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ARCHIVES AND POLITICS IN UKRAINE OF THE XX-XXI CENTURIES

Abstract. Relations between state policy and the state of archival affairs in Ukraine during the XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries are analyzed. The content and forms of activity of the archives are characterized. Based on the legislative acts, the stages of evolution of archival institutions of Ukraine are given. The negative effects of the Soviet political system on the structure and network of archival bodies, qualitative composition of employees and biased nature of the formation of a documentary base are highlighted. The example of the fate of Ukrainian archivists illustrates the deformation of the archival industry. The existence of a separate vertical of the party archives, contrary to the idea of a single archival fund, is shown. The tragic role of the leadership of the branch by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs-Ministry of Internal Affairs, which lasted from 1938 to 1961, is noted. The content of political orders from the authorities is disclosed. The presence of the Russian ideological factor in the publications of Ukrainian archivists is demonstrated. The importance of archival periodicals and information technologies is emphasized. Changes in archival construction after Ukraine acquired the state sovereignty are revealed: an update of the legal basis and philosophy of national archival construction. The importance of the establishment and operation of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Archival Affairs and Records Keeping was evaluated. Contemporary contradictions, relics and recurrences of the old political system in the practice of archival construction are outlined. An information breakthrough provided by free access for researchers to the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine is acknowledged. By the permission dated 2019 free copy of archival documents promoted profound scientific researches and restoration of historical memory. Conclusion about the integral connection between the functioning of the archival system in Ukraine of the XX-XXI centuries and state-political and social transformations is made.

Keywords: archives, historical sources, politics, Soviet state, power, ideology, Communist Party, National Archival Fund.

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АРХІВИ І ПОЛІТИКА В УКРАЇНІ XX–XXI ст.

Анотація. Проаналізовано зв'язки між політикою держави та станом архівної справи в Україні протягом XX – початку XXI ст. Охарактеризовано зміст і форми діяльності архівів. Базуючись на законодавчих актах, показано етапи еволюції архівних інституцій України. Висвітлено негативні впливи радянської політичної системи на структуру і мережу архівних органів, якісний склад працівників, тенденційність формування документального масиву. На прикладі долі українських архівістів проілюстровано деформації архівної галузі. Показано існування окремої

вертикалі партійних архівів всупереч ідеї єдиного архівного фонду. Відзначено трагічну роль для галузі керівництва з боку Народного комісаріату внутрішніх справ – Міністерства внутрішніх справ (1938–1961 рр.). Розкрито зміст політичних замовлень влади, присутність російського ідеологічного чинника у публікаціях українських архівістів. Наголошено на значенні архівних періодичних фахових видань та інформаційних технологій. Розкрито зміни в архівному будівництві після здобуття Україною державного суверенітету: оновлення правових засад і філософії національного архівного будівництва. Оцінено значення створення і роботи Українського науково-дослідного інституту архівної справи та документознавства. Окреслено сучасні суперечності, зауважено релікти і рецидиви старої політичної системи у практиці архівного будівництва. Констатується інформаційний прорив, забезпечений відкриттям для дослідників Галузевого державного архіву Служби безпеки України, дозволом з 2019 р. безперешкодного копіювання архівних документів, що сприяє поглибленню наукових досліджень і відновленню історичної пам'яті. Робиться висновок про інтегральний зв'язок між функціонуванням архівної системи та державно-політичними і суспільними трансформаціям в Україні ХХ–ХХІ ст.

Ключові слова: архіви, історичні джерела, політика, радянська держава, влада, ідеологія, комуністична партія, Національний архівний фонд.

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The impetus for writing the article was given by the development of an educational and professional program of “History and Politics” at the Faculty of History of Zaporizhzhya National University, which envisaged the formation of relevant components of the disciplines of bachelor’s training. The program developers decided to include the course of “Archives and Politics” into these disciplines.

The importance of archives in public life is extraordinary. Therefore, humanity has long since accumulated and stored valuable information sources and testimonies of important events. The archives became especially important with the development of the political structure of society.

The idea of preserving and using archival documents and materials has been spread with the development of socio-political movements, the struggle of different segments of society for the acquisition and assertion of their political rights and interests.

This task significantly strengthened the role of archival sources as a reliable documentary support of the organizational activities of political organizations, parties, and structures.

The emergence of official and unofficial sources of information, and subsequently – varieties of documentary, narrative and other sources that came from the political opposition environment – demanded specific conditions for their storage, protection and use. Therefore, in a politically structured society, many options have emerged for the formation and use of archives, and consequently, for the traditions of ensuring their existence, development, and even cessation of activity.

The problem of ensuring the efficient operation of archives is a multifaceted one.

In the process of accumulation of practical experience and theoretical development, it was divided into several important components: creating conditions for completing archives with the necessary documents and materials, ensuring their physical safety, introducing accounting and scientific reference apparatus, defining and adhering to the algorithm of using archival sources, creating an insurance fund, etc.

Setting and solving these tasks ended on the political culture of the society, understanding and capabilities of the political elite, which directed the development of all institutions.

The Ukrainian experience of archival history is not unique. Moreover, it has many typical aspects. At the same time, there are individual features of the Ukrainian archival system, especially the ways of its development related to other significant factors. The question arises about the role and place of the political factor in the development of the archival system of Ukraine in the XX-XXI centuries as a determining factor for understanding the status and prospects of the industry's development.

As the topic of the history of the archival system is a textbook topic, and the aim does not require the analysis of any specific sources apart from the well-known and generally available theoretical and scientific developments of Ukrainian archivists for all those years, in this article we will make separate generalizations to identify and show the most significant events and conceptual changes in the history of the archival system of Ukraine in the XX-XXI centuries, which determine its prospects in our opinion.

Ukraine entered the XXth century as an independent nation, which had to fight hard for political, national and social rights of the people.

The guards of the Russian imperial system implemented their economic projects in Ukraine, which were fundamentally different from the objectives of the Ukrainian community. These projects were implemented through the imperial state apparatus, primarily through local government agencies, such as provincial governments headed by governors, provincial and county gendarmerie departments, and judicial institutions. The documentation of these imperial authorities was accumulated in the archives and subsequently ended up in state custody.

The paradox was that the documents were collected and stored by those who called themselves opponents of imperial power and established their power after the overthrow of the empire.

The complexity of the political struggle in Ukraine and the subsequent change in political power showed the different options and priorities for building a national archival system.

The the Library and Archives Office of the Department of Arts of the General Secretariat of Educational Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic, established in September 1917 was the first state body to manage archival affairs in Ukraine.

O.S. Hrushevsky headed it. He began to work on the creation of the National Archives, expanding access to archival information, creating a broad publishing program, establishing an archeographic commission, and returning Ukrainian documents from Russian archives. (Кудлай, 2019: с.135–136).

The Archival-Book-Library Department of the Main Directorate of Arts and National Culture of the Ministry of National Education of the Ukrainian State, headed by V.L. Mozzalewski, deepened the areas of the national archival reform (April 1918 – January 1919). At the same time, the basic ideas were legislative consolidation of state ownership of archival documents, centralization of archival affairs, creation of the National Archives of the Ukrainian State with its subordinate archives and archival commissions on the ground and establishment of professional educational institutions (Історія і сьогодні, 2020). In addition, a Cultural Commission was created at the Ministry of Denominations of the Ukrainian State under the leadership of V.V. Zavetnevich, who was engaged in the preservation of church monuments, including archival ones, and returned some of them from the Russian Federation. The commission also included V.L. Modzalevsky, scientists D.I. Bogaliy, M.F. Bilyashevsky (author of the first draft law in Ukraine on the protection of monuments of history, culture and art), N.D. Polonskaya, V.M. Shcherbakovsky and other famous figures of Ukrainian science and culture. (ЦА АРК. Ф.540. Оп.1. Спр.142: 1 8).

At the time of the Directory, the Archival Commission of the Ministry of Public Education under the guidance of Professor P.V. Klimenko directed the activities of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) archival institutions.

Thus, the Ukrainian governments began to develop a national archiving, guided by national-state, national-cultural and national-educational priorities. At the same time as a central task, they

clearly understood the need to preserve the archival heritage without being guided by narrow-class and party-corporate goals.

A fundamentally different philosophy of archival construction was offered by the Bolsheviks, who became victors in the struggle for power in Ukraine.

Their motivation for preserving the archives was not the tradition of respecting the cultural heritage of previous generations, but the political idea of debunking the anti-national essence of the tsarist regime and its social policy and promoting their political rightness.

Indeed, the archives of local authorities in Ukraine during the Russian Empire retained important information about the nature and content of this policy. They characterize even those aspects of which the Bolsheviks were least concerned - the policies of Russification and anti-Ukrainianism. Thus, the complex of documents of public authorities, provided that it is kept as complete as possible, provides the historian with valuable information about the different sides of political phenomena and processes, and not just the aspect that the organizer of such a compilation of documents wants to see first of all. The Bolsheviks tried to preserve the historical memory of the "class essence" of the old power, because it provided the key to asserting and extending their political power. However, their actions are also traced through archival documents and the selectivity of their preservation.

At the same time, the following significant fact should be taken into account: The transfer of documents of institutions and organizations of the times of the Russian Empire and first of all, of state authorities, government and local government to state institutions of Ukraine, did not happen immediately, but after some rather long time, creating the conditions for a significant loss of documents.

The Bolsheviks significantly extended their power in Ukraine in the spring of 1919, but in the summer they were again squeezed out by the White Guards, Makhnovists and the armed forces of the UPR. Therefore, a more complete assertion of their power occurred only at the end of 1920, and together with it, the approval of the Russian – Leninist version of the centralization of archiving began to take place.

On June 1, 1918, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, Lenin, signed the decree "On the reorganization and centralization of archival affairs in the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic". He proclaimed documentary materials of state institutions as popular property. It was forbidden to destroy them without the knowledge and permission of the General Directorate of Archival Affairs (Декрети, 1959: 383-385). All cases completed by clerical work on October 25, 1917 (the day of the Bolshevik coup) were to go to the State Archival Fund, and incomplete tasks were to remain in institutions by the deadline "which would be a special provision for each department". The idea of centralizing archives was explained as follows: "For the purpose of better scientific use, as well as for the convenience of storage and cost savings" (Декрет, 1959: 384).

According to the logic of Soviet construction, this decree of "federally significant importance" also extended to Ukraine. Subsequently, Ukrainian soviet legislation emerged in this area, but it completely copied Russian practice.

On February 10, 1920, the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee adopted a resolution "On the use of all Russian, former state, public and private archives", but its direction was determined not by the need to preserve heritage, but by the possibility of using archival documents to write and print on their backside "in view of the acute paper crisis". The resolution only increased the threat of the destruction of archives: "To instruct the Commissioner for the Reconstruction of the Paper Industry to immediately begin the use of all Soviet, former state, public and private archives that have no historical or business value" (Про використання всіх Радянських, бувших державних, громадських і приватних архівів, 1920: 20).

The Soviet government did not provide for the participation of non-state structures in determining the historical and practical value of documents and the creation of archives of a non-state form of ownership. That is, no one could compete with state archives in the selection of

documents for transmission for long-term storage, determining the shelf life of documents, providing archive services, providing user access to archival documents and the like. The state monopoly created the conditions for manipulating public consciousness as a result of the biased nature of the examination of the value of documents. The lack of competition has become a way to bureaucratization, formalization, isolation of archival work from the real needs of society.

Paradoxically, the first Soviet archival structures, the archival sections of the All-Ukrainian Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquities (ВУКОПМІС [VUKOPMIS]) and its provincial committees, which began to be created since 1919, were a continuation of institutions initiated by political opponents of the Bolsheviks. Famous historians, archaeologists, and archaeographers such as D.I. Bagaliy, V. Barvinsky, V.L. Mozalevsky, O.P. Novitsky, N.D. Polonskaya, S.A. Taranushenko, M.F. Sumtsov and others (Кот, 2003: 659). VUKOPMIS was a part of the system of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, its department of arts. In September 1921, the Main Archival Directorate (Golovarch) was formed on the basis of the Archival Department of VUKOPMIS. It continued to operate for a short time under the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR headed by M.O. Skrypnyk. From the beginning of 1922, the provincial archival departments – “gubarchs” – were started to be created on the ground, and the provincial historical archives in their charge. Central historical archives have been created in Kharkiv, the capital, and Kyiv. However, despite the existing professional-scientific and national-patriotic potential of archival workers, the very construction of the archival system did not allow the authorities to fulfill their political tasks. Therefore, further repeated reorganizations of this system, the deprivation of its intellectual Ukrainian national-patriotic forces, the inclusion in a tougher connection with the communist party, administrative links of the state and even with the power structures, became inevitable, which we will discuss later.

The continuation of the armed resistance of the national-political organizations in 1921 to the Soviet government and the terrible famine of 1922-1923, the underdevelopment and imbalance of the Soviet state apparatus, which was entrusted with the political task of collecting and organizing archival documents of pre-revolutionary institutions, as well as the political ideologization of archival work, did not ensure the quality preservation of the archives of the tsarist regime.

As for the archives of state-political opponents of the Soviet regime – the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Hetman and their local bodies – their documents were also concentrated in the Soviet archives. Obviously, the Soviet government did not want these archives become uncontrollable, fall into the hands of “class enemies” – opponents of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, they were simply concentrated in state repositories, in which they were also provided with very limited access, creating for this a “special fund”. Until the 1990s, the documents of the Ukrainian Central Rada (F.1115), the General Secretariat of the Central Rada (F.1063), the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Power (F.1064), etc. were in the “special fund” of the Central State Archive of the highest bodies of state power and administration Ukraine (then – the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Ukrainian SSR). Limited access to these documents was allowed only at the request of a state institution or educational institution with an appropriate level of “clearance” issued by the “special department”, which was controlled by the KGB. This guaranteed the political loyalty of the historian.

On October 31, 1922, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR adopted a resolution “On the protection of archives”. This decree declared the creation of a “unified state archival fund”, meaning by it “work, documents and correspondence of all canceled and now existing governmental and public institutions” (Про охорону архівів, 1922: 804).

There was set a three-year storage period for the completed record-keeping cases in the institutions, after which they were to be transferred to the archives of the main archive.

Politically important information was contained in the notes to the first paragraph of this decision. The first note provided “Histpart” with “*all rights* [our emphasis. – O.I.] on archival materials relating to the history of the Revolution and the Communist Party in Ukraine”. The second one noted

that “Military archives and archival materials are to be handed over to Moscow at the Military Scientific Archive of the Central Archive of the RSFSR” (Про охорону архівів, 1922: 804).

Thus, the Communist Party bodies had the exclusive right and complete monopoly on archival documents of a political nature, and then could manipulate them in any way. The peak of national treason and servility of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks was the decision that the materials on the struggle of Ukraine against Russian military aggression of 1917-1920 were transferred to the aggressor country – the Russian Federation.

Since January 1923, copying Russian practice, the archival branch of the Ukrainian SSR has been granted the highest managerial and political status, removing from the sphere of competence of the People’s Commissariat of Education and subordinating it directly to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee.

The archive system turned out to be extremely dependent on administrative-territorial reforms, the kaleidoscope of which began to spin after 1923. This testified to the centralized policy of state power. In 1925, with the liquidation of provinces, nine “provincial archives” were liquidated, creating in their place 40 “district archives” – district archival administrations. In 1930, with the liquidation of districts, they created 28 local archival administrations under city councils instead of these “district archives”. However, two years later in 1932, they also liquidated them, creating instead seven regional archival departments that controlled the activities of seven regional historical archives. In the course of these reorganizations, a number of central archives arose: the All-Ukrainian Central Archive of the Revolution, the All-Ukrainian Central Archive of Labor, and the All-Ukrainian Central State Archive in Kharkov, as in a capital city (1919-1934), the All-Ukrainian Central Archive of Ancient Acts and the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive in Kyiv. In 1934, the All-Ukrainian Military History Archive appeared there.

Administrative changes were accompanied by conflicting measures aimed at selecting documents and materials to be stored for a long time. The decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of December 16, 1925 “On the unified state archival fund of the Ukrainian SSR” only confirmed the main provisions of the government decree of October 31, 1922, introducing amendments to the management system of the industry, clarified the concept of “the unified state archival fund of the Ukrainian SSR”. The role of the Main Archival Directorate (until 1925 – “department”) and local archival bodies in the system of storage, movement and destruction of archival documents was determined. At the same time, the storage period of documents in departmental archives was increased to 5 years, which increased the risk of their loss, and the requirements for their preservation were weakened. In particular, the exclusive powers of the Communist Party structures were expanded: “Party archives should be transferred to the unified state archival fund only when appropriate party organizations recognize it as appropriate” (Про єдиний державний архівний фонд УСРР, 1925: 1431).

The positive results for the development of the industry were brought by the foundation of periodicals: the Bulletin of Ukrtsentrarkhiv (1925-1931) and the journal Archival Affairs (1925-1930). However, politicization was actively advancing along the archival and publishing lines, which was clearly shown by changes in the names of the mentioned above journal: In 1931-1932, it came out under the name “Soviet Archive” and in 1932-1933 – “Archive of the Soviet Ukraine”, subsequently ceasing to exist altogether.

Despite the ideological tendentiousness of the selection of materials that were published in this journal, they nevertheless updated the acute national-political issues of the history of Ukraine, in particular, the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917-1921. For example, one of the publications in this journal for 1932 drew attention to such an important subject of the socio-political struggle as the participation of the clergy in the national revolution.

In particular, P. Ptashinsky printed letters from Nikon (Bessonov) -the former Bishop of Krasnoyarsk, to the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central Rada about his willingness to

work for the benefit of the revival of Ukraine and its church (Пташинський, 1932: 54). This fact in itself attracted the attention of readers of the journal and researchers-scientists to the difficult issues of the Ukrainian revolution and the struggle for autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and objectively promoted the development of Ukrainian historiography and source studies.

An interesting publication of documents on the Black Sea Fleet in 1917 was placed in the next issue of the magazine. Some of these documents appeared under the headings “On separate ships, defencism acquired the color of Ukrainian nationalism” and “The Ukrainian Central Council is trying to take over the fleet”. They were about the support of the Ukrainian Central Radaby sailors and officers of the ship “Republican”, the national holiday organized by the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet Society in Sevastopol, “raising the Ukrainian national flag instead of the Andreev flag” on the cruiser “Memory of Mercury”, the parade on the proclamation of the UPR, etc. (Похилевич, 1932: 23-24, 48-51).

