

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
HUSSITE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY

Dissertation

**Freedom of Conscience and Religious Policy of Soviet Power in
South of Ukraine in 1917-1939 (Historical and Legal Aspect):
from State to Individual**

**Svoboda svědomí a náboženská politika sovětského režimu
na Jihu Ukrajiny v letech 1917-1939 (historický a právní
aspekt):
od státu k jednotlivci**

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Gratitude

At this point, I would like to sincerely thank my scientific supervisor Prof. ThDr. Jan B. Lášek, Dr.h.c. mult. for the help rendered by him, valuable advices and remarks during writing this work, and also for his patience.

Statement

I hereby confirm that this work, titled 'Freedom of Conscience and Religious Policy of Soviet Power in South of Ukraine in 1917-1939 (Historical and Legal Aspect): from State to Individual' was written by myself using mentioned sources and literature.

In Prague

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Glossary of Terminology

Archive of SSU in Odessa region – Archive of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine in Odessa region.

CC – Concentration camp.

CEC – Central Executive Committee.

CLC – Corrective labor camp.

CR – Counter-Revolution.

GPU – The State Political Directorate.

MASSR – Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

NKP – People's Commissariat for Education.

NKVD – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

NKYu – People's Commissariat of Justice.

Odessa HPCW – Odessa House of Public and Compulsory Work.

OGPU – The Joint State Political Directorate.

OS of the OGPU Collegium of the Ukrainian SSR – Special Council of the JSPD Collegium of the Ukrainian SSR.

RA – Red Army.

RO of NKVD – District Body of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs.

ROC – Russian Orthodox Church.

RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

SAOR – State Archive of Odessa region.

SARF – State Archive of Russian Federation.

SNK – Council of People's Commissars.

TOC – True Orthodox Church.

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

VChK – All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the problematics and relevance of the research topic. Active transformations in the modern world have led to a radical revision of the place and role of the individual in society and state, and even in Church. Human, his rights and freedoms were declared the highest value. The problems of human freedoms and rights are increasingly appearing on the pages of mass media, in researches and scientific works, in legislative acts, and the right to freely choose and change, to have and disseminate beliefs and act in accordance with them, is guaranteed to virtually everyone. This right was called the freedom of conscience. It is worth noting that, in addition to the theoretical concept, the important point in the practice of freedom of conscience implementation is the question of what content is included in the concept of freedom of conscience, how it is guaranteed by state, by certain state structures, how problems of tolerance, mutual understanding, freedom of expression of personal convictions regardless of their attitude towards religion are being solved.

The relevance of the formulated research theme, which allows not only to determine the approaches to comprehending the phenomenon of freedom of conscience, but also to systematize, accumulated on it knowledge and practical experience, to form a conceptual apparatus on the basis of generalization of the collected material, through which it is possible to trace not only the evolutionary path of the concept but also the mechanism of this freedom realization in its smallest and largest extent. Moreover, in this context it is interesting to study the state and church relations, the religious policy of the young atheistic Soviet state in 1917-1939, which legislatively enshrined the right to freedom of conscience and realized the principle of separating the church from the state and the school from the church. As history and historical experience show, if society is divided according to the principle of attitude toward religion or towards one of the confessions, then the conditions for the privilegedness of one people at the expense of others are created, which generates intolerance, a policy of restrictions on personal rights and freedoms, manipulation of people's convictions.

As a matter of fact, the topic of our research is entitled 'Freedom of Conscience and Religious Policy of Soviet Power in South of Ukraine in 1917-1939 (Historical and Legal Aspect): from State to Individual', the interrelation of the human right to freedom of conscience with such eternal problems as 'religion and the state', 'personality and society', 'interpersonal relations' put them on a par with fundamental problems of the philosophical and theological thought, and the historically established principle of consideration the problems of freedom of conscience through the prism of attitudes toward religion determines the expediency of

widespread use of this institution both in theory and in practice. Moreover, an appeal to the history of the development of views on the institution of freedom of conscience, the development of relations between religion and the Soviet state, allows us to trace the evolution of the legal status of religious organizations in order to generalize the experience of the legal regulation of their activities. This is especially relevant now when the number of supporters of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its independence from the Russian Orthodox Church is rapidly growing in the Ukrainian society, when the state seeks again to actively participate in the processes of the religious life of the country. This is evidenced by the Appeal of the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on the granting of Tomos about the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine¹, the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ‘On the Submission of the Appeal of the President of Ukraine to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on the Granting of Tomos about the Autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine’², including also the so-called ‘church’ bills No. 4128 dated February 23, 2016³; No. 4511 dated April 22, 2016⁴, which, although were withdrawn from consideration by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, continue to cause active opposition from believers.

Goal and objectives of the research. The main purpose of the research is to investigate the formation and development of the institutions of freedom of conscience and religion (toleration in certain historical stages of world history), the genesis of views on freedom of conscience and its legislative consolidation of this particular legal institution in the religious policy of Soviet power in 1917-1939, and also the impact of the state atheistic policy (in this case, repressive policy) on the fate of individual personalities or groups, in particular clergy, activists and members of religious communities, members of their families.

The set goal is specified by the following tasks:

- to define the structure and generalize various scientific approaches to understanding the principle of freedom of conscience;

¹ *Address of President of Ukraine to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew* (in Ukrainian) // The official online representation of the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko

<http://www.president.gov.ua/administration/zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayini-do-vselenskogo-patriarha-varf-438>

² *Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ‘On the Submission of the Appeal of the President of Ukraine to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on the Granting of Tomos about the Autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine’* from April 19, 2018 (in Ukrainian) // web-site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2410-19>

³ *Draft Law on Amendments to the Law of Ukraine ‘On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organization’ (Regarding Subordination of Religious Communities) 2351-VIII* from March 20, 2018 (in Ukrainian) // web-site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=58255

⁴ *Draft Law on the Special Status of Religious Organizations, the leading centers of which are in the state, which is recognized by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine as the state-aggressor No. 4511* from April 22, 2016 // web-site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=58849

- to distinguish the main historical stages of the development of the institution of freedom of conscience and to make a chronological review (in the era of antiquity, in early Christian society, in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, New and Newest Times);

- to establish the most influential theological concepts and to reveal the characteristic features of Christian doctrines (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy) on the principle of freedom of conscience;

- to establish the features of the development of the institution of conscience in the legal and sociocultural context; the differentiation of the concepts 'religion', 'religiosity', 'spirituality';

- to illustrate the specifics of the functioning of religious organizations in the period after 1917, by disclosing the features of legislation and the historical realities of that time;

- to clarify and determine the cause of the conflict between the Soviet state and religious organizations;

- to trace the evolution of the legal status of the clergy in the Soviet Union, the genesis of repression in relation to the church and methods of combating it;

- to highlight the problem of repressive state policy towards believers and its regional characteristics;

- to investigate the impact of the change in the legislation on freedom of conscience on individuals and describe their destinies as a memory of godless state policy and Christian new martyrdom as a phenomenon taking place in the XX century.

In addition, the aim and objectives of the research required the systematization, analysis and generalization of a large number of sources in the field of philosophy, religious studies, law, history, theology, cultural studies, sociology.

The chronological scope of the research is conditioned by objective factors and events in the history of both the church and state-church relations. The dissertation topic is limited to 1917-1939, where the first date indicates the revolutionary changes that occurred in the Russian Empire, and the second – the end of the Great Terror of 1937-1938.

The territorial boundaries of the research of the third and fourth chapters are limited to the cultural and historical region of Ukraine – the South of Ukraine, which includes the modern Odessa, Kherson and Mykolaiv regions of Ukraine.

The object of the research is the process of formation and development of freedom of conscience, the functioning of this institution in conditions of conducting anti-church policy of the Soviet power.

The subject of the research is the religious policy of the Soviet state in 1917-1939 and its impact on civil society and individual, through repressive methods of social control and coercion.

Methods of the investigation. The methodological basis of the scholarly paper has become a general philosophical approach, as well as general scientific, special scientific and own scientific methods.

The dialectical method allowed to substantiate the regular character of the development of freedom of conscience as a category of law in society, to trace the patterns and historical trends of the development of this institution.

The axiological approach allowed to discover the nature of the basic values that determine the content and character of the functioning of the legal concepts of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, based on such legal and universal values as human freedom, democracy, human rights.

The anthropological method was used in considering different views on freedom of conscience based on different approaches to solving this issue, depending on the place and time; in the search for an answer to the question of the existence of a universal understanding of this institution.

With the help of a logical method, the presented in the science approaches to the disclosure of the concept of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion are summarized, the main structural elements of these institutions are defined.

It has been also used the historical method in the research, which helped to trace the history of the development of the concept of freedom of conscience and religion, the impact of understanding these freedoms on the internal, religious policy of the Soviet state in 1917-1939.

The following special historical methods were also used: a frontal survey of archival and other sources, historical description, a method of actualization, which allowed investigating historical phenomena and facts both in close connection with the historical situation and in their qualitative change at various stages of development.

The current state of scientific elaboration of the topic.

The authors' appeal to historical events connected with the problems of freedom of conscience was often fragmentary and could not give a general picture. A huge contribution to the development of the research topic of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience was made by philosophers Berdyayev N.A., Losev A.F., Solovyev E.Yu., historians Bolotov V.V., Likhachev D.S., John Acton, scientists Lebedev A. P., Brilliantov A.I., Laktionov A., Lukyanov S. A., Kareyev N.I., Salygin E.N., Shakhnovich M.M., Kolyakina E.L., Soskovets L.I., Kupriyanova E.E., Kostyukovich P.I. Among foreign scientists, it is worth noting Garnak A.,

James E. Wood, Dobbelaere Karel, Ferguson E., Woolf G., Gradel I., Klauck H.-J., Fishwick D., Hunt E.J., Charlesworth M.P., Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, Salzman M.R., Erlikhson I.M.

Among the scholars who contributed to the investigation of state and church relations in the Soviet Union in the period from 1917 to 1939, it is worth mentioning Pospelovskiy D.V., Shkarovskiy M.V., Kurlyandskiy I.A., Gubonin M.E., Rogozyanskiy A., Romanovskaya V.B., Latishev A.G., Pokrovskiy I.N., Ivanov S.N., Zagrebin S.S., Rastimeshina T.G., Chernykh A., Maksimova O.D., Mayorova N.S., Margolis A.D., Pritykina T.B., Daniel A.Yu., Emelianov N.E., Khaylova O.I. and others.

Concerning the period of Soviet law, it should be noted that many Soviet researchers tried to show exclusively the anti-Soviet activities of the clergy and believers during the October period and the first years of Soviet power. The problems of the history of relations between the church and the Soviet state attracted the attention of foreign researchers. In the dissertation, the researches of foreign historiography are used, represented by works of Leonid Luks и Karl Schlögel.

Despite the wide coverage of state and church relations, the number of works investigating this issue on archival materials is obviously insufficient, without which it is impossible to recreate the overall picture of these tragic pages of our history. Local researchers are making only the first steps in an active research of the role and place of the institution of freedom of conscience in the history of the regions.

The empirical base of the research was composed of several groups of sources. The first group of sources is represented by legislative acts of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR. Special attention is paid to the Soviet Constitution and constitutional acts – Decree on Land (October 26 / November 8, 1917), Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia (November 2, 1917), Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR 'On Separation of Church from State and School from Church' (January 23, 1918), Decree of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Ukrainian SSR 'On Separation...' (January 22, 1919) and other. In the dissertation, the necessary acts of the actual legislation of the USSR and the Union republics are analyzed.

The second group of sources is represented by by-laws: departmental instructions and circulars of the People's Commissariat of Justice and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, as well as the corresponding People's Commissariats of other Soviet republics, circular letters and instructions of the People's Commissariats of the USSR.

The third group of sources consists of archive files stored in the State Archives of the Odessa region, as well as the Archive of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine in the

Odessa region, other archival institutions, in particular, questionnaires of arrested persons, search and arrest warrants, interrogation protocols of accused and testimony, face-to-face protocols, decisions and sentences of courts, reports of secret employees were used. Most of these documents were introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

The fourth group of sources – church documents. These include the decrees of Patriarch Tikhon, the decrees of the Local Council of the ROC 1917-1918 and the Revival Council of 1923, official letters to the faithful of the metropolitans of the Russian Orthodox Church, and others.

The fifth group of sources consisted of journalistic materials that allowed the clergy and believers to react to various events in the state and church life, trace the evolution of the views of individual party and Soviet figures on various issues of development of state and church relations and Soviet legislation on cults, to use official statistics on the state of religious organizations in the USSR, materials about conducting anti-church campaigns, etc.

Scientific novelty of the research.

The dissertation is a complex investigation of the scientific problem in the history of the church and state, state and church relations, conceptual reproduction of the process of the formation of ideas about freedom of conscience in history and the influence of this institution on public thought and the development of civil society.

The research paper reconstructs a model of causal phenomena and events related to the process of formation and development of ideas about freedom of conscience. The interrelation of such concepts as freedom of conscience and secularisation, religion and religiosity, religiosity and spirituality is considered, attention is drawn to religious, cultural, historical and value representations, the distribution of ideas about the freedom of thought and belief in the world is shown and their rational attitudes are revealed.

The scientific novelty of the thesis is as follows:

- the correlation and interrelation of politics and law in the field of practical realization of freedom of conscience in the society is revealed. The thesis proves the position of the primary policy of the state with respect to the degree of practical feasibility of the guaranteed right to freedom of conscience. Moreover, in the case when the right to freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the state, articulated by the dominant ideology and fixed by legislation in constitutions, declarations, laws, etc., there is still no basis for a conclusion about a real practical implementation of it.

- the dissertation contains a specific analysis of archival documents and normative legal acts that determine religious policy and the main activities of higher and central state institutions in the South of Ukraine in 1917-1939;

- a number of new archival materials stored in the funds of the State Archives of Odessa region and the Archive of the Office of Security Service of Ukraine in the Odessa region (Ukraine) are introduced into scientific circulation.

- it is shown that freedom of conscience is not limited to the sphere of relations between the state and its numerous and multi-level structures and religious associations, but also has a significant influence on the individual.

- a rethinking of many historical facts related to the appearance and genesis, the development of legislation on freedom of conscience has been created from current positions.

The interdisciplinary approach allowed to analyze the problems of freedom of conscience in different aspects – historical, theological, legal and sociocultural.

The practical significance of the received results.

In the scientific and research field – for further investigation of the proposed problems, the study of the features of state and church relations in different regions and at different historical stages of the development of society.

In the education process – during the preparation of the relevant sections of textbooks, in teaching courses ‘Common Church History’, ‘History of the Church in Ukraine’, ‘Church Law’, ‘Constitutional Law’, ‘State and Confessional Law’, in the research work of students.

The scientific results of the dissertation have been tested and implemented in the education process of the Law Faculty of the Uzhhorod National University (Ukraine).

The dissertation structure. The thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters, 15 subdivision, conclusions, author index and a list of used literature. The total volume of the paper – 353 pages, 315 of which – the main text.

1. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION AS THE BASIS FOR FREEDOM OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY

The institution of freedom of conscience and religious denomination throughout its history is inextricably linked with spiritual, moral, political, legal and economic changes taking place in society. The history of the formation of freedom of conscience as a legal institute is sometimes tragic because the confrontation of ideologies often engendered political and even military conflicts, repressions against the church. At the same time, the genesis of development made it possible to work out clear frameworks and definitions for this institute and thereby outline and establish the boundaries of various forms of interaction between church and state, state and confessional relations.

The standard of legal understanding of freedom of conscience is now fixed by many international legal acts and documents, in most cases is prescribed in the constitutions of countries and individual laws. But it is more fair from the scientific point of view to consider not the genesis of the institution of freedom of conscience, but the change of ideas about the very freedom of conscience, because in this case much depends on the specific views on this issue of a particular state and the current legislation in the sphere of state and confessional relations. As an example, in the legislation of some countries, in particular in Saudi Arabia and Oman, the activities of any non-Muslim associations are pursued by the authorities, and the law does not mention freedom of conscience at all⁵.

1.1 Freedom of conscience of human and diversity of the approach of understanding the definition

1.1.1 The principle of freedom of conscience in the historical context

1.1.1.1 Freedom of conscience and secularization

Freedom of conscience and religion is one of the most important human rights in a democratic society. Freedom of conscience is a natural human right to have any beliefs. This is the difference from the narrower concept of freedom of religion, in which the right to confess and practice any religion is based.

⁵ SALYGIN, E.N. *Theocratic state*. M., 1999, p. 52.

Historically, the meaning of the term has been expanded and at present freedom of conscience is usually understood as the right not to confess and practice any religion, preach religious or other worldviews and/or propagate rejection of them. The religious philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev writes: ‘From the very existence of conscience it follows that conscience is free. ... My conscience must accept spiritual authority, and when my conscience does not accept it, it loses for me a quality of authority. Conscience, which makes an appraisal and pronounces judgments, must be free from everything outside of it, which is external to it. ... In religious spiritual life, I can not accept anything except conscience and against conscience. This would not be a spiritual phenomenon, for the spirit is freedom. A free conscience is the greatest moral good and the very condition for the possibility of an ethical life⁶.

Freedom has always been the highest value of society, acting as the most important characteristic for the whole of mankind, and for every individual. The issues of individual freedom have been given special attention at all times. The ability to distinguish between good and evil ceases to be the exclusive supreme right of the state, the people or the people's majority. When this ability was singled out and realized as a divine property of human nature, it manifested itself in actions aimed at limiting power by affirming the primacy of a sovereign inner voice over the united will and the established customs of those around. According to this hypothesis, the soul of a person was perceived as something more sacred than the state, it receives its light from above and takes care of the eternal, so that is outside the framework of general government interests. From this root, freedom of conscience has increased, and with it all other freedoms necessary to keep power within borders, making it impossible for her to encroach on the unconditional supremacy of this highest and best of beginnings in a human⁷.

The historical path to modern understanding of the legal institution of freedom of conscience is inextricably linked with the process of secularization of civil society, where secularization is presented as a process of reducing the role of religion in the minds of people and the life of society; transition from a society governed primarily by religious tradition to a secular model of social order based on rational (non-religious) norms. It should be noted that the state policy aimed at reducing the influence and role of religion (for example, a secularization of education or culture), including in such ways as legislative restrictions of activities, repressions against the church and its servants, about which we will speak below. D. M. Ugrinovich and other authors in the collective research paper ‘Towards a Society Free From Religion’ gave such

⁶ DMITRIEVA N. K., MOISEEVA A.P., *Philosopher of the Free Spirit: Nikolay Berdyayev, Life and Creativity*. M., Higher school, 1993, p.221

⁷ ACTON J. *History of ancient freedom. National self-determination. On the study of history. The origin of the modern state. Freedom in the Christian era*. Directmedia, 2013, p.126

a definition of secularization: ‘the process of gradual and complete emancipation of society and personality, not only from the influence of the church but also from religion in general’⁸.

Particularly term ‘secularization’ derives its origin from the Latin *saecularis*, which means secular. Religious scholar M.M. Shakhnovich notes that the term secularization ‘was used in cases where it was necessary to emphasize the difference between secular and ecclesiastical law and property’⁹. According to his theory, secularization can be conditionally divided into three levels: on the first or so-called macrolevel the separation of church and state was fixed at the legislative level, the freedom of conscience and religion was proclaimed (18th century). The average level of secularization, according to his theory, implies the autonomy of the cultural, intellectual and economic spheres of society's life from religion. And already the individual level of secularization is indicated by the fact that religion has become a private matter of citizens, has become a matter of personal beliefs and preferences. The three-level secularization model proposed by Karel Dobbelaere can also be applied to our problematics¹⁰. In this case, according to his system ‘Societal secularization which is a typical consequence of the processes of modernity, and of programmes of ‘la cisation’ promoted by political parties. Individual secularization that is manifested in the decline of church commitment; occurring as individuals re-compose their personal beliefs and practices in a ‘religion la carte’; and as the individual's meaning system becomes compartmentalized and religion is separated from other areas of life. A third level, organizational secularization, covers the incidence of the adaptation of religious bodies to secularized society».

1.1.1.2 Religion and religiosity

At the same time, religion has been and remains one of the most important regulators of social reality. It is impossible not to agree with the fact that in the modern world, religion attracts different strata of the population. In addition, it is difficult to challenge the aspect that religion is an ethical regulator of society¹¹. There is a logical question, what are religion and religiosity? If with the classical definition of the term ‘religion’ it is more understandable (from the point of

⁸ *Protsess sekulyarizatsii v usloviyakh sotsializma i ego sotsiologicheskoe issledovanie [The Process of Secularization in the Conditions of Socialism and its Social Study]. K obshchestvu, svobodnomu ot religii (protsess sekulyarizatsii v usloviyakh sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva) – Towards a Society Free of Religion (the process of secularization in the socialist society)*. Moscow: Mysl' Publ., 1970.

⁹ SHAKHNOVICH M.M. *Religious Studies: [for universities in the direction of preparation 031800 ‘Religious Studies’]*. StPerersb.: Publishing house ‘Piter’, 2012, p.349

¹⁰ DOBBELAERE KAREL. *Secularization: an Analysis at Three Levels*. Brussels : PIE-Peter Lang, Series: Gods, Humans and Religion, 2002, № 1.

¹¹ TSYRENDORZHIEVA DARI SH., BAGAEVA KSENIYA A., *Religiousness and secularization: essence and correlation*. Bulletin of the Buryat State University 2015. Issue. 14A, p.27.

view of theology, religion is a connection between man and God.) From the point of view of philosophy, religion is a belief in ‘pure reason’, and also one of the forms of self-knowledge). It should be noted that in different cultural and historical types of religions there is no definition of religiosity, there is no unity with regard to this term also in scientific circles. Religiousness is viewed from different perspectives, applying many parameters and criteria. It is the question of the criteria of religiosity that is the most important methodological issue directly related to the definition of the essence of religiosity. Many researchers take two elements as the main criteria – the content and level of religious consciousness and religious behavior. Summarizing different approaches and points of view on what is a necessary and sufficient criterion of religiosity, we can distinguish the following groups of signs of this phenomenon: 1. self-identification of the respondent; 2. a certain range of worldviews, characteristic of a given religion or group of faiths. 3. the totality of certain practices. The scientist Kalyakina E.A. considers that ‘the criterion of religious self-identification should be used as the basic one, since this attribute is the most widespread and popular among researchers. Self-identification of the respondent as a criterion for determining the attitude to religion is complex. Here are distinguished: a) the definition of a person's attitude to religion in general – religious self-identification, usually determined by an invariant scale such as ‘believer - indifferent - unbeliever’ or ‘believer - hesitant - unbeliever – atheist’; b) determining the attitude of a person to a particular religious faith – confessional self-identification. The first component is considered basic, the second is the concretizing sign of religiosity, which is expressed both in religious consciousness and in religious behavior¹². The sociological dictionary gives the following definition of religiosity: the quality of an individual or group, manifested in faith and worship of the sacred and/or supernatural at the level of consciousness, behavior and relationships in both religious and non-religious spheres¹³.

1.1.1.3 Religiosity and spirituality

Very often the concepts of ‘religiosity’ and ‘spirituality’ merge into one, that distorts their content and essence. Spirituality in a broad sense of understanding this term should be inherent in all cultural people (including believers), and religiousness – exclusively in believers. Sometimes some representatives of the church confuse these concepts. In other words, spirituality is a unique personal experience, the maturity of the values of personalities, a way beyond the individual, something connected with the divine. At the same time, one can not fall

¹² KOLYAKINA E.A., *The definition of the essence of the concept of ‘religiosity’*. Bulletin of KSU named after O.N. Nekrasov, 2007. Vol. 13, p.54.

¹³ SOCIOLOGICAL DICTIONARY / Respons. ed. G.V. Osipov, L.N. Moskvichev. M, 2014, p. 389-390.

into the other extreme and deny the effect of religion on a person and, at the same time, call him highly spiritual. According to the culturological concept, spiritual culture or spirituality consists of many components. In addition to religion, this includes all areas of the sciences of nature and society, literature and poetry, all kinds of arts (painting, music, sculpture, cinema, theatrical art (ballet, opera, drama, etc.) morals, rules, patterns and norms of behavior, traditions, language, ceremonies, symbols, customs, rituals, etiquette, etc.). Analyzing the psychological ideas of spirituality and religiosity, R.V. Aguzumtsyan concludes that religion can be a broader concept in relation to spirituality and include it in itself. At the same time, if we consider spirituality as an experience of internal, personal experiences, as a search for the sacred, one can assume that with religious experiences a person can experience aesthetic, cognitive, moral experiences that can lead him from the empirical to the transcendent world. From this point of view, spirituality appears broader, in relation to religious experiences, a concept, and includes it along with other experiences¹⁴.

Recognition of religious attitudes is an indispensable element of a culture that is as ineradicable as cognitive or aesthetic. Without religion, a person is not complete, not integral, although, of course, the available forms of religiosity can be factors of deformation of cultural integrity, as, indeed, science, art and philosophy¹⁵.

In the historical aspect, the origins of the genesis of ideas about freedom of conscience are presented even in the ancient world. As V.S. Nikolskiy writes: 'In the Ancient World, national religions are predominantly state ones, i.e. authorized and official. At this time, there is an idea of the divine origin of all power, especially state power. The terrestrial power hierarchy was considered a reflection of the celestial hierarchy, divine'¹⁶. This idea was the basis of such a positive attitude of the state to religion, because pursuing political goals and public interests, rulers favorably treated not only different national beliefs, but also encouraged it. The vast pantheon of pagan gods was never considered complete and was open to borrowing from other nations.

¹⁴ AGHUZUMTSYAN, G.V., KHACHATRYAN N.G., *Izuchenie fenomena duhovnosti v kontekste religioznogo znaniya i psihologicheskoy nauki [Studying the phenomenon of spirituality in the context of religious knowledge and psychological science] // Nacionalnyj psihologicheskij zhurnal [National psychological journal], 2012 (1): p. 74-80.*

¹⁵ GROMOV V. E., *Spirituality as philosophical, social and cultural development problem. Anthropological dimensions of philosophical research*, 2013, issue 4.

¹⁶ NIKOLSKIY V.S., *Basics of Religious Studies: A Training Manual*. M.: MSIU, 2007, p.59.

1.1.2 Freedom of belief and attitude to religion in the age of antiquity

1.1.2.1 Freedom of conscience and toleration in Ancient Greece

The diversity of the religious mystical experience of mankind confirms the fact of a constant search for ideals and high values, how many a person exists, so much controversy continues about what human life is, what it should be, and this question is inextricably linked with the faith of God or gods. Ancient Greek philosophers considered the concept of kalos kagathos¹⁷, the essence of which was self-knowledge and perfection. Aristotle paid special attention to the fact that a perfect person adheres to moral norms, does not allow himself to commit bad deeds and strives for beauty for the sake of beauty. But the desire of beauty for the sake of beauty in a religious sense does not tolerate competition. Despite the fact that in Ancient Greece religion was not monotheistic, tolerance or freedom of conscience was not a characteristic feature of ancient Greek society, the object of religious rejection may be: a religion that is deemed false in the presence of the dominant religious system or community and threatening them; religion, which is regarded as conflictually dangerous for the customs and foundations of this society; a religion that is judged in terms of the destroyer of social principles or threatening this or that political authority; religion, which is recognized as alien to the cultural environment in which it is proclaimed; religion, which is identified with foreign political influence and, thus, is given out as a carrier of danger for the integrity and independence of the state.¹⁸ As L.I. Soskovets states 'civil and political loyalty, patriotism were often associated (and are still associated) with loyalty to the dominant church and religion, so their criticism could not be tolerated, since it threatened the state'¹⁹.

Foreigners in Athens were allowed to honor their gods, provided there was no blasphemy against the Greek gods, because for insulting their own gods (patrons of the policy), the revenge of the gods to the entire polis and its inhabitants was to be followed immediately and inevitably. It is necessary to recognize that the veneration of other religious cults was either freely permitted by the authorities or required official permission, while the understanding of freedom of conscience in the ancient world was largely determined by the democratic form of government in city-polities. It was the state that set certain limits to the freedom of thought and action and severely punished those who passed them, since the insult to the city's gods could provoke the

¹⁷ LOSEV A.F. *The History of Ancient Aesthetics: The Results of Millennial Development*, book 2. M., 1994, p. 386-439

¹⁸ JAMES E. WOOD. *Human right to freedom of religion in the international perspective // Dia-Logos. Religion and Society*. M.: Truth and Life, 1997, p.13.

¹⁹ SOSKOVETS L.I. *Religious Tolerance and Freedom of Conscience: History and Question Theory*. Proceedings of Tomsk Polytechnic University, 2004. T. 307. № 2, p.178.

wrath and punishment of the deity to the entire community, guilty of accepting the impostor to themselves. But even the great thinker Plato (427-347 BC) did not believe in the effectiveness of democracy in policies. Denying the gods Plato referred to the category of state crimes. In the gods, according to Plato, it was necessary to believe 'according to the laws', disbelief in their existence, insulting them with word or deed was to be punished initially by five years' imprisonment, and in case of relapse of 'wickedness' – death²⁰. It is interesting also the opinion about Plato that he claimed that unbelief is a kind of disease, an obsession that goes with age. Plato created a kind of classification of people who do not recognize faith in God. From what type of unbeliever a person belongs, the form of punishment must have been determined. This classification was conducted on a moral basis. First, Plato identifies those who completely deny the existence of the gods, but do not commit bad deeds, and secondly, those who deny the gods in the universe and are not restrained in pleasures and passions.

In ancient Greece, the authorities severely dealt with those who denied the existence of the gods. Suffice it to recall the story of Protagoras or Diagoras of Melos: 'In the 5th century BC, the people's assembly of Athens has decided to bring to justice those who disseminate new doctrines of peace and do not believe in gods. It is for this reason that Protagoras, who doubted the existence of the gods, was forced to flee Athens, and Diagoras of Melos got the sobriquet 'atheist' and a reward was awarded for his head²¹.

