sentence – only 5 years. This may be evidence that the investigators themselves understood the baselessness of their allegations.

On June 6, 1945, Ivan Ivanovich Vizenkov complained to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs about the review of the case of Zholya's family. The document stated that after the conviction of M.M. Zholya and M.P. Zholya all members of the family, including M.P. Zholya's daughter, who was the applicant's wife - Zholya Oleksandra Mykolayivna, born in 1923. were exiled to the Suzdal district, Novosibirsk region in a special settlement.

According to the Resolution of November 18, 1946, the complaint of I.I. Vizenkov was rejected, and the question of his wife, exiled as a family member of a traitor, was transferred to Department "A" of the USSR State Security Committee<sup>38</sup>.

On August 7, 1946, Major Sedelnikov, Chief of the OCD Regional Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Izmail Region, examined the case file №0455225 and the complaint of citizen Ivan Ivanovich Vizenkov, a relative of the convicts M.M. Zholya and M.P. Zholya, found that according to the 2nd department of the UMSS of the Izmail region Zholya Olexandra Mykolayvna, in 1941 was not evacuated to the rear of the USSR and remained in the city of Izmail. She was repeatedly summoned to the Romanian police, where she compiled lists of trophy and Jewish property. Also O.M. Zholya had information that there

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. Ark. 69.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Ark. 68.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. Ark. 70.

was an underground youth organization in the city of Izmail. In the summer of 1942, all members of the organization were arrested, including Alexandra Nikolaevna. However, after some time, the Romanian police released her. According to the case file, it was Oleksandra Zholya who was suspected of betraying and “merging” information with the Romanian police. In such circumstances, the 2nd department of the Department of the Ministry of State Security of the Izmail region complained to I.I. Vezenkova was repeatedly denied the return of his wife from exile<sup>39</sup>.

*June 15, 1957 on the basis of an application for rehabilitation of Mykolai Petrovich Zholya, the documents of the archival-investigative case № 4952-I on charges of MM Zholya. M.P. Zholya under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR were reviewed by the assistant prosecutor in the Odessa region on supervision of investigation in state security bodies, the lawyer of the second class Goncharenko. After analyzing the case, he concluded that the statement of MP Zholya on rehabilitation must be rejected. The archival-investigative case № 4952-I was transferred to Accounting and Archival Department of KGB in Odesa region*<sup>40</sup>. November 30, 1989, according to the Resolution of the Prosecutor's Office of Odessa region in accordance with Article I of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from 16.01.1989 M.M. Zholya. M.P. Zholya were rehabilitated.

To date, there is no information about the Zholya family.

The article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR 54-6 “Espionage” closes the three most common accusations.

Analyzing the information obtained and the course of events that took place in the Izmail region in 1941-1944, the staff of the punitive and repressive bodies reported to the top party leadership about the manifestations of collaborationism in the region.

In 1945, Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko came into the field of view of the punitive authorities<sup>41</sup>. The woman was born in 1916 in the town of Nova Kiliya, Izmail region, in the family of peasants Choban Andriy Fedorovich and Martha Artemivna Nikolenko. Tamara Andreevna had two brothers – Fedor and Ivan and 3 sisters – Natalia, Matrona, Zina. She graduated from 4th grade, majoring in tailoring.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. Ark. 75.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. Ark. 76.

<sup>41</sup> Arkhiv USBU v Odeskii oblasti. F. P., Spr. 24074-p, Ar. 1.

According to Tamara Andreevna, her autobiography was recorded in the interrogation report of May 24, 1945.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the investigation learned that in 1939 T.A. Nikolenko went to Romania to the city of Brailov, where she got a job as a housekeeper in the house of the director of the grain procurement point Rosenberg. In 1940 she married Radu Korcmaru, a Romanian citizen. In November, the young people divorced. Until 1944, Tamara Andreevna worked in the house of George Daneru. In April 1944 she came to her parents in Kiliya. July 15, 1944, returned to the city of Brailov. After the events of August 1944, she got a job as a translator of the Romanian language at the Military Command of the Soviet Troops (the village of Bordei Veke, Braille County). In November 1944 she returned to her hometown.

The interrogation report also contains information about T.A. Nikolenko's relatives. Brothers Fedor and Ivan served in the Red Army, sisters Zina and Matriona lived permanently in the city of Nova Kiliya, housewives. In 1941, Natalia Nikolenko moved to Odessa with her husband, a Red Army officer. After the Romanian occupation of the city, the sister was arrested by Romanian police and transported to New Kiliya. After some time she was released, but was summoned for questioning several more times. According to her mother, physical violence was used during interrogations against Natalia Andriyivna. In March 1945 she died<sup>43</sup>.

It is not known under what circumstances, but according to the same protocol, Tamara Andreevna admitted that she was an agent of the Romanian military intelligence.<sup>44</sup> She was recruited on June 8-10, 1944 in the town of Nova Kiliya by Karakostya Peter, a locotent: "In April 1944, from the city of Brailov, I came to visit my parents in the city of New Kiliya while living in my father's apartment, they called me to the police where the locotent Karakostya suggested I collaborate i.e. to help Romanian military intelligence identify Communists, partisans and others who are hostile to the Romanian authorities, at the same time stated that if I refuse to work, they will take not only strict measures against me but also my relatives, including the execution, to which I agreed and signed a subscription». The investigation found that T.A. Nikolenko worked under the pseudonym "Nineta Tomescu", password "Question: You wear a ring with a diamond stone. Answer: No, it is not golden."<sup>45</sup> All the information she found and recorded was to be passed on to a resident of the Romanian counterintelligence, Hryhoriy Gavzar (43, Czechoslovak, Piatra Neamt). In addition to G. Gavzar, the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. Ark. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. Ark. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Ark. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. Ark. 15.

detainee said the names of two other Romanian counterintelligence agents who had moved to Novaya Kiliya in the early 1940s were recorded: Pancu Nelu (Mykola), 42, Romanian (Galati) and Petro Gavrilovich Tarnapop. 30-35 years old, Moldovian.

On May 25, 1945, the SMERSH department of the Odessa military district signed a Resolution on her arrest: "I am a detective of the 2-branch of the SMERSH Odessa military district senior lieutenant Shulga having examined the materials on the criminal activity of Tamara Andreyevna Nikolenko, born in 1916, a native and resident of New Kiliya, Izmail Oblast, 49, Portovaya Street, n/p, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, housewife, not convicted FOUND: Tamara Andreyevna Nikolenko, living in the territory occupied by the Romanian troops in the city of New Kiliya, Izmail Region, on June 8-10, 1944, the locotent agent of the Romanian military intelligence Karakostya recruited her as an agent of the same intelligence under the nickname Nineta Tomescu and was left in the rear of the Red Army with intelligence, and therefore, based on the foregoing RESOLVED: Nikolenko Tamara Andreevna, living in the city of Nova Kiliya number 49 Portovaya Street to subject to arrest and search"<sup>46</sup>.

On June 5, 1945, Colonel Stroilov, Deputy Chief of the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the Odessa military district, approved the Resolution on the Prosecution of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko under Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. In the text of the Resolution, Major Sklar, an investigator of the SMERSH Odessa military district, said that the prosecution had found much unequivocal evidence confirming T.A. Nikolenko's involvement in the Romanian intelligence as a secret resident under the pseudonym Nineta Tomescu, number T-599. The report further states that the detainee did admit her guilt, but claimed that she had not provided any information to the Romanian authorities.

The interrogation report of June 25, 1945, referred to agents of the Romanian intelligence agencies, in particular the locotent of Karakostya, who had been recruited by T.A. Nikolenko. According to Tamara Andreevna, the investigation learned that Karakostya served in the 10th Artillery Division, parts of which were stationed in the Romanian city of Galati.

*On June 26, 1945, Colonel Stroilov approved a new Resolution on re-indictment. Article 54-1a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was changed to Article 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. On the same day, on the basis of the testimony of the arrested woman, the Resolution on the allocation of investigative materials against agents of the Romanian intelligence agencies:*

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. Ark. 3.

*Karakostya Petro, Govzer Hryhoriy, Panchu Mykola and Tarnopop Petro was approved.*<sup>47</sup>

Due to the fact that in 1944 the Soviet power was established on the territory of the region, their further fate is unknown. The second paragraph of the resolution stated that the materials of the investigation into Karakostia, Govzer, Panchu and Tarnopop should be separated into a separate proceeding and sent through the reporting department of the Counterintelligence Department “SMERSH” of the Odessa military district for announcement in the All-Soviet wanted list.

*The indictment was approved on June 27, 1945.*<sup>48</sup> The descriptive part of the document indicated the circumstances of the case and information about the testimony of T.A. Nikolenko and the results of their verification. The operative part summarizes the essence of the accusation brought by the convict with the indication of the chosen measure of punishment provided by Article 54-6 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Considering that the practical activities of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko were also not proved by the absence of any physical evidence, and the contact persons could not be found in the investigation № 546 it was decided to send for consideration a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR. At the time of sentencing T.A. Nikolenko was under arrest in prison №1 of the NKVD in Odessa.

On June 29, 1945, by decision of a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR, the term of imprisonment was changed from 10 years to 7 years. The convict was serving her sentence in the Lake Camp of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR in Taishet, Irkutsk region.

On September 10, 1946, to the materials of the case №546 / counterintelligence department “SMERSH” Odessa military district on the accusation of Tamara Andriyivna Nikolenko was added “Information on a resident of the Romanian intelligence” criminal intelligence investigator 1 – from. MDB MRSR – sub-Lieutenant Frumer, also a registration card in Romanian, fingerprints of hers, photographs of Romanian intelligence indicating the specific place and time of TA Nikolenko's meeting with Romanian agents. According to the MGB of the MSSR, Tamara Nikolenko was recruited by ST Martinescu, whose signature is on the convict's account card.