In the context of the strengthening of Soviet totalitarianism, the presence of such publications caused more and more irritation by the Communist Party apologists, pushing to curtail the design of archival periodicals.

The intensification of totalitarian tendencies in Soviet society and constant reorganization caused irreparable damage to documents of historical significance. The practice of allocating archival materials for destruction and disposal has spread. The administration according to the party-class principle and political expediency led to the fact that the priority for the selection for permanent storage of documents was not information about social development and a person with his daily worries and achievements, but information about the grandiose plans and successes of the Soviet state and “the only correct” politics of the ruling Communist Party. At the same time, documents about political “mistakes” and unsightly actions of various branches of power, facts about the political opposition, about failures at industrial facilities, about the social consequences of collectivization, about the famine tragedy of 1932-1933, etc., went to waste paper.

The specifics of the soviet political system, which was strictly centralized and ensured the Communist Party’s monopoly on power, was manifested in the archival sphere by the creation of a system of party archives. The All-Ukrainian Histpart, a commission to study the history of the October Revolution and the history of the Communist Party, created in Kharkiv in 1921 under the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, was its central link. Moscow Central Histpart was its prototype. However, since March 1922, the All-Ukrainian Histpart subordinated the Central Committee of the Communist Party (bolshevik) of Ukraine (CCCPbU) by Russian analogy, and since 1929, it was reorganized into the Institute of Party History and the October Revolution in Ukraine under the CCCPbU. It is from this time that the modern Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine keeps considering itself the heir to the created in July 1929 the Unified Party Archive of the Institute of Party History and the October Revolution in Ukraine under the CCCP(b)U (Історія архіву, 2020).

In the first half of the 1920s, provincial and later district and regional departments of Histpart acted as the departments of CP(b)U committees. Histpart massively printed collections of documents and materials, memoirs, and the “Chronicle of the Revolution” magazine (1922-1933). In 1939, the regional Histparts became part of the party archives of the regional committees of CP(b)U (Юркова, 2005: 640).

From the beginning of the creation of this system, the tendency of influence and establishment by the party of general political control over the entire archival industry of Ukraine was manifested and strengthened. In fact, the system of party archives managed by Eastpart made the existence of a unified state archival fund impossible. Istparty was given the right to appoint managers and commissioners in all archives and museums, and to give orders to these institutions. The direction of these orders is eloquent. Intolerance to the staff of the Ukrainian archives, in which the Communists saw the presence of their class enemies – historians and archivists of the “bourgeois-noble and

bourgeois-nationalist camps such as the Grushevsky brothers, Vasilenko, etc.” – is especially striking. [From Russian – O.I.] (Московченко, 2005: 12–13).

it would not be surprising if various political parties functioned in the state, and their documents were transferred to the archives of political parties, organizations and public associations on a common basis. But there were no other parties besides the Communist one. It was, in fact, a state party. Nevertheless, it created a separate legal archive vertical, not controlled by the General Archive. After the reorganization of the Histpart, the Central Party Archive under the Central Committee of CP(b)U took the role of the central institution for the archival party line. It was the highest authority for the party archives of the regional committees of CP(b)U, which were associated with local party organizations of districts, cities, state production associations, enterprises, government bodies, institutions, state farms, collective farms and the like. Responsible for the local archives – mainly the secretaries of party organizations – ensured the order, execution and transfer of documents for storage to the corresponding central or regional party archives. An examination of the value and transfer of documents for permanent storage to party archives was carried out according to other requirements than to state archives. Often, party documents of local organizations did not reflect the real state of affairs, but party authorities lacked the ability to establish this. For example, during the period of Brezhnev’s “stagnation”, documents of local party cells and especially party meetings and bureau meetings were often a fantasy of secretaries of party organizations who were forced to archive such “documents”. This created and maintained the illusion of “violent activity” of party organizations that had long been struck by formalism.

Thus, the Communist Party isolated itself from the potential users of the archives of that party, preventing it from analyzing and controlling the activities of its central and local authorities. Its documentaries contained elements of political commitment, imbalance, high levels of falsehood, reflecting political conditions, human weakness, and the product of communist monopoly on state power.

The system of party archives did not obey the rules of the state archives of Ukraine. This meant that its records, the order of registration of cases, the reference apparatus, and the rules of access to sources of information could be different than in the state archives of Ukraine. This exclusivity will manifest itself later, when the party archives in the days of state independence of Ukraine will be included in the unified state system of state archives of Ukraine.

The state policy of the 1930s brought severe trials to the Ukrainian archive system of “peace time”. It is difficult to agree with respected I.B. Matyash that the period before 1938 can be considered the “golden age” of the national archival studies (Матяш, 2008: 39). Moreover, the author of periodization itself ascertains the fact of moral and physical “destruction in 1931-1937 of representatives of “bourgeois archival studies” based on the results of “purges” and artificial accusations, as well as the complete ideologization of archival affairs (Матяш, 2008: 40).

The “period of centralization and restriction” began much earlier. The collapse of the NEP and the beginning of Stalin’s centralization modernization quickly affected the archives and archivists. It was mentioned above that in 1930 the system of district archives “flew by”. Its enlargement went without giving the local archives greater autonomy and authority. On the contrary, initiatives and projects were limited, the press lay down, science was silenced, and Ukrainianization was curtailed. In 1932-1933 Ukraine was released under the spit of the Holodomor. And they immediately launched a flywheel of mass repression. This is dramatically told by published documents. One of them is “Conclusions on the All-Ukrainian Archive of Ancient Acts in Kiev”, which served as a basis for dismissing practically all the staff of the Kiev Central Archive of Ancient Acts. The document tells about the allegations made by the staff of the archive on January 31 – February 3, 1934, against the employees of the collective for “bourgeois nationalism”, “fascism”, “harmful work”, “class hostility”, etc. (Страшко, 2013: 67–74).

The entrustment of the archival system to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in 1938 was almost the most significant administrative and political change. It was released from this burden only in 1961, when the Archival Department was subordinated to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. It is worth recalling that the peak of political repression in Ukraine occurred precisely in 1937-1938, as well as the mass destruction of potential opponents of the Soviet government, the perpetrators of which were precisely the NKVD bodies. Therefore, this submission was a kind of mobilization to identify political enemies.

The next stage of a long "era of centralization and restrictions" has begun (Матяш, 2008: 39–41).

To replace such archival managers, as, for example, M.A. Rubach (head of the Central Archive Directorate of the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR), a researcher in the history of the "civil war" in Ukraine, a communist, an adversary of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian state, a "denouncer" of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" (Рубач, 1955), came new, even more active and uncompromising in their party dogma, not burdened with moral obligations, when it was a question of blind devotion to the communist idea, the party and its leader. Former archival managers compromised by participating in collectivization campaigns, grain procurement, the famine of 1932-1933, defamation of M.S. Grushevsky, M.I. Yavorsky and others, were "removed."

According to the information resource of the Ukrainian State Archive about the end of the 1930s, A.I. Gromitsky, S.S. Senchilo and F.I. Brazhnik headed the highest state body for managing archival affairs (Історія і сьогодні, 2020). Unfortunately, we will not find any information about these figures in the public domain. Obviously, the system chose precisely such little-known, non-public and serviceable performers. It was easier for it to do with them. It was easier to write off political miscalculations, misconduct, and crimes into silent and inconspicuous, and then demonize them, throwing them into the millstones of political repression as waste material.

The leadership of archival institutions was not elected, but appointed "from above." And here the "tops" were guided by political expediency, and not by the idea of preserving the cultural heritage or social pragmatism.

Even if the appointees were practitioners and research scientists, such as the head of the Archival Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR since 1943,

P.P. Gudzenko, all the same, these were the officers of the NKVD, who, above all, who were guided by the logic of administrative subordination to the top and the execution of orders.

This was demanded of them by "people in uniform". During the Second World War, this fact also played a positive role, since archivists had to evacuate and re-evacuate archival documents, organize, systematize, and incorporate documents of institutions operating in the occupied territories into a single state archival fund. Let's say P.P. Gudzenko, on the instructions of L. Beria, conducted a special operation to identify and export from Romania large volumes of documents of the administrative bodies of the Transnistria governorate, which provoked a protest from the head of the Romanian government, General Radesku. The latter sent a note to the Allied Control Commission (ACC) on February 25, 1945, demanding the immediate return to Bucharest of the Transnistria archive, "which Captain Gudzenko sent to Moscow" (Вронська, Платонова, 2007: 64–65) Already in 1945, the NKVD authorities transferred some of these documents to the State Archives of Odessa Region, where they are still stored. At the same time P.P. Gudzenko received thanks for this from the Chief of Staff of the ACC Lieutenant General V.I. Vinogradov.

Example of P.P. Gudzenko, who successfully managed the archival department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR in ranks from junior lieutenant to major for 10 years, but constantly experienced unfair accusations, "paying" for his social background, the biography of his father and his wife's father, and, finally, having been punished by dismissal, shows how ideologically

biased and brutal the Soviet system was and how unsocial the practical orientation of the archival industry was (Вронська, Платонова, 2007: 61–76).

Modern experts rightly claim that the archives of the Soviet era were globally integrated into the totalitarian system. The party-state dictatorship leading to the stagnation of the entire archival industry intensified. Archives lost leading scientists. The priority was the use of archives for political and operational purposes (Матяш, 2008: 41). From 1938 to 1946, archivists of Ukraine did not have any periodicals, and only in 1947 it was allowed to issue the “Scientific Information Bulletin of the Archival Department of the Ukrainian SSR”. Towards the end of the Soviet era, it remained the only professional periodical, changing its name to the modern one in 1965 – “Archives of Ukraine”, and since 1991 acquiring the status of a scientific and practical journal.

Restrictions and control over publishing were again combined with political orders for archivists. It is worth remembering the powerful political campaign, which marked the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Bolshevik revolution. Publications of collections of archival documents and materials on the occasion of this event were organized and financed throughout Ukraine. At that time, such collections were published not only by archivists of the capital of Ukraine, but also by all regional centers: Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Kherson, Khmelnytsky, etc. Moreover, this political order also carried Russian national forms, most of the collections of documents, their archeographic part was in Russian.

The archivists of the central institutions had to join the promotion of the 300th anniversary of the “reunification of Ukraine with Russia, which resulted in the preparation and publication of collections “Reunification of Ukraine with Russia. Documents and Materials” (Воссоединение, 1953), “Documents on the Liberation War of the Ukrainian people of 1648–1654” (Документы об Освободительной войне, 1965).

However, the dialectic lies in the fact that this politicized issue of the national history allowed Ukrainian archivists to return to the revival of the traditions of Ukrainian archeography and historiography, to advance research on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In 1961, a collection of archival documents by B. Khmelnytsky was published – letters, orders and other documents for 1648–1657, compiled by I.P. Kripyakevich and edited by F.P. Shevchenko (Документи Богдана Хмельницького, 1961). These developments formed the national traditions of Ukrainian archives and were continued during the years of state independence of Ukraine. The implementation of the project “Letters of Ukrainian Hetmans” is a vivid evidence of this (Універсали Богдана Хмельницького, 1998; Універсали Івана Мазепи, 2002; Універсали Павла Полуботка, 2008).

The logic of social development of the 1960s led to the creation of two new central archives – the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of the Ukrainian SSR (1966) and the Central State Archive of Scientific and Technical Documentation of the Ukrainian SSR (1969).

In the 1960s, most of the central and regional archives of Ukraine organized and published their guides, thereby opening up great opportunities for historians and researchers to study and comprehend the archival heritage.

It is noteworthy that the vast majority of them was in Ukrainian, which was a consequence of the liberalization of the political and intellectual climate in Ukraine. But the Russian ideological factor of Soviet policy manifested itself in the publications of Russian editions of guidebooks in the Zhytomyr, Crimean, Odessa, and Chernihiv regions. It is obvious that the publication of guides in Russian in Soviet Ukraine was prompted by the management of archives and local party-state authorities, and not by the language of the vast majority of the population of cities and regions.

The campaign to involve archivists in the preparation and holding of jubilee events dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Lenin’s birth was especially engaged. All central and regional archives were tasked with identifying documents and materials about Lenin’s activities. It was reported that more than 7,000 such documents were found and taken into special account (Державні

архіви, 1972: 26–27). A props of reports, records on the study of millions of cases and hundreds of thousands of volumes of printed publications, diplomas and solemn meetings – all these are typical signs of the political situation that the archives of Ukraine of the second half of the twentieth century lived in.

At the same time, in the 1960s, many valuable projects were launched, impossible without the will of the “upper classes”, among which the wind of political thaw passed. We mean such an “innovation” as the resuscitation of old as the world market mechanisms (while maintaining insufficiently effective administrative levers), namely the creation of a network of self-supporting departments in the archives. Such departments have significantly improved the condition and maintenance of departmental and current archives, facilitated the transfer to state custody of numerous funds of organizations, institutions and enterprises. Without economic liberalization, the state was unable to ensure the proper functioning of the archival industry. But the system did not go beyond limited steps.

A great positive was the participation of archivists in a scientific project of the 1960s – early 1970s, which of course, could not do without a vivid political component – the creation of the 26-volume “History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR”.

The 70s of the twentieth century again strengthened the party-bureaucratic regulation of the archival sphere in Ukraine. The policy of “stagnation” preserved the content of the work of archival institutions, returned them to propaganda, anniversary events, to the exploitation of ideological myths, to a reference and information service, produced “small forms of using archival documents for political and economic purposes.”

By the middle of 1980s, the achievements of this era in the scientific-theoretical and socio-political terms were very modest. The archives of Ukraine remained the cogs of the Soviet political system, batteries and generators of the ideology of the “Russian world”, insulators and conductors of Russian-Soviet culture. An indicative fact: in the 70s and early 80s of the 20th century, Ukrainian archivists were once again successfully mobilized to work on an updated and supplemented version of the “History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR” in Russian.

Topical socially significant scientific projects, qualitative restructuring of the Ukrainian national archival system and a fundamental change in its priorities became possible only with the acquisition of state independence by Ukraine.

These changes were ensured by Ukrainian legislation and, in particular, the Law of Ukraine on the National Archival Fund and Archival Institutions of December 24, 1993. It introduced a new concept – “National Archival Fund of Ukraine”. The philosophy of national archival business was conceptually changing. The content of state policy in the field of archiving was clearly declared: “Art. 3. The state guarantees the conditions for storage, augmentation and use of the National Archival Fund, contributes to the achievement of the world level in the development of archiving and record keeping (Про Національний архівний фонд та архівні установи, 1993).

The principal provisions of the law were depoliticization, political pluralism, and the openness of archives. Article six of the law states: “... It is forbidden to seize documents from the National Archival Fund for reasons of confidentiality or secrecy of the information contained in them, as well as for political or ideological reasons” (Про Національний архівний фонд та архівні установи, 1993).

Ensuring the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, organizations and institutions, preserving and enriching cultural heritage, and developing scientific research have become the priorities of this system.

Human centrism, civil rights and political equality have contributed to the emergence of new structures and institutions in the archival industry.

The inclusion of the former archives of the Communist Party in the system of state archives of Ukraine has become one of the priority measures. Immediately after the failure of the coup d’etat in

the USSR committed by the State Committee for Emergency Situations and the clarification of the criminal role of the communist party in these events, on August 27, 1991, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine decided to transfer the documents of the Archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Central Archive Administration under the Cabinet Ministers of Ukraine. And soon, on October 25, 1991, the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine began to operate on this base.

The scientific direction of the archival system has gained powerful development. On November 1, 1994, the Ukrainian Research Institute of Archival and Documentation (UNDIASD) began its work.

Promoting the development of public initiatives, the Union of Archivists of Ukraine arose.

It was allowed to create organizations, unions and enterprises with the right to provide archival services.

New scientific publications appeared, initiated by archivists in collaboration with historians of science and education institutions, government agencies, public organizations, and the like. Even their names testified to the restoration of the traditions of Ukrainian archeography. In particular, in 1998, the archaeological yearbook "Sights" ["Pam'atky"] was founded. With that name back in 1917,

O.S. Grushevsky planned to publish a Ukrainian archive-related journal (Кудлай, 2019: 136). Some of these publications have received a high rating of recognition in the professional community, such as "Studios for Archival Affairs and Documentation", "Sights", and "Sumy Historical and Archival Journal". The latter, in particular, was included in the list of active professional publications of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine in 2020, in which the results of dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Science and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy can be published.

However, it should be noted that these successes cannot be taken for granted: they must be consolidated and confirmed. For example, in the second half of the second decade of the XXI century UNDIASD's publishing activity has significantly "thinned" compared to the previous two decades, which can be seen in the intensity of publications of periodicals of its scientific works. This can be fully noted in relation to the publishing activities of the most popular link - the local archives of Ukraine.

It is obvious that there is a certain symptomatology behind this. In particular, - the limited material resources, underfunding of this sphere, and hence the staffing shortages of archival institutions, the insufficient level of managerial independence of archives, limiting the archives' attention to scientific projects, imposing burdensome current tasks of a social and legal nature on them, the dependence of local archives on not always the constructive influence of regional authorities and their political situation, and the like.

At the same time, there have been achievements in the digitalization of central and regional archives in the last decade, the creation of electronic archives, insurance funds, electronic copies of archival documents for the fund of use, and so on.

However, many fair criticisms from researchers and experts remain on the issue of making copies of archival documents, in particular regarding restrictions, permits, and payments for these procedures. This problem is so acute that the need to amend the archival legislation, which should protect the interests of the citizen, is being discussed. There is still a noticeable post-Soviet syndrome of "keep and do not let" among the staff of archives, especially directors who suffer from underfunding of the industry and try to "compensate" it as a surrogate of "paid services". A significant part of archivists is unable to assess the importance for society of the openness of archival information – a sign of civil society knocking on Ukraine's door with the recommendations of the Council of Europe.

At the state level, there is a lack of proper understanding of the need to provide citizens with genuine archival services and, at the same time, the need to protect and preserve archives from their premature loss, physical aging of documents, their damage and destruction.

We need effective programs for the development of the archival industry, the creation of digital archives, supported by appropriate mechanisms for financial and technical assistance. All this is a manifestation and evidence of the neglect of archives by the state, for which archival problems are less valuable. To this is added the fact that there are people among the management of archives without proper training and education, without the practice of archival work, without understanding the historical, political and cultural significance of archival heritage (Чабарай, 2018).