In ancient Greece, the fortuneteller Diopif even proposed a decree (432 BC), according to which 'people who deny religion and disseminate the doctrine of celestial phenomena must be brought to justice²². According to a number of historians and lawyers, by this decision on the 'special state crime' (eisangelia), the leaders of the warring parties obtained a legitimate opportunity to eliminate their political opponents under the pretext of 'godlessness'. So begins a whole series of processes about godlessness or asebia (they took place before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war)²³: over Anaxagoras, Protagoras, who is the author of the code of laws for Athens written at the request of Pericles, and then also the process under Socrates²⁴. By the way, the process under the great ancient philosopher Socrates on charges in asebia still causes admiration for his courageous rejection of a possible escape and the calm acceptance of death.

²⁰ KUPRIYANOVA E.A. *The problem of religious tolerance in Ancient Greece*. Bulletin of MSTU, vol. 13, №2, 2010, pp. 412-415.

²¹ KOSTIUKOVICH P.I. *Religious Studies: Textbook* / P.I. Kostiukovich. Mn.: New knowledge, 2001. (Social and Humanitarian Education), p.159.

²² RACHKOV P.A. *Science and social progress*. M.: Publishing house of Moscow University, 1963, p.72.

²³ NIKITYUK E.V. *Processes on accusation of wickedness (asebia) in Athens in the last quarter of the 5th century BC in the collection* 'The Ancient World: Problems of History and Culture. Collect. of scient. articles on the 65th anniversary of the birth of prof. E. D. Frolov. St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 1998, p.122.

²⁴ VITS B.B. *Democritus*. M.: Mysl. 1979, p.126.

The essence of the charges brought against Socrates was that he corrupts the youth, refusing to honor the Athenian gods and introducing new deities.

In our opinion, it is very doubtful in such circumstances to talk about freedom of conscience, although a limited legal institution of freedom of religion is still present to some extent. It is worth noting that even then outstanding representatives of the time spoke for freedom of religion, among whom was Tertullian (160-222), he particularly said: ‘... everyone worships what he wants. The religion of one person is neither harmful nor useful to another. But it is not in the nature of one religion to violate another. Religion should be acceptable by persuasion, not violence’²⁵.

1.1.2.2 Toleration and freedom of conscience in Ancient Rome

Deities revered in ancient Rome can be divided into two large groups: the first ‘engaged in’ small everyday affairs, such as lares (family spirits of ancestors) and penates, the head of supplies. For them, there are small house sanctuaries, aediculas, where rites are performed daily. The second group includes all the famous deities of the Roman pantheon, the so-called Roman interpretation of the Greek deities. Thanks to contacts with conquered countries of Greek culture, the Romans fully understood many Greek ideas and partly worldview²⁶. Jupiter, as the most important deity, the god of heaven, thunder and lightning, Juno is the wife of Jupiter, Minerva is the goddess of arts, war and reason, Mars, Venus, Diana, Bacchus, etc.²⁷. At the same time, the policy of imperial Rome was distinguished by moderate religious tolerance. It was repressive, but not preventive. Freedom of thought was not suppressed by censorship, there was no control over the training that was the work of the teacher and student. The armies were located at the borders to protect the empire, but were not used inside it as an instrument of oppression; in order to prevent people from being carried away by social movements and political outrage, public entertainment was used. The ancient religions of conquered peoples were permissible if they did not threaten the interests of the state. In this case, we are talking about tolerance, as recognition of the right to the existence of another's religion, tolerance to its free confession.

After all, religious tolerance differs from religious or worldview relativism, it is not the same as recognizing the relative importance, the unimportance of the divergence between religions. Tolerance is fully compatible with the confession of the absolute truth of one's religion and qualifications and religious systems and views as either partially or completely erroneous.

²⁵ TERTULLIAN. *Apology*. M.: 2004, pp. 210-297

²⁶ FERGUSON E. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Eerdmans; 3 edition, 2003, p. 161.

²⁷ ANGELA, ALBERTO. *One day in Ancient Rome*. Azbuka-Attikus, 2017.

Ancient Rome showed such religious tolerance in relation to the Eastern pagan cults, the Jewish religion, but found a complete lack of religious tolerance for the new Christian religion, right up to the edict of Emperor Galerius (311). So the most formidable charge of Christians on the part of the authorities was the charge of a crime against religion (sacrilegium). This crime consisted in refusing to perform rituals of worship, for example, the incense of incense in front of the statue of God, but since in the Roman Empire a number of emperors began to be included in the assembly of gods, the accusation of a crime against religion easily turned into a charge of insult to Majesty, which consisted in the refusal of Christians to smoke incense before the statue of the emperor.²⁸ In this pagan cult, particularly in the cult of the emperors, which to some extent operated before the conversion of Emperor Constantine in 312²⁹, the Jews did not participate, but Rome, having respect for the traditions of the conquered peoples, admitted this refusal because of their antiquity religion, which the Christians could not invoke in their justification.

Together with the pantheon of pagan gods, the importance of the cult of the emperor also increases, religions that did not contribute to it were oppressed and exterminated in every possible way. Now it is difficult to understand what the cult of the emperor meant at that time, clearly only that 'our view of religion as an aspect of human spirituality, separated from other spheres of human experience, is in fact purely Christian, and suitable only for defining Christianity, since this view is born in the bosom of Christian culture. If we adopt this approach, we will have to state that other cultures, including pagan Rome and Greece, do not, in this case, have a 'religious dimension' 'Other world', 'divine' form something whole with other manifestations of human life, including with politics, and cannot be separated and 'anatomized'. We, the heirs of the Christian civilization, very easily fall into error and transfer our categories to the ancient world'³⁰. And although the traditional view is that the cult of a living person, the emperor, was not a sincere manifestation of religious feelings, but a kind of crude flattery³¹, it must be taken into account that the outlook of the ancient man clearly has a difference from our worldview and our contemporaries. An ancient person does not separate religion from life, and it becomes an integral part of his social, political and administrative life.

²⁸ BOLOTOV, V. V. *Lectures on the history of the ancient church (in 4 chapters). C. II : The history of the church in the period of Constantine the Great*, under ed. of Brilliantov A. – Posthumous edition. – SPb. : M. Merkushev's printing house, 1910, pp. 30-37.

²⁹ WOOLF G. *Divinity and Power in Ancient Rome // Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond / Ed. Brisch N. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Oriental Institutes Seminars. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 2008, p. 243.*

³⁰ GRADEL I. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 5.

³¹ KLAUCK H.-J. *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions*. Edinburgh, 2000, p. 397.

1.1.3 Freedom of conscience in early Christian society

1.1.3.1 Persecution of Christians in the I-III centuries after Christ

Persecution of the Christian church characterizes the Roman Empire in the first three centuries after the Nativity of Christ. After all, Christians refuse to honor the emperor, as befits the traditions of that time, and ‘the pagan intellectuals not only welcome persecution of Christians’, but also actively participate in them³². Thus, the emperor Caligula (12-41 AD) already during his lifetime declared himself a god and even ordered the statues of the Greek gods to replace the heads with images of his own head. The history of the relationship between the Roman Empire and Christian communities on its territory in the I-IV centuries is a complex set of theological, legal, religious and historical problems. Christianity has long been considered an ‘illicit religion’ (Latin *religio illicita*) and of course has been persecuted to some extent throughout this time.

The reasons for the rejection of Christianity by the Roman Empire are quite controversial, and despite many attempts to investigate this issue over the centuries, there is still no consensus. The non-participation and categorical refusal by the Christians of the reverence of the emperor, or the so-called imperial cult already mentioned above, becomes the cornerstone of the accusations against Christians. About this writes Fishwick D. ‘Christians were punished for refusing to venerate the Roman gods, one aspect of which was the rituals of the imperial cult’³³, but it should immediately be noted that the persecution at different periods of the history of the empire and Christianity were caused by various reasons. Persecution of Christians was massive and occurred in one or another intensity with almost all the rulers of the Roman Empire of the first three centuries: Nero (64-68), Domitian (96), Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-161), Marcus Aurelius (161-180), Commodus (180-192), Septimius Severus (193-211), Alexander Severus (222-235), Maximinus Thrax (235-238), Decius (249-251), Valerian (253-260), The Great Persecution of the Emperor Diocletian and his heirs (303-313), Galerius (293-311), Maximinus Daza (305-313), Licinius (308-324), Julianus the Apostate (361-363). Christians were opposed not only by emperors, but by a large part of the people. It was the crowd who saw enemies as enemies of their gods or even atheists, which was also a crime in the ancient world. It is possible that the thought and opinion about the faithlessness or

³² SVETLOV R.V. *Antique Neoplatonism and Alexandria Exegetics*. St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the St. Petersburg State University, 1996, p. 74.

³³ FISHWICK D. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Volume 3: Provincial Cult, Part 3: The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult. (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 147.) Pp. xxiv + 397, ill. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.

atheism of Christians were formed on the grounds that the latter refused as from the Roman religion, and even more ancient Judaism³⁴.

The great fire in Rome in 64 AD³⁵, led to the massive persecution of Christians who were accused of arson. Mass executions began a few days after the fire and were carried out for quite some time. Nero personally took part in these actions, which was what actually happened on his orders. With the persecution of Nero is connected also the legend of the executions of the apostles Peter and Paul.

Emperor Domitian continued the policy of Nero, and the essence of the conflict could be clearly traced in the impossibility of recognizing the divinity of the emperor as Christians. Under the emperor Trajan³⁶, a new period of intercourse begins: Trajan formulated the first legal basis to persecute Christians, a rescript, a document that for a century and a half determined the attitude of Rome to the new religion (Plin. Jun. Ep. X 96-97). In this rescript, Trajan supported his vicegerent Pliny the Younger, gave him freedom of action against Christians, but insisted that actions against Christians should be within the framework of strict law: the authorities should not take the initiative to trace Christians, anonymous denunciations were strictly forbidden, with an open the emperor ordered the execution of persistent Christians to be executed without age difference for the fact that they called themselves Christians, releasing everyone who openly disavowed the faith. Persecution continues under the subsequent emperors.

Only a calm, more than forty years of peace and peace for Christians, became a time interval from 260 to 302. After Emperor Valerian was captured by the Persians, his son and co-ruler Gallien (253-268) abandons his father's anti-Christian policy³⁷, removed some restrictions on their rights³⁸. At the next Emperor Aurelian (270-275), the persecution against Christians was limited.

Great persecution is called by historians and theologians, active and mass persecution of Christians under Emperor Diocletian, which began in 303 and continued with his heirs until 313. It was the last and most severe persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire³⁹. The Edict of Diocletian, published in February 303, prescribed the destruction of the Holy Scriptures, liturgical books and temples throughout the empire. Christians were forbidden to gather for prayer. They were deprived of the right to go to court and answer the actions taken against them

³⁴ HUNT E. J. *Christianity in the Second Century: The Case of Tatian*. Routledge Early Church Monographs. London and New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 62.

³⁵ DANDO-COLLINS S. *The Great Fire of Rome*. Da Capo Press, 2010.

³⁶ CHARLESWORTH M. P. *The Flavian dynasty* // *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. XI. Cambridge, 1936.

³⁷ SOUTHERN, PAT. *The Roman Empire from Severus to Constantine*. Routledge, 2001, p. 81.

³⁸ BRAY, JOHN. *Gallienus: A Study in Reformist and Sexual Politics*. Wakefield Press, 1997, pp. 313-314.

³⁹ LEBEDEV A.P. *The era of persecution of Christians and the assertion of Christianity in the Greco-Roman world under Constantine the Great*. SPb.: Publishing house of Oleg Abyshko, 2006, p. 138.

in court. Within two years (303-305), Emperor Diocletian issued four anti-Christian edicts⁴⁰, and further persecution continued in different parts of the Empire under his successors, culminating in the victory of Constantine.

Many of the researchers believe that it was the martyrdom of the first Christians that became one of the main factors in the rapid spread of the new faith, their firmness and confidence led to an increased number and significant strengthening of the influence of Christians in society⁴¹.

1.1.3.2 The Edict of Milan of 313

The plight of the Christian church persisted until the recognition of Christianity as the dominant religion of the Roman Empire, and later of other European states. In the face of a number of outstanding apologists and teachers of the church, Christianity defends and fights for the freedom of conscience and religion, fights for the right to profess its faith on a par with other religions. In a few centuries the situation is changing, because 'after Constantine the Great, when Christianity became the dominant religion, we no longer hear arguments in defense of religious freedom, there are already voices in defense of violence against heretics and dissidents, calling for the intervention of the state sword in the affairs of faith'⁴².

The Edict of Milan of 313 (*Edictum Mediolanense*), which was preserved in Greek in Eusebius⁴³ and partially in Latin in Lactantius⁴⁴, published by Augustus Constantine and Licinius in 313, is an important frontier in the history of relations between the church and the state, which divided two completely different nature of the era.

The surviving text in the translation states: 'For a long time, believing that freedom of worship should not be embarrassed, but, on the contrary, it is necessary to give the mind and the will of everyone to engage in divine objects of one's own choice, we issued a decree, like all Christians and others, faith and their worship of God ... It is beneficial for us to completely abolish ... orders for Christians, very ridiculous and incompatible with our meekness'⁴⁵. Proceeding from the surviving text, the Edict of Milan did not give Christianity any advantages,

⁴⁰ CROIX STE G. E. M. DE. *Aspects of the «Great» Persecution* // Harvard Theological Review. 1954. Vol. 47. № 2, p. 77.

⁴¹ GARNAK A. *Missionerskaia propoved' i rasprostranenie khristianstva v pervye tri veka*. [The mission and expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries. Transl. in Russian by A. A. Spasskiy]. St. Petersburg, Izd-vo Olega Abyshko Publ., 2007. P. 318; Svetsitskaia I. S. *Rannee khristianstvo: stranitsy istorii* [Early Christianity: Pages of history]. Moscow, Politizdat Publ., 1988, p. 174.

⁴² BERDYAEV N. *Philosophy of the Free Spirit*. Litres, 2013.

⁴³ HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, X, 5.

⁴⁴ DE MORTIBUS PERSECUTORUM. Migne, Patrologia Latina., Volume VII. pp. 167-170.

⁴⁵ EUSEBIUS PAMPHYLUS. *Church history*. M., 1993, p. 323.

but merely put the new religion on an equal footing with paganism in relation to freedom. Such an understanding of the Edict of Milan in no way detracts from its historical significance, because in this respect it was impossible to go too far and it was necessary to take into account the old cults, so that the Edict can be considered as such, which partially legitimizes and political changes in the religious world⁴⁶.

The Edict of Milan was a continuation of the above-mentioned Nicomedia Edict of 311, issued by Emperor Galerius. Then the Edict of Nicomedia legalized Christianity and allowed the performance of rites, provided that Christians pray for the welfare of the republic and the emperor. However, it should be noted that the Edict of Nicomedia did not give Christians what they asked, on the whole, without playing the role that Galerius in words attributed to him. Religious buildings were not returned: temples, cemeteries, monuments and other immovable and movable property of Christians. There were also no stipulations for compensation for destroyed monuments, temples, jewels, etc.

Assessments of the contents of the Edict of Milan, the legal and church-historical significance among historians have always been ambiguous, since they served as an expression of a whole range of scientific views.