According to the order № 00279/00108/72 SS from 1948 “On the organization of special camps and prisons of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the detention of particularly dangerous state criminals and the direction of the latter after

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid. Ark. 47.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. Ark. 49.

serving their sentences for deportation to settlements under the supervision of the MGB”, in the period from March to April In 1952 the issue of staging T.M. Nikolenko in exile to a settlement in Krasnoyarsk<sup>49</sup>. According to the case file, the convict arrived in the Krasnoyarsk Territory on May 29, 1952.<sup>50</sup>

It should be noted that this order obliged to allocate political prisoners to a special group with isolation in special camps with strict regime and a ban on returning home after serving their sentences, leaving them in exile near the camps where they were serving their sentences, so Tamara Nikolenko’s fate is not known to us. The search for relatives in the town of Kiliya ended in failure.

March 19, 1990 according to the Resolution of the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Odessa Military District in accordance with Article I of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of January 16, 1989 T.M. Nikolenko was rehabilitated.

These examples show that in 1944-1953, “cleansing” among the local population, during which innocent people suffered, was considered a guarantee of stability of the system. After the Red Army liberated the territory of Ukraine from Nazism, the NKVD began searching for “traitors” and “collaborators” among the civilian population that was under occupation during the war. At the same time, the broad powers of the state security agencies allowed them to arrest “suspects” purely for their own reasons, to seek confessions and denunciations, and to sentence them to eviction or execution. The persecution of collaborators lasted for decades. The official basis for this repression was the “cleansing” of society from “anti-Soviet elements”.

Thus, in August 1944, 454 people were arrested for “cooperation with the occupiers”, “anti-Soviet agitation”, and “espionage”. According to generalized digital data on the KGB of the USSR in 1945, 338 people were arrested in the Izmail region, the main charges being treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers and participation in anti-Soviet organizations. Among those arrested were 80 Ukrainians, 71 Russians, 72 Moldovians and Romanians (including 4 Romanian nationals); 198 collective farmers, 184 employees, 218 declassified. Cases of 493 people were considered by courts and a special meeting of the USSR KGB, 4 of them were shot, 204 were sent to forced labor, and 266 were imprisoned in prisons and camps.<sup>51</sup>. Many of them were elderly and never returned from prison .

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Ark. 54.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Ark. 58.

<sup>51</sup> Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU). – F. 42. - Spr.57. Akr. 3, 32-34, 50-52.

According to the actual information on the results of operational and investigative work of the bodies of the State Security Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, as of January 1, 1946, 68 people remained under investigation, 299 people were arrested and arrived from other bodies during the year; among the arrested city dwellers – 32, peasants – 178 Moldovians and Romanians – 64, Ukrainians – 49, Russians – 43. Judicial and extrajudicial bodies made decisions on 246 people (21 of them for hard labor, 213 imprisoned in prisons and camps) <sup>52</sup>.

In 1948, 269 people were prosecuted by the Department of the Ministry of State Security's operative-investigative bodies in the Izmail region (183 of them were arrested in 1948); the main charges are treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers (68) and the anti-Soviet element; among those arrested were 56 Ukrainians, 38 Russians, and 40 Moldovians; 53 collective farmers and like-minded peasants, 50 people of the non-labor element; 13 repatriates and prisoners of war<sup>53</sup>.

In 1949, 263 people were prosecuted (190 of them were arrested in 1949), including treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers and anti-Soviet agitation. According to statistics and a review of the operational and investigative work of the UMDB in the Izmail region, 240 people were prosecuted. In all, 167 people were arrested in 1951<sup>54</sup>. including religious and other anti-Soviet elements, anti-Soviet agitation, treason, and aiding and abetting the German occupiers <sup>55</sup>, in 1952, 54 people were detained by the UMDB in the Izmail region <sup>56</sup>.

Most of these people have not yet been rehabilitated, they continue to be considered “traitors”, their cases have not been reviewed and terminated, much of these cases remain in the main archive fund of the USSU in Odessa region and are still not available to researchers. The number of these cases is also “secret”.

An important trend in the development of the Soviet political system after the death of J.V. Stalin became a struggle for power among the top party and state leadership of the country. Everyone around him was involved in state terror, and the urgent need to distance oneself from this legacy, to destroy evidence of one's non-involvement, and to use facts that would compromise political rivals, determined special attention to repression and rehabilitation. Already on March 13, 1953, an order was issued “On the review of the most dubious in terms of legality of

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid. Spr. 62. T.1. Ark. 21, 22, 33, 34.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Spr. 69. T.1. Ark. 3, 79-84.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. Spr.75. T.1. Ark. 1, 157-162.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. Spr. 78 .Ark. 4, 78-83.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. Spr. 84. Ark. 3, 25, 26, 38, 39.

investigative cases.” On March 27, the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On Amnesty” was adopted.

On September 1, 1953, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR abolished one of the most important extrajudicial punitive bodies of the Stalin era, a special meeting at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR.

The process of correcting violent policies began in the second half of the 1950s. At the end of the twentieth century, the state began to review the fate of victims of repression, as evidenced by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On additional measures to restore justice to victims of repression that took place in the 30's, 40's and early 50's”. From 16.01.1989, Decree of the President of the USSR “On the Restoration of the Rights of All Victims of Political Repression of the 20-50s” of 13.08.1990, the Law of Ukraine “On Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression in Ukraine” of 17.04.1991. The convicted winners were waiting for the truth. Many of them have not waited up for it, finding their last refuge in the harsh northern land.

### **Conclusions**

During 1944-1953, the Soviet government created a powerful punitive and repressive apparatus, which made it possible to complete the process of Sovietization of the region, interrupted by the Second World War, in a short time. At the same time, post-war punitive and repressive policies as a technology for establishing Soviet power caused many human tragedies: the loss of relatives, the forcible severance of family ties, the destruction of established lifestyles, the destruction of spiritual shrines and values, and so on. The mechanism of mass violence against people has consistently and brutally limited and suppressed any manifestations of the national identity of Ukrainians, imposing coercion, terror and repression. However, neither repression, nor deportations, nor the power of ideological convictions, the communist totalitarian system was able to eradicate the understanding of the high level of the Ukrainian people's ability to unite for the struggle for independence and unity of Ukraine.

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## **COLLECTIVIZATION PROCESSES IN THE UKRAINIAN DANUBE REGION (1944-1948)**

*- Abstract -*

The main ways, forms and methods of forced collectivization policy realization in the Ukrainian Danube Region are examined on the basis of a wide range of new sources. It is proved that from an economic point of view, through the collectivization of rural households, the Soviet authorities tried to create a strong mechanism for controlling the production and distribution of agricultural products; to get rid of “unwanted” elements (individual peasant farm) and to impose a socialist system of householding.

*Keywords:* collectivization; Ukrainian Danube Region; collective farm; the Soviet authorities; individual peasant farm.

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### **Introduction**

In the conditions of independent Ukrainian State establishment and the beginning of the process of its entry as an equal partner into the European and world community, issues of Ukrainian historical past become important. Without a fair assessment of the past, it is very difficult to build the future.

### **The Problem Statement**

In 1940, Bessarabia was annexed to the USSR. The communist authorities aimed to introduce a Soviet system on the territory of the Ukrainian Danube Region, using the already accumulated “experience” in the form of arrests, deportations, and dispossession.

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### Research Analysis

The scientific novelty of the research consists of the Danube Region collectivization peculiarities during 1940-1941 and 1944-1946. This investigation is based on the analysis of a wide range of previously unpublished sources. In recent years, the works of O. Perekhrest<sup>1</sup>, V. Starky, A. Tychyna<sup>2</sup>, L. Tsyganenko<sup>3</sup> and others have been published, in which the socio-political processes of the late 1930s and early 1950s in the South Ukrainian lands are highlighted. However, there are many issues beyond scientific researches, in particular, the researchers have paid little attention to the policy of forced collectivization against the Bessarabian peasantry.

### Statement of the basic material

The first attempts to introduce collectivization began in 1940-1941, after the annexation of the territory of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR.

As was noted in one of the campaign speeches: “The land fund of the Izmail region (formerly Izmail and Ackerman counties) by 1941 amounted to 1.5 million hectares of land, of which arable land – 867 thousand hectares. Half of this land was privately owned by wealthy residents of the region, while 23,000 poor people did not own land at all, and 70,000 poor and middle peasants used less than half of the arable land”<sup>4</sup>.

The first stage of agrarian transformation, which lasted from June 1940 to August 1940, consisted in the liquidation of private land ownership, the redistribution of landlords` and church lands between peasants, who had no or little land. In the second stage of agrarian transformations (August 1940 – June 1941),

<sup>1</sup>Perekhrest, O. H. (2011). *Ukrainske selo v 1941-1945 rr.: ekonomichne ta sotsialne stanovyshche*. [The Ukrainian Village in 1941-1945: Economic and Social Status]. NAS of Ukraine. Institute of History of Ukraine. Cherkasy: ChNU them. B. Khmelnytsky, 668 p.

<sup>2</sup>Lebedenko, O., Tychina, K. (2002). *Ukrainske Podunavia: mynule ta suchasne*. [Ukrainian Danube Region: Past and Present]. Odessa: Astroprint. P. 155.