Modern management of the archival industry is trying to make progress in this direction.

Although relics of the old political system and the latest political struggle in Ukraine are still subjects to relapse, these were precisely the phenomena that were political, essentially “quota”, principles for appointing the leaders of the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine. So, in September 2006 A.P. Ginzburg was appointed a chairman of the State Archive. She did not have a historical or archival education, and her professional career was very remote from the archival sphere: she was a mechanical engineer by training, she was a party member in the Communist Party, worked as deputy director of an industrial enterprise, then as a deputy of Ukraine of two convocations, a nominee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and a member of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Industrial Policy and Entrepreneurship. Her work caused a lot of objections among experts. No less scandalous was the defense of A.P. Ginzburg Ph.D. thesis, which resonated among historians, given the low professional quality of the work performed and its mismatch with qualification criteria.

But there are signs of a system recovery. In 2019, a competition was held for the first time to occupy the post of chairman of the State Archival Service of Ukraine. The government in this position approved a professional historian A.V. Khromov, in the past – an employee of the State Archive of Odessa Region, and later of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, deputy director of the State Security Branch of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).

Predecessors in this high position have done a lot of nationally important in the archival system of Ukraine. In particular, R. Ya. Pyrig – a highly respected historian-archivist, a deep researcher of the history of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921 and life and work of M.S. Hrushevsky, the first director of the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, the head of the Board of Directors of the Central State Archives of Ukraine, one of the founders of the professional organization of the Union of Archivists of Ukraine and the initiator of the professional holiday of the Day of Archival Institutions of Ukraine (December 24).

Significant achievements also belong to G.V. Boryak, one of the initiators of the creation of the M. S. Grushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, deputy director for scientific work of this institute, initiator of a number of projects for integrating Ukrainian archives into the world archival community, and a developer of the national information archive system, the author of famous works on archaeological Ukrainian studies.

A huge breakthrough in the study of national history of the XXth century ensured the opening of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine to users. By a government decree of December 21, 2016, there has been established a separate civil state institution – the Sectoral State Archive of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory – to which the media of repressive bodies for 1917-1991 will be transferred. All these are manifestations and consequences of qualitative political changes in the Ukrainian state, invaluable steps towards the democratization of society, ensuring the irreversibility of its development. Thus, archives in modern Ukraine are a factor of real and positive change in society.

And yet, the relics of the old political system are often beyond the archive subsystem, so they are difficult to overcome with rapid administrative measures.

Thus, despite the great idea of creating the Union of Archivists of Ukraine, this union was actively rebuilt in the 90s of the twentieth century, but could not develop into a real independent, effective, mass public-professional organization that would fight for the interests of archivists and users of archival heritage. It remains largely a professional and public attribute and an auxiliary lever of the state archival system of Ukraine. The fact that Ukrainian archivists participate in international forums thanks to this union, despite the positive experience gained, shows how episodic such contacts are and how insignificant their professional resonance is. Also the trade union archive system continues to function in the Soviet templates, giving little to workers and remaining occasionally the “necessary” resource for archive managers. Trade unions have not become an effective mechanism for the effective organization of labor and social protection of archive workers. These manifestations cannot be considered a special disease of the archival system, they are a reflection of the incompleteness of the political transformations of the entire Ukrainian society in transit from a totalitarian society to a civil one.

Thus, the documentary history of Ukraine, and especially the history of the political struggle for Ukrainian national statehood, depended on the state power and the political force that determined it. For almost the entire twentieth century, this was the dictates of the Communist Party, and the monopoly of this government on historical truth hampered historical research.

Restrictions on access to archives, controlled “products” of the historian were the algorithms of the Soviet political system. The built system of state archives ensured the political stagnation of the Soviet system.

Independence of Ukraine provided an opportunity to reform the archival industry.

We see the source of success in qualitative changes in the state-political system, the formation of civil society, the revival and development of Ukrainian national traditions. The successes of the archival sphere are manifested by democratization and depoliticization, the creation of modern legal and scientific and technical bases, the expansion of access to archival documents, the expansion of scientific research in the field of archival and document management, the organization of archival institutions on new principles of management, etc. (History and Present, 2020). It's hard to disagree. These successes are encouraging!

Thus, the history of archival affairs in Ukraine of the XX-XXI centuries demonstrates the integral connection between it and state-political and social transformations. The Soviet political system ideologized the archival industry, burdened the archives with the maintenance of political interests, demanded that they confirm political myths, and restricted creative initiative. The dismantling of this system has become a factor of real changes in society and the archival industry in particular. The archives have shown their ability to effectively promote these positive changes.

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HISTORY OF UKRAINE / ІСТОРИЯ УКРАЇНИ

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ВИКТОРИЯ В. КОТЕНКО¹, ЮРИЙ О. ПУГОЛОВОК²¹ PhD (Archaeology) The National Museum of Ukrainian pottery (Ukraine)² PhD (Archaeology), Institute of Ethnology of the NAS of Ukraine (Ukraine)**CLAY TOYS OF EARLY MODERN TIMES
(ON THE MATERIALS OF POLTAVA CITY)**

Abstract. *The article deals with a group of ceramic toys originating from the archaeological excavations of Poltava city of the Early Modern period. The results of researches of urban centers in Ukraine show an interesting material, which differ depending on the region, social and economic development and other factors. The things, which related to the world of childhood in the Hetmanate, are very important. Such finds represented mainly by clay toys. They are dividing into several categories.*

The compiling of the source base for this article began in the 1990s, when excavations within modern Poltava became systematic. Also there is considered the fact, that the collection of clay toys from Poltava is large, compared to other cities of Early Modern Europe.

Archaeological materials have created a foundation for the study of various aspects of everyday life of citizens, including children. In Early Modern times, clay toys represented mainly by figures of animals (including birds), people, and small copies of household vessels. Most of them belongs to the miniature dishes, which was represented mainly by pots-“monetka”. There are also bowls, jugs, mugs and lids. Such products repeated mainly all forms of traditional ceramics, differing only in size. Miniature pottery probably reflected some part of the “adult” life of the Early Modern time. Musical instruments represent another group of clay toys. These were mostly zoomorphic whistles, which differed in technique and sound. The third category of toys includes anthropomorphic ceramic figurines, among which the image of a lady («borynia») or a rider predominates. They can be used in children’s figurative play.

There is a suggestion that toys helped younger generation to get some skills in using household items or future social roles. Therefore, archaeological researches made it possible to shed some light on the life of the citizens of Early Modern Poltava.

Keywords: *Early Modern times, Hetmanate, Poltava, clay toy, miniature vessel, whistle, ceramic figurine.*

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КОТЕНКО В.В.¹, ПУГОЛОВОК Ю.О.²¹Кандидат історичних наук, Національний музей-заповідник українського гончарства (Україна)²Кандидат історичних наук, Інститут народознавства НАН України (Україна)**ГЛИНЯНІ ІГРАШКИ РАННЬОМОДЕРНОЇ ДОБИ
(ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ПОЛТАВИ)**

Анотація. *У статті розглядається група керамічних іграшок, що походять з археологічних розкопок Полтави ранньомодерної доби. Результати досліджень урбаністичних центрів на території України представлені цікавими матеріалами, які відрізняються залежало від регіону, соціально-економічного розвитку та інших чинників. Особливий інтерес викликають речі, пов’язані зі світом дитинства на території*

Гетьманщини. Такі знахідки представлені переважно глиняними іграшками. Вони розподіляються на кілька категорій.

Формування джерельної бази для даної статті почалося в 1990-х роках, коли розкопки в межах сучасної Полтави стали систематичними. Як з'ясувалося у статті, колекція глиняних іграшок з Полтави є великою, у порівнянні з іншими містами ранньомодерної Європи.

Археологічні матеріали створили надійне підґрунтя для вивчення різноманітних аспектів повсякденності містян, в тому числі і дітей. У ранньомодерний час глиняні іграшки були представлені переважно образами тварин (включаючи птахів), людей, зменшеними копіями господарського посуду. Кількісна перевага належить мініатюрним посудинам, які представлені переважно горщиками-монетками. Також зустрічаються мисочки, глечики, кухлики, покришки. Такі вироби повторювали практично всі форми традиційної кераміки, відрізняючись лише за розмірами. Мініатюрний посуд, ймовірно, відображав частину "дорослого" побуту ранньомодерної доби. Інша група глиняних іграшок представлена музичними інструментами. Це були переважно зооморфні свистунці, які різнилися технікою виконання та звучанням. Третя категорія іграшок включає антропоморфні керамічні фігурки, серед яких переважає зображення барини чи вершника. Можливо, вони використовувалися в образних чи рольових іграх дітей.

У статті робиться припущення, що за допомогою іграшок молоде покоління набувало навичок використання предметів домашнього вжитку або ж опанувало майбутні соціальні ролі. Тому археологічні дослідження дали можливість проливаючи світло на побут містян ранньомодерної Полтави.

Ключові слова: ранньомодерний час, Гетьманщина, Полтава, глиняна іграшка, мініатюрний посуд, свистунець, керамічна фігурка.

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The study of late medieval cities on the territory of Ukraine shows a remarkable diversity of material culture of their inhabitants, which depended on the region, social and economic development and other factors. The history of everyday citizen's life opens a new layer of information for modern urbanistics, which should be study based on certain categories of artifacts. Given the age and property stratification of society, the moment of organizing a child's life is interesting. The most popular finds in this regard are ceramics. The inhabitants of Early Modern Poltava city were surround by a variety of clay products in their daily lives: from architectural and building ceramics, which clearly indicated the wealth of the owner of the house, to the small, personal things such as tobacco pipes or clay toys. According to archaeological research, there is the presence of powerful pottery production clearly recorded in Poltava of this historical stage, which also correlates with written sources.

Mass archaeological materials create a solid basis for studying various aspects for studying of citizens' everyday life, including children. After all, the "archaeology of childhood" is not so widely spread in the Ukrainian humanities. At the same time, archaeologists explore the world of the Early Modern child, and even the medieval one, mostly by studying funerary monuments. This is understandable because they are easily distinguished from other categories of finds. They provides some evidence of the causes of infant mortality, health and disease. However, the life and culture of the child during the life left out of such studies. Today, a group of products that are defined as children's toys stand out from the archaeological finds of the Early Modern period. Their introduction into scientific circulation and research allow to create a complex picture of the childhood of Early Modern Ukraine.

Clay toys represented mainly by images of animals (including birds), people and reduced copies of household dishes in the described chronological period. The most common category were

the whistlers. Such products were hollow and had holes for blowing air and changing the tone of the sound in several places. Some of these toys could hold up to a dozen holes, which fill with water and used to change the sound. They decorated with colour glaze and engobes, sometimes there were detailing the specific elements of the images. Figures, which depicting people, represent the different type and do not belong to the number of whistles. These products conventionally divided into female and male images, which well known as “ladies” (“bárynia”) and “riders”. Functionally, they can be attribute to dolls, because the figure embodied some image or was the personification of a character. Miniature dishes, which also belong to the number of toys, are quite similar in their morphology and decor to the tableware or kitchenware. Moreover, being a reduced copy of kitchenware such products were fully functional, for example, they contained liquid. All these toys can be conditionally attribute to the “unconditional” organization of spare time, when the player could create rules, give things certain abilities himself, and the game does not provide a competitive basis.

Clay toys of the Early Modern period from Poltava didn't study as the subject of special scientific research. Preference given to descriptive papers and publications related to the introduction of new archaeological material into scientific circulation. In general, the collection began complete from time of independence of Ukraine, due to a change in the historical paradigm. O.B. Suprunenko paid attention to the toys of the Cossacks time from Poltava for the first time in the early 1990s (Suprunenko, 1993). He described a small collection of clay toys of the second quarter – the middle of the 18th century, obtained during rescue excavation on Mykolaivska Hirka, in the central part of Poltava. In total, there are were found four figures and three of them presented by whistles and one – by “lady” (“bárynia”) (Suprunenko, 1993: 62-65). In the future, mentions of the findings of such products will found in the reporting documentation and publications on archaeological researches in Poltava. Fragments of three whistle toys and a small pot-“monetka” were found near the probable location of the estate of Poltava colonel Martyn Pushkar on the territory of Pushkarivka (now part of the city) in the mid-1990s (Sokolova, 1997: 93).

Some finds of small ceramic toys come from the excavations in New town in 1997-1998. In total, there are 7 toys in this collection, including five zoomorphic whistlers and two pots-“monetka” (Khanko, 2000: 63-64; Kovalenko, 2002: 183). In 1999, a zoomorphic toy whistle founded in cultural layer on the territory of the suburbs (Suprunenko, 2016: 56). In addition, a fragment of a zoomorphic whistle founded in the city centre during excavations on the territory of the Poltava Museum of Local Lore in 2005 (Kovalenko, 2018: 328).

In the suburbs of Poltava there were found two anthropomorphic figures and five zoomorphic whistles in the lower part of house (2007) (Tkachenko, 2008: 116). There are two pots-“monetka” in the materials from archaeological researches of 2007 on the Mykolaivska Hirka. They are originating from a building, which interpreted as a tavern (Doslidzhennia, 2008: 60).

An expressive collection of clay toys originates from the excavation site in the centre of Poltava (2008). The subtype of zoomorphic toys is the most numerous, it consist of five units. Two of them founded in the filling of the lower parts of houses and one was in the filling of the underground. Two any products come from cultural layers. These are two fragments of ornithomorphic toys represented by fragments and pot-“monetka” with high bottom, high neck and a preserved handle (Puholovok, 2008: 53, 76, 82, 96).

Six zoomorphic whistles and three pots-“monetka” came from the excavations of New town in 2010. Most of them founded in the cultural layer. Part of the small pot was found in a house excavated in 2013 (Puholovok, 2014). In 2014, a part of the pot-“monetka” and an ornithomorphic whistle founded in cultural strata on the territory of the Old city. There are six zoomorphic products, five miniature pots, a fragment of an anthropomorphic figurine and two miniature vessels of import origin on the territory of Poltava suburbs in 2019. In object 1 (dwelling) there are two pots-“monetka”, two whistles and a part of the anthropomorphic figurine; in object 8 (dwelling) there are three whistles and one small pot; in object 5 there are two miniature pots, and other come from the cultural layer.

The location of clay toys in Poltava associated with the territory occupied by the city in the 18th century. Chronologically, the most of finds belong to this time. Toy finds are unknown among the explored deposits of the 17th century. Territorially, the finds of toys are distributed as follows: within the Old city, there are eleven finds; within the New city there are twenty-three finds; in the northern suburbs there are twenty finds and in the other suburbs there are four finds. This distribution of finds reflects the study of the urban area and indicates their almost alike distribution in the city. About a third of the products founded in the filling of the lower parts of houses and household buildings. This, of course, may indicate that the toys belong to the occupants or owners of these buildings.

Therefore, according to the archaeological sources, we have the following number of clay toys: thirty-eight zoomorphic (ornitho-, ichthyo-) products, sixteen pots- “monetka” and five anthropomorphic figurines. The total number of clay toys, which were found in Poltava, is fifty-eight. Of course, this amount is not complete, and, obviously, it will increase after the reviewing of museum collections and future excavations. In addition, products related to games such as “kremiakhy” and chess are not included. They belong to another type of spare time organization: there were rules of the game, the duration of the game process was limited and provided for the winner.

This amount of clay toys is quite representative and large not only within the Hetmanate, but also in Europe. For example, in urban archaeology of Poland of the 17th – 18th centuries there is one of the largest collections of toys founded in Gdansk. It consists of twenty-nine finds, including gaming chips. Toys from excavation are also known in the cities of Wroclaw, Strzelno, Elblag, Starograd-Gdansk, Kolobrzeg, but their amount is relatively small (Dabal, 2016: 136). This review of the source base shows that the archaeological finds which are associated with the world of the childhood, represented by several categories in Poltava. These are musical instruments (aerophones) – “whistles” and “nightingales”, ceramic figurines (dolls) and miniature dishes.

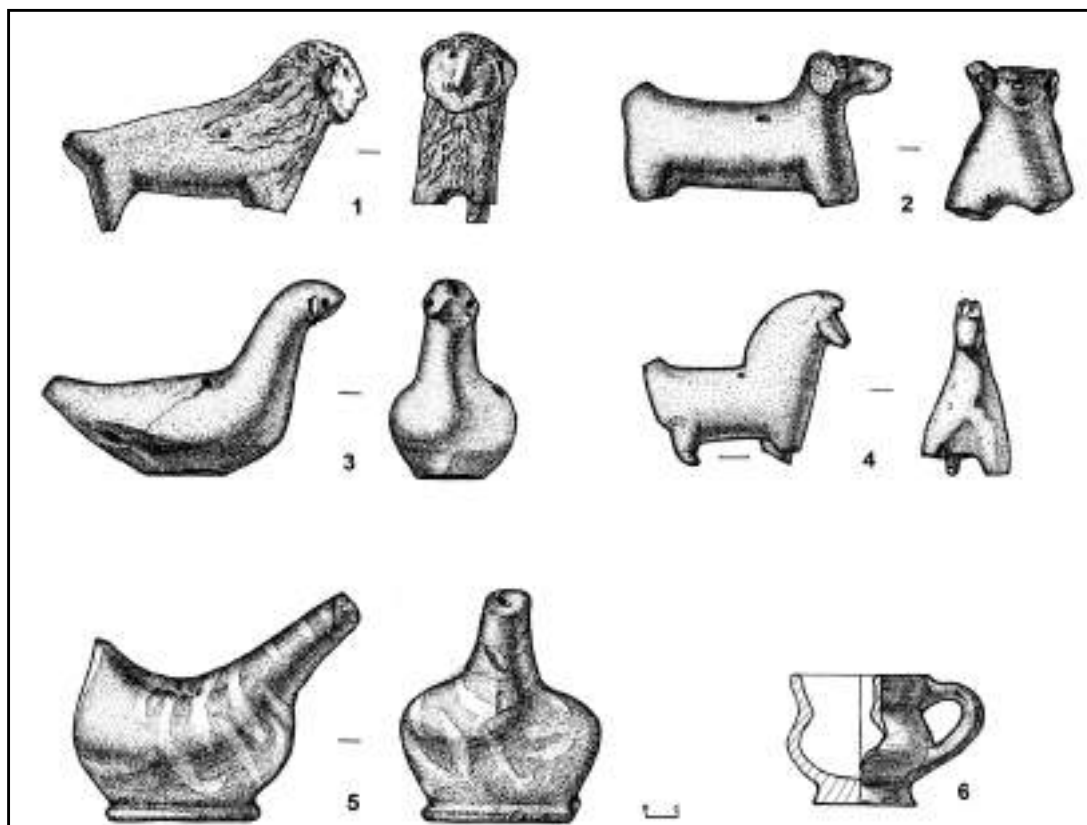


Fig. 1. Common types of clay toys from Early Modern Poltava

Musical instruments. For a long time it was considered that clay aerophones was the most popular among toys. These were the musical instruments, which make a sound caused by the vibration of the air. We preliminarily refer whistles, which have four holes for air and sound regulation, and “nightingales”, in which the number of openings varied from six to seventeen, to this category of things. A typical form for such products is zoomorphic (fig. 1: 1-5). Images for the creation of such toys were real animals surrounding adults and children. Domestic animals dominated among them. These are horses, lambs, dogs, ducks, geese, etc. (Poshyvailo, 1993: 219). The products in the form of horses dominated in Poltava materials. Some of them are unornamented, and some have a painted linear ornament or detailed fragments of bridles and the like. Ornithomorphic products less known, they mostly made in shapes of ducks/geese, cocks/hens, pigeons. We meet a rhymed ornament on these toys and it highlights some characteristics of a birds. There are products covered with colour glaze, painted with engobes or no ornament at all. The fragments of whistles in the form of fish (ichthyomorphic) are less known.