In the content of the Edict, the following provisions attract attention:

- Christians and followers of all other cults are given complete freedom to hold to the chosen religion;
- is commanded to return to Christian communities the places of liturgical meetings and other property transferred during persecutions into the hands of private individuals - through purchase or through donation at the expense of the treasury;
- Christian society is called 'corpus christianorum' and this is a frequently repeated expression, according to Brilliantov A.I. points to the special importance in the eyes of legislators of the concept they express⁴⁷.

The full equality of Christians and Gentiles and unlimited religious freedom did not last long in the empire. In the future, a policy of greater or lesser religious tolerance was applied to religions or beliefs, to which the emperor himself did not belong. Emperor Constantine also provided special protection for Christians. Constantine granted the Christian Church a number of significant privileges; she was given the right to accept inheritances and gifts, which, with the

⁴⁶ SEBASTIAN SCHMIDT-HOFNER: *Toleranz braucht Rechtfertigung: Zur Funktion des Mailänder Edikts und verwandter Texte des früheren 4. Jh. n.Chr.* In: Martin Wallraff (Hrsg.): *Religiöse Toleranz: 1700 Jahre nach dem Edikt von Mailand*. Berlin 2016, p. 180.

⁴⁷ BRILLIANTOV A.I., *Emperor Constantine the Great and the Milan Edict of 313*. Christian reading. St. Petersburg, 1915. № 10-11, p.1188.

rapid success of Christianity, made her in less than a century the possessor of 1/10 of all the lands of the empire. Constantine himself and his successors did not skimp on rich donations. Clerics were exempted from municipal duties, the arbitration court of bishops was equated with the state, the bishops were given the right to legalize the release to the will of the slaves in order, however, that they check whether ‘worthy’ to receive freedom. The emperor himself, while not yet a Christian, took an active part in the affairs of the church, calling himself her ‘bishop for external affairs’. Toward the end of his life he was baptized.

It should be noted that there was no complete unity among Christians, as evidenced by the convening of the First Ecumenical Council – the Council of Nicaea in 325, which condemned the Arian heresy⁴⁸.

1.1.3.3 Christianity as a state religion and the struggle against paganism

The last emperor of the single Roman Empire became Theodosius I the Great (347-395), in 379 AD he gained power over the eastern part of the Roman Empire as co-ruler of Emperor Gratian, in 394 he began to rule the whole Roman Empire alone.

After his death in 395 AD, the empire was finally divided into the western part and the eastern part, which was called Byzantium in modern historiography.

On February 27, 380 AD, a year after the proclamation of the emperor, Theodosius in Thessaloniki (during the war with the Goths) published the fundamental edict *de fide catholica* (‘on the universal faith’). This edict had far-reaching consequences for Europe: this manifesto of faith served as the basis for the fusion of the Judeo-Christian religion with the Greek-Roman culture. The Christian faith was declared as permissible for the subjects of the empire only in the form fixed at the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD.

A year later, in January 381 AD, a new edict was issued, clarifying the Thessalonica decree. The victory of the ‘Niceneans’ was ideologically fixed at the Council of Constantinople (Second Ecumenical Council) in July 381 AD, and then supported by an administrative prohibition to head churches to the bishops of the non-Nicene confession.

⁴⁸ To put an end to the long-standing religious dispute between Bishop Alexander and presbyter Arius, the Emperor Constantine invited Christian clergymen June 19, 325 to the Cathedral in Nicaea (now Iznik, a settlement in Turkey, in the vicinity of Istanbul). The purpose of the Council, for the participation of which came 318 bishops, as well as many presbyters and deacons, was not the erection of Christianity as a state religion, but the settlement of religious differences for the sake of stabilizing the Roman Empire. The cathedral, which became the first Ecumenical Council of the Christian Church, lasted more than two months. After much debate, the Emperor Constantine I accepted the side of Bishop Alexander and his like-minded people. The Council proclaimed the divinity of the Holy Spirit and its equality to the Father and the Son. Arianism was condemned. With the establishment of the basic doctrines of Christianity and the signing of the formula of the Christian faith (the so-called Nicene Creed), the persecution of Christians ceased.

It is very difficult to judge how these laws were implemented at that time, but the strict religious policy of Theodosius I aimed at eradicating paganism and heresies in Christianity turned the whole history of Europe. The Emperor strictly suppresses paganism, forbidding even the most ordinary public pagan rites. Having received the state status, Christianization was conducted mainly 'from above', often by violent methods. The religious policy of Theodosius is directed mainly to the interior of the empire, although it is worth recalling the war with the Goths (the Arians, already condemned by heresy, and therefore the struggle against them is already ideological), the conflict in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, thanks to the victory in which, Theodosius becomes emperor of a single Roman Empire, although not for long.

Although the first Christian emperors launched a struggle against certain pagan traditions (in particular, death for punishments was punished). The actions of Constantius II, who ruled from 337 to 361, can be considered the beginning of a formal persecution of paganism by Christians. At Constantius, laws were introduced that completely prohibited pagan practices. In 341 the emperor passed a law prohibiting sacrifice: 'Let superstition cease and the madness of sacrifice be abolished' (Latin *Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania*). The laws of 354 and 356 prescribe the death penalty for the sacrificers, as well as provincial governors (Latin *rectores provinciarum*), where sacrifices will be made. Often ordinary Christians committed destruction, robbery, desecration, vandalism of many ancient pagan temples, tombs and monuments.

At the same time, as both written and archaeological data show, both individuals and entire communities did not stop worshiping pagan gods. For example, the so-called 'Chronograph of 354' – an illustrated code designed for a Roman aristocrat that marked the main events of the year – contains, along with the portrait of the Emperor Constantius and Christian holidays, and the transfer of pagan holidays (in honor of Isis, Osiris and other gods)⁴⁹.

Despite the numerous decrees of the emperors, it was only under Theodosius that the state set out to eradicate pagan cults and religions. So in 381-385 a number of decrees were banned under pain of the death penalty of sacrifice and the destruction of pagan temples was prescribed. And after Theodosius I paganism was pursued by many emperors, both in the Eastern Empire and in the Western Empire. Anti-laws were repeated many times during this period, including the emperors Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II, Marcian and Leo I Makella. Fines have increased, especially for pagan religious rites and sacrifices, which indirectly indicates that there were still many followers of 'pagan' religions. The Edict of 391 AD struck another blow to

⁴⁹ SALZMAN M.R. *On Roman time: The codex-calendar of 354 and the rhythms of urban life in late antiquity*. Berkeley, L.A., 1990, pp. 16-19.

paganism, setting heavy fines for worshipping the old gods. In 393 AD, the Pythian Games, the Actium Games and the Olympic Games are outlawed as part of the Greek 'idolatry'. And on December 7, 396 AD Emperor Arkadius publishes a new decree of the emperor that the confession of paganism will henceforth be regarded as state treason. During the relatively short period of the reign of the Christian emperors – from Constantine to Theodosius – the public consciousness has changed so much that every citizen suspected of adherence to some other religion different from Christianity, or professing it not like the emperor, was no longer considered a subject of the empire. In 415 in Alexandria, the Christian scientist Hypatia of Alexandria (370-415) was torn to pieces by the supporters of Neoplatonism. The Christian dictatorship in the Roman Empire became complete when Emperor Anastasius I, who ascended the throne in 491, was required to sign a written declaration of acceptance of Christianity before his coronation. The Emperor Justinian takes new measures against paganism, which continued to maintain a strong position primarily in the old cities of the Eastern Roman Empire. So, in 529, he forbade the Gentiles to teach anywhere. Justinian also took action against specific cults, primarily on the eastern border of the empire: he closed the Temple of Isis in Phil and several other cult centers in operation.

Christianity, more than three centuries persecuted and oppressed becomes the religion of the emperors and the people. Pagans and Christians changed roles. Paganism has turned into an illicit religion, but it still existed. Paganism fell, but the collapse, as historians believe, occurred not only thanks to the efforts of Christian emperors. The pagans, who worshiped different gods and performed sacrifices, ceased to see this as meaning. In their lives, pagan rituals gradually lost that power and the importance that was attached to them earlier.

Over time, the connection between church and state is becoming more and more solid.

1.1.4 Freedom of conscience in the Middle Ages

1.1.4.1 Freedom of conscience in the Western Europe countries

In the Middle Ages, with the highest power of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, the status of followers of other religions or religions in Western Europe depended on the decisions of the Popes and, to a lesser extent, on the religious policy of secular princes.

In the 11-14 centuries the persecution and annihilation of heretics has become widespread. This was greatly facilitated by the liberation of the Church from the dictatorship of secular authority under Pope Gregory VII. The main ideas of the claims of the papacy to secular power

were set forth by Gregory VII in the program document 'Dictatus Papae' ('Dictate of the Pope') (1074).

The dictate of the pope, which contains 27 provisions, not only proclaims that the Pope possesses universal jurisdiction and infallibility, but also has the right to convene a council, consecrate bishops and deposed them. Under Gregory VII, successive councils took strict orders against Simony and against the marriage of priests. According to the 'Dictate of the Pope' God laid on the Pope the preservation of the divine order on Earth. Therefore, the pope has the right to make a judgment about everything, but no one can make a trial of him, his judgment is unchangeable and infallible. 'Dictates of the Pope' was never published and did not become an official document, but the claims of the popes to secular power are obvious.

Western Europe was fragmented, and the Roman Church remained the only centralized one. In the European arena, very soon after Gregory VII, Pope Innocent III appears. It was he, and not the secular princes and kings, who was considered the most powerful man of that time.⁵⁰ In addition to the fact that the Pope personally took an active part in the preparation, and, according to some reports, he himself took part in the Fourth Crusade, which led to the pillage of Constantinople and the unprecedented mockery of the Christian shrines of the Eastern Church (1202-1204). The Pope's goal was noble, Innocent considered the seizure of Constantinople as a way to reunite the western and eastern churches. His goal was to restore the Greek (Eastern) church to the customs of the Latin (western). However, this was not possible because of the significant differences between the two churches, as well as the effect produced on Eastern Christians by the massacre of the civilian population of Constantinople. The reign of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) was accompanied by the final formation of the institution of the inquisition (Latin *inquirere* – 'seek, investigate')⁵¹. The Church, equating anonymity to crime, openly called upon the Catholic states to assist it in the struggle against heresy.

The main task of the Inquisition was to determine whether the accused was guilty of heresy. A heretic became everyone who, according to medieval belief, was familiar with the righteous teachings of the Catholic Church, but rejected them⁵².

Most often, the name of the Inquisition and its most large-scale activities are associated with the Spanish lands. The Inquisition in the Spanish lands, which arose in the 13th century as an echo of the struggle against heresies in southern France, is reborn with renewed vigor at the

⁵⁰ KISHLANSKY, M., O'BRIEN, P., GEARY, P., *'Civilization in the West'*, Volume A to 1500, Seventh Edition, p. 278.

⁵¹ The term was widespread in the legal sphere even before the emergence of medieval church institutions with this name and meant clarifying the circumstances of the case, investigation, usually by interrogation, often with the use of torture. Over time, the Inquisition began to understand the spiritual courts over anti-Christian heresies.

⁵² LAKTIONOV A. *History of heresy: collect. / comp. A. Laktionov // Moscow: AST Hranitel, 2007, p. 26.*

end of the 15th century, receives a new organization and acquires immense political significance. Spain represented the most favorable conditions for the development of the Inquisition, which was also facilitated by the direct control of the Spanish monarchy⁵³. Non-Christians, namely Jews and Moors become the main goal of the Inquisition, many of them are forced to accept Christianity. Many continue to profess the religion of their fathers, the education and prosperity of representatives of the Jewish people evoke the wrath of the ruling Spanish elite and people. The court of the Inquisition was also subject to other crimes: witchcraft, sodomy, bigamy, counterfeiting, etc. The Spanish Inquisition infiltrated the Netherlands and Portugal and served as a model for the Italian and French inquisitors. In the Netherlands, it was set up by Charles V, in 1522. In Portugal, the Inquisition was introduced in 1536 and it should be noted that the Portuguese Inquisition was even more brutal than the Spanish Inquisition. Often, the special rigidity of the inquisitors, aroused popular anger, so in Germany in 1233 a German preacher of the Crusades and Inquisitor Conrad from Marburg were killed. Mercilessly and cruelly performed the duties assigned to him. Pope Gregory IX stands for religious inspectors and the inquisitor, raged on the Rhine and in the middle of Germany against the Cathars and Waldensians, and in Oldenburg against the Shtodings (1232).

Crimes of the medieval Inquisition have been repeatedly investigated by scientists, historians and lawyers. According to modern estimates, the number of victims of the medieval Inquisition is up to 10 million people.

The Catholic religious and secular authorities showed relative toleration in relation to the Orthodox, the Eastern. non-Khalkedonite Christians, as well as Gentiles – Jews and Muslims, but only to those who were not previously Catholics. The falling away from the Catholic Church into non-Orthodox or heterodoxy, as a rule, was punishable by the death penalty. The same punishment was applied to those who raised the child in the forbidden faith⁵⁴.

Courts of the Inquisition raged throughout Europe until the 17th century.

1.1.4.2 Freedom of conscience and toleration in Kiev Rus

With the adoption of Christianity in 988, the period of the reign of Vladimir Svyatoslavovich (980-1015) was a consistent Christianization of the population of Kievan Rus. Already in the first years of his reign, Prince Vladimir realized the need to adopt a single state religion. A single state religion could not only strengthen the state, but consolidate the various

⁵³ KAMEN, HENRY A. *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision*. Phoenix Press, 2000.

⁵⁴ LEE H.CH. *The origin and organization of the Inquisition*; trans. from English. M.: Lomonosov, 2013.

tribal associations around the rapidly developing new center of Eastern Europe – Kiev. Of course, the spread of Christianity was often met with resistance from the people who worshiped their pagan gods. Christianity was asserted slowly, but considering the facts of the persecution of Christians, so recently taking place in Ancient Rus, this was already a success⁵⁵. On the outskirts of Kiev Rus it was established much later than in Kiev and Novgorod.

Historians divide the process of Christianization into three periods: the first – the mid-9th – 80's of the 10th century. This is the beginning of the penetration of Christianity into Rus; the ruling elite and the urban population associated with international trade are partially christianized; the second – the 90's. of 10th – 40's of the 12th centuries. Christianity becomes the state religion; church organization is being created; there is anti-Christian resistance; the population assimilates the ritual side of religion; the third – the middle of the 13th – the beginning of the 16th century. Most of the population of the country learns along with the ritual ethical values of Christianity, especially its humanism, which leads to the emergence of heresies; monasteries complete missionary and colonization activities in the North-East and North of Ancient Rus.

At the head of the church was the Metropolitan of Kiev, who was appointed from Constantinople or the prince of Kiev himself, with the subsequent election of the bishops by the council. In the large cities of Rus all the practical affairs of the church were known by the bishops. The metropolitan and bishops owned lands, villages, towns. Princes of the maintenance of churches gave almost a tenth of the funds collected in treasury. In addition, the church had its own court and legislation, which gave the right to intervene in almost all aspects of the life of the parishioners.