<sup>3</sup>Tsyganenko, L. (2017). *Materialno-pobutovi umovy zhyttia studentiv povoiennoi doby (za materialamy Bilhorod-Dnistrovskoho uchyteľskoho instytutu 1944-1949 rr.)*. [*Material and living conditions of post-war students (according to the materials of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Teacher's Institute 1944-1949)*], URL: <http://dspace.idgu.edu.ua/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/541/%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20.pdf?sequence=1>

<sup>4</sup> KU IA. F. P-470. Yspolnytel'nyi komitet Yzmayl'skoho Oblastnoho soveta deputatov trudiashchychkhsia. [Executive Committee of the Izmail Regional Council of Workers' Deputies], Ref. 4. Spravka o vosstanovlenii y razvytyi narodnoho khoziaistva za 1944-1947 hh. [Information on the restoration and development of the national economy for 1944-1947]. P. 5

land was redistributed within the peasant sector at the expense of the estates of wealthy peasants. The maximum rate of land per farm in Ackerman and Izmail counties had to be 20 hectares. The surpluses were transferred to the land endowment fund for peasants, who had no or little land<sup>5</sup>.

The Soviet authorities made a lot of efforts for the so-called socialistic reformation of agriculture and acted on the scenario which was already worked out. The process of collectivization in the country began with the establishment of state agricultural enterprises – state farms. By June 1941, there were 12 state farms operating in the Danube Region, which has to become the model for establishment of collective farms. Bessarabian state farms were divided into specialized groups:

- cereals: “Artsyzkyi” (Teplytsia village, Artsyz district), “Reniyskyi” (Nagirne village, Reny district), “Saratskyi” (Svitlodolynske village, Sarata district), “Bessarabskyi” (Pidhirne village, Tarutyn district), “Komunar” (Vesela Dolyna village, Tarutyn district);
- wineries: “Champagne of Ukraine” (Nadezhivka village, Artsyz district), “Grona” (Lombrovka village, Borodino district), “Yuzhnyi” (Roziivka village, Saratov district), “Lymanskyi” (Semenivka village, Saratov district)), “Shabo” (Shabo village, Lymanskyi district), “Primorskyi” (Bazarianka village, Tuzlovsky district);
- fodder crops: “Lymanskyi” (village of Mologa, Lymanskyi district).

Socio-political and technical centres of collectivization were the machine-tractor stations. There were 28 machine-tractor stations, which were operating in the region in the spring of 1941. They had 419 tractors, 174 combines, and needed trailer equipment. Machine-tractor stations carried out Bolshevik communist policies in the countryside. The technique served only poor, middle-class farms and agricultural cooperatives, while individual peasant farms could not use the services of machine-tractor stations.

The creation of collective farms was preceded by so-called supryaga. They were created on a voluntary basis by combining the draught animals and implements at the time of agricultural works. This was of great importance for the Danube region, where about 40% of the farms hadn't enough implements and draught animals. In the fall of 1940, 14,000 supryags were formed in the region, which brought together 47,000 poor people and middle peasants<sup>6</sup>.

February 1941 marked the beginning of the formation of collective farms in

<sup>5</sup>Lebedenko, O., Tychina, K. (2002). *Ukrainske Podunavia: mynule ta suchasne*. [Ukrainian Danube Region: Past and Present]. Odessa: Astroprint. P. 156.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. P. 157.

the region. The first collective farm in Danube region was established in Tropovka village, Tatarbuniar district. In June of the same year, 27,940 poor and middle-class farmers were united in 216 collective farms. They had 214 thousand hectares of land<sup>7</sup>, which was 24% of the total arable land in the peasant sector. In order to attract the peasantry to the collective farms, the state provided assistance in the organization of the farms and strengthening their material base.

However, there was not enough land fund to create new collective farms and state farms. Therefore, 28,360 ha of arable land was allotted from the collective farms<sup>8</sup>.

9,760 cattle, 26,970 sheep, 1,260 pigs, 89,675 poultry, 58,200 poods of cereals and industrial crops were transferred from the State Fund for collective farms. 3.3 million karbovanets were allotted for the expansion and strengthening of the collective farm production<sup>9</sup>.

In August 1944, the Danube Region again became part of the USSR. Agriculture was restored under difficult conditions. The content and volume of land management works in the exempted areas were determined by special regulations. For example, in Ukraine they were guided by the People's Commissar of the USSR Instruction of July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1944 "On renewal of the land use of the collective farms in the regions of the USSR which are exempted from German occupation", which stated: "To oblige the executive committees of regional and district councils, regional committees and district committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine:

- to pay special attention to the organization and the start-up of the collective farms;
- first of all, to assist and support the initiative of the poor-middle-class farms which wish to join collective farms"<sup>10</sup>.

The peasants attitude to collectivization was different. It depended on the level of socio-economic development, the historical traditions of the village, and the propaganda conducted by party functionaries in the region. A part of the peasants

<sup>7</sup> KU IA. F. P-470. Yspolnytel'nii komitet Yzmayl'skoho Oblastnoho soveta deputatov trudiashchykh'sia. [Executive Committee of the Izmail Regional Council of Workers' Deputies], Ref. 4. Spravka o vosstanovlenii y razvytyi narodnoho khoziaistva za 1944-1947 hh. [Information on the restoration and development of the national economy for 1944-1947]. P. 4

<sup>8</sup> *Sovetskyi Prydunaiskyi krai (1940-1945 hh.): dokumenty y materyali.* [Soviet Danube Territory (1940-1945): documents and materials]. (1968). Comp. A. D. Bachinskyi etc.; ex. ed. I.A. Khlivnenko etc. Odessa: Maiak. P. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> *Istoriia ukrainskoho selianstva.* [History of the Ukrainian peasantry]. (2006). In 2 volumes T. 2. K.: Naukova Dumka. P. 80.

welcomed both the Soviet authorities and the collectivization. They were mostly poor peasants who had no land and wanted to get at least a piece of their own. There were cases when people had voluntarily formed the first groups to be further merged into the agricultural artels. For example, on December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1944, the regional committee of Izmail approved the request of the peasants of the village Tashbunary of the Bolgrad region on the establishment of a collective farm out of 74 farms (land area 328 ha)<sup>11</sup>.

However, it must be admitted that only the poor voluntarily joined the collective farms. The middle classes of the peasantry hesitated in making such a decision. Wealthy peasants, in general, stood against the collectivization, because the authorities demanded the transfer cattle, property, vineyards, vegetables and soil cultivation implements to the collective farm. The person did not want to lose his master status, but after joining the collective farm, he actually became a slave of the communist country<sup>12</sup>. However, there were cases when wealthy peasants joined the collective farms because of fear of dispossession. Thus, in the collective farm “Progress” of Artsyz district, Dimovchi Stepanyda Mykolaivna, who had 28 hectares of land, was admitted to the collective farm<sup>13</sup>.

At the beginning of the fourth five-year plan (1946-1950), 86% of all arable land in the region belonged to the individual farms of the region. Thus, 21,726 landless and smallholder farms owned 67,472 ha<sup>14</sup>. On average, there were 3.1 hectares of land per farm. The rest of the free land belonged to the state fund.

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<sup>11</sup> *Sovetskyi Prydunaiskyi kraj (1940-1945 hh.): dokumenty y materyali.*[Soviet Danube Territory (1940-1945): documents and materials]. (1968). Comp. A. D. Bachinsky etc.; ex. ed. I.A. Khlivnenko etc. Odessa: Maiak. P. 109.

<sup>12</sup> *Istoriia mist i sil URSR.* [The history of the peasantry of the USSR]. The history of the Soviet peasantry: in 5 volumes T. 4. (1988). Moscow: Nauka. P. 289.

<sup>13</sup> KU IA F. P-441 Yzmaylskoe oblastnoe upravlenye selskoho khoziaistva, h. Yzmayl, [Izmail Regional Department of Agriculture, Izmail], op. 1.sp. 16 Prykazi, dyrektyvnie ukazanyia Mynysterstva zemledelyia USSR y postanovleniya Yzmaylkooho oblyspolkoma za 1946 hod. Dokladnaia zapyska Predsedateliu Soveta Mynystrov USSR o kolkhoznom stroytelstve v oblasti na 26 avhusta 1946 hod. [Orders, directives of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR and resolutions of the Izmail Regional Executive Committee for 1946. Memorandum to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on collective farm construction in the region on August 26, 1946]. 185 p. P. 31.

<sup>14</sup> Czentral`nij derzhavnij arkhiv gromads`kikh ob`yednan (dali – CDAGO). F.I. Czentral`nij komi`tet KP(b) Ukrayini. [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine]. Op. 46. Spr. 356. Postanovleniya CzK KP(b) Ukrainy`. Spravki, zapiski, svedeniya o organizacionno-partijnoj pomoshhi po vosstanovleniyu sel`skogo khozyajstva, prosvetitel`ny`kh uchrezhdenij oblasti. [Decisions of the Central Committee of the CP (b) of

In the first post-war years, the process of collectivization hadn't a great success. For example, in the Sarata district there were no collective farms until the end of 1946, and in the Borodino district there were no collective farms until the middle of 1947. This was explained, first of all, by the fact that the peasants remained supporters of traditional forms of farming.

As of August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1945, 38 collective farms were created in the Danube Region, which combined 2,121 peasant farms with a land area of 17.6 thousand hectares, including 14.7 thousand hectares of arable land<sup>15</sup>.

On May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1946, there were 69 collective farms in the Izmail region, which included 4,188 peasant farms with a land area of 27.6 thousand hectares or 4.5% of land use in the peasant sector. By the end of 1946, another 31 collective farms had been established in the region<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, the number of farms at the end of 1946 in comparison to 1945 increased by 172%, the number of farms by 193%, and the land area by 183%.

The Soviet authorities provided loans to peasants for purchasing productive livestock. The households of the Izmail region were allotted 500 thousand krb., including: Suvorovo – 60 thousand krb., Artsiz – 90 thousand krb., Novo-Ivanivka – 60 thousand krb. and others<sup>17</sup>. Such actions by the regime made it appear as if the Communist Party was concerned for the fate of the poorest peasantry. In fact, it was a sophisticated technique that was done at the expense of the most socially disadvantaged people in order to increase the livestock population, which was to become a collective farm property in the near future.