Among the products, there are figures of exotic animals for the Poltava environment. This is a whistle in the form of a lion from the excavations of 2008. The images of a mane and a face were detailed and represented the characteristics of this animal (fig. 1:1). The details applied with a sharp object. Its dimensions: length 11.5 cm, height 7.1 cm. The appearance of such an “animal” in the toy collection of Poltava is a unique phenomenon. In this context, it is worth mentioning Eugenia Spaska’s report on a camel toy made by a boy in Nizhyn in the 1920s under the influence of an amazing beast, which was seen in the city (Poshyvailo, 1993: 219). It is possible that the toy lion was also made under the influence of children’s impressions in Early Modern Poltava.

Among the “whistles”, there are some anthropomorphic products, amount of which is too small for generalizations. In particular, they include a rider on a horse (the rider has not survived), marked by detailing the elements of horse harness.

Ornithomorphic products belonging to the so-called “nightingales” are rare finds (fig. 1: 5). “Nightingales” are whistles that are filled with water. Air was blown through the spout, which came out through the holes. The result was a nightingale-like sound, which was a favourite bird in Ukraine. Two such products are known in Poltava, the first of them comes from the territory of New city. On its surface, there are seventeen holes for air traffic; the toy painted with white engobe. The second product is smaller, comes from excavations in the Old city. On its surface, there are six holes for air and the toy is unornamented.

Ceramic figurines. Anthropomorphic products presented in small amount in the Poltava finds. Some of them are very schematic images of people with marked facial features. Among others, there is a part of the head of a female figurine, headdress (hat with three corners). The most detailed figures are “ladies” (“bárynia”) and “riders”, which belong to the circle of toys with clearly defined gender.

Miniature tableware. The findings of miniature pottery are very representative. Today we can talk about the dominance of this type of product among the toys of Early Modern Poltava. A popular find is a miniature pot. According to ethnographic materials, its name mentioned as a “monetka” (“coin”) and associates with the cost of the vessel, which was quite low. Other forms include bowls, mugs, jugs and lids (fig. 1:6). Such products copied practically all forms of traditional ceramics, differing only in size. Imitation of “adult” vessels can be associated with the educational role of miniature ceramics. In addition, the miniature pots probably reflected a part of “adult” life, where a woman spent a long time with kitchenware and raised children. Therefore, this play can be belong to imitation of adult behaviour.

Therefore, issues, which related to the manufacture of these items, are important. The production of these toys required specific pottery skills, especially modelling the products, decoration and firing. In contrast to utilitarian dishes, in 17th–18th centuries clay toys still belonged to specific things and such manufacture was popular due to the demand at that time. For example, in Horodyshche town of Lokhvytsya district (Poltava province) local potters contrary did not make whistles and

horses at all (Lysenko, 1904: 180). However, if we compare an amount of clay toys with such a seemingly common type of pottery as pipes, we will show that toys was more popular in Early Modern Poltava. Based on the ethnoarchaeological researches of pottery kilns on the territory of Opishnya town in 2019, we can say that potters did not use it specifically for the manufacturing of toys. This demonstrated an amount of clay toys, founded in one of the kilns, in relation to other products. According to the ethnographers of the late 19th – first third of the 20th centuries, we can say that the toys were made mainly by children who were pupils or relative of the potter, aged 10 to 15 years (Lysenko, 1900: 360-362). Moreover, according to ethnographic evidence, there is some association of such products with the world of childhood (Rusov, 1905: 54; Poshyvailo, 1993: 119-120). But in the previous period, 17th – 18th centuries, the clay toy was not a common attribute of childhood, and children were considered by parents as additional manpower (Kovalenko, 2018: 334-335; Serdyuk, 2018: 297).

However, the role and place of a clay toy in the environment of the Early Modern city not explored and understood enough. Of course, the described things are strongly associated with the child's world. Their spread and appearance should be associated primarily with the urban culture of the Hetmanate, because such products could not appear in an environment that was not able to consume them. The manufacture of these products was organized in the households of professional potters. Children and pupils of the master lived there and probably made such small things (Kovalenko, 2018: 335).

According to the described source base, it is possible to characterize the use of Early Modern toys in Poltava in general. Most of the things belong to locally production and probably intended for the markets in the cities or in their nearest districts. However, among the findings of the 18th century, there were some imported things that indicate to the international trade. Most likely, the toys in such trade was the concomitant products to the main category of goods.

Most of the toys, founded during archaeological excavation, associated with an educational role in the process of cultural development. Players socialized through game actions and rules and formed female and male types of behaviour (Poshyvailo, 2015: 245).

Because children's games reflect the world of adults, adapted to children's worldview, we can say that the younger generation has the skills to use household items or future social roles. In this way, the idea of game training, according to the analysed artefacts, embodied in miniature vessels and in different types of clay figures. These toys are miniature images of the attributes of the adult world and used in social training. Thus, play with dolls, including ceramic, for girls were a step towards their preparation for motherhood (Kis, 2003: 156–162). As for miniature dishes, it is logical to see it as an instrument for training girls in cook. Therefore, such miniaturization could be the oldest way to demonstrate the social roles assigned to women who grew up in an Early Modern city. It is important to note that the study of miniature vessels should be continue in the context of urban social customs, expanding the source base, because archaeological sources are limited.

Musical instruments had a different function than the previous ones. Well known, that the higher field of intellectual and emotional upbringing of children related to music education (Nechai 2013: 163–167). According to research, playing or listening to music develops the concentration abilities and broadens the worldview. Music is also closely associated with the movement, which supports the integration abilities. Therefore, small ceramic musical instruments are material reflections of such processes in Early Modern Poltava. Despite the simplicity of forms and trivial functions, clay whistles aroused some interest and a desire to play music. It indicated by their amount in the archaeological materials.

Considering children's toys, there is also the question of their gender distribution. Today we can state that gender studies do not often use into the archaeological research of the Early Modern period. Therefore, only a few general remarks can be made on the materials received from Poltava. There are no toys, which exactly belong to boys. Clay figurines ("bárynia" and

the like), as well as miniature clay vessels, more associated with girls. Both boys and girls obviously used whistles, pots-“monetka” and bells.

Thus, the toys known from archaeological excavations of Poltava for almost thirty years of researches gave the opportunity to draw the following conclusions. Urban culture of the Hetmanate in Early Modern times is a bright and an original phenomenon. Society at this time was actively developing in several ways, one of which was related to the socialization of children. A toy has always been a kind of instrument in this process. According to the reviewed materials, the largest number of toys represented by miniature copies of pottery, which can be used by a child to imitate adult behaviour in everyday life. Other categories of things represented by figures of people and animals and by products that could make a sound.

Excavations of houses in Poltava have shown that a child's life in an Early Modern city provided with some set of specific children's things, which clearly separated from the world of adults. This fact is not always possible to verify with written sources, the specifics of which limited by subjectivity in text: toys were not the subject of property law, were not a separate category of goods, were not inherited, and so on. Being an everyday element of children's life, they did not represented in the sphere of interests of adults, which automatically left them out of documents circulation. Instead, archaeological researches allow to find toys more often within the living space, shedding light on the life of the citizens of Early Modern Poltava.

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SERHII DEGTYAREV¹, MYHAILOV MELNYK²¹ Dr (History), Sumy State University (Ukraine); International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research (USA)² Student, Sumy State University (Ukraine)**MOLCHENSKYY SOFRONIYIVSKYY MONASTERY
IN THE MATERIALS OF THE BILOPILLYA POVIT (DISTRICT) COURT (1793)**

Abstract. *This work is devoted to the little-known pages of the history of the Molchensky Sofroniyivsky monastery, which is located near the ancient city of Putivl. During its existence, the Molchensky Sofroniyivsky Monastery was repeatedly ruined and rebuilt. At various times, its walls housed such prominent historical figures as Pseudo-Demetrius I, one of the first bibliographers and religious writer Simeon Medvedev (Sylvester), Seraphim of Sarov and many others. During the XVII-XVIII centuries the monastery grew strongly, had large holdings and material wealth. Its patrons were the monarchs of the Moscow state, including Boris Godunov, Vasily Shuisky, representatives of the Romanov dynasty, and other patrons.*

By the middle of the XVIII century Putivl monastery was very wealthy. He owned large land holdings and many different properties. The monastery also owned a large number of peasants. The status of the Molchensky Sofroniyivsky Monastery changed dramatically as a result of church reform in the second half of the 18th century. This was the so-called secularization of monastic possessions, initiated by decrees of Empress Catherine II. As a result of this reform, the Putivl monastery was included in the number of 3rd class monasteries. The state allocates 2.5 times less money to such monasteries than to such institutions of the 1st class. These funds were enough only to support and feed the monks. Lands belonging to monasteries were confiscated. And the monastery peasants together with the lands were transferred to the disposal of the Board of Economy. Now they became economic peasants and later merged with the state peasants.

The authors present several documents from 1793 from the State Archives of Sumy region (Ukraine). They belong to the category of act sources. These are decrees, reports, extracts from the journal of sittings of the Bilopillya district court - only 5 documents. The discovered documents help to understand the peculiarities of the implementation of the church reform of the end of the 18th century and to explore the little-known pages of the history of the Molchenskaya Sofroniivska monastery. These materials highlight the conflict that arose as a result of the improper allocation of land to the peasants removed from the power of the monastery. The solution to this problem was assigned to the Bilopillya Povit (District) Court of the Kharkiv Governorate, as it was on the territory of Bilopillya County (Povit) that the disputed lands were located.

Keywords: church history, Russian Empire, Putivl, Molchensky Sofroniyivsky Monastery, secularization, povit (district, county) court, XVIII century.

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МОЛЧЕНСЬКИЙ СОФРОНІЇВСЬКИЙ МОНАСТІР У МАТЕРІАЛАХ БІЛОПІЛЬСЬКОГО ПОВІТОВОГО СУДУ (1793 РІК)

Анотація. Дана робота присвячена маловідомим сторінкам історії Молченського Софроніївського монастиря, який знаходиться в околицях стародавнього міста Путивль. Протягом свого існування Молченський Софроніївський монастир неодноразово розорювався та відновлювався. У різні часи у його стінах перебували такі видатні історичні постаті, як Лжедмитрій I, один з перших бібліографів та релігійний письменник Симеон Медведєв (Сільвестр), Серафім Саровський та багато інших. Протягом XVII-XVIII ст. монастир сильно розрісся, мав великі володіння і матеріальні статки. Його покровителями були монархи Московської держави, серед яких Борис Годунов, Василь Шуйський, представники династії Романових, та інші меценати.

До середини XVIII ст. путивльська обитель була дуже заможною. Їй належали великі земельні володіння та багато різної нерухомості. Володів монастир також великою кількістю селян. Статус Молченського Софроніївського монастиря різко змінився у результаті проведення в другій половині XVIII ст. церковної реформи. Це була так звана секуляризація монастирських володінь, ініційована указами імператриці Катерини II. Внаслідок цієї реформи путивльська обитель була віднесена до числа монастирів 3-го класу. Таким монастирям держава виділяла у 2,5 рази менше коштів, ніж таким установам 1-го класу. Таких коштів було достатньо лише для утримання та харчування братії. Землі, що належали монастирям, конфісковувалися. А монастирські селяни разом із землями передавалися у розпорядження Колегії економії. Тепер вони ставали економічними селянами і згодом злилися з державними селянами.

Автори презентують декілька документів 1793 року з Державного архіву Сумської області (Україна). Вони відносяться до категорії актових джерел. Це укази, рапорти, виписки з журналу засідань Білопільського повітового суду – всього 5 документів. Виявлені документи допомагають зрозуміти особливості реалізації церковної реформи кінця XVIII ст. і дослідити маловідомі сторінки історії Молченської Софроніївської пустині. Ці матеріали фіксують конфлікт, що виник внаслідок неправильного виділення земель виведеним з-під влади монастиря селянам. Вирішення цього питання було покладене на Білопільський повітовий суд Харківського намісництва, оскільки саме на території Білопільського повіту знаходилися спірні землі.

Ключові слова: церковна історія, Російська імперія, Путивль, Молченський Софроніївський монастир, секуляризація, повітовий суд, XVIII століття.

Цитування. Дегтярьов С.І., Мельник М.В. Молченський Софроніївський монастир у матеріалах Білопільського повітового суду (1793 рік) // Сумський історико-архівний журнал. №XXXIV. 2020. С.29-39. DOI: doi.org/10.21272/shaj.2020.i34.p.29

Церковна історія в цілому та окремі її аспекти вже давно є надзвичайно популярним напрямом наукових історичних досліджень. Вивчення минулого монастирів чи окремих храмів є важливою складовою цих досліджень, оскільки має велике культурне та суспільно-політичне значення.

Мета даної роботи є фактично подвійною: актуалізувати такий напрям наукових досліджень, як історія окремих храмів чи монастирів, а також ввести до наукового обігу маловідомі документи кінця XVIII ст., пов'язані з історією потужного монастирського комплексу – Молченської Софронієвої пустині.

Можна виділити низку тематичних площин, що актуалізують вивчення історії монастирів і храмів:

- храм як об'єкт мистецтва, національне культурне надбання. Ці споруди зводилися у різні часи і позначені характерними для тієї чи іншої епохи особливостями, що свідчать про певні духовні чи естетичні уподобання представників тогочасного соціуму, про культурні впливи інших епох, країн, народів тощо. Деякі з цих об'єктів створювалися й оздоблювалися видатними митцями – архітекторами, художниками, скульпторами;

- монастирі і храми як осередки концентрації та розповсюдження освіченості та духовності. Ці заклади ставали своєрідними літературними центрами. Тут створювалися і тиражувалися перші рукописні твори (літописи, хроніки, книги релігійного характеру тощо), згодом деякі храми й монастирі ставали осередками книгодрукування. При них часто створювалися освітні заклади – церковні школи, академії, семінарії, де могли навчатися представники різних верств населення, які часто згодом продовжували навчання у світських закладах освіти або ж пов'язували своє подальше життя з релігією, розповсюджуючи її духовні цінності;

- зв'язок цих релігійних осередків з відомими історичними постатями. Для багатьох з них храми ставали тимчасовим прихистком або ж вони доживали там свого віку; з церквою і служінням богу було пов'язане життя багатьох видатних діячів культури, науки та ін.; значна кількість діячів минулого була похована на території церковних чи монастирських кладовищ або взагалі у самих храмах тощо;

- монастирі/храми як суб'єкти військово-політичних потрясінь або соціально-економічних відносин у регіоні. Часто вони виконували роль укріплень, оборонних споруд або ставали прихистком для населення під час ворожих вторгнень. У різні часи монастирі мали значні земельні володіння, вели торгівлю, займалися ремісництвом і сільським господарством, були власниками селян-кріпаків тощо;

- храми і монастирі як об'єкти державної політики. З метою послаблення економічної (а в деяких випадках ідеологічної) могутності церкви, щоб зробити її максимально залежною від державної влади та задля упорядкування соціальної (класової) структури суспільства багато монастирів було ліквідовано, їхня власність конфісковувалася або обмежувалася, скорочувалася кількість представників духовного звання, що в деяких країнах чи регіонах призвело до перетворення духівництва з окремої соціальної групи на своєрідний соціо професійний прошарок. А з метою ідеологічного та духовного і культурного переформатування суспільства у деяких країнах реалізовувалася державна політика, спрямована на фізичне знищення як храмів, так і самих служителів культури (безперечно, найбільш яскравим прикладом цього є антирелігійна політика комуністичного режиму у Радянському Союзі).

В цілому історико-релігійна тематика вже давно є доволі популярним напрямом аматорських розвідок і професійних наукових досліджень в усьому світі. Українська історіографія з окресленої проблематики також є надзвичайно багатого і різноплановою щодо конкретних предметів вивчення. Їй, безперечно, можна присвятити окреме ґрунтовне аналітичне дослідження. Помітну частку цього доробку складають праці, присвячені історії конкретних церков, соборів, монастирів. Існують такі роботи і з історії знаменитого Молченського Софроніївського монастиря, що знаходиться у передмісті Путивля сучасної Сумської області (Україна). Багато професійних істориків і краєзнавців-аматорів вивчали різноманітні аспекти минулого цієї унікальної пам'ятки історії та культури.