As for the legislative norms in Ancient Rus, regarding freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, before the adoption of the 'Rus' Justice' among the ancient Slavs, the 'law' was identified with custom. The opinion of Osokin R.B. is also interesting consider that not only laws, but also moral, spiritual, religious and other values played a primary role in public life, as well as regulators such as conscience, honor, duty, etc., which rendered and rendered a powerful the determining influence on the behavior of people⁵⁶.

Perceiving Orthodoxy from Byzantium, Rus adopted the fundamental principle of Byzantine relations between the Church and the state – the principle of a symphony of the authorities. In this case, unlike Byzantium, the highest ecclesiastical authority in Ancient Rus

⁵⁵ LIBRARY OF THE LITERATURE OF ANCIENT RUS / RAS. IRLI; Ed. by D. S. Likhachev, L. A. Dmitrieva, A. A. Alekseeva, N. V. Ponyrko. - St. Petersburg.: Nauka, 1997. – Chapter 1: XI–XII centuries, p. 131.

⁵⁶ BOL'SHOJ YURIDICHESKIJ SLOVAR' [Big legal dictionary] / under ed. of A. Ya. Sukhareva, V. E. Krutskikh. 2-nd iss. M., 2004, p. 544.

was more independent of the state. With the advent of Christianity, the development and adoption of laws related to the Christian (Orthodox) faith begins, in particular: ‘The Charter of Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich on Tithes, Courts and People of the Church’⁵⁷, ‘The Charter of Prince Yaroslav about Church Courts’⁵⁸. It is these legislative documents that can be called the first experiments of the old Rus legislation in the sphere of relations between the state and the church. These Charters determined the place of the church in a new state for it. As for religious tolerance, then certainly not all and not immediately adopted Christianity. For the sake of preserving political and administrative power, the princes were tolerant enough to representatives of other religions, for example, Jews, Iranians and Turks, but then in the same ‘Charter of Prince Yaroslav about the Church Courts’ provided for an article that contained church legal responsibility in the form of excommunication from the faith in the event that an Orthodox person would allow himself to eat and drink at the same table with a person excommunicated from Orthodoxy⁵⁹. It is this document that for the first time delineates the concepts of ‘sin’ and ‘crime’.

The Code of Old Rus feudal law ‘Rus’ Justice’ is associated with the name of Prince Yaroslav the Wise. This is a complex legal monument, based on the rules of customary law (unwritten rules that have arisen as a result of repeated, traditional use of them) and the old legislation. It should be noted that many of the Charters of the first Christian princes, and their followers, only supplemented secular laws contained in various provisional editions of the ‘Rus’ Justice’.

In the 13th century, the ancient Rus princes are under the rule of the Golden Horde. The wide interaction of the Golden Horde with neighboring states, whose official religion was Christianity, is traced throughout the history of this Eurasian empire. In addition, many ethnic groups in the Golden Horde professed Christianity, which was supposed to somehow influence the nature of their interaction with the central authorities and neighboring states. It is not surprising that relations with the Orthodox clergy took an important place in the policy of the Golden Horde khans in Rus, especially since this period coincides in the Golden Horde with the organization of its own state structure. On the other hand, after the defeat of Rus, given the need to establish relations with the conquerors, the church could be very useful to Rus princes. The Orthodox clergy enters the nomadic environment and even conducts some missionary activity.

⁵⁷ THE CHARTER OF PRINCE VLADIMIR SVYATOSLAVICH ON TITHES, COURTS AND PEOPLE OF THE CHURCH. RUSSIAN LEGISLATION OF THE 10TH-20TH CENTURIES: IN 9 CHAPTERS– M., 1984. – Chap.I.: Legislation of Ancient Rus, p.138-162.

⁵⁸ THE CHARTER OF PRINCE YAROSLAV ABOUT CHURCH COURTS. RUSSIAN LEGISLATION OF THE 10TH-20TH CENTURIES: IN 9 CHAPTERS – M., 1984. – Chap.I.: Legislation of Ancient Rus, p.163-208.

⁵⁹ PROSTRANNAYA REDAKTSIYA ‘USTAVA KNYAZYA YAROSLAVA O TSERKOVNYKH SUDAKH’ [Vast edition ‘The Charter of Prince Yaroslav about Church Courts’]// Russian legislation of the 10th-20th centuries: in 9 chapters– M., 1984. – Chap.I.: Legislation of Ancient Rus. M., 1984. Chap. 1, p. 189-192.

Religious politics in the Golden Horde, since the time of Genghis Khan, was characterized 'by broad tolerance and was fixed as a tradition that acquired the force of law'⁶⁰. Christianity, with some probability, could become the state religion, given the high level of confidence of the Mongolian elite in the Orthodox clergy, including the existence of the Saray Orthodox Diocese, subordinate to the Kiev Metropolitan, which was founded in 1261 under the Khan Berke, according to the agreement even with Khan Sartak, whose Christian sympathies are widely known. But as a result of religious reforms, at first Khan Berke (1258-1266), and then Khan Uzbek (1312-1342) in the Golden Horde, Islam was approved as the official religion.

Already at the end of the 13th century the Rus clergy gradually lost its influence. The disintegration processes inherent in the period of the fragmentation of Kiev Rus negatively affect the church. The Khan administration uses contradictions arising in the inner church environment. The economic possibilities of the church are reduced with the increase of ruin and destruction of church possessions, which is accompanied by frequent persecutions against Christians. In 1315, the Saray bishop Varsonofiy was transferred to the pulpit in Tver. In 1315 the Uzbek issued an edict infringing on the freedom of the Christian faith.

It should be noted that the Orthodox Church played an outstanding role in the formation of a centralized Rus state. Philotheus of Pskov, a monk and hegumen Pskov monastery, for the first time will develop the famous theory of Moscow as the third Rome, the keeper of the Orthodox Christian faith⁶¹. And the Moscow state will remember this. 'Cathedral Code' from 1649, published under Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich, in which the state fully regulated the criminal legal struggle against religious crimes⁶², contains provisions, access to the protection of the Orthodox faith and the inviolability of the institutions of the Church under the threat of heavy punishments.

1.1.5 Freedom of conscience in the Renaissance epoch and Modern history

1.1.5.1 Freedom of conscience in the Renaissance epoch

The Renaissance gave the world a whole pleiad of outstanding writers, artists, musicians, thinkers. Jovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), Francois Rabelais (1494-1533), Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1461), Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), Thomas More (1478-1535), Giordano Bruno

⁶⁰ SOCHNEV YU. V. *Orthodoxy as a factor in the development of the religious situation in the Golden Horde*. // *Textum Historiae: Studies on the theoretical and empirical problems of the Universal History*. N.Novgorod, Novgorod State Pedagogical University, 2008. Issue 3, p.150

⁶¹ *Religious Studies: A Textbook for Academic Bachelor Degree* / under ed. of M.M. Shakhnovich. 3 issue. –M.: Yurayt Publishing House, 2018, p. 188.

⁶² LUKYANOV S. A. *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' v bor'be s «gorodskimi eresyami» v Drevnej i Moskovskoj Rusi v XIV – XVI vv.* [The state and church in fight against «city heresies» in Ancient and the Moscow Russia in the XIV-XVI centuries] // *Istoriya gosudarstva i prava*. 2010. № 1, pp. 11-13.

(1548-1600), Uriel Acosta (1585-1640) and many other humanists created a new system of values. They put in the center of being a free human in all his reality. Common human values have become to a certain extent the yardstick of social life. All this stimulated the theory and practice of anticlericalism, intensified the demands of the secularization of the church, freedom of religion. In the Renaissance, the philosophy of antiquity is reinterpreted, secular humanism finds a firm platform among scientists and thinkers of that time. Do not forget that the subsequent Reformation not only secures these freedoms, but also implements them in practice, we will talk about this in the following sections. In the era of revival, there is a mass of ideas and concepts relating, if not freedom of conscience and religion, then at least the relationship between church and state, man and religion.

So Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) justifies the idea that the church does not need a state, but, on the contrary, the state needs a new religion. His political teaching is free of theology; is based on the study of the activities of its modern governments, the experience of states of the ancient world. Machiavelli pointed out that the nature of man is the same in all states and among all peoples; interest is the most common cause of human actions, from which their relationships, institutions, history develop, and in order to manage people, one must know the causes of their actions, their aspirations and interests. The structure of the state and its activities should be based on studying the nature of man, his psychology and drives: nature has created people in such a way that people can desire everything but cannot achieve everything. And although Machiavelli was not religious, but if to achieve the goal it is required to rely on what the broad sections of the population believe, he did not even see a reason for doubt – it is necessary to use it.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) proclaims the right of everyone to follow any religion, freely propagate it and refrain from insulting other religions. His 'Utopia' was published in 1516. In this story about Utopia, there is a description of the general outlook of its inhabitants. It is based on the recognition of pleasure as the supreme goal of life. The rejection of them 'can only be if someone neglects these advantages for the sake of fervent concern for others and society, expecting in return for this suffering greater pleasure from God'. Utopia is dominated by complete freedom of conscience, limited only by the fact that Utopus '... with inexorable severity forbade anyone to drop so low the dignity of the human race to reach the recognition that souls perish with the body and that the whole world is being wasted in vain, without any participation Providence. Therefore, according to their beliefs, after a real life, for vices one will receive punishment and for virtues – awards'. Another interesting passage from Utopia is that: 'It was not clear to him whether the god requires a diverse and multifaceted worship and therefore inspires different people for different religions. In any case, the legislator considered it absurd

and impudent to force everyone to recognize what you consider to be true. But, assuming the case that only one religion is true, and all the rest are futile, Utopus still easily foresaw that the power of this truth would ultimately emerge and manifest itself; but to achieve this, it is necessary to act reasonably and gently'⁶³.

Thus, in Utopia, there is a state religion, but along with this, freedom of religion and religious tolerance exist (although it does not apply to atheists). This excludes the possibility of internal feuds for religious reasons, with which the European history of that time is full.

Gradually, the society comes to the conclusion that religious tolerance is necessary, as the lowest stage of freedom of religion, which recognizes the civil equality of the members of all faiths.

Thanks to changes in public life and the development of science in the Renaissance, it is possible to critically and freely look at religion. This period is also characterized by achievements in the field of natural science. One can not help recalling the Polish astronomer and thinker M. Kopernik (1473-1543), who in the work 'On the Rotation of the Heavenly Spheres' put forward the idea of heliocentrism. Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) was a representative of the religious and philosophical trend, according to which God is 'scattered', 'dissolved' throughout the world, and not at all an independent Individual, first expressed the idea of the infinity of nature and the infinite multiplicity of worlds in the universe, their dynamic unity and eternity. Recognizing the positive impact of religious influence on people, he denied the dogmatic authoritarian intervention of the church in matters of philosophy and science, in the problems of social relations. The future of mankind, remarked J. Bruno, is connected with the 'religion of reason', which should take the place of 'religious insight'. Giordano Bruno, based on his picture of the vision of the world, created a new philosophical doctrine that threatened to undermine the foundations of Christianity, for which he was burned in 1600 in Rome. The astronomical discoveries of Galileo Galilei (1546-1642) were a turning point in medieval science, his philosophical views on the objective existence of the world, i.e., its existence outside and regardless of human consciousness, endless world and eternal matter also deserve attention. Along with the development of scientific knowledge, there is a whole pleiad of thinkers who are in favor of separating the church from the state and for real guarantees of freedom of conscience.

Marsilius of Padua in the treatise 'The Protector of Peace' (1324) justified the necessity of non-interference of the church in the affairs of secular authorities, and also condemned the policy

⁶³ MORE, THOMAS. *A truly golden little book, no less beneficial than entertaining, of a republic's best state and of the new island Utopia*; Translation and commentary of A.I. Malein; Foreword by V.P. Volgin. Moscow ; Leningrad : Academia, 1935, p.185.

of coercion of heretics. It is possible to call the views of Marsilia Padua on heresy revolutionary for the Renaissance. His concept that one can not judge a heretic or an unbeliever, punish them or punish them at the present moment of their lives for their views and beliefs. The right of judgment over heretics can belong to a ruler or judge, not to a priest or bishop, believes the thinker. This clearly demonstrates his opinion on the need to affirm freedom of conscience, pluralism of opinions in the church environment.

At the same time, Marsilius of Padua tried to combat the intervention of the Roman pontiff in the sphere of secular power, therefore the main purpose of the treatise 'The Defender of Peace' was to refute the doctrine of the papal 'fullness of authority' (*plenitudo potestatis*)⁶⁴.

Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in the treatise 'On the Peace of Faith' (1453) recognized religious tolerance, preferring a dialogue between faiths. At the same time, Nicholas of Cusa, after more than a century after writing the 'Protector of Peace', could not accept that even the most ignorant people can participate in the adoption of laws, and accordingly set the framework for freedoms and human rights⁶⁵.

Outstanding philosopher-humanist of the Renaissance Erasmus of Rotterdam was one of the ideologists of the modern liberal understanding of human rights, including freedom of conscience. He substantiated the principle of tolerance and believed that 'in religious matters, the only possible weapon is conviction with love and prayer'⁶⁶. In a number of his works devoted to the issues of morality and faith, Erasmus struggles for the 'evangelical purity' of the original Christianity, against the cult of rites, against the pagan worship of the saints, against the formalism of the ritual, against 'external Christianity' – all that was the basis of the power of the Catholic Church, substantiated the principle of widespread tolerance in matters of faith, which, in his opinion, should have been the private affair of every believer, a matter of his free conscience and understanding.

The eminent writer of the era is the nationalist Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (1533-1592). His main work is *Essais*, first published in 1580. During the author's lifetime several publications appeared that M. Montaigne repeatedly supplemented. In 1670, Louis XIV forbade the printing of 'Experiences', and the Vatican included them in 1676 in the 'Index of Prohibited Books'.

He talks about human life and its meaning, about death and its inevitability, cowardice and courage, about work and idleness, about truthfulness and lies, about happiness and misfortune,

⁶⁴ KLYUCHKO B.I. *Legislator in the Defensor Pacis*. Bulletin of St. Petersburg State University. Ser. 2. 2015. Issue 2, p. 137

⁶⁵ SIGMUND PAUL E., JR. *The Influence of Marsilius of Padua on XVth-Century Conciliarism* // Journal of the History of Ideas. 1962. Vol. 23, N 3, p. 400.

⁶⁶ ROTTERDAM E. *Philosophical works*. M., 1987.

about wealth and moderation, about conscience and dishonor. M. Montaigne in the work 'Experiences' believes that the source of all liberties is the human mind. In the chapter 'On Freedom of Conscience' Montaigne passionately protests against persecution of thought and reprisals against dissidents, his concept of tolerance extends to all beliefs.

The Renaissance brought with it a weakening of religious intolerance. In the writings of notionalists of the era, scholasticism, stereotypes of the deification of power, and moral norms derived from them were criticized.

1.1.5.2 Freedom of conscience and attitude to religion in Modern times

The assertion of civil rights and freedoms is fundamental to many prominent minds of the time, and of course, freedom of conscience and freedom of religion become an integral part of human rights. Not always and not immediately, these freedoms became part of a person's daily life. 'In the Modern times, as we see, freedom of conscience is added to the number of personal rights, but this freedom is realized first in the form of a class privilege, at least in some states'⁶⁷.

But gradually the religious aspect in the understanding of tolerance and perception of other people loses its position, giving way to the legal one.