According to the statistical management of the Izmail region, as of 1 January, 1946, in the Izmail region, there were: 108,455 single farms that had

Ukraine. Inquiries, notes, information on organizational and party assistance in restoring agriculture, educational institutions in the region.]. P. 65.

<sup>15</sup> *Sovetskyi Prydunaiskyi krai (1940-1945 hh.): dokumenty y materyali.*[Soviet Danube Territory (1940-1945): documents and materials]. (1968). Comp. A. D. Bachinsky etc.; ex. ed. I.A. Khlivnenko etc. Odessa: Maiak. P. 108.

<sup>16</sup> KU IA F. P-441 Yzmaylskoe oblastnoe upravlenye selskoho khoziaistva, h. Yzmayl, [Izmail Regional Department of Agriculture, Izmail], op. 1.sp. 17. Plani, spravky y perypyska z raionnymi otdelamy selskoho khoziaistva o kredytovanny kolkhozov oblasti y yspolzovanny kredytov za 1945-1947 hody. Spravka o khode kollektivyzatsyy krestianskykh khoziaistv po sostoiyaniu na 5 maia 1946 hoda y svedeniya o kolychestve kolkhozov, v nykh khoziaistv, trudosposobnykh y pakhotnoi zemly [Plans, references and correspondence with regional departments of agriculture on lending to collective farms of the region and the use of loans for 1945-1947. Information on the progress of the collectivization of peasant farms as of May 5, 1946 and information on the number of collective farms, on them farms, the able-bodied and arable land]. 131 p. P. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. P. 5

734,271 ha of land; collective farms – 54 farms, which had 2,690 ha of land; the land fund of collective farms consisted of 28,830 ha<sup>18</sup>.

As of December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1946, there were already 244 collective farms in the region, which included 19,965 peasant farms and had a total land area of 159,305 ha<sup>19</sup> (see Table 1).

*Table 1.*

**Summary sheet of the number of collective farms in the districts of Izmail region as of 5 December, 1946. \***

<b>№</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>The number of collective farms</b>	<b>The number of homesteads</b>	<b>The total population of the district</b>
1.	Artsyzkyi	33	1 697	6 103
2.	Bolhradskyi	24	2 808	10 631
3.	Borodynskyi	14	859	3 036
4.	Novo-Ivanivskyi	35	4 051	13 013
5.	Lymanskyi	9	404	1 448
6.	Kiliiskyi	13	766	2 630
7.	Reniiskyi	10	836	1 900
8.	Saratskyi	28	1 932	7 554
9.	Suvorivskyi	14	764	3 118
10.	Starokazatskyi	18	674	2 237
11.	Tarutynskyi	14	1 464	5 959
12.	Tatarbunarskyi	23	1 890	6 119
13.	Tuzlovskyi	16	1 334	4 033
14.	Kiliia v.	3	96	300
	<b>Total</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>19 965</b>	<b>68 087</b>

<sup>18</sup>KU IA F. P-424 Statystycheskoe upravlenye Yzmaylskoi oblasti. [Statistical Office of the Izmail Region, Izmail]. op. 1. sp. 875 Spravky o chyslennosti naselenyia po horodam y raionam oblasti za 1946 h. po sravneniyu s 1940 y 1945 hh. [Information on the population by cities and regions of the region for 1946 compared with 1940 and 1945]. 358 p.

<sup>19</sup>KU IA F. P-441 Yzmaylskoe oblastnoe upravlenye selskoho khoziaistva, h. Yzmayl, [Izmail Regional Department of Agriculture, Izmail], op. 1.sp. 18 Spravka, svedeniya ob ekonomycheskom sostoianyy kolkhozov oblasti po sostoianiyu na 5 dekabria 1946 h. O khode kollektivyzatsyy po Tuzlovskomu raionu, o sotsyalnom sostave kolkhoznykov po kolkhozam v razreze raionov. Protokoli obshchyykh sobraniy kolkhoznykov po utverzhdeniyu proyzvodstvennykh planov y prykhodo-rashodnykh smet, [Reference, information on the economic condition of the collective farms of the region as of December 5, 1946. On the progress of collectivization in the Tuzlovsky district, on the social composition of collective farmers according to the collective farms of the districts. Protocols of general meetings of collective farmers for the approval of production plans and income estimates]. P.26.

The new collective farms were created and the old collective farms were renewed in the Suvorovsky district. Thus, the collective farm “The Sickle and Hammer” was restored and the new collective farm “Red Ray” was created in the village Kamianka. In addition, the following collective farms were established:

- fish collective farms “The May 1<sup>st</sup>” (Bahate village), “Danube fisherman” (Komyshivka village), the collective farm named after Kalinina (Nova Nekrasivka village).
- grain collective farms – “Communist Flag” (Bahate village), “Avangard” (Broska village), collective farm named after Kirov (village Kyslytsia), “Victory” (village Komyshivka), “October Banner” (village Loshchynivka), collective farm named after XX Congress of the CPSU (Muravlivka village – was considered one of the foremost), collective farm named after Soviet authorities (village Nova Pokrovka), collective farm named after Illich (village Ozerne), collective farm named after October Revolution (was one of the best in the region), collective farm named after Chapaiev (Saffany village), “The Road to Communism” (Utkonosivka village), “Friendship” (Kalanchak village), collective farm named after Lenin (Kyrnychky village)<sup>20</sup>.

The largest increase in the number of collective farms in the Izmail region was observed in the Novo-Ivanivskii district. Thus, according to the statistical department of the Izmail region in Novo-Ivanivskii district (12 villages) as of February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946, there were 54,153 persons. Only 1,522 of them were collective farmers, 51,847 persons were individual farmers, 782 – other segments of the population. There were in total 11,206 farms, of which 321 farms, which consisted mostly of the former mercenaries and poor people; 10,488 – individual farms; 397 – the others<sup>21</sup>. Thus, in 1946, only 2.8% of the total number of farms in the Novo-Ivanivskii district were united into collective farms. At the beginning of 1947, this number had increased 19 times and amounted to 54.3%<sup>22</sup>. Such a rapid increase confirms the fact of forced entry of peasants into the ranks of collective farmers, because naturally such growth seems impossible.

In the short period of time, from the July 1<sup>st</sup> till August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1946, 7 new collective farms were created in 10 villages of the Kiliiskyi district, of which 2

<sup>20</sup> *Istoriia mist i sil URSR*. [The history of the peasantry of the USSR], The history of the Soviet peasantry: in 5 volumes. (1988). T. 4. Moscow: Nauka. P. 289.

<sup>21</sup> KU IA F. R-424. Statystycheskoe upravlenye Yzmayl'skoi oblasti, h. Yzmayl, [Statistical Office of the Izmail Region, Izmail]. op. 1. sp. 875 Spravky o chyslennosti naselenyia po horodam y raionam oblasti za 1946 h. po sravneniyu s 1940 y 1945 hh. [Information on the population in cities and districts of the region in 1946 compared with 1940 and 1945]. P. 9

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

collective farms in the village Chervonyi Yar (collective farms “Sickle and Hammer”, “Red October”) and one in each of the following villages: Vasylivka (collective farm of the 3rd five-year plan), Trudove (collective farm named after Stalin), Dmytrivka (collective farm named after Dimitrov), Novoselivka (collective farm “Red Banner”) and Mykolaivka (collective farm named after Kotovskyi)<sup>23</sup>.

At the beginning of 1946, there were 291 peasant farms in the Kiliyskiy district, which were combined into 4 collective farms, representing 4% of the total number of peasant farms. A lot of peasants were not willing to join the collective farms, so in 1946 most of the total number of farms in the area – 95.7% – were individual farms<sup>24</sup>. However, as of the January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947, the number of collective farms in the quantitative terms increased by 3 times and amounted to 13.9% of the total indicators<sup>25</sup>. (See Table 2).

However, despite considerable organizational and administrative efforts, the process of collectivization in the Ukrainian Danube region passed with great difficulty. At the beginning of 1948, only a small amount of peasant farms was collectivized in the region – 56.7% of individual farms were integrated into collective farms.

The Soviet government promoted violent and full-scale collectivization at all costs by decrees and orders, actually punishing lawlessness and repression. State-party bodies began the process of dispossession and mass deportations of the wealthy peasantry. For the purpose of carrying out the intentions, NKVD, NKDB, party functionaries and state officials were sent to the Danube region from the eastern regions of Ukraine and the RSFSR<sup>26</sup>. Such actions were aimed at pressing the local population of the region with greater force, driving the peasants into the newly created collective farms<sup>27</sup>.

In 1944-1948 the pressure from the punitive organs on individual peasants increased. They were taxed at a higher rate. In particular, on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1938, the law “On the State Tax on Horses of Single Farms” was introduced, which amounted

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<sup>23</sup>TSAGO. F.1. Op. 46. Ref. 1562. P. 96.

<sup>24</sup> KU IA F. R-424. Statystycheskoe upravlenye Yzmaylskoi oblasti, h. Yzmayl, [Statistical Office of the Izmail Region, Izmail], op. 1. sp. 875 Spravky o chyslennosti naselenyia po horodam y raionam oblasti za 1946 h. po sravneniyu s 1940 y 1945 hh. [Information on the population in cities and districts of the region in 1946 compared with 1940 and 1945]. P.35.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. P. 357.

<sup>26</sup> Baran, V. K. (2003). *Ukraina: novitnia istoriia (1945-1991 pp.)*. [Ukraine: modern history (1945-1991)]. Lviv: Institute of Ukrainian Studies I. Krypiakevycha, NAS of Ukraine. P. 67.