Першими дослідниками історії Молченського Софроніївського монастиря були самі служителі церкви архімандрит Макарій (Описание, 1846) та схиархимандрит Палладій (Палладій, 1895). Досліджували історію цієї обителі І. Рябінін, Т. Арцибашева, С. Турик, В. Вечерський, О. Чурочкін та інші (Арцибашева, 2011; Луговской и др., 2001;

Путивльський Молченський монастир, 2012; Рябинин, 1902). Більшість робіт, де висвітлюється історія монастиря, більшою чи меншою мірою повторюють одна одну. У той же час з'являються праці, які доповнюють вже відомі факти з історії обителі. Це, зокрема, дослідження про осіб, життя і діяльність яких були тісно пов'язані з монастирем (Иванова, 2010; Иоанн, 1994; Жиров, 2003; Терентьева, 2010); праці про археологічні дослідження на території пустині, що проливають світло на досі невідомі факти з її історії (Коваленко, 2004). Деякі наукові розвідки присвячені монастирським реліквіям – пам'яткам культури і мистецтва (Терентьева, 2004), зруйнованим храмам, що входили до складу Молченського Софроніївського монастиря (Корнієнко, 2009: 244-245, 251-252) тощо.

Часто автори лише згадують монастир у контексті висвітлення різноманітних історичних подій. Найчастіше ця путивльська обитель фігурує в описах подій пов'язаних з перебуванням у ній Лжедмитрія. Більшою чи меншою мірою про це писали такі класики історичної науки, у тому числі знавці Смути у Московській державі, як М. Костомаров, Д. Іловайський, В. Ключевський, Р. Скринніков та інші. Перед Другою світовою війною на території комплексу Молченського Софроніївського монастиря розташовувався табір військовополонених польських офіцерів, чому також були присвячені окремі розвідки, зокрема археографічні публікації (Путивльський табір, 2007).

Та, на жаль, ґрунтовні комплексні роботи, присвячені безпосередньо історії Молченського Софроніївського монастиря, донині фактично відсутні, що великою мірою актуалізує даний тематичний напрям наукових досліджень.

Точна дата заснування монастиря невідома. Існують версії навіть про його появу ще у часи Київської Русі. Та найбільш популярне припущення щодо появи монастиря пов'язують з явленням чудотворної ікони на болоті Молче на початку XV ст. – начебто саме на цьому місці й був зведений перший храм пустині. Більш конкретні відомості зустрічаються з кінця XVI ст. (хоча і їх обмаль), коли обитель стає релігійним та оборонним центром Путивля. Приблизно у 1591-1593 рр. вона перетворюється на самостійний чоловічий монастир.

Протягом свого існування Молченський Софроніївський монастир неодноразово страждав від пожеж, його розорювали польська шляхта на початку XVII ст. та радянська влада у XX ст. Але обитель постійно відроджувалася завдяки зусиллям населення і можновладців, зазнавала суттєвих перебудов тощо. Протягом XVII-XVIII ст. монастир сильно розрісся, мав великі володіння і матеріальні статки. Але на відміну від багатьох інших монастирів він так і не став помітним просвітницьким центром у регіоні.

Відомо, що вже у 1597 р. путивльський монастир мав значні земельні володіння (угіддя, вотчини), розташовані у різних місцях, приписний храм святих Флора і Лавра тощо.

Путивль як порубіжна фортеця відігравав важливу роль для Московської держави. Місто розбудовувалося і укріплювалося. Разом із ним багатіла і Молченська пустинь. Василь Шуйський, зокрема, у 1606 р. подарував монастирю “рыбные ловли на Сейме”, що було підтверджено відповідною грамотою. Трохи пізніше, у 1615 р. московський цар Михайло Романов передав у володіння обителі значні земельні наділи з селами й озерами. А у 1621 р. до попередніх пожалувань додав ще село Линове (російською “деревню Линово”) разом з навколишніми невеликими іншими селами, що на той час були у складі Новгород-Сіверського повіту, а також сінокоси, риболовні місця. До того ж монастир і ченці отримали одягу, солі, вина, воску й ладану на 70 рублів (Путивльський Молченський монастир, 2012: 50). Покровительствовали пустині й інші монархи.

На середину XVII ст. Молченському монастирю належали 2200 осіб селян, які мешкали у Липовому, Берюсі, Новій Слободі, Вирах, Підмонастирській Слободі, та величезні земельні наділи різного призначення, багато млинів та іншої нерухомості (Путивльський Молченський монастир, 2012: 50-51).

Путивльська обитель була багатою і мала численні пільги, зокрема податкові. До середини XVIII ст. у Російській імперії вже налічувалася велика кількість вільних від податків церковних земель. Це негативно впливало на наповнення державної скарбниці. Дану проблему намагалася вирішити імператриця Єлизавета Петрівна, “премудро различая вкравшиися злоупотребления и предубеждения от прямых Догматов веры” (ПСЗ-І. Т.15. №11441: 910). 30 вересня 1757 р. відбулася спеціальна конференція, де імператриця висловилася за те, щоб скасувати матеріальну підтримку монастирів і ченців, які тепер повинні були утримувати себе самі, за рахунок наявних церковних господарств. Її побажання були викладені у спеціальних документах-екстрактах і надіслані до Сенату і Синоду 6 жовтня 1757 р. Але у життя цей проект так і не було втілено. Дещо пізніше, незадовго до втрати престолу і своєї смерті, імператор Петро III вирішив реалізувати вказане рішення своєї тітки Єлизавети Петрівни. Іменним указом Сенату від 16 лютого 1762 р. щодо нових правил управління монастирськими й архієрейськими маєтками він наказав “монашествующих, яко сего временного жития отрекшихся, освободить от житейских и мирских попечений” (ПСЗ-І. Т.15. №11441: 910). Ухвалюючи цей нормативний акт, імператор посилався саме на рішення Єлизавети 1757 р.

Та лише у 1764 р. розпочалася повномасштабна церковна реформа – так звана секуляризація монастирських володінь, запроваджена указами імператриці Катерини II. Реформа тривала багато років, поступово поширюючись за межі суто великоросійських губерній, на національні регіони у складі Російської імперії. Зокрема на українських землях вона впроваджувалася з другої половини 1780-х років.

На початку реформи в імперії налічувалося близько 1 млн осіб лише чоловічої статі, які фактично належали монастирям. Усі вони разом із землями передавалися у розпорядження Колегії економії й далі іменувалися економічними селянами і згодом злилися з державними селянами. Замість панщини і натуральних податків на цих селян накладався подушний оклад у 1,5 рублів, що сплачувався у державну скарбницю.

Церковні установи, позбавлені селян і земельних володінь внаслідок реформи, утримувалися тепер за рахунок коштів, що виділялися їм Колегією економії. Звичайно фінансування монастирів тепер стало доволі обмеженим. Багато з них припинили своє існування.

Монастирі, що вбереглися від ліквідації, були розподілені на три класи. Згідно з визначеним класом для обителі виділялося і відповідне фінансування. Так, монастирям 1-го класу держава виділяла у 2,5 рази більше коштів, ніж монастирям 3-го класу. Фактично усі ці установи отримували кошти, достатні лише для утримання та харчування братії. Все це призводило до швидкого збідніння монастирів, скорочення в них кількості ченців тощо.

Молченська Софроніївська пустинь не стала виключенням. Внаслідок секуляризації монастирських володінь вона була віднесена до числа монастирів 3-го класу. Таким чином обитель могла розраховувати лише на мінімальну державну підтримку. З цього часу настоятелем тут був ігумен, а монастирська братія складала лише 12 осіб. Та бажаючи постригтися у ченці завжди були. Монахами ставали представники різних верств населення, але найчастіше це були купці і міщани (ДАСО. Ф.676. Оп.1. Спр.104: 1-4; ДАСО. Ф.676. Оп.1. Спр.230: 1-4). Відомо також, що при Софроніївській пустині функціонував ярмарок. Ярмарок діяв, коли для обителі вже настали скрутні часи [ми змогли відшукати згадки про нього за 1788 р.]. Але нам так і не вдалося з'ясувати, чи впливало це на матеріальне становище монастиря (ДАСО. Ф.449. Оп.1. Спр.263: 1-3).

Згодом, з 1797 р. Молченський монастир (як і деякі подібні обителі) отримав право мати настоятеля в сані архімандрита. Збільшилася і кількість ченців, яка тепер доходила до 25 осіб і більше (Путивльський Молченский монастырь, 2012: 54-55). Тоді ж у 1797 р. путивльському монастирю були надані невеликі земельні володіння, млин на річці Берюха та озеро Хотиш (для рибалства). Прибутки з цих угідь були незначними. Певний

матеріальний ресурс надавали пожертви від різних громадян і так званій кружечний збір, але й вони були невеликими.

Ймовірно, хоча монастир і його братія вели скромний спосіб життя, обитель все ж вирізнялася активною діяльністю і певною суворістю правил. Відомо, наприклад, що у 1831 р. дзвонарі Білгородського кафедрального собору П. Черняєв та І. Чехранов були відряджені до Молченської Софроніївської пустині з метою “изучения звона в колоколах” (ДАСО. Ф.418. Оп.1. Спр.1: 1-2). У монастирі також постійно вівся нагляд за тим, щоб монахи і послушники обов’язково регулярно сповідувалися, що фіксувалося у спеціальних відомостях (ДАСО. Ф.418. Оп.1. Спр.2: 1-5).

Церковна реформа вплинула не лише на статус монастирів та їхнє матеріальне становище. Конфісковані у них землі передавалися у власність держави, у власність чи користування підприємств, ці землі закріплялися за економічними / державними селянами (які часто у минулому самі були приписані до монастирів, у яких ці землі були конфісковані). Правильність передачі окремих наділів землі часто монастирською братією ставилася під сумнів. Все це призводило до непоодиноких конфліктів ченців з економічними підданими, підприємцями, місцевими поміщиками. Показовою у цьому сенсі є судова тяганина між Молченським Софроніївським монастирем та Глушківською суконною фабрикою, предметом якої стали спірні землі, що у результаті секуляризації відійшли від монастиря підприємству, але на частину яких пустинь продовжувала претендувати. Ця суперечка розглядалася у Путивльському повітовому суді протягом 1794-1802 рр. (ДАСО. Ф.449. Оп.1. Спр.376; ДАСО. Ф.449. Оп.1. Спр.415). Вірогідно подібних суперечок було у цей період значно більше, але, на жаль, не всі матеріали судових і правоохоронних установ того часу збереглися. Траплялися і свідомі правопорушення з боку самих ченців. Так, наприкінці 1770-х років настоятель Софроніївської пустині Феодосій [за О. Чурочкіним – Досифей (Путивльський Молченський монастир, 2012: 109-110), і ми більше схильні погодитися в цьому з дослідником, який опрацював церковні архіви, припускаючи опіску в опрацьованому нами документі – авт.] разом з монастирською братією захопили і почали самовільно розпоряджатися млином на річці Ольшанка, який належав місцевому поміщику З. Никифорову. Цей випадок також розглядався Путивльським повітовим судом у 1779-1780 рр. (ДАСО. Ф.449. Оп.1. Спр.23).

Ці та подібні до них конфлікти виникали ще й тому, що правила щодо позбавлення монастирів землі та наділення нею економічних селян не були відрегульовані належним чином і реалізовувалися на місцях не завжди коректно. У зв’язку з цим даний процес розтягнувся на тривалий час. Зокрема, нами були виявлені документи, які підтверджують, що Молченська Софроніївська пустинь деяких своїх володінь була позбавлена через багато років після початку реформи (ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30). І саме проблеми, пов’язані з такими відчуженнями вирішувалися у 1780-х – 1790-х роках і навіть на початку ХІХ ст.

У даній публікації ми пропонуємо до уваги декілька документів з фонду 704 (“Білопільський повітовий суд”) Державного архіву Сумської області (Україна). Усі вони об’єднані в одну архівну справу (одиницю зберігання) “Справа про Молченську Софронію пустинь. 1793 р.” і відносяться до категорії актових джерел. Це укази, рапорти, виписки з журналу засідань повітового суду – всього 5 документів. Ступінь їхньої збереженості неоднакова. Краї деяких документів зіпсовані, є фрагменти з затухаючим текстом. Але в цілому зміст матеріалів зрозумілий і дозволяє відтворити картину описаних у них подій.

Віднайдене джерело, вірогідно, є частиною більш об’ємної судової справи, яка не збереглася у повному обсязі. Про це свідчить той факт, що серед матеріалів немає документів, які б фіксували факт вирішення проблеми. Ймовірно вони не збереглися. Почалася ця тяганина, скоріше за все, також значно раніше 1793 р. Як впливає з документу 1, проблеми з розподілом колишніх земель Молченської пустині почалися десь у 1786 р., але паперів за 1786-1792 рр. в архівній справі також не міститься.

Виявлені нами документи не лише проливають світло на деякі проблемні аспекти української соціальної історії в цілому, але й допомагають зрозуміти особливості реалізації церковної реформи кінця XVIII ст., дослідити історію повсякденного життя окремих монастирів в умовах суспільних і економічних трансформацій в Російській імперії останньої чверті XVIII ст. До того ж, вони, безперечно, є цінним джерелом до вивчення маловідомих сторінок історії Молченської Софроніївської пустині.

Як видно з документів, проблема полягала у наступному. Під час секуляризаційної реформи з власності путивльського Молченського монастиря було виведено велику кількість селян (“черкас”), яким слід було виділити і певні земельні наділи з числа тих угідь, що також належали пустині. Мова йшла про мешканців сіл Коровяківка й Тьоткине на той час Білопільського повіту. Але керівництво монастиря не надало білопільському повітовому землеміру документів з точними обсягами земельних володінь та їхнім розташуванням. Відповідно у зв’язку з цим виникла певна плутанина і економічні селяни недоотримали необхідних наділів, а деякими землями самовільно стали розпоряджатися інші власники, ймовірно у тому числі й сам монастир. Як виявилось, у Коровяківці 193 особи (ревізські душі чоловічої статі) мало лише “земли лесом сто девяносто семь десятин семьсот восемь квадратных сажень”, а у Тьоткиному – 33 особи мали взагалі “десять десятин две тысячи сто двадцать два квадратных сажень”. Це було значно менше того, на що могли претендувати виведені з-під влади монастиря селяни (ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 1-2зв). Це й викликало невдоволення як самих селян, так і органів державної влади.

Вирішення зазначеної проблеми було покладено на Білопільський повітовий суд. Контроль за виконанням здійснювало Харківське намісницьке правління.

Документи у даній публікації подаємо мовою оригіналу (російською), але транслітерованої на сучасну російську мову. Ми намагалися зберегти пунктуацію і орфографію оригінальних текстів. З причин не завжди доброї збереженості документів нами були прочитані не всі слова. Такі “білі плями” позначені знаком “/.../”. Знаком “(?)” ми позначили слова у правильності прочитання яких не повністю впевнені. Інколи у квадратних дужках нами зазначені причини, з яких текст не можна правильно відтворити.

Подяки. Автори публікації висловлюють щиру подяку директору Державного історико-культурного заповідника у м. Путивль Сергію Володимировичу Тупику за допомогу в дослідженні.

Документ 1

Указ Ея Императорского Величества самодержицы всероссийской и Харьковского наместнического правления, белопольскому уездному суду, по указу Ея Императорского Величества Харьковский наместнический правление слушав сообщение здешней казенной палаты в котором прописывая представление здешнего наместничества директора экономии последовавшее во исполнение той казенной палаты определения учиненного по именному Ея Императорского Величества состоявшемуся в 28 день сентября 792-го года указу коим повелено Молчанскую Софрониеву пустынь оставить по прежнему на том основании как она по указам от 31 марта /.../ [рік не читається, текст і папір зіпсовані] и 12 генваря 779 года состояла со всеми приписанными к ней землями и угодьями изключая бывших за сей пустынью черкас с землею ими владеемою которые по примеру прочих монастырей в казенном ведомстве быть должны. Заключает как из того представления директора экономии явствует что в дачах белопольской округи сел Коровяковки и Теткиной из имени /.../ /.../ство в Молченской Софрониевой пустыни 1786 году отобранного по указанию наместничества ево директора экономии никакого о соборах (?) той пустыни о землях владения не оказалось а владели во оных селах землями чрез полосно /.../ [два з половиною рядки не читаються – зіпсований папір і

затухающий текст] селян общими владельцами одне бывшие за пустыню черкасы со время состояния их за тою пустынею так и по отобранную в казенное ведомство то помянутых отобранных от оной пустыни в селах Коровяковке и Теткиной черкас оставить при тех землях коими они ныне владеют без соучаствования во оных пустыни, а поелику по изчисленную белопольского уездного землемера явилось тех земель во владении их весьма малое количество именно в Коровяковке на сто девяносто три ревизские души земли лесом сто девяносто семь десятин семьсот восемь квадратных сажень, а с Теткиной на тридцать три души только десять десятин две тысячи сто двадцать два квадратных сажень. По укреплению же истребованным директором экономии от пустыни принадлежит к владению помянутых черкас земель гораздо больше, тем паче что и по решению межевой канцелярии 788 года апреля 5 дня учиненному оные черкасы сверх настоящих их дач должны наравне с прочими владельцами воспользоваться приле/.../ ними землями но не владеют оне полным количеством по той причине что при утвержденном в 789 году по означенному решению землемером межи за неимением тогда по недоставлению от пустыни укреплений из настоящих дач /.../ десятин и о примерной земле со стороны к/.../ной произвести иску наказано было следовало те земли по такому безгласию и прихвачен/.../ /.../чими внутренними (?) в казенных селениях владельцами (?) указом же правительствующего от 31 декабря 792 года предписано при всех производствах в судебных местах дел о завладении или присвоении кем либо принадлежащих к казенным селениям земель и других угодий казенных дел стряпчих обязаны (?) /.../ронным крестьянам вспомоществовать /.../лко по их требованиям но не составляя /.../ в произвол непременно /.../ их понуждать при сем том делать им должны со своей стороны наставления и сочинять прозбы потребные в суде документы выслушивать обще с ними или с поверенными от них последовавшие решения подписывать удовольствие или неудовольствие сочинять апелляционные прозбы не допуская их ни до каких издержек накоем (?) поверенных также к сочинению прозб и документов почему прилагая копии с укреплений относя из их ся (?) до земель принадлежащих ко владению коровенковских и теткинских черкас требует в сходство означенного указа предписать белопольскому уездному стряпчему чтобы он тех черкас наставил о следующих им состоящих ныне в завладении других чрез полосных владельцев землях противу тех укреплений произвести в надлежащем месте искательство в сочинении ж им прозб и в ходатайстве по делу приложил бы по должности своей неупустительное старание и попечение по точным словам означенного правительствующего сената указа о том (?) и присудственные места до коих рассмотрение сего дела относиться будет неумедлить скорейшим окончанием оного предпочтительно прочим частным делам, дабы казенные поселяне не могли долговременно лишаться принадлежащих к их владению земель кому следует учинить по их утверждению ПРИКАЗАЛИ для предписания белопольскому уездному стряпчему к выполнению означенного здешней казенной палаты требования представить здешнему господину губернскому прокурору причем из сообщения палаты равно и приложенных при сем укреплений относящихся до земель принадлежащих ко владению коровенковским и теткинским черкасам включить а чтобы по сей части относящиеся и белопольские присудственные места в скорости предпочтительно прочим частным делам выполнить о том белопольскому уездному и нижнему земскому судам да нижней расправе предписать указами ноября 30 дня 1793 года подленной подписали /.../ Заиковский, секретарь Николай Закупин, коллежский регистратор Яков Зимовский.