In the era of Modern times, the ideas of Erasmus of Rotterdam are developed by the English thinker J. Locke (1632-1704). He was one of the first to distinguish between human rights and the religious sphere, believing that religious views cannot be the cause of violation of civil rights: 'No man, no church, not even the state can have any right, encroach on each other's civil rights ...'⁶⁸. Concerning ecclesiastical authority, Locke adheres to a clear and clear distinction between church and secular authorities and states: 'Whatever the origin of this authority, since it is ecclesiastical, it must be confined to the outside of the church and in no way can spread to civil matters, since the church itself completely and completely separated from the state and civil cases. The limits for both are firmly established and unbreakable'⁶⁹.

John-Anthony Collins (1676-1729) is a follower and friend of Locke, a philosopher of the materialist and deist. He became famous after the composition 'A Discourse on Freethinking' (1713), in which he defended the freedom of thought: in the first part, the rights and necessity of free thinking, in general, are proved; in the second, the freedom of thought in the religious sphere is unlimited; the third part is devoted to polemic with other authors. He argued against the

⁶⁷ KAREEV N.I. *History of Western Europe in the Modern Times*. Volume 2. History of the XVI and XVII centuries. – SPb.: Typography of M.M. Stasyulevych, 1904, p.195.

⁶⁸ LOCK J. *Compositions*: In 3 vols. V. 3 / Ed. by I.S. Narskyi. M.: Mysl, 1988, p. 103.

⁶⁹ Ibid

immortality of the soul and the existence of free will in man. It was Collins who implemented the term 'freethinking' in the scientific usage.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) – English philosopher-materialist, one of the founders of the theory of social contract and the theory of state sovereignty, one of the founders of rationalistic criticism of the Bible.

A significant influence on society had and Pierre Beyle (1647-1706), one of the most influential French notionalists and a philosophical and theological critic. He fought equally both against theological scholasticism and against attempts at a philosophical rational religion, as a result of which some saw him as a heretic, and others as an adherent of obscurantism. Some authors believe that the whole of his life was devoted to the struggle against religious prejudices⁷⁰. He often mentioned in his works and pointed to the independence of moral actions and moral dignity from religious persuasion – the doctrine that served as the basic tolerance of the educational age. The main work of Hobbes' entire life, 'Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil', was published in 1651. Being a believing Christian, Hobbes realized that the life of Christians of the state, unlike the ideal state-model, is associated with a number of problems, the main of which is the coexistence of two laws – earthly, state, and heavenly, God's. Hobbes believes that freedom of conscience in the state is much better than fanaticism and violent religious wars, but the ideal for him is the affirmation of a single state religion, the unification of religious views of citizens of the state. According to him, religion is both good and evil, which can strengthen or destroy the state foundations. After the death of Hobbes, 'Leviathan' was publicly burned by the decision of Oxford University.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) in the 'Philosophy of Law' justifies the need for freedom of conscience, state control over religious organizations. Human freedom in the choice of religion is considered a natural stage in the development of history. Under freedom of conscience understands the freedom of the mind to understand the world. In the section 'Morality' Hegel shows the relationship between conscience and good, analyzes the dialectical interconnection between the notions of law, morality and the state, delineating the categories of 'moral' and 'morality'. To the moral, Hegel refers to the inner, private world of the individual, it characterizes the personal position of the individual: 'In moral, it is the person's own interest...'⁷¹.

⁷⁰ ERLIKHSON I.M. *Religious and moral aspects of humanity in european social and political journalism of the late 17th – early 18th centuries (Pierre Bayle and Bernard Mandeville)*. Bulletin of S.A. Yesenin Ryazan State University. – 2014. № 1 (42), pp. 79-93.

⁷¹ HEGEL G.W.F. *Philosophy of Law* / Transl. from German. By B.G. Stolpner: Notes by V.S. Nersesyants. M.: Mir knigi, Literatura, 2007.

The French notionalist Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778) in 1763 proclaimed that freedom of conscience is a right that a person received from nature and no one can coerce him into matters of faith. Everyone should be allowed to pray in his own way, everyone has the right to profess this or that faith in harmony only with his conscience. At the same time, Voltaire tirelessly preached the idea of religious ‘tolerance’ (tolérance) – a term that meant in the 18th century the contempt for Christianity and unrestrained advertising of anti-Catholicism – both in his publicistic pamphlets (Treatise on Tolerance, 1763), and in his works of art (the image of Henry IV, ending the religious rivalry of Catholics and Protestants, the image of the emperor in the tragedy ‘Gebrs’). Works and such names as the philosopher of German origin, the writer, the encyclopaedist, the educator Baron d'Holbach (1723-1789), the philosopher Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715-1771) and others became widely known among French thinkers.

It should be noted that the implementation of the ideals of civil society was accompanied by excessive violence and various restrictions on the church. As a rule, when it comes to ensuring the guarantees of freedom of conscience, the principles of the universality of social justice and equality must be realized, exceptions from any spheres of public life should be tolerated to opposing beliefs. The content, which is embedded in the concept of freedom of conscience, is revealed through the worldview concepts of the concept, presented at the appropriate level of generalization, abstraction. And this abstraction helps to highlight the main, properties or qualities that are most important. Unfortunately, this is not always the case.

The French bourgeois revolution distinguished itself with a special anti-clerical orientation. In the course of it, the churches were closed down, bishops and clergymen were forced to publicly renounce their allegiance and swear allegiance to the republic and the constitution. Priests who showed loyalty to the republic received the content at the expense of the state, and in relation to those who supported the monarchy, violence and repression were used.

Widely known Acts of Supremacy – two parliamentary acts (1534 and 1559), which fixed the break of the Anglican Church with the Catholic Church during the Reformation and handed over to the monarch the supreme authority in the Anglican Church. The adoption of the Act was accompanied by the requirement of a special written oath of allegiance to the Queen as the supreme ruler of the Church of all clergy, civil officials, judges, university professors and school teachers. In the same year, 1534, the act of treason was issued, according to which persons who refused to swear to recognize the Suprematist Act were accused of treason.

In any case, ‘freedom of conscience, freedom of thought is a notion of a new time: they were unknown to the middle ages, standing on the point of view of unconditional authority in

matters of faith and knowledge'⁷² and they become an integral part of further European and world stories.

The ideas of freedom of conscience and religion were legislated in the French 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen' (1794), which was the basis of the legislation of the French state of the era of bourgeois revolutions, as well as in the US Constitution (1787) and the American Bill of Rights (1794), contributed to such American humanists and statesmen as Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), Thomas Paine (1737-1809).

1.2. Principle of freedom of conscience in the theological context

Against the background of existing differences between the theological and secular, between state-national traditions and international principles, it is important to determine the initial methodological and theoretical positions, to clarify the very concept of freedom of conscience in the theological context and related categories.

Freedom of conscience, of which we spoke above, in the era of the Ancient World and the Middle Ages, the very concept of freedom of conscience was clearly different from today's understanding of this term. The date of the birth of the modern concept of freedom of conscience can be considered the end of the Thirty Years' War⁷³ in Europe, the causes of which were, in particular, the attempt of the Catholic Church to win back from Protestantism the positions lost in the course of the Reformation, which was promoted by the aspiration of the Habsburgs who ruled the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and Spain, to hegemony in Europe. Fears of France, who saw in the Habsburg policy of infringement of their national interests and the desire of Denmark and Sweden to monopolically control the Baltic sea trade routes, also contributed to this war. The conclusion of the Westphalian Peace of 1648 led to the fact that subjects of the Holy Roman Empire were granted the right to belong to one of the three Christian denominations: Catholicism, Lutheranism or Calvinism. At that time, the Holy Roman Empire consisted of a multitude of states, thus it was decided that those who were submitted should belong to the faith that their ruler professed. Consequently, a person who adhered to a different religion, the choice was small: either change faith or emigrate.

⁷² KAREEV N.I. *History of Western Europe in the Modern Times*. Volume 2. History of the XVI and XVII centuries. – SPb.: Typography of M.M. Stasyulevych, 1904, p. 220.

⁷³ The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) – a war between two groups of the strongest European states affected in varying degrees practically all European countries. The war began as a religious clash between Protestants and Catholics of the German Empire, but later developed into a struggle against the domination of the Habsburgs in Europe. Historians distinguish four periods: the Czech-Palatinate period (1618-1624); The Danish period (1625-1629); The Swedish period (1630-1635); Franco-Swedish period (1635-1648). October 24, 1648 in Münster there was signed a peace treaty, the so-called Westphalian, which stopped the Thirty Years' War.

Over time, the principle of 'state church' prevailed and firmly established in states, in the majority of Protestants, and later in some Catholic states of Europe, when the religious community to which the sovereign belongs, as a rule (but not always), the majority of the population, enjoys the advantage of state church. The population, professing other religions, leaves for the American colonies, or for the East, to the Russian empire, in which religious communities, partially affected by state rights and not having their state status, were nevertheless allowed to enter Russian territory.

1.2.1. Principle of freedom of conscience in the creed of the Roman Catholic Church

In addition to the above-mentioned Marsilius of Padua and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, the ideas of the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) on the division of natural human rights and human laws, the recognition of the personality of the right to have their own opinions and beliefs, follow their convictions.

Thomas Aquinas was the largest representative of the scholastic philosophy of its heyday. He was born in the castle Roccasecca near Aquino and studied at the University of Naples, where he studied Aristotle and seven liberal arts: logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, grammar, music, astronomy. At the age of 19 he joined the Dominican Order. He also studied at the University of Cologne. In 1252, he went to the University of Paris to give lectures and get the title of professor, who achieved at the age of 30 years.

Nikolay Berdyayev wrote: 'Thomas Aquinas proclaimed the religious right of insurrection against state power and went so far as to justify regicide even if the tsar transcends religiously permissible limits'⁷⁴. In the work 'On the Rule of the Lords' the Aquinas, starting with Aristotle, regards man primarily as a social being, understanding society organically. The social whole stands for Thomas in the form of a hierarchy in which each estate is engaged in the corresponding duties. By its position man is an intermediate being between creatures (animals) and angels. In the series of bodily creatures, he is a supreme being, he is distinguished by an intelligent soul and free will. By virtue of the latter, man is responsible for his actions. And the root of his freedom is the mind. Man differs from the animal world in having the ability to cognize and, on the basis of this, the ability to make the free conscious choice. A conscience is an act of practical reason, not feelings, although in a full-fledged personality it is supported by appropriate feelings.

⁷⁴ BERDYAEV, N.A., *New Christianity. Collection of articles from 1916-1917*. Moscow - Berlin: Direct-Media, 2015, p.129.

It is worth noting that the Catholic dogma has been painstakingly modified throughout the Middle Ages, as a result of which in the 20th century, Catholicism began to openly preach the most important democratic values – such as freedom and human rights.

In Modern times, the Roman Catholic Church has actively engaged in the protection of human rights for religious freedom. During the period of the pontificate of Leo XIII in a whole series, the encyclical – ‘Immortale Dei’ (1885), ‘Libertas Praestantissimum’ (1888), etc. – coercion in the faith was condemned. The publication of the encyclical *Immortale Dei* continued to develop the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of political problems, some of which were already touched upon by Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical ‘*Diuturnum illud*’ (1881), dedicated to the Christian interpretation of the foundations of secular power. The view presented in ‘*Immortale Dei*’ on the separation of the Church from the state and the condemnation of the juridical principle of freedom of conscience remained unchanged in the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church up to the Vatican II Council, which recognized in the Declaration on Religious Freedom ‘*Dignitatis humanae*’ the right of individuals and associations to civil liberty in matters of religion.

Particularly this declaration says: ‘All people should be free from coercion on the part of individuals and social groups, as well as any kind of human power, so that due to this, in religious matters, no one should be forced to act against their conscience and not interfere act within the proper limits according to their conscience: both in private and in public life, both alone and in community with other people’⁷⁵. Moreover, the decision of the Council concerned the civil authorities as well, a categorical reminder that the civil authorities are not allowed by force, threats or other means to impose on citizens the confession or rejection of a religion or to forbid anyone to join a particular religious community or to leave her.

The policy of the Second Vatican Council continues today's Pope Francis. In his joint statement with Pope Tawadros II of Alexandria, Pope Francis stated: Religious freedom, including freedom of conscience rooted in human dignity, is the cornerstone of all other freedoms. This is a sacred and inalienable right⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ *Declaratio de libertate religiosa "DIGNITATIS HUMANAЕ"* (7 decembris 1965) in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58 (1966) 929-946.

⁷⁶ *Déclaration commune du pape François et du patriarche Tawadros II* (VERBATIM) <https://www.cath.ch/newsf/declaration-commune-pape-francois-patriarche-tawadros-ii-verbatim>

1.2.2. Principle of freedom of conscience in the creed of Protestants

The formulation of the thesis on the freedom of internal faith as a self-evident and natural right, carried out by the greatest ideologists of the Reformation – Martin Luther and Jean Calvin – was the starting point for further philosophical substantiation of the need for movement from religious intolerance to freedom of religion, and later freedom of conscience. In the era of the Reformation, two different approaches to solving the problems of freedom of conscience were identified. The first is characterized by a clear socio-political orientation, orientation towards the principles of humanism and is a reflection of the interests of progressive forces, the most consistent representatives of which sought to completely free themselves from the influence of the church and religion. The second expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie, its desire to only subordinate the church, and not to abandon it. Common to these approaches was the denial of the principle of religious exclusivity and the opposition to it of the principle of freedom of religious conscience. Thus, during the Reformation, two currents merged into a single stream, each of which offered its own methods of transforming the political, economic and social spheres of society.

In the 95 Wittenberg theses (1517) Martin Luther connects the freedom of conscience of a Christian with the requirement of free preaching and unhindered dissemination of the Holy Scripture⁷⁷. As E. Solovyev notes, thus freedom of conscience will presuppose for Martin Luther and freedom of speech, press and assembly⁷⁸.

As Luther wrote, God created two kingdoms: God and secular. And he did it because of the dual nature of man, who is both spiritual and fleshly.

The existence of two kingdoms, according to the teachings of Luther, is also determined by the fact that the world consists essentially not of true Christians. If real Christians were dominant in it, then there would not have been any princes, nor masters, nor sword, nor law. True Christians would not allow any violations of the law, would love each other. According to Martin Luther, secular power is limited to earthly, human, and impotent matters of faith, conscience.

As for the teachings of John Calvin (1509-1564), his bright personality, outstanding abilities and talents, realized in various areas of spiritual and social life, gave contemporaries a reason to call Calvin "the most learned of all Europeans". One of the evidence of this is the theoretical legacy of the reformer, which amounted to 59 volumes. At the heart of his doctrine of predestination lies the idea of an unconditional domination of the will of God, who selects

⁷⁷ KOVALSKIY N. *Europe, Culture, Christianity // Free thought*. 1995. № 6, pp. 74-83.

⁷⁸ SOLOVYOV E.YU. *The categorical imperative of morality and law*. M.: Progress-Traditsia, 2005, p. 176.

people only with his tools. This completely excludes the idea of human merit, even the very idea of the possibility of freedom of choice in people's decisions.