<sup>27</sup> *Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka u 20 stolitti: Dokumenty i materialy: [Ukrainian Socio-Political Thought in the 20th Century: Documents and Materials: In 3 Vols]*, Modernity. 1983. Vol. 1. P. 56.

to 400 Karbovanets per horse, for each subsequent 700 Karbovanets<sup>28</sup>; decree of the Central Exhibition Complex and the Soviet People's Commissar of the USSR of January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1934 "On collection for the needs of housing and cultural and household construction in cities and rural areas"; decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1937 "On self-taxation of rural population"; the law of September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939 "On the Agricultural Tax"; the collective decree of the Central Exhibition Complex and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1937 "On the prohibition of the lease of agricultural land"<sup>29</sup>, the farmstead farms located in the collective farms were liquidated.

Table 2

**The number of collective farms in the Izmail region in 1946-1947\***

№	District	The number of villages	The number of collective farms, 1946 p., %	The number of farms 1946 p., %	The number of collective-farmers, 1947 p., %	The number of farms, 1947 p., %
1.	Saratskyi	14	0	0	19,6	19,6
2.	Borodynskyi	9	0,8	0,9	10,1	11,7
3.	Lymanskyi	8	0,9	1	data is not available	data is not available
4.	Starokozatskyi	7	1,1	1,1	8,6	8,6
5.	Suvorovskyi	15	1,5	1,4	2,9	5
6.	Tuzlovskyi	11	1,5	2,3	15,9	17,9
7.	Novo-Ivanivskyi		2,8	3,7	54,3	54,3
8.	Reniiskyi	7	2,9	3,7	18,1	7,7
9.	Tatarbunarskyi	13	2,4	3,7	16,8	19
10.	Tarutynskyi	14	3,8	3,8	35	35
11.	Kiliiskyi	10	4	4	13,9	13,9
12.	Bolhradskyi	13	7,1	7,1	33,4	33,4
13.	Artsyzykyi	14	6,9	14,5	16,8	20,2

The beginning of agricultural restoration in the Danube region coincided with the famine of 1946-1947. The difficult agricultural situation was aggravated by

<sup>28</sup> Zbirnyk zakoniv SRSR i ukaziv Prezydii Verkhovnoi Rady SRSR 1938 – cherven 1944 r. [Collection of laws of the USSR and decrees of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR 1938 – June 1944]. M. Edition of the "Information of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR". (1944). P. 145.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. P. 239.

a very unfavourable climate. It became much more difficult to create new collective farms under such conditions.

### Conclusions

Thus, the implementation of plans for the reconstruction of the Ukrainian SSR national economy, destroyed in the World War II happened according to the methods of industrialization tried in the pre-war years. Despite the weak logistical base in the agricultural sector, the horrific effects of the famine of 1946-1947, the agriculture of the Ukrainian Danube during the first postwar five years (1946-1950) reached pre-war production levels.

The process of land resources concentration, devouring and converting a large proportion of wealthy peasants into collective farmers had no historical alternative. However, in most countries, it has evolved under the prevailing influence of economic laws over a long period of history, gradually, without major social catastrophes. Changes of industrial relations in the agricultural sector were inevitable, but in the Soviet Union they were forced. Collectivization has provided the USSR with rapid development, but rigorous methods of achieving, neglecting the lives of millions of people, and finally, the socio-economic immaturity of these changes have determined its terrible cost and rather dubious results, which are evident several decades later.

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**PUBLIC MOVEMENT OF THE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN BUDZHAK  
POLIETHNIC SOCIETY AS A FACTOR OF INTERCULTURAL  
INTERACTION (PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT UKRAINE)**

*- Abstract -*

The article deals with the revival of civil society institutions, cultural activities of national minorities and people-to-people diplomacy of national and cultural public organizations in Budzhak – the Ukrainian region, located between the Dniester and the Danube deltas, bordering on Romania and Moldova. A significant increase in ethnic consciousness, as well as a sharp focus of regional communities on the preservation and development of their national languages and cultural traditions has been observed in the territory of the Budzhak frontier since the late 1980s. The imperative for the development of the Ukrainian post-imperial transformational society in Budzhak has been the synergy of activities of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Gagauze, German, Greek, Jew, Polish, Romanian (Moldovan), Russian, Ukrainian etc. national minorities with the purpose of developing their language and culture (traditions, rituals and beliefs, art and song, folk crafts) and preserving the cultural identity of their ethnic groups. To gain mutual understanding in interethnic relations, the representatives of national diasporas, together with the local educational establishments, take great pains to create optimal conditions for the development of all national minorities, pay enormous attention to educational activities aimed at raising the historical memory of the peoples of Budzhak, promote intercultural dialogue and tolerance as necessary prerequisites for living in multicultural society.

*Keywords:* national minorities; development of local communities; civil society institutions; national and cultural public organizations; non-

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governmental organizations (NGOs); people-to-people diplomacy; polyethnic region; intercultural dialogue.

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### **Introduction**

Since ancient times, humanity has appreciated understanding of one's own involvement in the "historical code of the nation". The philosophical and anthropological groundwork of modern scholars gives reason to claim that what they have designated is largely understood in the context of the phenomenology of identity. In particular, it is considered to be those existential factors that unite the national society. One of these factors is the active work of "people-to-people diplomacy" of national and cultural public associations in the system of progressive development of civil society institutions. Taking into account the purely regional vector of what has been outlined, it is the peculiarity of a polyethnic region that draws attention, one of which is the southwestern area of Odesa region, better known among historians as Budzhak. An analysis of the research conducted in this respect confirms the validity of such a generalization: it is in such a multi-ethnic region that interaction, in particular, of ethnic, aesthetic and national identities, is quite evident.

### **The Problem Statement**

Currently, the vector outlined above is of great interest in terms of developing a national strategy for cross-border cooperation between the residents of the region.

It should be noted that in contrast to the processes of globalization of the postmodern era in the political, social and economic life in the pan-European space, the public movement for the particularization of ethnic consciousness has been formed and is rapidly developing in order to preserve the foundations of national identity. The problems of the interaction of the universal and regional, local and state, between integration and fragmentation, universalisation and particularization, mass and original culture, have determined the specifics of the contemporary cultural and political framework.

After the revival of Ukraine's independence in 1991, one of the manifestations of public activity in development of local communities, was the creation of civil society institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), national and cultural public organizations, their number is steadily increasing. The collapse of the USSR gave a powerful impetus to the building of democracy and civil society as a strategic course for the country's development. Ethnic factor played a significant role in this

process, as Ukraine has historically emerged as a multinational state with a distinct confessional liberalism. It is quite natural that the greatest activity is taking place in the border territories, one of which is Budzhak, a Ukrainian region located between the Dniester and Danube delta at the borders with Romania and Moldova. Alternative names for the region are the Ukrainian Danube region, Southern Bessarabia, the Danube-Prut-Dnistrovskiyi inter-river region, Southern Odesa region. They coexist in scientific and popular usage.

Since the late 1980s, on the territory of the Budzhak Frontier there has been a marked increase in ethnic consciousness with a sharp focus on regional communities for the preservation and development of their national languages and cultural traditions. Therefore, the imperative for the development of the Ukrainian post-imperial transformation society was the synergy of activities of national and cultural societies – public associations formed with the purpose of developing their language and culture (traditions, ceremonies and beliefs, song and dance art, ethnic clothing and folk crafts) in order to preserve the cultural identity of their ethnic groups, the formation of cultural dialogue and tolerance.

A large number of public organizations of regional national associations were formed in Odesa region, where representatives of many nationalities historically settle. Thus, according to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine<sup>1</sup> in the south of Odesa region, representatives of the largest national communities are localized: Albanians, Bulgarians, Gagauzes, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Romanians (Moldovans), Russians, Ukrainians, etc. This circumstance led to the fact that most non-governmental public organizations (NGOs) of Budzhak ethnic groups operate in regional centers of Odesa region (Artsyz, Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiyi, Bolhrad, Izmail, Kiliia, Reni etc.) and the regional center – Odesa.

### **Statement of the basic material in the context of Research Analyses**

In this article we detail the peculiarity of the activities, in particular, of the most powerful national and cultural organizations of Budzhak.

Experts have found that before the collapse of the USSR, the processes of creating national and cultural organizations of Bessarabian Romanians were intensified. The activists P. Grozavu, T. Iordakesku, G. Kapsamun, V. Kozhokaru, A. Kokosh, D. Hashdeu, and others sought to mobilize Romanian communities, inspired by the progressive ideas of reviving national culture in communication with

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<sup>1</sup>State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine: The number and composition of the population of Odessa region according to the results of the All-Ukrainian Population Census in 2001:<http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/rus/results/general/nationality/odesa/>

the Danube and Sea Cultural Society, which was created in 1990 for Romanians from Budzhak. Together with the representatives of the all-Ukrainian public organization “Christian Democratic Alliance of Ukrainian Romanians”, in 1991 they initiated the opening of a Branch of the Christian Democratic Alliance of Bessarabian Romanians under the head of D. Hashdeu. He facilitated the opening of a Romanian Branch at Izmail State Pedagogical Institute, the establishment of a Romanian language and literature office there, the replenishment of library funds, the organization of internships for teachers and students in Romania.

The most emotional were the first meetings of the Romanian community of Budzak with like-minded people and the first trips to Romania after the fall of the Iron Curtain. At that time, partnerships were established with the universities “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați, “Danubius”, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, a public organization “M. Kogelnichanu” of the Association of “Astra”, Romanian Institute of Culture, “Karol I” Museum of Brăila, the General Association of Teachers of Romania (AGIRo), the General Association of Teachers of the Republic of Moldova (AGIRoMd), who continue to cooperate with public organizations of Budzhak and Izmail State University of Humanities where pro-Ukrainian projects are being implemented.