ДАСО. Ф.704. Он.1. Спр.30: 1-2зв

Документ 2

1793 Года Декабря 5 белопольского уездного суда в журнале написано

Слушали:

Указ Харьковского наместнического правления от 30 ноября коим дано знать что о предписании здешнему уездному стряпчему дабы он отобранных от молчанской софрониевой пустыни в казенное ведомство сел Коровяковки и Теткиной черкас наставил о следующих им состоящих ныне в завладении чрез полосных владельцев землях и противу того монастыря укреплений произвел в надлежащем месте искательство представлено харьковскому губернскому прокурору сему ж суду велено относящееся по сей части выполнять в скорости предпочтительнее прочим частным делам ПРИКАЗАЛИ о получении указа в харьковское наместническое правление отрапортовать а в повеленном учинить должное исполнение, подпенной подписали Николай Бабарсов, Андрей Куколь-Яснопольский, Наум Лунекин (?), секретарь Иван Селунский, а стряпчим /.../ смотрено.

ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 3

Документ 3

В харьковское наместническое правление

из Белопольского уездного суда

Репорт о получении указа

[Це чернетка згаданого у попередньому документі рапорта, текст якої ми не наводимо. У цьому документі дуже багато закреслень і виправлень. Тут повітовий суд підтверджує намісницькому правлінню факт отримання від нього розпорядження (документ 1) і зобов'язується його виконати – авт.].

ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 4-4зв

Документ 4

№274 получен декабря 5 дня 1793 года

Копия

Указ Ея Императорского Величества Самодержицы Всероссийской из Харьковского наместнического правления Белопольскому уездному суду. По Указу Ея Императорского Величества харьковское наместническое правление слушав сообщение экспедиции для свидетельства государственных щетов в котором прописывая что здешняя казенная палата от 10 октября на требование той экспедиции между прочем пишет что она от отыскании принадлежащей отобранным от молчанской пустыни в казенное ведомство черкасам земли завладенной разными владельцами и о употреблении на то стряпчего. Сообщила в сие правление почему оная экспедиция требует требование казенной палаты выполнить и экспедицию уведомить а по справке в сем правлении (?) оказалось потому казенной палаты сообщению для белопольскому уездному стряпчему к произведению о завладенной разными владельцами земли принадлежащей отобранной от молчанской пустыни иска/.../ предоставлено здешнему господину губернскому прокурору и чтобы по сей части относящееся и белопольские присутственные места в скорости выполняли о том белопольским уездному и нижнему земскому судам и нижней расправе предписано указом ПРИКАЗАЛИ о непременно по тем предписаниям выполнении белопольским уездному и нижнему земскому судам и нижней расправе предписать указами и о учинении такого предписания и уездному стряпчему предоставить господину губернскому прокурору о чем и экспедиции для свидетельства государственных щетов уведомить ноября 30 дня 1793 года подлинный подписали Федор Заиковский, секретарь Николай Закупин, коллежский регистратор Яков Зимовской.

ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 5-5зв

Документ 5

Копия

1793 года декабря 5 белопольского уездного суда в журнал написано

Слушали:

Указ Харьковского наместнического правления от 30 ноября о неременном исполнении последовавшего из оного правления предписания касательно выполнения в скорости относящегося до завладенно разными владельцами земли принадлежащей отобранном от Молчанской пустыни в казенное ведомство черкасам; ПРИКАЗАЛИ: о получении указа в Харьковское наместническое правление отрапортовать а о предписанном чинить исполнение. Подленной подписали Николай Бабарсов, Андрей Куколь-Яснопольский, секретарь Иван Селунский, а стряпчий Движинский (?) смотрел.

ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 6

Документ 6

В Харьковское наместническое правление

Из Белопольского уездного суда

Репорт о получении указа

Ея ИмВа указ из Харьковского наместнического правления от 30 минувшего ноября под №39404 о неременной исполнении последовавшего из оного правления предписания касательно выполнения в скорости относящегося до завладенной разными владельцами земли принадлежащей отобранном от молчанской пустыни в казенное ведомство черкасам в белопольском уездном суде сего декабря 5 числа получен.

И по оному определено о получении указа в Харьковское наместническое правление рапортовать а о предписанном чинить исполнение.

ДАСО. Ф.704. Оп.1. Спр.30: 7

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THE UNKNOWN DOCUMENT ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIET POWER BODIES AGAINST THE OUN OF THE MELNYKIVSKYI DIRECTION ON THE CHERNIVTSI REGION (16 MAY 1947)

Abstract. *The article publishes and analyzes the document – a memo on the agency work on exposing and eliminating the underground of the OUN of the Melnykivskyi direction on the territory of Chernivtsi region (May 16, 1947), which is an important document both for the history of the confrontation of the Soviet repressive-punitive system with the Ukrainian liberation movement and for the history of the OUN (m). According to the information potential, the published document is quite large. It reveals the peculiarities of the agency work of Soviet law enforcement agencies on the methods of detection and liquidation of the Melnykivskyi underground in the Chernivtsi region. The document gives a brief history of the formation and operation of the OUN (m) during 1940 – 1946, lists the persons arrested. At the same time, it is noted that to May 16, 1947, 286 were under suspicion of belonging to the OUN (m), and the categories of cases these persons were mentioned (26 agent cases, 4 case forms, 8 preliminary agent developments, 248 list accounting). It also gives a brief overview of the agent cases (“Trizubivtsi”, “Musejnyky”, “Nedobyti”), case forms, preliminary agent developments that are under the jurisdiction of UMDB of Chernivtsi region. The published excerpts from the secretarial cases show the extent of the search work of the Soviet security forces and the complete possession of their information. The information was collected and updated periodically about underground people not only in the USSR but also abroad.*

The article shows that the Soviet security forces played a central role in work with the agency in the complex of anti-nationalist measures. However, despite the mass pressure, the use of brutal methods of combating the repressive-punitive bodies against the Ukrainian liberation movement, the underground continued to operate in the Carpathian region of the OUN and enjoyed the widespread public support.

In addition, the development of the OUN (m) was shown as a separate direction for the work of Soviet security agencies. Although the latter did not have a broad network of operating centers in Western Ukraine, its former members were considered potentially dangerous to the Soviet administration, and thus went into development. At the same time, the development and identification of melnykivtsi continued not only in Ukraine but also abroad.

Keywords: *OUN (m), agency, Chernivtsi region, repressive and punitive bodies.*

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НЕВІДОМИЙ ДОКУМЕНТ ПРО БОРТЬБУ РАДЯНСЬКИХ СИЛОВИХ ОРГАНІВ ПРОТИ ОУН МЕЛЬНИКІВСЬКОГО СПРЯМУВАННЯ У ЧЕРНІВЕЦЬКІЙ ОБЛАСТІ (16 ТРАВНЯ 1947 Р.)

***Анотація.** У статті публікується та аналізується доповідна записка від 16 травня 1947 р. про агентурну роботу із викриття та ліквідації підпілля ОУН мельниківського спрямування на території Чернівецької області, яка є важливим документом як про історію протистояння радянської репресивно-каральної системи із українським визвольним рухом, так і про діяльність ОУН (м). За інформаційним потенціалом публікований документ достатньо великий. У ньому розкриваються особливості агентурної роботи радянських силових структур по виявленню та ліквідації мельниківського підпілля у Чернівецькій області. Документ подає коротку історію формування та функціонування ОУН (м) упродовж 1940 – 1946 рр., наводиться перелік осіб, які були заарештовані. Водночас зазначається, що на 16 травня 1947 р. розроблялося 286 осіб за приналежністю до ОУН (м) та зазначаються категорії справ, по яких проходили ці особи (26 по агентурних справах, 4 по справах-формулярах, 8 за попередніми агентурними розробками, 248 за списковим обліком). Також наводиться короткий огляд агентурних справ (“Триzubівці”, “Музейники”, “Недобиті”), справ-формулярів, попередніх агентурних розробок, які перебували в управлінні УМДБ Чернівецької області. Публіковані витяги із агентурних справ показують масштаби розшукової роботи радянських силових структур та повноту володіння ними інформацією. Інформація збиралася та періодично оновлювалася про підпільників не лише на території УРСР, але й за кордоном.*

У статті показано, що радянські силові органи відводили центральне місце роботі з агентурою в комплексі протинаціоналістичних заходів. Однак, незважаючи на масовий тиск, використання брутальних методів боротьби репресивно-каральних органів проти українського визвольного руху, підпілля продовжувало діяти у Карпатському краї ОУН та користуватися широкою підтримкою населення.

Окрім цього показаний окремий напрямок роботи радянських силових структур, яким стала розробка ОУН (м). Остання хоч і не мала широкої мережі діючих осередків на території Західної України, проте колишні її члени вважалися радянською адміністрацією потенційно небезпечними, а втак потрапляли у розробку. При цьому розробка та виявлення мельниківців тривали не тільки на території України, але й за кордоном.

***Ключові слова:** ОУН (м), агентура, Чернівецька область, репресивно-каральні органи.*

Цитування. Ільницький В.І., Кантор Н.Ю. Невідомий документ про боротьбу радянських силових органів проти ОУН мельниківського спрямування у Чернівецькій області (16 травня 1947 р.) // Сумський історико-архівний журнал. №XXXIV. 2020. С.40-53. DOI: doi.org/10.21272/shaj.2020.i34.p.40

The Soviet administration used various forms and methods in the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement. The work of agents was noted as extremely effective, therefore, special importance was paid to the creation and operation of the intelligence-information network. Of course, for decades this issue has been under a strict ban on coverage. However,

the opening of archives of different levels allows us to show the effectiveness of this method of struggle on the example of specific structural units of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The issues of the organizational formation and functioning of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists of *Melnikivsky* direction (hereinafter – OUN (m)) in certain territories relate to little-studied or even unexplored problems. The identification of documents that shed light on this topic is of great scientific importance. Of particular value are the materials on the intelligence development of *Melnikivsky* structural units. At the same time, a thorough study of the functioning of the OUN (m) is intended to ensure the integrity of approaches to the issue of the Ukrainian liberation movement of the 1940s and 1950s.

The functioning of the intelligence and information apparatus was partially covered in generalizing works on the history of the confrontation between the Ukrainian liberation movement and the repressive and punitive system. In particular, the problems of the functioning of the intelligence network were first raised to a serious scientific level by Ivan Bilas (Bilas, 1994). This problem was reflected in the publication of previously classified documents by Vladimir Sergiychuk (Sergiychuk, 2006; Sergiychuk, 1998; Sergiychuk, 2005). Subsequently, the use of agents was covered in the general studies of Dmytro Viedenieiev, Hennadii Bystrukhin, Anatolii Kentii, Yurii Kyrychuk, Ivan Patryliak, and Anatolii Rusnachenko (Viedenieiev, Bystrukhin, 2007; Kentii, 1999a; Kentii, 1999b; Kyrychuk, 2003; Patryliak, 2012; Rusnachenko, 2002). The formation and functioning of the intelligence network in the USSR were studied by D. Burds (Burds, 2006). S. Mudryk-Mechnyk analyzed the struggle of the OUN Security Council against the agents of the Soviet repressive and punitive bodies (Mudryk-Mechnyk, 1989). Peculiarities of the use of OUN agents in the Carpathian region were investigated by V. Ilnytskyi (Ilnytskyi, 2017a; Ilnytskyi, 2017b; Ilnytskyi, 2016; Ilnytskyi, 2018).

Almost all operations conducted by the Soviet security forces were preceded by serious intelligence work. For this purpose, first of all, it was necessary to create an extensive intelligence network, which was to cover all spheres of the society (HDA SBU. F. 13. Case 372. Vol. 55: 90; F. 2-N. Inv. 75 (1953). Case 3: 24; TsDAVO of Ukraine. F. 3833. Inv. 1. Case 126: 72). The Soviet repressive and punitive system used various categories of employees depending on their functional responsibilities: a resident, an agent (an action agent, an intra-agent, an external agent, a double agent, a liaison agent, a route agent, a propaganda agent, and agent-raider), informant, and “confidant”. The resident belonged to the most important category – an undercover officer who supervised the work of a group of agents or undercover informants mainly worked by conviction and enjoyed trust and authority in repressive and punitive bodies. He was allowed to look for suitable candidates for recruitment to the intelligence network. The second most structured element – the agent – is the most diverse form of the informer in the entire intelligence network. It was mainly a member of the underground organization, who independently could perform special tasks. He was distinguished by the fact that he worked on the operational work site, received the task of penetrating inside the nationalist formations to destroy them from the inside (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 56 (1953). Case 6. Vol. 5: 351-352).

The heads of the Anti-Banditry Departments (VBB, 2-N or MV and RV NKVS-NKDB) took for personal contact valuable agents in a region or district. They exercised control over the operative staff for the reception of agents, conducted interdistrict operations, opened interdistrict intelligence cases on existing departments, the development of which had to carry out the VBB and 2-N Departments (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 75 (1953). Case 5: 299). Before the beginning of 1946, the work of the state security organs to create an undercover apparatus was carried out in several directions: a) the recruitment and introduction of agents into the OUN underground that could develop and bring its participants under operational attack; b) the identification and interception of lines of organizational communication between the leading links of the OUN underground with the aim of introducing agents into them to capture or liquidate their leaders; c) interception of

communication channels of the OUN leadership-”provod” (military board) in the western regions with foreign units and introduction of the MGB agency there, seizure of couriers and access through them to the hiding places of OUN leaders; d) the creation of fictional “provod”s from qualified agents with the task of subjugating subordinate “provod”s, armed groups and their nationalist organizations to decompose them from the inside, etc.; e) exposures and liquidation of OUN groups and organizations whose members lived legally (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 99 (1954). Case 8. Vol. 3: 13-14).

In the fight against the OUN underground, it was considered expedient for each group of more than 10 people to start an intelligence case with its full characteristics and the mandatory presence of the agents that developed it. In addition, intelligence cases were opened against all OUN “provod”s (subdistrict (“kushovi”), district, supra-district, (“okruzhni”), regional) and UPA divisions. After the liquidation of the persons who were involved, they closed the cases, but upon detection and restoration of the “provod”s, they opened the new ones (mostly under new titles). (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 58 (1953). Case 2. Vol. 1: 3; Inv. 90 (1951). Case 62: 5; F. 13. Case 372. Vol. 72: 163-167).

The intelligence work was carried out through the real forms of cases in the KGB apparatus: 1) *an intelligence case* was initiated against a group of people in terms of their relations with each other, common actions, and a single program and purpose. Most often a group of people belonging to a certain underground group, an anti-Soviet underground organization, was accused and developed in the following cases; 2) *a case-form* was opened for one person; 3) *a record and surveillance case* was opened against persons who, although they did not carry out anti-Soviet activities, but their past required constant intelligence supervision by special services; 4) *a search case*; 5) *a literal case* (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 56 (1953). Case. 6. Vol. 5: 348). The case-forms, the development objects of which for a long time did not carry out anti-Soviet activities, were transferred to record and surveillance cases. The inclusion of persons who went through the intelligence cases, the case-forms, and the record and surveillance cases was approved by 2-H Department of the UNKGB. The case-forms started only in the presence of primary intelligence and other materials. The opening of all cases or their transition from one form to another was formalized by a resolution, which was registered in the A Department of the NKGB.

The intelligence network was quite dynamic, the number of its members was constantly changing due to the inclusion of new agents, elimination (in CHA-RA, FZN, exclusion due to conspiracy, death, disappearance, transfer to other bodies) (HDA SBU. F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 48: 1-2; F. 2-N. Inv. 56 (1953). Case 4. Vol. 3: 286; Inv. 36 (1960). Case 1: 37; DALO. F. P-5001. Inv. 6. Case 58: 294).

The Chekists searched for everyone who was registered (even over the All-Union wanted list) and worked out until their fate was established. Moreover, to deregister the wanted underground members, efforts had to be made and the reasons for the closure of the search should be justified (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 12 (1960). Case 44: 26-27). In particular, although the activities of the OUN (m) did not gain a large scale, the structure had insignificant branching, and a small number of members, the Soviet law enforcement agencies actively developed it. The search of the UMGB for the former *Melnikivsky* organizations was carried out to implement the special directive of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR (No. 34 of Apr. 10, 1947) on intensifying the exposure and liquidation of the underground nationalist organization OUN (m) and the directive (No. 46 of Sept. 27, 1952) on combating the *Melnikivsky* underground (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 12 (1960). Case 39: 117; Case 37: 13). The Ministry of State Security of the USSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR paid considerable attention to the fight against OUN (m). In this regard, even a special unit was introduced into the 2-N Department, which was supposed to be engaged in the organization of struggle and development of actions on members of the *Melnikivsky* underground, although in practice it was poorly

staffed, moreover, the operational staff was systematically used for other purposes (tasks in other areas) and there were frequent movements of the operational staff. The tasks of organizing agent-operational activities to expose the current OUN underground in the regions and intercepting its communication channels with foreign centers of the OUN (m) were set before the department. The department was recommended to provide comprehensive assistance in carrying out its tasks, and all its work should be kept under strict control by senior management. It was strictly forbidden to use the operational staff for indirect purposes (HDA SBU. F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 279: 9-10). The operational staff of the 2-N Department of the UMGB was systematically seconded to the areas where the OUN "provod"s were active during the German occupation to assist in organizing agent-operational activities to identify and develop participants of these "provod"s. The task was to create and organize a qualified undercover apparatus, which would have the ability to identify and develop participants of the underground, and subsequently intercept communication channels with foreign countries. They paid a particular attention to attracting agents from among the contacts of the *Melnikivsky* fighters who were abroad, to introduce agents into foreign "provod"s. To do this, they sent the agents to identify and develop PUN members who arrived in the region from abroad (as repatriates, migrants, re-emigrants). Also, in areas where in the past there were many PUN members, they allocated one experienced operative to carry out special operational activities in this area, the control of which was placed personally on the chiefs of MV, RV MDB (HDA SBU. F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 279: 11; Case 278: 143-144; F. 2-H. Inv. 99 (1954). Case 6: 220; Inv. 12 (1960). Case 40: 68).