Calvin reproduces the main provisions of Luther, but in a more systematic, and often categorical form. According to Calvin, civil order also implies a strict order in the affairs of faith. People should not, at their own whims, create new laws concerning religious forms of worship of God. At the same time, they must have firm guarantees that true faith will be protected from any attempt at insults and violence from anyone else's side. It should be noted that the growing struggle for tolerance and the principle of freedom of conscience led to a decrease in the influence of Calvin's ideas afterwards.

1.2.3. Principle of freedom of conscience in the Orthodox creed

The attitude of the Orthodox Church to the institution of conscience was rather ambiguous, so it is worth recalling that the Orthodox perceived Byzantium took root and the fundamental principle of Byzantine relations between the Church and the state is the principle of a symphony of the authorities. Balzhik Irena notes in her dissertation that in this case the 'symphony of power' is defined as a harmonious interaction, but not as a merger of secular and ecclesiastical power based on the values of morality, orthodoxy, law in order to achieve social peace, harmony and well-being, revival and confirmation of spirituality⁷⁹.

Orthodoxy in Rus for many centuries was under the protection of state power and at the same time the dominant statute of the Orthodox religion did not rule out religious tolerance of the state in relation to other religions. The hierarchy of privilege of religions was partly based on the degree of divergence of the dogma of each of them with the dogmas of Orthodoxy. But the church itself was not so tolerant, the falling away from Orthodoxy was punished. Only on April 17, 1905, Emperor Nicholas II issued a decree to the Senate – the Decree on strengthening the beginning of religious tolerance, where for the first time in Russian history, not only the right to freedom of worship of persons of non-Orthodox confession was legislated, but it was established that the separation from the Orthodox faith in another Christian confession or the doctrine is not subject to persecution⁸⁰.

The contemporary attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church is contained in the document 'Foundations of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church'⁸¹. The document sets out

⁷⁹ BALZHYK I.A. *Relations between state and church: 'Symphony of the authorities'*: Dis. ... Candidate of legal sciences: 12.00.01 / Odessa National Law Academy. – 2007.

⁸⁰ *Decree 'On Strengthening the Beginnings of Religious Tolerance' from April 17, 1905* // Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire. Third collection. 1905. SPb, 1907, V. 25, (№ 26126).

⁸¹ *Fundamentals of the social concept of the Russian Orthodox Church*. M., 2008.

the basic provisions of its teaching on church-state relations and on a number of contemporary socially significant problems. The document also reflects the official position of the Moscow Patriarchate in the sphere of relations with the state and secular society. The second document is 'Fundamentals of the Teaching of the Russian Orthodox Church on Dignity, Freedom and Human Rights'⁸². In particular, in one of the paragraphs of this document it is said: 'The gift of freedom of choice is recognized by man primarily in the ability to choose the worldview points of his life ... Sometimes freedom of conscience is treated as a requirement of religious neutrality or indifference of the state and society. Some ideological interpretations of religious freedom insist on recognition as relative or 'equally true' of all faiths. This is unacceptable for the Church, which, while respecting freedom of choice, is called upon to testify of the Truth it keeps and to reprove delusion'.

⁸² Fundamentals of the teaching of the Russian Orthodox Church on dignity, freedom and human rights. M., 2018

1.3 Principle of freedom of conscience in the legal and socio-cultural contexts

1.3.1 Concept and structure of freedom of conscience

1.3.1.1 Concept and definition of legal term

The concept of the term ‘freedom of conscience’ except in the philosophical, theological, religious contexts of consideration is very important in other dimensions, such as legal and sociocultural or socio-humanitarian.

From a legal point of view, the right to freedom of conscience is one of the elements of the human rights system and is included in the group of personal rights and freedoms, thus entering the ‘first generation’ of human rights. In legal terms, freedom of conscience is interpreted as a person's spiritual, intellectual activity, proceeding from the recognition of the right of a reason for a free, critical examination of religion and free investigation of reality.

Freedom of conscience is the core of human identity – we can say that this is the right to be a person. The ability of a person to independently formulate moral obligations and realize moral self-control, demand from oneself their fulfillment and evaluate the actions that she does; one of the expressions of the moral self-consciousness of the individual and is conscience. The concept of conscience and the content of conscience are an object of ongoing discussions among scientists of many branches, our ideas about it are very limited: ‘We can give only approximate answers to many questions related to this concept, and sometimes intuitively guess’⁸³.

The inner level of the interpretation aspect of freedom of conscience within the framework of the legalistic approach is closed on the legal understanding of this phenomenon. This understanding is due to two components: **a legalistic understanding**, which is, in fact, abstract, since this phenomenon of legal order is not tied to any legal system or legislation that is valid for a certain moment and **a legal**, always understandable and concrete understanding that is based on the state that is in the state system of legal sources.

The sources of the legal institution of freedom of conscience are such components as:

- international legal acts on human rights, which establish freedom of conscience in its various interpretations (universally recognized principles and norms of international law in the field of freedom of conscience);
- norms of Constitutions or constitutional acts (in articles relating to ensuring freedom of conscience);
- national legislation governing the protection and restriction of freedom of conscience;

⁸³ MILTS A.A. *Conscience*. Ethical thought: scientist-publicist. readings. M.: Politizdat, 1990, p. 275.

- decisions of local self-government bodies that affect the implementation of freedom of conscience;

- judicial practice at all levels of disputes over freedom of conscience (decisions of both international human rights courts and judicial authorities in the country).

Also important is the issue of combining the norms of freedom of conscience with local permanent (secular and religious, traditional) and situational legislation (wartime, emergency) and priorities in their observance, avoiding damage to the local legal space⁸⁴.

1.3.1.2 Structure of the concept of freedom of conscience

The legal expression of freedom of conscience is the legal institution of freedom of conscience in this case, in a separate state, and it consists of various sources operating in the state regulating this freedom.

Concerning the content of freedom of conscience, then as a subjective right of every person, it includes: 1) the right to profess any religion; 2) the right to perform religious rites; 3) the right to change religion; 4) the right not to profess any religion; 5) the right to propagate religion; 6) the right to conduct atheistic propaganda; 7) the right to religious charitable activity; 8) the right to religious education; 9) the right to religious cultural and educational activities; 10) equality before the law of all citizens, regardless of their attitude to religion.

As regards the essence of freedom of conscience, the substantive element of legal freedom here is the behavioral tolerance of the individual with regard to views, beliefs, worldviews in general, as well as unlawful acts and deeds (in the form of acts or omissions) of others.

1.3.1.2.1 Legal genesis of freedom of conscience

The legal genesis of freedom of conscience has three stages:

First stage: Freedom of conscience as freedom of choice of religion:

- a) as the freedom to choose a way of worship (when only one religious faith in the state is provided as a positive right, but different ways of its confession are allowed);
- b) as the freedom to choose one's own religion from the number of religions acceptable in the state (without a legally guaranteed possibility not to profess religious faith as such).

⁸⁴ TAGIEVA T. YU. *The problem of systemic unity of the international and national components of the legal regulation of freedom of conscience // Freedom of conscience in Russia: hist. and modern aspects*. M., 2004, p. 123.

Second stage: Freedom of conscience as freedom of religion, including the possibility of renouncing religion in general (including the right to adhere to atheistic beliefs).

The third stage: Freedom of conscience as freedom of belief of the individual and his unjust conduct based on these beliefs.

1.3.1.2.2 Freedom of religious denomination

Freedom of religious denomination is an integral part of freedom of conscience and appears as freedom of choice of religion, the sending of a religious cult, and manifests itself as an inner ability of the individual to religious self-determination and self-realization, as its natural law. To confess faith means to openly acknowledge it, follow it, that is, live according to its canons and dogmas, conduct personal, family and social life in accordance with its religious worldview.

The internal content of freedom of religion is detailed in the following rights:

1. Confession of a particular religious cult.
2. The change of religious affiliation and the transition from one religious confession to another, while observing the internal church rules of the respective denominations.
3. Participation in the conduct of religious rites.
4. Missionary and religious-educational activities.
5. Religious education and upbringing.

1.3.1.2.3 Freedom of church

The freedom of church characterizes the socio-legal possibilities of the functioning of a church, religious associations, communities of believers. This concept is related to the notion of freedom of conscience, but it is not an integral part (element) of its structure. The freedom of church is a form of social freedom.

A religious organization, as a free public education of the communion-citizenry, has its own internal structure, a statute that regulates not only issues related to religion, cult activities, but also discipline, economic, financial activity. Religious unions enter into certain relations with the state, other secular organizations, and other denominations. These relations, as well as the extracurricular activities of the church (religious organizations), go far beyond the scope of freedom of conscience. However, they are an integral part of the 'strength field' of freedom of religion, freedom of the church. The latter characterizes the degree of autonomy, independence of its internal structure, structure, management, canonical activity from state factors, and also reflects the social, economic, political, legal possibilities of the church and its structural units.

Freedom of the church contains in its structure freedom of creation of religious groups, associations; freedom of church organizations and management; freedom of economic and financial activity; full equality in the legal sense of all religious communities that function in the state.

1.3.1.3 State and Confessional law as complex legal institution and academic discipline

1.3.1.3.1 Complex legal institution

Modern Ukrainian society and the integration of the Ukrainian system of education and science into the European scientific space places new demands on the process of preparing future lawyers. Reforms of the political and legal system of the Ukrainian state require the development of legal education and new, extraordinary approaches to the training of future lawyers, international law, international relations, political science, sociology, etc., thus approaching the level of legal science and the university education system of Western and Central Europe.

The realities of the present require new approaches and the development of a new methodology for training lawyers, the expansion of the field of scientific and research work. For many years, the current problem for Ukraine has been the standardization and deepening of the international aspects of legal education, through which we could reach a new level of scientific and educational activity, this also applies to the development of curricula, teaching materials and other materials aimed at the integration of higher legal education in the European and world educational space. Unfortunately, ‘the Ukrainian system of higher legal education traditionally remained focused on the training of specialists mainly for law enforcement and other bodies, and not on the human rights function, which respectively affected the content of legal education – education plans, programs, etc⁸⁵.

In most countries of Western and Central Europe, ‘State and Confessional law’ as a discipline is a component of professional training in law, international law, international relations, political science, and sociology. Of course, the name of the discipline, depending on the country, sounds differently, its content and content are also different in accordance with the peculiarities of historical traditions and state legislation. For example, in Germany and Switzerland this discipline is called ‘Staatskirchenrecht’, which literally translates as ‘State and Church law’. In Austria, the name ‘Religionsrecht’ or ‘Religious law’ is used more. Sometimes the name ‘Religionsverfassungsrecht’ is literally translated as ‘Religious Constitutional law’.

⁸⁵ ZADOYANIY M., *Modern Approaches to Modernizing Legal Education in Ukraine* / Mykhailo Zadoyaniy, Ivan Oksiom // Public law: The scientific and practical legal journal. 2012. № 4, p. 277.

Discussions about which of these names are more correct and the corresponding emphasis in teaching in the German-speaking world has been around for centuries⁸⁶. In the universities of Great Britain, also everything is not so definitely, but the term ‘State-Church Law’ or ‘State and Church Law’ is widely used. In France, discipline is called ‘Droit des religions’, that is, ‘Religious law’. In Slovakia and the Czech Republic, this discipline will be called respectively ‘Konfesionné právo’ and ‘Konfesionní právo’. In Poland, in fact, is called ‘Prawo wyznaniowe’⁸⁷.

Interestingly, in such countries as Italy and Spain, this subject is called ‘Church law’ (respectively, in Italy – Diritto ecclesiastico, in Spain – Derecho eclesiástico or Derecho eclesiástico del Estado). In the latter version, the state is indicated as the legislator of the ecclesiastical law. This is primarily due to the Western European legal tradition of the section on universal church law for jus ecclesiasticum (church law relating to the church, irrespective of the legislator) and jus canonicum (Canon law), which is the subject of a separate scientific study.

There is a logical question, what exactly should be understood with such quantity and variety of names. Analyzing the terminology and content of State and Confessional law, as a science, we give the following definition:

State and Confessional law – is a complex legal institution, as a set of legal norms established by the state legislation, normative acts of international and European law, regulating the legal status of churches and religious organizations in the state and state and church relations in general. Includes, among other things, the provisions of the constitutional, administrative, civil, criminal, labor, tax and other branches of law.

1.3.1.3.2 Academic discipline

Regarding this complex law institute as a discipline, in our opinion, in the process of studying the discipline, students must learn the system and principles of international and national legislation in the field of state-confessional relations, to find out the concepts and main types of its sources, to understand the peculiarities of the relation norms of the state-confessional law and national legislation of the country, other foreign countries, the main international rules and criteria of lawmaking in the field of state religious policy and regulation.

Mastering of such an object will allow the student to independently evaluate the processes of lawmaking, reform of the national legislation in the field of state-confessional relations

⁸⁶ HEINIG, HANS MICHAEL / WALTER, CHRISTIAN (Hrsg.): *Staatskirchenrecht oder Religionsverfassungsrecht? Ein begriffspolitischer Grundsatzstreit*. Mohr Siebeck, 2007, s. 8.

⁸⁷ MEZGLEWSKI, ARTUR. *Prawo wyznaniowe* / Artur Mezglewski, Henryk Misztal, Piotr Stanisz, wyd. 3, Wydawnictwo C.H. Beck, Warszawa 2011. p. 19

regarding their compliance with world trends and international standards; to forecast the effectiveness of the adoption and operation of certain legislative acts; to formulate proposals and recommendations for the improvement of the national legislation in order to bring it in line with the European and world standards; to master the main categories of state-confessional law; be able to compare state and confessional legislation with international and European, to establish its similarity or distinction in order to find the priority approaches to the regulation of state-confessional relations; to correctly interpret and apply the norms of international state-confessional law, independently replenish and deepen their knowledge; substantiate and defend their legal position, apply the acquired knowledge to apply the norms of legislation in the field of freedom of conscience.

It should be noted that the course of State and Confessional law in its content and content is constantly changing, depending on changes in the state legislation in the religious sphere. A number of scholars offer within this subject the distinction between international and national State and Confessional law.

Regarding the content of the discipline, it usually includes a historical bloc that studies the history of relations between the state and religion, both in national and international dimensions (state and religion in ancient times, state-church relations during the Middle Ages, the new and the newest period stories). Accordingly, one of the main blocks is the study of the constitutional principles of relations between the state and religious organizations, international and national legislation in the area of freedom of conscience and religion, educational, social and charitable activities of churches, taxation and financing of religious organizations, etc. In the process of teaching and studying the subject, every year the scope of state-denominational law expands, for example, nowadays in many European countries the question of teaching the foundations of Islam as a religious discipline at the level of the foundations of the Roman Catholic and evangelical faith became relevant. The issues of the influence of the religious factor and the activities of religious organizations in the political and social unification processes of the European Union are also studied.

In the European education space, structural subdivisions of universities dealing with this subject work closely together with legislative, regulatory authorities and church scientific institutions. For example, in Germany, the two largest Christian churches, the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church in Germany, founded and actively supported the work of the Institute of State-Confessional Law of the German Dioceses, led by Prof. Dr. Ansgar Hense and the Church Law Institute of the Evangelical Church in Germany, led by Prof. Dr. Hans Michael Heinig. In many countries, the role of ecclesiastical scientific institutions researching church and

state-confessional law is performed by scientific societies, such as the Austrian Society of the Church Law (Vienna, Austria), the Polish Society of State and Confessional law (Lublin, Poland), the Church Law Society (London, Great Britain), The Czech Society of the Church Law (Prague, Czech Republic), the Slovak Society of Canon Law (Bratislava, Slovakia).