The activities of the historical and ethnographic club of students and youth “Istros” have significant cultural achievements. This club was founded by the famous local historian, a public figure V. Kozhokaru, director of the Local History Museum in Reni. An archeologist, historian, writer and educator, he has been able to rally around young people who volunteered to take part in archeological excavations on the banks of Lakes Kagul and Yalpus that are rich in amazing finds from the past. The most significant of them are devoted to the study of the ancient crossing over the Danube to the village of Novosil'ske, Roman epigraphy associated with this site and the ancient ramparts of the Danube-Dnistrovskiy inter-rivers. As the researchers, V. Kozhokaru, in collaboration with professor P. Karyshkovskiy, point out, there was published a unique epigraphic memoir dedicated to Jupiter from the centurion Aurelius of the first Italian Legion, found on Satu Nou Peninsula near the remains of a Roman road. It is interesting to note that thanks to this inscription we were able to find out that on the northeast coast of Lake Kartal in the first centuries BC there was a Roman fortified point that served as protection for the crossing of the Danube and was part of the Lower Danube limes<sup>2</sup>. Under the direction of V. Kozhokaru, the Istros club searchers

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<sup>2</sup>Agulnikov, S. (2010). Memory of a friend. *Revista Archeologica*. Vol. VI. No. 1. P. 209-211.

founded the Ethnographic Museum “Danubius” at the Lyceum School of the village of Novoselskoie, which included a collection of archeological finds and ethnographic materials of Reni district.

In the above mentioned context, the attention is drawn to the activity of the national and cultural Romanian association “Bessarabia”, which was registered in 2006 in the village of Utkonosivka (Izmail district). Its first activists were the representatives of the creative team of the folk ensemble “Dor Basarabean” of Utkonosivka House of Culture (O. Babaian, S. Buluchevskiy, A. Popesku, V. Popesku, M. Popesku, O. Toncha and others). In connection with the above mentioned, the attention is paid to the scientific exploration of professor L. Tsyganenko *Odessa Regional Association “Bessarabia”: features of Formation and Activity* (2012), where the author specified that the purpose of the organization was to promote the preservation, revival, development and popularization of the national culture of Bessarabian Romanians and the Romanian language, protection of national and cultural interests of the members of the association. During the following years, the association “Bessarabia” initiated and organized numerous social and cultural events, such as grand concerts and festivals, annual participation of students in the international school Olympiad in the Romanian language, conferences of the Romanian community of Odesa and others<sup>3</sup>.

A powerful impetus for the consolidation of the Romanian community of Budzak was the initiation of Izmail State University of Humanities administration to open the Romanian Information Center at the university in 2016, which is currently coordinated by N. Ursu. The Center was established with the support of the Romanian Consulate General in Odesa (E. Rapcha) with the aim of strengthening Ukrainian and Romanian friendly relations, informing about major events in the social, economic, cultural, educational and public spheres of Romania as a member state of the European Union, conducting cultural events, promoting the Romanian language, culture and European civilization, coordinating good-neighbourhood policy and cross-border cooperation between Ukraine and Romania.

As part of the development of educational activities, the Center's specialists facilitated the organization of training in the framework of a joint agreement between Izmail State University of Humanities and the “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați on a double diploma programmes, holding events to celebrate national holidays, annual Young Talent Festivals, etc. Free Romanian language courses are open to everyone at the Izmail State University of Humanities.

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<sup>3</sup>Tsyganenko, L. (2013). *Odessa Regional Association “Bessarabia”: features of formation and activity*: <http://oldconf.neasmo.org.ua/node/1751>

Another important area of the activity of the Center is the organization and holding of annual scientific conferences (in particular, the conference “Limba, cultura și identitatea românească în sudul Basarabiei istorice”). A separate direction of the cultural and educational activity of the Romanian Information Center was to hold an annual festival of the Romanian-language poetry in order to progressively develop the creative personalities of poets, to discover and support young talents, to present new editions of the Ukrainian Romanian-language fiction. The successful result of the work on uniting the poets of Budzhak was the registration of the poets’ organization “Echo of Budzhak” (2019) and participation of specialists of the Center in the project of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine “Regional Literature and Painting of Ethnic Groups of the Ukrainian Danube Region as a Means of the Formation of Collective Identity of the Local Socium” (the head – professor T. Shevchuk).

The Bessarabian Romanians, graduates of Izmail State University of Humanities, with the support of the Center of National Cultures of the Ukrainian Danube Region, have set up such public organizations as G. Muzychesku Association of Romanians in Izmail, “Gaudeamus”, “Romanian Information Center”.

The study and analysis of the cultural and educational activities of the Bulgarians of Budzhak show that the first unofficial organizations of Bessarabian Bulgarians were formed in Sofia in 1944 from among the Bulgarian repatriates who fled the same year to their historical homeland<sup>4</sup>.

Cyril and Methodius Society became one of the first official non-governmental organizations of Bessarabian Bulgarians. It was represented by A. Dymytrova, P. Marharyt, M. Todorov, V. Stoianov and others. On May 24, 1987, the first Cyril and Methodius Conference for Bulgarian public figures was held in Izmail. The best ideas were presented in the printed editions “The Bulgarian Voice”, “The Bell”, “999”. The latter bore a symbolic digital name through the law on the circulation of unlicensed publications, which should not exceed 1000 copies.

After the collapse of the USSR, strong support for the Bulgarian diaspora in Budzhak was provided by the authorities of the Republic of Bulgaria, represented by Consul General R. Dzhamdzhiev, the head of the Agency for Bulgarians Abroad, G. Danailov, as well as Bulgarian patriots (M. Karaivanov, M. Stoiev, etc.), who encouraged Ukrainian-Bulgarian educational projects.

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<sup>4</sup>See more details: Tetyana Shevchuk & Alexander Kara (2019). NGOs of Bessarabian Bulgarians and their Activities in Cultural Sphere. *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research*: Vol. 9. Issue No 2. Galați. P. 238-248.

In 1990 the “Rodoliubets” (Patriot) Public Association (Sofia) was registered in Bulgaria. Its activity was focused on establishing cultural ties with compatriots of Budzhak, Moldova, Tavriia, Kazakhstan and Siberia, as well as informing the general community about the life of the Bulgarian diaspora in the USSR. Today, at the initiative of this association, annual conferences and round-table discussions, creative workshops are held, the almanac “Rodoliubets” (“Patriot”) has been published. In the early 1990s, the first cultural events were held in Bolhrad, where the progressive ideas of independence of the Ukrainian statehood, the revival of the Bulgarian culture in Ukraine, and the successful intergration of Ukrainian citizens of Bulgarian origin were discussed.

In parallel with the development of the regional public movement, the Odesa Regional Bulgarian Society (1989) was founded, which in the same year established the newspaper “RodenKrai” (“Native Land”) and since 1990 it has initiated a cycle of Bulgarian-language radio and television broadcasts. In the independent Ukraine, the Bulgarian national movement became more active. Collections of poetry and prose of Bessarabian and Tavriian Bulgarians P. Burlak-Volkanov, I. Volkov, M. Khadzhyiskyi, T. Stoianov and others have been published. In 1993 the Association of the Bulgarians of Ukraine was established. Centers of Bulgarian culture opened in Bolhrad (1997), Odesa (1999). In September 1998 the first assembly of the Bulgarians of Ukraine was held in Odesa, which became a permanent and vibrant ethno-festival in the cultural life of Odesa region. Since 2002, the Association of the Bulgarians of Ukraine has established the Person of the Year award. Those who become the laureates of this award are annually nominated by various public organizations and have made significant contributions to the development of the Bulgarian culture: teachers, artists, musicians, sportsmen, cultural workers, entrepreneurs-patrons, including the citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria who support the cultural movement of the Bulgarians of Ukraine<sup>5</sup>.

Currently, close to hundreds of public organizations, non-governmental organizations of Bulgarians operate in Odesa, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Kropyvnytskyi, Zaporizhzhia, Mykolaiv regions and in the Crimea. In Odesa region the most active are the following public organizations: “Bulgarian National Assembly” (Odesa), “Congress of the Bulgarians of Ukraine” (Odesa), “Cyril and Methodius Society” (Bolhrad), “Khan Asparuh” (Bolhrad), “Hristo Botev” (Izmail), “Rodnini” (Izmail), “Saint Sophia” (Izmail) and others.

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<sup>5</sup>See more details: *Cultural Space of Bessarabian Bulgarians*. (2018). Bolhrad: Irbis. P. 189-195.

Their activity is focused on the issues of the development and preservation of the culture, language and traditions of the Bulgarian diaspora in Ukraine: opening of Sunday national schools; preservation and multiplication of historical monuments; holding congresses, festivals, exhibitions; honoring the memory of national heroes; celebration of state holidays and memorable dates, revival of unique national traditions; development of social and cultural ties with the Republic of Bulgaria.

A memorial plaque and a monument to General I. Kolev in the parents' home of the hero of Bulgaria, born in the village of Beniasa (Banivka village, Bolhrad district), a monument to the Bulgarian militias killed in the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 (Bolhrad, 2012), a memorial stone with a memorial plaque to O. Malinov in the village of Pandaklia (Orikhivka village, Bolhrad district, 2017) on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of this prominent Bulgarian politician have been opened at official cultural events of recent years. Another resonant event of 2017 was the opening of the monument to the Chief Trustee and Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Colonists, General I. Inzov, in Bolhrad.