The Soviet law enforcement agencies constantly carried out measures to identify all the former members of the OUN (m), who crossed the border in 1944 (many members of the Bukovinian regional OUN (m) "provod" scattered and settled in Romania and Czechoslovakia), collected incriminating materials on them; and carried out undercover surveillance of active nationalists. Close family and organizational ties were established between the fugitives, measures were taken to identify those who corresponded with them, and they were put on the All-Union wanted list (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 12 (1960). File. 47: 51, 62; File. 17: 31; F. 71. Inv. 6. File. 313: 1-1rvs.). For the development of both OUN (m) and OUN (b), the agents from among relatives or former underground fighters were used, while applying to them a common "argument" - the institution of an eviction case (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 12 (1960). Case 37: 190).

The Chekists carried out not only development but also constant monitoring of the former *Melnikivsky* fighters. In particular, they discovered Orest Zybachynsky and Dionysius Kvyatkovsky, who were ideologists of the OUN (m) organization (they were introduced into the OUN (m) "provod" in 1947); identified the former leader of the Bukovynsky "provod" of the OUN (m), Andrei Boyko, who moved to an illegal position, and several leaders of the OUN (m), who after legalization lived in Romania. So the former member of the Bukovynsky "provod" of the OUN (m) and a member of the OUN group Yarema Syretsky and his wife Iryna Voitsenko were discovered in the Spinen' village (Romania) in November 1953 (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 19 (1959). File. 26: 394).

Among those living on the territory, those who pleaded guilty and legalized (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 19 (1960). Case 14: 21, 31, 40, 205) caused serious concern. The problem for the Soviet security forces was that in 1947, the OUN (m) "provod" sent about 20 emissaries to the territory of the Ukrainian SSR to communicate with OUN (m) participants who had organizational or family ties. As a rule, among those abandoned in groups, some people had family ties in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR through which they established contacts with the active underground. Thus, the foreign parts of the OUN (m) tried to restore activity and old organizational ties. For the transportation of emissaries of the OUN (m) "provod", Poland served as the main bridgehead (they left Germany legally through the repatriation channels of Polish citizens) (HDA SBU. F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 205: 9). Thus, four emissaries of the OUN (m) "provod" arrived with the

transport of repatriates from Germany to Poland (November 21, 1948) (HDA SBU. F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 205: 10; Inv. 12 (1960). Case 39: 248-249; Case 40: 2). All those who were sent were provided with the addresses of proxies from among the staff members of the OUN underground (HDA SBU. F. 2-N. Inv. 19 (1959). Case 26: 29-30; Case 14: 1; Inv. 98 (1954). Case 5. Vol. 2: 248-251; F. 13. Case 372. Vol. 56: 47; F. 71. Inv. 6. Case 279: 12).

Thus, the Soviet security forces gave a central place to work with the agency in a set of anti-nationalist measures. Its practical use has proven its effectiveness. However, despite massive pressure and the use of brutal methods by the repressive and punitive authorities against the Ukrainian liberation movement, the OUN underground in the Carpathian region continued to operate and enjoy widespread public support.

A separate area of work of the Soviet security forces was the development of the OUN (m). Although the latter did not have a wide network of acting centers in Western Ukraine, its former members were considered potentially dangerous to the Soviet administration, and therefore were being developed. At the same time, the development and identification of the *Melnikivsky* undergrounders continued not only on the territory of Ukraine but also abroad.

The document we are publishing is a memorandum on undercover work to expose and eliminate the underground of the OUN of the *Melnikivsky* direction in the Chernivtsi region of May 16, 1947 (HDA SBU. F. 13. Case 372, Vol. 62: 253-262). This is an important document, both concerning the history of the confrontation between the Soviet repressive and punitive system and the Ukrainian liberation movement and to the history of the OUN (m). In terms of informational potential, the published document is quite large. In particular, the document reveals the peculiarities of the intelligence work of the Soviet power structures to identify and eliminate the *Melnikivsky* underground in the Chernivtsi region. Besides, it provides a brief history of the formation and functioning of the OUN (m) during 1940-1946 and lists the persons who were arrested. At the same time, it is indicated that on May 16, 1947, 286 people were being developed for belonging to the OUN (m), and the categories of cases in which these people went through were indicated (26 for undercover cases, 4 for case forms, 8 for preliminary undercover developments and 248 on the list). There is also a brief overview of intelligence cases (“Trezubovtsy”, “Muzeiniky”, “Nedobyty”), case forms, and previous undercover developments that were in the office work of the UMGB of the Chernivtsi region. For example, the most characteristic case of the operational record of the UMGB of the Chernivtsi region was the undercover case No. 79 “Tryzubivtsi”, (started on January 9, 1945) for 11 former members of the Bukovinian regional OUN (m) “provod”, who after the occupation of the Chernivtsi region by Romanian-German troops in 1941, left to the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR as part of Voynarovsky squad (HDA SBU. F. 13. Case 372. Vol. 32: 101).

The published excerpts from undercover cases show the extent of the search work of the Soviet power structures and the full possession of information by them. Information was collected and periodically updated about the underground not only in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, but also abroad.

The article preserves the vocabulary, copyright, and editorial features of the sources as much as possible. Proper names and geographical names are given without changes. Only the most obvious grammatical flaws were subject to correction. Each document is accompanied by a legend, which indicates the place of storage of the document (name of the archive, number of the Fund, inventory, case, sheets).

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Document**Reporting note on intelligence work on the disclosure and liquidation of the OUN underground of the Melnikovsky direction in the territory of the Chernivtsi region (May 16, 1947)**

TOP SECRET

Copy

TO DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE STATE SECURITY OF THE USSR

Major General

comrade DROZDOV

the city of Kiev

REPORTING NOTE

about intelligence work on the disclosure and liquidation of the underground of the OUN of the Melnikovsky direction in the territory of the Chernivtsi region

According to the verified intelligence data, investigative materials, and documentary data available at the UMGB, it was established that until 1940-1941, the existing OUN underground in the Chernivtsi region was of Melnikovsky direction.

Attempts of Bandera fighters, in 1941, to take under their influence the regional “provod” of the OUN and the organizational network of the OUN were unsuccessful.

After the Romanian invaders reoccupied the territory of the Chernivtsi region as a result of Nazi Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union, restored their regime and began to actively persecute Ukrainian nationalists, a significant part of the OUN of Melnikovsky’s direction, led by members of the regional “provod” of Bukovyna OUN, left the Chernivtsi region to the Stanislav region, from where, as part of well-known Ukrainian legions, together with German troops they went to the eastern regions of Ukraine to carry out nationalist work and actively help the German invaders in the fight against the Red Army and partisans.

The remaining links of the OUN, mainly rural local organizations, were taken by Bandera fighters under their influence.

Thus, since the end of 1941, the organized OUN underground of Melnikovsky direction in the Chernivtsi region ceased to exist.

About the presence and activities of the Melnikovsky underground of the OUN, both after the expulsion of the Romanian-German invaders from the territory of the region and at present, we do not have and did not have any data.

In the process of combating the OUN from 1944-1945-1946, the UMGB identified and arrested almost all leaders of the previously existing Melnikovsky underground of the OUN; in particular, the following members of the regional “Provod” were arrested:

1. KIRILOV Anton Stepanovich, born in 1878, a native of the city of Storozhynets in the same district of the Chernivtsi region, was arrested in January 1945.

2. KARBULITSKY I.I., born in 1899, a native of the village of Shubranets, Sadgorsky district, Chernivtsi region, was arrested on January 20, 1945.

3. KEPLUN Leonid Mikhailovich, born in 1899, a native of the village of Mamaevtsy, Kitsmansky district, Chernivtsi region, was arrested in April 1945.

4. GRIVUL Andrei Fedorovich, born in 1919, a native of the village Vasiliv of the Zastavnovsky district of the Chernivtsi region, was arrested in April 1945.

5. YAVORSKY Alexander Vasilievich, born in 1911, a native of Chernivtsi, was arrested in April 1945.

6. GUZAR Olga Zakharovna, born in 1885, a native of the city of Vienna, Ukrainian, arrested in April 1945.

7. MIKITYUK Miroslav Dmitrievich, born in 1915, a native of Vashkovtsy, Chernivtsi region, was arrested in April 1945.

8. DZHULIBA Stepan Nikiforovich, born in 1897, a native of Chernivtsi, arrested on September 20, 1945, and others.

At the end of 1946, according to our information, the UKR MGB of the Southern Group of Soviet Forces in Romania arrested the former members of the Melnikovsky territorial and regional "provod"s of the OUN of Bukovyna: FURMAN Yuri Mikhailovich, YAKUBOVICH Vasil Grigoryevich, KHORAVCHOK Yaroslav Danilovich, GRIGOROVICH Ivan Antonovich, KVYATKOVSKY Miroslav Ivanovich, DINILYUK Illarion Korneevich, DANILYUK Evgeny Andreevich.

At present, 286 people in total have been registered with the UMGB and are being developed according to their membership in the OUN of the non-Bandera direction, including:

Undercover cases 26 people

Caseforms 4 "

Preliminary intelligence developments 8 "

List accounting 248 "

The most characteristic cases of operational records are:

Undercover case No 79 «TREZUBOVTSY» was instituted on January 9, 1945, for a group of 11 people as members of the OUN-Melnikovtsy, who in 1941 after the occupation of the Chernivtsi region by the Romanian-German troops as part of the OUN "kuren"(unit), headed by members of the Melnikovsky regional "provod" of Bukovyna OUNVOINAROVSKY, traveled to the eastern regions of Ukraine, where they actively cooperated with the German occupation authorities, as well as carried out active nationalist activities.

Of the persons under development, who were involved in this case, the following ones are of the operational interest:

1. KATINSKY, Ivan Osipovich, born in 1911, a native and resident of the city of Chernivtsi, non-partisan, a citizen of the USSR, Ukrainian, secondary education, works as a teacher at school No. 13 of the Shevchenkivsky district of the city of Chernivtsi.

2. STEPKOVOY, Dmitriy Grigoryevich, born in 1912, a native of the village of Toporivtsi in the Sadgorsky district of the Chernivtsi region, a Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, with secondary education, married, works as the principal of school No. 17 of the Leninsky district of the city of Chernivtsi.

3. GAVRISH, Anton Yakubovich, born in 1908, a native of Chernivtsi, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, with secondary education, works in the city fire department.

4. KOZUBOVSKY, Stepan Mikhailovich, born in 1920, a native and resident of the city of Chernivtsi, a Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, married, works as a car driver in the Chernivtsi tram park, lives in Chernivtsi, Bukovinskaya, 5.

5. GLYBKA, Dmitry Vasilievich, born in 1897, a native of the village of Mamaevtsy, Kitsmansky district, Chernivtsi region, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, higher education, works as a school inspector of the regional department of public education, a resident of the city of Chernivtsi.

6. ZHITARYUK, Anton Ivanovich, born in 1896, a native and resident of the city of Chernivtsi, a Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, works in the department of steam locomotive Chernivtsi station.

7. KOBELSKY, Mikhail Iosifovich, born in 1912, a native and resident of the city of Chernivtsi, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, temporarily does not work anywhere.

In the process of development, the organizational relationship of these individuals with OUN has not yet been established. However, all of them are extremely hostile to the Soviet regime and display nationalist sentiments.

The development of the persons involved in the undercover case of "Trezubovtsy" is carried out through the agents "GORLIK", "VERNYT" and "PRAVDIVY", who, when exposed as members of the OUN, have the necessary capabilities and connections for development.

Undercover case No. 100 "MUZEINYKY" was instituted against a group of Ukrainian nationalists- employees of the museum of local lore. on February 20, 1945.

Of the persons undergoing intelligence, the following ones deserve the most operational attention:

1. Shevchukevich, Opanas Evgenievich, born in 1902, a native of the village of Vizhenki, Vizhnitsky district, Chernivtsi region, from a family of an artisan, non-partisan, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, with higher medical education, works as the head of the Chernivtsi home medical enlightenment, lives in the city of Chernivtsi.

In the documents of the Romanian Siguranta that we captured after the liberation of the region, it was stated that SHEVCHUK Opanas is an active member of the OUN and a confidant from the Melnikovsky direction; also, he is a communication agent between the Melnikov and Bandera OUN members.

VASILASHKO-TEMINSKAYA, whom we arrested as a member of the OUN, testified that she knew Shevchukevich Opanas as an active member of the OUN in the past in the city of Chernivtsi, who during the German occupation of Northern Bukovina was arrested by the Romanian Siguranta as a Ukrainian nationalist and was detained for a long time, but later he was released for unknown reasons.

In the process of undercover development, it was found that Shevchukevich after graduating from high school in the town of Vizhnitsa and the Faculty of Law of the University of Chernivtsi came to Czechoslovakia, to Prague, from where he illegally crossed the border. While in Berlin, he established contact with Petliurites and Ukrainian nationalists. At the same time, he had contact with student fascist organizations, with the assistance of which he received a scholarship from the German government to study. Shevchukevich traveled from Germany to France, Holland and other countries, where he had connections with Ukrainian nationalists.

After his return from Romania to Chernivtsi, SHEVCHUKEVICH established contact with a prominent member of the OUN – Vladimir ZALOZETSKY, KVIYATKOVSKY, BENDAK, and at the same time carried out active propaganda among the Ukrainian population of a nationalistic nature.

In 1940, after the liberation of Northern Bukovina from the Romanian boyars, Shevchukevich established himself as a Soviet activist, at the same time he continued to keep in touch with active members of the OUN.

During the German-Romanian occupation, Shevchukevich spoke in press with anti-Soviet speeches and conducted active Ukrainian-nationalist work.

Currently, the department is developing SHEVCHUKEVICH through qualified agents "CHEKH" and "KOSAR".

2. PAVLYUK, Nina Andreevna, born in 1910, a native of the city of Chernivtsi, Ukrainian, non-partisan, a citizen of the USSR, does not work anywhere, lives in the city of Chernivtsi.

Since 1943, PAVLYUK N.A. has been a member of the OUN female network, led by "ODARKA" and "ZIRKA" arrested by us. Currently, she is showing anti-Soviet sentiment and spreading rumors about the allegedly upcoming war of the USSR with the Anglo-American bloc, and that with the help of the latter, a Ukrainian government will be created in Bukovina.

3. CHALY Dmitry Ivanovich, born in 1893, a native of the city of Kherson of the Kherson region, according to social origin – from handicraftsmen, Ukrainian, non-partisan, with higher education, works as chief accountant in the museum of local lore, lives in the city of Chernivtsi.

CHALY, living in the territory occupied by Germans in the Kherson region, was associated with active Ukrainian nationalists. At present, he expresses anti-Soviet sentiments and spreads rumors about the capture of Ukraine by the Anglo-Americans through military operations and the creation of an “independent Ukrainian state”.

4. BATYUK, Stepan Ivanovich, born in 1892, a native of the village of Oshyhliv, Kitsmansky district, Chernivtsi region, from workers, a citizen of the USSR, non-partisan, Ukrainian, works as a worker in a glue factory, lives in the city of Chernivtsi.

BATYUK is a former member of the OUN of the Melnikovsky direction, his apartment was used by staff members of the OUN as a meeting place for the leadership of the OUN. Currently, the entire Batyuk’s family is hostile to the Soviet regime and expresses anti-Soviet nationalist sentiments.

Undercover case No. 112 “NEDOBITY” was instituted on May 28, 1945, against a group of students from the Chernivtsi State University whom suspected of having connections with the OUN and expressing anti-Soviet-nationalist convictions.

In the case are:

1. ZAPORYANYUK, Arysya Nikolaevna, born in 1928, a native of the village of Stebni, Chernivtsi region, from a teacher’s family, non-partisan, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, a student of Chernivtsi State University, lives in Chernivtsi with her parents.

Since 1942, a member of the OUN ZAPORANYUK A.N. maintains contact with “ODARKA” and “ZIRKA” – the heads of the OUN female network.

Being a member of the OUN “ODARKA’s” unit, ZAPORANYUK conducted anti-Soviet nationalist agitation among the Ukrainian population for the creation of the “Ukrainian Independent State”. After the arrest of “ODARKA” and “ZIRKA”, ZAPORANYUK led a secluded life, and recently, she has been trying to activate the nationalist work among her contacts.

So, at a meeting with our source “TANYU”, ZAPORANYUK expressed her views on intensifying nationalist work, saying:

“We must now intensify our work, as soon there will be no Soviets in Bukovina. With the help of the Americans, a Ukrainian government will be created here, and then we, the Ukrainian youth, will be asked what we have done useful for the Ukrainian people in difficult days.”

ZAPORANYUK has a relationship with the ones we are developing on suspicion of having connections with the regional “provod” of the OBZVU.

2. BABYUK, Lidiya Semenovna, born in 1923, a native of the village of Dzhemany, Kitsmansky district, Chernivtsi region, non-partisan, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, a student of Chernivtsi State University.

BABYUK is connected with PERUN, BUCHINSKAYA and ZAPORANYUK, the latter visit the BABYUK apartment, where they are conducting anti-Soviet nationalist conversations, the BABYUK family, consisting of father, mother and brother, is hostile to the Soviet regime and expresses its sympathies for the Anglo-American bloc.

3. KOTYNYUK Nadezhda Kornilovna, born in 1922, a native of the village of Gavrillovtsy, Kitsmansky district, Chernivtsi region, from peasant fists, non-partisan, Ukrainian, a citizen of the USSR, a student of a state university, lives in the mountains. Chernivtsi.

KOTYNYUK has a relationship with Orysyia ZAPORANYUK, whom we are developing as a member of the OUN. Among her contacts, she expresses dissatisfaction with the existing system in the USSR, and also expresses dissatisfaction with the lecturing at the State University in Russian, calling it “Russification.”

At present, after the arrest of her contacts - ZAPORANYUK, "ODARKA", and "ZIRKA" for nationalist work, KOSTYNYUK leads a secluded life and does not even express her nationalist convictions to her close friends.

We are developing the indicated objects of the "NEDOBITY" undercover case – ZAPORANYUK, BABYUK, and KOSTYNYUK through agents "KOSAR", "GALYU" and "TANYU" in the direction of opening their present ties with the OUN and revealing their organized anti-Soviet activities.

According to the case-form, we are developing Nikonor Antonovich CHERNYUK, born in 1904, a native of the village of Grushki, Mogilev-Podolsky district, Vinnytsia region, from a family of a merchant, non-partisan, Ukrainian, with higher education, works as a geography teacher at the Chernivtsi Teacher Training Institute, lives in Chernivtsi.

According to reports, during the years of the Civil War CHERNYUK was the organizer of the Petlyura rebel gangs and carried out nationalist agitation among the Ukrainian population.

During the German occupation, CHERNYUK lived in the town of Starobelsk, Voroshilovgrad region, wherefrom the first days of the occupation he established contact with the Ukrainian nationalists ZELENSKY and KARPENKO, now arrested by the Voroshilovgrad UMGB for Ukrainian-nationalist activities.

Being in Starobelsk in 1942, CHERNYUK, on the instructions of the German occupation authorities, created an agricultural laboratory for the study of agricultural products and worked in this laboratory as the head of one of the departments.

Carrying out active Ukrainian-nationalist work, CHERNYUK created a so-called Ukrainian choir and drama circles in Starobelsk, in which the anti-Soviet songs and plays were learned and performed.

In 1943, to unite the circles he had created, CHERNYUK tried to organize the Ukrainian-nationalist organization "PROSVITA", but with approaching the Starobelsk city of parts of the Soviet Army, CHERNYUK fled to the rear of the German army and settled in the village of Grushki, Vinnytsia region. In July 1945, the Voroshilovgrad UMGB issued the arrest of CHERNYUK for Ukrainian nationalist activities, but because CHERNYUK was in the hospital in Kyiv at that time, the arrest was canceled until his recovery.

In October 1946, CHERNYUK from the Vinnytsia region arrived with his family to reside in the city of Chernivtsi, where he still lives.

With his arrival in Chernivtsi, CHERNYUK leads a secluded life, and among his close contacts, apart from dissatisfaction with the difficulties of economic life, sharp hostile manifestations and his connection with the OUN underground has not been established.

Besides, we have launched a preliminary undercover developments No. 216 of PERUN, O.N., and No. 278 of PETRUSHKO, YAKUBOVSKY, and DANYSH, who are being developed as organizers of the Chernivtsi regional "provod" of the OBZVU.

PERUN Onufry Nikolaevich, born in 1922, a native of the village of Krasnoye of the Kresy'yansky District (Poland), from the middle peasants, Ukrainian, non-partisan, a student of the philological faculty of Chernivtsi State University, lives in Chernivtsi.

In the process of the intelligence development of PERUN, it was established that he was sharply hostile to the Soviet regime and expressed his anger with great caution among his close contacts in the form of anti-Soviet songs and jokes. Along with anti-Soviet judgments, PERUN expresses sabotage and terrorist sentiments: So, on April 2, 1947, PERUN told the source "MAKITRA": "Come on, let's blow up several houses in the city, I can get as many grenades as possible for this purpose."

The qualified agent LUKASCHUK, aimed at developing PERUN, on July 13, 1947, reported that PERUN was sharply hostile, and when he met the source, he told a lot of anti-Soviet poems compiled by himself, he also said that the Soviet regime would not be here soon since there would soon be a war between the USSR and the Anglo-American bloc, in which the USSR would certainly be defeated.

On May 5, 1947, when a source met PERUN in the latter's apartment, PERUN, referring to the source, said: "Taras, it's time to create an underground organization at the university."

The source, showing his solidarity with the opinions of PERUN, said that experienced and trusted people are needed for this purpose, to which PERUN answered: "We have them. Here we are with you, my wife BUCHINSKAYA. Besides, I can attract some professors to work."

In a further conversation, PERUN told our source LUKASCHUK that on Easter holidays he was with the parents of his wife BUCHINSKAYA in the village of Zastavnovsky district, Chernivtsi region, where he had a meeting with acting Ukrainians (bandits) who asked PERUN whether the underground organization was needed at the university, and they answered him that "no" because they "leave the scientific youth for a crucial moment".

We develop PERUN and his wife BUCHINSKAYA through agents "MAKITRA", "TANYU", "LUKASCHUK" and "KOSAR".

YAKUBOVSKY, Vladimir Petrovich, born in 1928, a native of the Bolshovets district of the Stanislav region, from the middle peasants, non-partisan, Ukrainian, a student of the history department of Chernivtsi State University.

YAKUBOVSKY had contact with the arrested person, as deputy to the "provod" of the OBZVU, Peter SICHKO. Currently, he expresses anti-Soviet sentiment and, under the guise of acquiring food, often travels outside the Chernivtsi region.

DANYSH Ivan Dmitrievich, born in 1927, a native of the village of Lenets, Zabolotovskiy district, Stanislavskiy region, from poor peasants, non-partisan, Ukrainian, 1st-year student of the philological faculty of Chernivtsi State University.

Among his contacts, DANYSH expresses anti-Soviet sentiments, gives hope for a war between the USSR and America, because the USSR will fail in Soviet power in Bukovina and a "Ukrainian government" will be created.

DANYSH has a connection with the BUCHINSKAYA and ZAPORANYUK that we are developing, with whom he shares anti-Soviet nationalist beliefs.

All of the listed persons, who are actively developed, are furnished by qualified agents.

To uncover the underground OUN of the Melnikovsky direction in Chernivtsi and on the territory of the Chernivtsi region and to intensify the undercover development of existing operational records for "Ukrainian nationalists" of Bandera direction, we have compiled a plan of undercover operations, a copy of which I am enclosing.

The Head of the Directorate of the MGB of the Chernivtsi Region

COLONEL (RESHETOV)

May 16, 1947

No. 502

Chernivtsi city.

A copy is right:

DEPUTY AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF UKGB IN THE CHERNIVTSY REGION IN THE STROZHINETSKY DISTRICT - LIEUTENANT COLONEL (PAVLICHENKO)

REFERENCE: Memorandum No. 502 dated May 16, 1947, is in file No. 10 - Memoranda and special communications in the Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR for 1947, Volume 1, pages 156-168, which is stored in the UAG UKGB of the Chernivtsi Region.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL
(PAVLICHENKO)

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NOT ONLY FOREIGN AFFAIRS: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE' CULTURAL POLICY DURING COLD WAR

***Abstract.** The article is devoted to the consideration of the existing activities of the US Department of State in matters of cultural policy. Attention is focused on the works of foreign and domestic researchers who devoted their work to the consideration of the essence of the cultural policy of the state, which is often called cultural or public diplomacy or soft power. It is indicated that these directions in the USA are carried out by the structural unit of the State Department – the Bureau of Education and Culture, and the history of its formation is described. The active period of cultural diplomacy in the USA falls on the end of World War II and the beginning of the ideological confrontation between the USA and the USSR, known as the Cold War. One of the active tools for cultural diplomacy has been the dissemination of television and radio broadcasting around the world. No less actively used exchange programs and visits of citizens of other countries, which were designed to promote mutual understanding, international, educational and cultural exchange, as well as the development of leadership qualities of its participants. It is pointed out that US cultural diplomacy has reached its peak by incorporating jazz, culture and literature into its arsenal.*

***Keywords:** USA, cultural diplomacy, Department of State, American literature, television and radio companies.*

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НЕ ЛИШЕ ЗОВНІШНІ СПРАВИ: КУЛЬТУРНА ПОЛІТИКА ДЕРЖАВНОГО ДЕПАРТАМЕНТУ США В ПЕРІОД ХОЛОДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

***Анотація.** Стаття присвячена розгляду існуючих напрямків діяльності Державного Департаменту США в питаннях культурної політики. Акцентується увага на працях зарубіжних і вітчизняних дослідників, які присвятили свої роботи розгляду сутності культурної політики держави, яку часто називають культурною або публічною дипломатією або м'якою силою. Вказується, що ці напрямки в США здійснюються структурним підрозділом Державного Департаменту – Відділом з питань освіти і культури і описується історія його становлення. Активний період проведення культурної дипломатії США припадає на закінчення Другої світової війни і початку ідеологічного протистояння США і СРСР, відомого як «холодна війна». Одним з активних інструментів ведення культурної дипломатії стало розповсюдження теле- та радіомовлення по всьому світу. Не менш активно використовувалися програми обміну та візити громадян інших*

країн, які були покликані сприяти взаєморозумінню, міжнародного, освітньому та культурному обміну, а також розвитку лідерських якостей її учасників. Вказується, що культурна дипломатія США досягла свого розквіту, включивши в свій арсенал джаз, культуру і літературу.

Ключові слова: США, культурна дипломатія, Державний департамент, американська література, теле- і радіокомпанії.

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One of the main political institutions of the existence and functioning of the state as a whole is the ministry (department, office) of foreign affairs, which advises the president and supports international relations. In the USA, the organization of international politics is in the introduction of the Department of State, which is responsible for implementing the foreign policy of the United States, managing the country's diplomatic missions in other countries, negotiating agreements and treaties with foreign organizations and representing the United States in the United Nations. However, along with broad powers in the political sphere, the duties of the State Department include working with various non-profit organizations and foundations representing social and political programs in other countries. By pursuing a cultural policy in this way, the Department of State not only helps maintain the position and image of the United States as a world leader, but also disseminates the concept of "American internationalism", declaring the possibility of providing each state with tools to realize its national potential based on cultural, ethnic, and religious traditions, emphasizing this, that no other country in the world, except the United States, is able to provide such opportunities (Kuchmii, 2015).

The role of any state in the modern system of international relations depends not only on political, economic, military resources, but also on its cultural and spiritual potential, cultural heritage, which can be a powerful catalyst in achieving foreign policy goals. That is why intercultural dialogue is an important component of the development of relations between states, both bilateral and multilateral.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the main directions of cultural diplomacy in the United States during the second half of the XX century.

The issue of cultural policy of the United States as a whole (although the concept of cultural diplomacy is used more often) is devoted to a number of works by foreign and Ukrainian researchers. Cultural diplomacy today remains a complex concept, which is gradually developing the substantive part. For example, cultural diplomacy as an effective tool in achieving the national interests of the state, as an integral part of the "soft power" of the USA is considered in the works of W. Glade, M.K. Cumming, E. McMurray, J. Nye (Kuchmii, 2015). Some of the works of American authors are inherently close enough to the official views of the State Department and suffer from the so-called "official history", are not critical enough and are overwhelmed with traditional formulations. The works of A. Thomson and N. Voltaire, which provide a broad overview of US cultural programs and their policies, are quite substantial (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 32). Despite the fact that their works were written long ago, they do not lose their relevance in the history of the origin of this type of activity.

Ukrainian historical science is also not without scientific work on the issue of US cultural diplomacy. In particular, in the works of O.P. Kuchmii shows the basic characteristics and main priorities of US cultural diplomacy at a certain period of their development, namely during the Obama presidency (Kuchmii, 2015). I.I. Gavrylenko in his dissertation considers cultural diplomacy as a component of "soft power" (Gavrylenko, 2017: 12), and the works of D. Dubov

are devoted to cultural diplomacy in terms of the mechanism for implementing strategic communications of the state (Dubov, Dubova, 2017).

Speaking of US cultural diplomacy, it is worth mentioning such a concept as public diplomacy. If, for example, in the UK or in France, cultural activities are singled out as a specific foreign policy method, for the implementation of which bodies are created that only use it – the British Council and the French Institute, respectively, in the United States there is no separation of cultural diplomacy from public, and therefore both activities in US diplomatic practice are deliberately indistinguishable. Therefore, public diplomacy can be defined as a set of measures taken by both central and foreign bodies of foreign relations to study the attitude and inform the foreign public, as well as to establish contacts abroad to improve the image of the state and national interests. Cultural diplomacy is a set of purposeful actions aimed at exchanging ideas, information, values, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture, in order to promote intercultural understanding (Gavrylenko, 2016).

One of its structural divisions, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, whose history dates back to 1940, deals with cultural policy within the United States Department of State. It was then that Nelson Rockefeller, as coordinator for commercial and cultural affairs in the American republics, initiated a program of human exchange with Latin America, as a result of which 130 Latin American journalists were invited to the United States (Ninkovich, 1978: 215). Subsequently, for a decade, the region's leading musicians were invited to broadcast in New York to perform on Viva America for the State Department's Office for the Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations and the Office for the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs (Ninkovich, 1978: 216). Such actions by N. Rockefeller made the political circles of the United States think about the need to create a body that meets the needs of the government in the centralized dissemination of information. It was for this purpose that the Military Information Office appeared in 1942, the task of which was to unite the disparate agencies of domestic and foreign information (Ninkovich, 1978: 220). Although the organization did not last long and was disbanded when Harry Truman came to power in 1946, a small element of its original structure remained with the State Department as the Office of International Information and Culture, which in 1947 was renamed the Office of International Information Exchange education (History and mission of the BECA).

In general, during the Cold War, the American establishment understood the logical connection between interaction with foreign audiences and victory over so-called ideological enemies in the form of the USSR, and considered cultural diplomacy vital to US national security.

In 1948, MPs Carl Munds and Senator H. Alexander Smith introduced the Smith-Munds Act to establish a state news agency to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to strengthen mutual understanding between Americans and other countries. In 1948, the government established an international visitor program designed to engage professionals, intellectuals, and opinion leaders in the political and social infrastructure of American society (History and mission of the BECA).

In 1953, thanks to President D. Eisenhower, the United States Information Agency (USIA) appeared in the United States to consolidate the information functions performed by the Department of State and other agencies. Nevertheless, educational and cultural exchanges remain in the introduction of the State Department (History and mission of the BECA). Since this historic period coincided with the height of the Cold War, all United States activity was directed against the Soviet Union. One of the most powerful tools of American cultural propaganda policy was an extensive international network of radio and television networks to other (primarily hostile) countries, which was controlled by the above agency. The system brought together five American international broadcasters, the Voice of America, the World Television and Film Network, Radio and TV Marty, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Free Asia.

Another major method of cultural diplomacy at the time was exchange programs and visits by citizens of other countries (students, officials, the military, etc.) to the United States, which operated mainly in Western Europe. To a lesser extent, cultural diplomacy was extended to the Middle East, Indochina, and East Asia (especially Japan).

In 1959, the Bureau of Public Relations in Education and Culture was established, and in 1961 Congress passed the Fulbright-Hayes Act establishing an international program that «strengthens the ties that unite us with other peoples by demonstrating educational and cultural interests, directions and achievements of the people of the United States and other countries» (Fulbright-Hays Act, 1961).

In essence, the goal of the program was to improve mutual understanding between people from the United States and the peoples of other countries.

The most famous and widespread project of its kind is the Fulbright Program, which began in 1946 to mark a milestone in civic exchange. Under this program, the State Department provided grants to students, graduate students, faculty, administrators, and professionals for training and internships at various (primarily American) institutions for both foreigners and its citizens. In addition to the Fulbright program, the Humphrey Program (mid-level civil servants exchange) has been in place since 1978, the program of international informal visits of leaders, the Muskie program, various university exchange programs, and so on since 1961. During the Cold War, the United States provided organizational and financial support to various programs to promote the study of English abroad, as knowledge of the latter was seen as an important prerequisite for the spread of American cultural influence. Accordingly, centers for assistance to English teachers (American House, which provided educational audio, video and printed materials), libraries, special radio and television broadcasts were established all over the world (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 127).

In addition to educational programs, foreign cultural policy covered other areas. Cultural diplomacy flourished when the United States began to use jazz, abstract expressionism, and literature for its purposes. The State Department coordinated and sponsored tours of famous musicians abroad who performed as representatives of the great power and its culture, organized exhibitions of American art, distributed magazines and books with positive information about America. In 1964, the Art in Embassy Programs program was launched, involving about 180 American residences (embassies and consulates) around the world. In fact, a global museum and exhibition center was created, which showcased works from the collections of American galleries, museums, corporations and individuals. For example, in the late 1950s, some 100 different missions were sent to 89 countries. In particular, Louis Armstrong was known as the “jazz ambassador”, Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker brought an understanding of the concept of freedom, held their concerts, showing that not only the elite has the right to listen to them. They went on tour for several months, giving concerts in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Muslim countries and the Soviet Union (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 168).

By the end of 1961, the Bureau of Education was established in the State Department. In 1978, US President J. Carter approved a major reorganization of the US News Agency, merging it with the Bureau of the State Department of Education and Culture to turn it into an international communications agency. However, in 1982, President-elected D. Reagan changed his name to the original. And only in 1999, as a result of the final reorganization of the US News Agency, its functions were integrated into the State Department and became the responsibility of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Relations, under whose authority the Office of Education and Culture Public Relations, US Department of State Spokesperson, US Diplomacy Center, Bureau of International Information Programs, etc.) dealing with public relations and seeking to take away the image of the United States around the world (History and mission of the BECA). In fact, it was evidence of even greater recognition of the importance of this

area. For the first time, a department of public diplomacy was established in the State Department, to which the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchanges and the Bureau of International Information Programs were transferred. In accordance with this reorganization, an independent structure was created, which included the above-mentioned radio and TV channels (Waller, 2009: 99).

Thus, today there are many definitions of “cultural diplomacy”. It is also part of the concept of “soft power”, which, in contrast to “hard power”, has the ability to “persuade through culture, values and ideas”. It is also “the exchange of ideas, information, values, beliefs and other aspects of culture in order to strengthen mutual understanding”. This is the “sale of the country’s image by means of culture”. American policy in the world is implemented not only through the use of economic or military-political mechanisms, but also through the use of tools for public – cultural diplomacy, which contributes to the dialogue in tandem “USA – countries of the world”, which is implemented through various cultural mechanisms: exhibitions, promotion of language and American culture abroad. After World War II, American cultural diplomats sought to show that the United States could offer something beyond the use of military force and commercial gain. Through literary magazines, traveling art exhibits, touring music shows, radio programs, book translations, and conferences, they have developed a revolutionary modernist aesthetic to prove that American art and literature are aesthetically rich and culturally significant. However, it should be noted that it is not only the bureau of the State Department that carries out so-called cultural diplomacy. Not the least role in this process is played by non-governmental institutions: philanthropic foundations, charitable organizations, sponsorship institutions, etc.

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