Experts claim that it is legitimate to believe that a specialized boarding school "Bolhrad G. Rakovskiyi Gymnasium" has become one of the main educational centers of the Bulgarians of Ukraine. Here study not only children from Bolhrad and Bolhrad district, but also children from other areas where Bulgarian-speaking families live compactly. It is known that the gymnasium was founded in 1858 at the expense of the Moldovan statesman of Bulgarian origin N. Vogoride. This educational institution is under the patronage of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Bulgaria, since its inception it has been training base for the national liberation and state building of Bulgaria: future Prime Ministers (D. Hrekov, O. Malinov), ministers (D. Ahura, H. Zghurov, I. Titorov, I. Salabashev, etc.), an academician and the first rector of Sofia University O. Teodorov-Balan, generals (D. Nikolaiev, G. Todorov, etc.) and other prominent figures of science, culture and politics (D. Kazakov, I. Wulpe, etc.).

Scientific and publishing activities are of great importance for the public organizations of the Bulgarians of Ukraine. With the assistance of the Odesa Regional State Administration and within the framework of the ethno festival "All-Ukrainian Convocation of Bulgarians", the international scientific conference "Bulgarians of the Northern Black Sea Region" is annually held, with the relevant materials being issued. The publication of the collective monograph "Budzhak: Historical and Ethnographic Sketches of the Peoples of the South-Western Districts

of Odessa Region”<sup>6</sup> proved to become a striking event. In this monograph a significant place is given to the history and culture of Bulgarian resettlers. Scientific events are an integral part of the work of specialized departments at Izmail State University of Humanities and “I. Mechnikov” National University from Odessa. To honour the 140th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria, the scientists of these universities prepared the collective monograph “Cultural Space of Bessarabian Bulgarians” (2018) with the financial support of M. Ivanov, the head of the Izmail St. Sophia organization of Bulgarians, and V. Kurtiev, the famous Bessarabian philanthropist<sup>7</sup>.

On May 24, 2019, Izmail State University of Humanities presented the book *Documents and Materials on the History of the Bulgarians of Southern Bessarabia*, created by the team of their historians (associate professor V. Drozdov, S. Maidanevych, N. Moroshan) and published in the town of Izmail shortly before Slavic Writing and Culture Day. A free Sunday Bulgarian school for Budzhak children has also been functioning at this university for two years.

Academic specialists in history have proved that, together with Bulgarians, Greeks resettled to the lands of Budzhak, compactly living within the territory of the Bulgarian lands of that time. In the modern era, in 2002, the Izmail Hromada “Ellada” (Hellas Society) public organization was registered under the permanent chairmanship of the Ukrainian Greek T. Mitaki, a public figure, activist and talented artist. The Izmail Hellas Society is a member of the Federation of Greek Societies of Ukraine, which at the present stage of its existence solves the following main tasks: the development of Greek societies through the study of the language, the popularization of the Greek culture, traditions, the formation of Ukrainian Greeks’ national identity and high spirituality, the deepening of Ukrainian and Greek relationships.

Despite the very large-scale Greek resettlement of the era of the ancient colonization of the Northern Black Sea Region, Budzhak is an almost sacred place in the context of the ancient Greek culture. On Zmiinyi island (Serpent Island), which is located in a 35-kilometer zone from the Danube Delta in the territorial waters of the Black Sea of Ukraine, there was one of the oldest ancient temples with the cult of Achilles Pontarches (Lord of the Sea) with an oracle, which indicated its extremely high status. With the spread of Christianity, the temple of Achilles was abandoned and forgotten. The names of the island changed as well: Levka island

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<sup>6</sup>*Budzhak: Historical and Ethnographic Sketches of the Peoples of the South-Western Districts of Odessa Region* (2014). Odessa-Izmail: SMIL.

<sup>7</sup>*Cultural Space of Bessarabian Bulgarians* (2018). Bolhrad: Irbis.

(White, Λευκός), Filoksiia (Hospitable, Φιλόξια), Blessed island (Μακάρων), Fidonisi (Serpent, Φίδονισι). In the era of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish name of Zmiinyi island was Ilan-Ada (Yılan Adası), and its Romanian name was Sherpilor (Șerpilor). Romanian folk songs, recorded in the communities of Brăila, Banat, Constanța, RâmnicuSărat, Ciubanca and other counties<sup>8</sup>, saved interesting testimonies of the masses about the mysterious temple on the sacred island, which was named in the songs as “a big Church of nine altars” (“Biserica cea mare cu 9 altare”), or “the monastery of Gods” (“Mănăstirea Domnilor”)<sup>9</sup>. The scientific study of Zmiinyi island mysteries of the Greek colonization era is still waiting for its researchers on the part of archaeologists, historians, and folklorists.

Scientists have proved that Budzhak and the town of Izmail played an important role in the national revival of Greece in the course of its new history. In 1814, the secret revolutionary Filiki Eteria (Friendly Society) Greek organization was founded in Odesa. In 1820, it was in Izmail where O. Ipsilanti and D. Ipsilanti, its leaders and ideological inspirers, developed a plan for the national-liberation uprising in Greece. Therefore, the Izmail Hromada Ellada public organization is an important mediator in the implementation of the plans of the Consulate General of Greece in Odesa to name the central alley of Hretskyi (Greek) Square in Izmail in honor of Prince O. Ipsilanti and to establish a bust of the hero of Greece in 2020 already, i.e. on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the historic sitting of the secret meeting of the members of the national-liberation Filiki Eteria Greek Society.

On March 15, 2019, Izmail State University of Humanities hosted the All-Ukrainian scientific and practical conference with the international participation “Ukraine – Greece: Historical Reflections”. The conference was organized by Izmail State University of Humanities and the Izmail Branch of the Union of Area Studies Specialists of Ukraine. The conference was attended by more than 60 participants, including the representatives of higher education institutions from different regions of Ukraine, state archives, museums, Consul General of Greece in Odesa, Director of the Greek Cultural Foundation of Odesa and members of the Greek Hellas Society of Izmail. At the plenary session, the presentation of the book *Documents and Materials on the History of the Bulgarians of Southern Bessarabia* was held, the

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<sup>8</sup>Teodorescu, D. (1885). *Poesii populare române*. București. Editura “Tipografia modernă” G. Luis.; Densușianu, N. (1913). *Dacia Preistorică*. București. Editura Arhetip. 2002-reprint.

<sup>9</sup>See more details: Shevchuk, T. (2015). The Legends of the Serpent Island in the Danube Delta. *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research*. Vol. 5. Issue No 2. Galați. P. 139-153.

compilers of which are such university scientists as professor L. Tsyganenko, associate professor V. Drozdov and associate professor L. Chorna.

The Greek Society of Izmail actively participates in the cultural life of the city, unites and inspires the Greek community of the region, contributes to the restoration of its historical memory and national traditions.

Early 2004 evidenced the intensification of the activities of the Polish community and national-cultural societies. In particular, the “Polish House – Kuiava Society”, was registered in Izmail under the permanent chairmanship of the public activist M. Lukashova. The goal of this public organization is to maintain Polish traditions among the local population with ethnic Polish roots, to teach the younger generation the Polish language and culture. In the town of Izmail there is the Polish Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded in the middle of the 19th century. In the Soviet period, it was used as a gym, but in 1996 it was given back to the small Roman Catholic religious community. Educational events for the Polish community of Budzhak are held on the basis of this church.

The analysis of regional mass media publications shows that among the achievements of this public organization is establishing business contacts with Polish diplomatic institutions, exchanging cultural values with the twin city of Vlotslavec (Włocławek, Poland), holding annual festive Polish Culture Days in Izmail (since 2006), during which exhibitions of photographic and graphic art are traditionally arranged in the Izmail Art Gallery, poetry readings and other cultural events are held.

According to local researchers, public organizations of Bessarabian Germans have been particularly active lately. It was established that by 1940 more than 500 colonies had been founded within the territory of *present-day* Odesa region, about 150 – in Budzhak. According to the latest official census, 3,778 Germans lived in Odesa region.

In 2006, in the city of Studgard (Stuttgart, Germany), the Bessarabian Germans Association (Bessarabien deutsche Verein)<sup>10</sup> was registered on the basis of the amalgamation of such public organizations as “Landsmannschaft”, “Hilfskomitee” and “Heimatmuseum”, founded immediately after the deportation of Bessarabian Germans on the threshold of World War II.

As of 2018, the number of the Bessarabian Germans Association members totaled 1900 people. The scope of their public interests includes documenting the history, culture and traditions of their ancestors, restoring historical monuments and

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<sup>10</sup>The official website: <https://www.bessarabien.de/index.php>

the material heritage of Bessarabian Germans. The lifestyle, customs and beliefs, the literary heritage and the political background of the era of the German colonization of Budzhak are studied by German historians, ethnographers and area studies specialists, and the citizens interested can enjoy the excursions to the south of Odesa region.

It should be noted that German settlements were located mainly within *present-day* Tarutino, Sarata and Artsyz districts of Odesa region. A significant part of Germans lived in the regional center of Odesa. Ukraine having gained its independence, the process of the national revival of the descendants of the German colonists, who for one reason or another had remained in Odesa region, began. In 1989, the Odesa regional German national and cultural society, named "Vidrodzhennia (Revival)" (Wiedergeburt), was founded. At the stage of its formation, the first results of the activities of the "Vidrodzhennia" public organization manifested themselves in the opening of German Sunday School in Odesa, the official registration of the Evangelical Lutheran community (1990) and the lengthy process of restoring the architectural pearl of Odesa, namely St. Paul's Lutheran Church (1825), which lasted throughout the 1990-2010 period at the expense of charitable contributions from Lutheran communities. In the framework of the agreement on cultural cooperation between Ukraine and Germany (1993), the first German language teachers arrived in Odesa from Germany to work in Sunday and secondary schools, the "Bavarian House" Cultural Center was opened.

Another important vector of the "Vidrodzhennia" public organization activities is to carry out powerful social work to assist the descendants of the German colonists who suffered from repressions, to search for and provide information about the Germans who were repressed and deported to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In particular, they organize the activities to study the mother tongue lost by ethnic Germans, a volunteer movement to provide social assistance to elderly and single residents of German descent. The activists of this organization have prepared a series of television programmes about prominent figures of Odesa region of German origin, they deliver public lectures on the contribution of German colonists to the development of Odesa region, have developed excursion programmes, conduct fruitful cooperation with scientific and educational centres and charitable foundations of Germany, have launched the Internet resource "Portal of Ukrainian Germans"<sup>11</sup>.

In the town of Tarutino, where in 1814 the first German colony was founded in Budzhak, in 2008 the social activist S. Kruk registered the "Bessarabian House

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<sup>11</sup>Portal of Ukrainian Germans: <http://deutsche.in.ua/>

German Cultural Center” public organization, which nowadays fruitfully implements charitable educational and social projects. In 2003, in the city of Izmail, the “German House” Cultural Society was organized, the activity of which is aimed at reviving and popularizing the history and culture of the ethnic Germans of Budzhak. The enormous scientific work has been done to study the history of the German colonists. The books by E. Plesskaia-Zebold, *Odesa Germans* (1990), *Black Sea Region Germans* (2008), O. Yungmaister, *Prisoners of War Interned in Ukraine and Odesa Region, 1944-1951* (2007), U. Shmidt, *Bessarabia. German Colonists in the Black Sea Region* (2012), etc. have already been published.

In recent years, the efforts of the Bessarabian Germans Association, higher educational institutions of Odesa Region (Izmail State University of Humanities and “I. Mechnikov” National University of Odessa) and Germany (HeorgHoldshtain-Shule Higher Commercial School in the town of Bad-Urakh (Georg Goldstein-Schule, Bad Urach) have been successful and a number of joint projects have been implemented. Among them, in particular, are: “Origin and Homeland. Historical Memory – the Future of Europe” (2016), “Budzhak” (2017), “Landscape and People” (2018), “Leaving Homeland – Finding Homeland” (2019). The results of project activities were discussed in the course of scientific events at Izmail State University of Humanities: the round-table discussion “Germans of Bessarabia: Language, History, Culture” (2018), the scientific and practical conference “Cross-Cultural Code of the Danube Region: Historical and Linguistic Research” (2019), etc.

In order to implement the advanced training programme for teachers and to develop the professional education of students from August 19 to 23, 2019, the scientific workshop “Communicative Strategies of the German Language and Modern German Discourse” was held at Izmail State University of Humanities with the support of the “Georg Goldstein-Schule” Higher Commercial School (Bad Urach, Germany) and the Izmail “German House” Cultural Society, which in 2018 won the grant competition with an interregional project in the field of ethnoculture “Material Culture of the German Population of the South of Bessarabia”. The German language courses are available in the Continuing Education Center at Izmail State University of Humanities.

Also, the activization of the social movement of Albanians is of particular relevance in Budzhak. The Albanian public movement was started by the “Rilindiiia” (Revival) public organization which was founded in 1993 in order to preserve language and culture and to establish cultural relations with Albania. All members of the organization come from one settlement – the village of Karakurt, Bolhrad

district of Odesa region, founded in 1811 by ethnic Albanians. There are only four villages in Ukraine with ethnic Albanians living in them: the village of Karakurt of Odesa region and also such villages of Zaporizhzhia region, whose activists joined the Union of the Albanians of Ukraine (2016) with the aim of reviving, preserving and developing national and cultural traditions of the Albanian people, promoting the strengthening of cultural and economic ties between Ukraine and Albania, protecting political and cultural economic rights of the Albanians of Ukraine.

It should be noted that the Izmail “Obor Shiptar” (Albanian Court) Albanian Community is the youngest national and cultural public organization of Budzhak (2018). On the basis of Izmail State University of Humanities, the activists of this organization, together with the Union of the Albanians of Ukraine, have managed to implement a number of projects: on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Albania the scientific and practical conference “Albania and Albanians: History, Ethnography and Modernity” (2018) and the round-table discussion “On the Pages of the History of the Albanian Flag” (2018) were held, as well as the scientific and practical conference “Preservation and Development of the Historical and Cultural Heritage of Albanian Ukrainians: Problematic Issues and the Ways to Solve Them” (2019), dedicated to the birthday of the national hero of Albania H. Skanderbei. In the same 2019, the Izmail Art Gallery held the exhibition of Ukrainian and Albanian culture with a display of articles of decorative and applied arts and paintings by local Albanians. As evidenced in practice, the village of Karakurt hosts traditional ethnic festivals on St. George's Day with performances by folk groups and village vocal and choreographic groups “Koloryt” and “Rilindiiia”, and numerous delegations visit the village, with vivid excursion programmes being organized for them.

For the time being, in order to harmonize Ukrainian and Albanian relations and to popularize the Albanian culture in Budzhak, it is planned to create an Information Center of Albania on the basis of Izmail State University of Humanities in 2020. Under the auspices of the Information Center of Albania, officially opened at Izmail State University of Humanities, and together with the Albanian community, it is planned to implement the following projects:

- holding the international scientific and practical conference “Albanians of the Ukrainian Danube Region: Revival of Historical Memory as a Prerequisite for Preserving the Nation” with the organization of the corresponding thematic photo exhibition;

- publishing a multilingual thematic dictionary (Ukrainian, Albanian, Russian, Bulgarian, Gagauz and the Karakurt dialect of the Albanian language);

- publishing the textbook *Grammar of the Albanian Language for Primary School Pupils*, collections of works *Folklore, Customs and Traditions of the Albanians of the Village of Karakurt*;

- introducing courses for schoolchildren (“Albanian Literature”, “Learning the Albanian Language”, “History of My Ancestors”, “Cultural Traditions of the Albanian People”) and for students (“History of the Emergence and Formation of the Albanian Ethnic Community in Ukraine”, “Albanian Language and Culture”) into the educational process;

- publishing the pupils’ collections of creative works *Tales for Babies and Games of Our Ancestors* (in the Karakurt dialect of the Albanian language);

- carrying out the ethnographic expedition “Albanian Paths throughout the Territory of Modern Ukraine”;

- opening free courses of the Albanian language and Sunday school for children.

A priority role at the present stage of the development of national societies in the multicultural environment of Budzhak is played by the regional public organization “Bessarabia Development Center”. This organization, which promotes the revival of spiritual values and cultural heritage, attracting direct investment, supports social and economic projects aimed at innovative dynamic development of social capital and infrastructure of the south of Odessa region, has united the active efforts of progressive different nationality representatives – businessmen, community leaders, heads of the villages, educators, scientists, sportsmen, journalists, public figures, and more.

Only in the recent year in the field of intercultural interaction development, the “Bessarabia Development Center” activists in the south of Budzhak opened an innovative IT center and creative co-working, held 5 scientific and practical conferences at Izmail State University of Humanities, launched an archeological expedition in the village of Kartal (Orlivka village, Reni district), supported more than 800 talented students and organized the international festivals “The Danube Sich” in Izmail and “Bessarabia Folk” in the village of Chiysheya (Horodnie village, Bolhrad district), published three books on the history of Southern Bessarabia, filmed the documentary “The Place of Power”, began organizing the first in Budzhak modern ethnographic museum in the village of Chushmelii (Krynichne village, Bolhrad district), held the Bessarabian Sports Games event, developed a number of cross-border social and economic projects.

## **Conclusions**

For the purpose of social consolidation, formation of civic culture, national identity, affirmation of interethnic harmony in the multicultural environment, strengthening of unity of different nationality representatives at Izmail State University of Humanities – the only state institution of higher education of Budzhak – the activities of the Center for Civic Education and the Center of National Cultures of the Ukrainian Danube Region were organized. Thus, in order to intensify the pro-Ukrainian initiatives of national and cultural institutes of civil society, to introduce an effective system of civic education of the population, to develop national and patriotic education, to form an active civic position of children and youth, the Center for Civic Education was established in 2016. In order to develop civic education and popularize Ukrainian culture, the University administration initiated the opening of Ukrainian university information centers and pro-Ukrainian Internet resources in Bulgaria, Moldova and Romania. This initiative contributes to the dissemination of objective information about current events in Ukraine among the university societies of these countries. For the purpose of harmonization and mutual understanding in interethnic relations of different nationality representatives living compactly in Budzhak, the Center of National Cultures of the Ukrainian Danube Region was established in 2016 on the basis of Izmail State University of Humanities. The University successfully operates relevant information centers of friendly to Ukraine foreign states, projects for national and cultural communities of the region (Albanian, Bulgarian, Gagauzian, German, Greek, Jewish, Polish, Romanian, etc.) are being implemented. In order to reduce the number of Budzhak youth who go to study and later emigrate to permanent residence in other countries, a free international university education program was launched at the Center for Continuing Education (established in 2015) and cross-border projects are currently being implemented, for example, the project “CBC-Practice Firms – An Innovative Methodology for Vocational Training and Educational Cooperation at the Bilateral Level Romania – Ukraine” (2020-2021). These centers are fully funded in accordance with the decision of the Academic Council from the university special fund. In fact, Izmail State University of Humanities plays the role of the ambassador of Ukraine in cross-border cooperation through active cultural people-to-people diplomacy, strategic research on international topics, academic exchanges and progressive projects.

Thus, the social and cultural activities of civil society institutions, public organizations of Budzhak play an important role in the multicultural education of local residents. Indeed, people-to-people diplomacy of representatives of national

diasporas in the south of Ukraine accumulates ideas aimed at creating optimal conditions for satisfying their needs and interests in the field of the development of culture, education, art, tourism etc.

The prospects for further research center around the development of scientific investigation of the activities of youth associations that deal with the problems of raising the historical memory of the peoples of Budzhak, enriching their folk traditions as an important factor of the “code of nations”.

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