In view of the fact that the topic of our research, which was announced, lies in the sphere of higher legal education only, we will not touch the relevant structural units and teach the course of State and Confessional law and church law in the theological faculties and in the higher education institutions of Western and Central Europe.

For many centuries the German legal school has remained a leader in the field of research, actively exploring the legal constituent part of state-confessional relations both in Germany and in the international arena. State-confessional law and state-church relations investigate the entire structural divisions of the legal faculties of such prominent German higher education institutions as: University of Cologne (department of public and ecclesiastical law, Institute of the Church Law and Church History of the Rhine), headed by Prof. Dr. Stefan Muckel; Munich University Ludwig-Maximilian (Department of Public Law (Church Law, German Constitutional and Administrative Law), headed by Prof. Dr. Stefan Koriath, Erlangen-Nurnberg University (Department of Church, State, Confessional and Administrative Law, Hans Lawman Institute of the Law of the Church) is headed by Prof. Dr. Heinrich de Wall; University of Halle-Vittemberg (Department of Public Law, State-Confessional and Church Law) headed by Judge of the Constitutional Court of Saxony-Anhalt, Prof. Dr. Michael Germann; University of Gettingen (Department of Public Law (Church and church-state law)) led by Prof. Dr. Hans Michael Heinig; University of Bonn (Department of Public Law, Institute of Church Law), currently the vacant position is vacant, until 2012 the Department and the Institute were headed by the Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Berlin Humboldt Prof. Dr. Christian Waldhoff; The University of Regensburg (Department of Civil Law, German and European History of Law, Church Law) is headed by Prof. Dr. Martin Löhnig; University of Leipzig (faculty of constitutional and administrative law, history of constitutional law and state-confessional law), headed by Dean of the Faculty of Law Professor Dr. Jochen Rozek; University of Trier (Department of Public Law, Church Law, Philosophy and History of Constitutional Law), headed by Prof. Dr. Gerhard Robbers; University of Tübingen (Department of Public Law, Administrative, Religious Constitutional and Church Law) is headed by Prof. Dr. Michael Droege Until September 2014, the department was headed by Prof. Dr. Karl-Hermann Kästner, who since 2009 is a foreign member of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine;

University of Munster (Department of Public Law and Administration, Cultural and Religious Constitutional Law), headed by Prof. Dr. Hinnerk Wißmann and other.

In the Czech Republic the most famous scientists and professors dealing with the issues of state and confessional law are: at Charles University in Prague prof. JUDr. Jiří Rajmund Tretera and doc. JUDr. ICLic. Záboj Horák, LL.M., Ph.D., known for many works in this field, Professor of the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice, Doc. JUDr. Stanislav Příbyl, Ph.D., JCD., Th.D. In Slovakia, major specialists are prof. doc. JUDr. Marek Šmid, PhD. and ThLic. Mgr. Michaela Moravčíková, Th.D. from University of Trnava.

In the higher legal education system in Switzerland, we can distinguish the legal faculties of the University of Friborg (Department of History of Law and Church Law, Institute of Religious Law) (Prof. Dr. utr. Iur. René Pahud de Mortanges) and the University of Zurich (Department of History of Law, Church Law, Theory Law and Private Law), headed by Prof. Dr. iur Andreas Thier, M.A.).

Interestingly, these two universities have joint bilingual (German and French) bachelor and master's programs in state-religious (religious) law, which allows the acquisition of experience and practice of two universities.

Schools in Spain and Italy have traditionally been successful in this area. Certainly, separate units represent state-confessional law at the largest university of the University of the University of Complutense (Madrid), founded in 1499, the University of Granada (Granada), the University de Deusto (Bilbao), the University of Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona), the University of Almeria (Almeria, Andalusia), University of La Laguna (San Cristobal de la Laguna, Tenerife). Among the Italian universities, La Sapienza University (Rome), the University of Bologna and Florence, the Trento and Siena Universities, and the University of Catania are best known for their state-confessional (ecclesiastical) research. Of course, for many centuries, researchers and teachers of the Italian papal universities are directly involved in this topic.

The system of teaching discipline, which operates in the represented European universities, is not particularly different from the Ukrainian ones, so the course of state-confessional law is studied with the help of the following forms of teaching: lectures, practical (seminar) classes, independent work, colloquiums, consultations, writing. But there is a significant difference between the application of the latest methods in teaching, the possibilities of mobility and the exchange of students and teachers, material and technical base, bibliographic funds.

Interesting is the M. Kravchuk opinion on this subject: 'In educational institutions, it is necessary to prepare an encyclopedic specialist, which is common for the European educational tradition. The goal of the university should be to provide a certain level of education, not a certain

level of qualification that we have'⁸⁸. This thesis about the necessity of universities to prepare encyclopedists of law, and to put the practical learning on other institutions, where legal clinics should become one of the most effective structures, and other scholars support it⁸⁹.

Among the academic disciplines that include state-confessional law, such as 'State and Confessional law and religious policy in a European dimension' (European University of Viadrina, Frankfurt-am-Oder, Germany), 'State-Confessional law and Church law' (University of Zurich, Switzerland), 'State-Confessional Law of Germany and the European Union' (University of Gettingen, Germany), 'Law and Religion' (University of Salzburg, Austria).

1.3.2 Rights and duties of state and church

It is natural and legitimate that the relationship between the state and the church will only be partnership, when they are realized through a proper understanding of their rights and obligations towards the partner, and of course if the interests of society are initially based on this interaction.

1.3.2.1 Rights and duties of state

It is assumed that in partnership relations, the state has the right primarily to establish administrative restrictions on the exercise of the right to freedom of conscience and the activities of religious organizations, if this is necessary in connection with the protection of the constitutional order, public order (including terrorism and extremism), public morality, health, rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of a person and citizen, the preservation of the traditional religious culture of society, and also agreed with the norms of the of the international and national law.

The state also has the right to establish rules for the registration of religious organizations and the recognition of communities by religious organizations. In most European legislation, religious organizations can be registered and act in such forms: religious communities, administrations and centers, monasteries, religious fraternities, missionary societies (missions), religious educational institutions, and associations of listed religious organizations. For example,

⁸⁸ KRAVCHUK M.V. *Main directions of reforming and standardizing higher education* / M.V. Kravchuk // Comparative and legal research. 2009. №1, p. 164.

⁸⁹ KOTUKHA O. S. *On the issue of reforming higher legal education* / O. S. Kotuchha // Legal regulation of economics: materials of All-ukr. science-practice conf. 'Actual questions of preparation of lawyers in non-specialized higher educational institutions' / Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, State. HEI 'Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman', Law. fac.; [head of Ed.board. V.F. Opryshko]. – Kyiv : KNEU, 2013. № 13, p. 60.

according to Ukrainian legislation, a religious community must have at least ten people who have reached adulthood to register their position (charter), e.g. 18 years. Registration of the charter of the religious community is carried out by the Kyiv city and regional state administrations. The decision from the moment of submission of the application is accepted within one month. According to the Ukrainian legislation, if the provision or the statute contradicts the legislation of Ukraine, their registration may be refused.

The state has the right to establish central bodies of executive power, a special body for religious affairs, which has advisory and recommendation functions; the history of such bodies is long-standing, in the USSR such a body was called the Council for the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and it was by no means consultative, but controlling. It was created on September 14, 1943, and its main function was to organize the relationship between the state and the church⁹⁰. State religious policy in the USSR was characterized by strict control over the activities of religious organizations. In the society, the authorities continued to dominate the establishment of the authorities for the withering away of religion in the conditions of building a socialist society. For many decades, this body, despite renaming and reforming⁹¹, remained the chief overseer of the church. And only in October 1990, after the adoption of the Law 'On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations' by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and by the Supreme Council of the RSFSR – the Law 'On Freedom of Religion', the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers received the status of an information, advisory and expert center.

Obtaining and maintaining statistical information on the number of registered religious organizations, the number of clergymen, the number of structures of religious worship, religious educational institutions, etc., is also the right of the state.

As for the duties of the state, we can distinguish among them the following:

1. Formation and implementation of state policy with the sphere of ensuring the right to freedom of conscience, while the state policy in this area is part of the domestic and foreign policy of the state. In this case, it should be taken into account that religion and the church have a clearly expressed socio-political function and therefore, along with compensatory, regulative, ideological, integrating functions, the political aspects also play a role. The church influences the policy of state power, a political institutions, political organization of the society; the church politically affects believers (partially and unbelievers) and the state is obliged to take this into

⁹⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation (SA RF). - F. R-6991. - Op. 1. - D. 1. – L. 1-10.

⁹¹ In 1965, the Councils for the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church and religious cults, created in 1943-1944, were transformed into the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR as a special body for the control of religious organizations in the USSR.

account. And although officially the largest confessions invariably distinguish the political function of the church, they say that the *church stands outside all politics, does not take part in it* because it is a worldly sphere of life, has no common with the spiritual sphere of the church, the Church constantly cooperates with state and public organizations, political parties.

2. To promote the maintenance of the rights of believers to pastoral care, regardless of their place of residence, unhindered pastoral ministry of the church primarily in places with limited freedom of communication or rights (military and paramilitary units, hospitals, boarding schools, places of serving sentences, prisons), the state must guarantee the provision of conditions for religious organizations for their pastoral and social service.

3. To recognize the right of clergy to professional secrecy. In this case, the professional secret of a clergyman is a confession, as information that becomes known to a person in connection with the performance of his professional duties and which he has no right to disseminate or use in his own interests. This expression means that the clergyman has no right to tell anyone what he heard in confession. The law does not allow him to be questioned as a witness at a court session if the questions concern the content of the confession. The priest is morally responsible for keeping the secret. At the same time, if he breaks the secret, then legal consequences according to the secular legislation will not be, since the punishment for disclosing the secret of confession is not stipulated in the law, but the priest will bear the church punishment, even to the deprivation of dignity⁹².

4. To ensure the observance of labor and social rights of citizens who study in religious educational institutions, confessional educational institutions on the same level as the rights of students in state educational institutions. In most cases, it is only a matter of individual social guarantees that are defined for citizens enrolled in higher and secondary spiritual educational institutions. The state guarantees that students of religious schools allowed to use are the right and privileges to postpone military service, taxation, in the length of service in the manner and under the conditions established for students and students of public educational institutions⁹³.

5. To ensure the openness and transparency of the processes of formation of the state policy in the sphere of ensuring the right to freedom of conscience and partnership relations with the church (religious organizations) at all levels of state power; public consultations. The organization and conducting of consultations with the public rely on the executive authorities,

⁹² KONDRASHOVA I.S. *The secret of confession as a professional kind of mystery*. Bulletin of Bryansk State University №2 (2008), pp. 127-131.

⁹³ BILASH O.V. *Criminal-legal characteristics of illegal actions concerning religious buildings or relics* [Text] : monograph / Oleksandr Bilash (Archimandrite Evfrosin) ; foreword. : Ye.L. Streltsov. Uzhhorod: Oleksandra Garkusha Publishing House, 2015.

who are the initiators or the main developers of the draft normative legal act or are preparing proposals for the implementation of state policy in a particular area. In this case, two forms of public consultations are foreseen:

- direct form (public discussion);
- mediated form (study of public opinion)⁹⁴.

6. To provide appropriate training for civil servants whose competence includes any issues related to ensuring the right to freedom of conscience and the regulation of the activities of the church (religious organizations).

1.3.2.2 Rights and duties of church

Religious organizations as special associations of citizens and civil society institutions have the right to the unimpeded exercise of religious practice, first of all, pastoral ministry; of course, religious organizations have the right to conduct economic activities and, accordingly, to receive funds to support their core business (including charity and social actions).

In Ukraine, discussions continue on the acquisition of the status of a legal entity by churches with all the legal consequences that follow from it and with a condition that consensus is reached on this issue between churches that have a hierarchical structure. It should be noted that in Ukraine a religious organization is defined by a legal entity from the moment of registration of its charter (regulation) and enjoys rights and duties in accordance with the current legislation and its statute (regulation), but the churches as religious associations do not have legal person status.

Religious organizations have the right to receive information from bodies of state power and bodies of local self-government on matters which belong to the spheres of activity of the church (religious organizations).

Also to establish general educational institutions of all levels, including – with a confessionally defined system of education and provision of religious education; have the right to apply for voluntary financial and other donations and receive them.

The right of churches to carry out charitable and other socially useful activities (social service) is indisputable both on its own and on a contractual basis with state authorities, local self-government bodies and/or non-governmental organizations; establishment and support of

⁹⁴ CHEMERYYS O. *Theoretical and legal basis of the interaction between government authorities and the public in public policy formulation and implementation*. “Efficacy Public Administration” Collection of scientific works. 2015. Issue 42, p. 44.

international contacts and direct personal contacts of clergy and believers necessary for the provision of appropriate religious practice.

The religious duties we can include such as:

- to respect and take into account the historical and cultural traditions of society, adhere to the principles of tolerance in relation to religious organizations, believers of other denominations, non-believers and atheists; not to interfere in the activities of other religious organizations, not to preach in any form intolerance to believers of other denominations, non-believers and atheists; to prevent images of religious feelings of believers of other denominations; respect the hierarchs of other denominations as equal fellow citizens;

- to ensure the education of tolerance of students and students of religious (spiritual) and confessional educational institutions;

- to comply with the requirements of the current legislation and law and order; to respect constitutional symbols of the state, state language and languages of national minorities; to respect legitimately operating state authorities and local self-government bodies;

- not to assume the performance of state functions (except for the above-mentioned participation in joint programs), not to interfere with the work of state authorities and local self-government bodies;

- to maintain in good condition (repair, restore, maintain appropriate regimes of preservation) property of religious significance, which is a national historical and cultural heritage and is in the use or ownership of a religious organization; to coordinate religious practice in the field of export of religious objects (donations, transfers) that are the monuments of history, culture, have (or may have) cultural or artistic value, with the relevant current legislation of Ukraine;

- to ensure labor rights and social protection of citizens – workers of religious organizations and enterprises created by them, in accordance with the current legislation of Ukraine.

1.3.3. Freedom of conscience in international legal acts and role of international religious organizations in international legal relationships

Freedom of conscience is the natural right given to a person at birth and is the internal ability of an individual to analyze and determine his outlook and being. No one can regulate the process of philosophical choices of one or another person. At the same time, the state, and in this case, international supranational organizations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international organizations,

by their legal acts, establish only the limits, possibilities, guarantees of the external manifestation of freedom of conscience. The activities of international organizations in state-church relations are aimed at maximizing the right of the individual to freedom of conscience and religion and creating favorable conditions for the development of inter-confessional dialogue.

After independence, Ukraine undertook to bring its legislation in line with international European standards, including in the field of human rights, and thus in the area of freedom of conscience and religion, thereby changing the course of history and society as a whole. Since independence, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has repeatedly raised the issue of the possible termination of Ukraine's membership in the Council of Europe, due to the fact that the country hastened to change its human rights law in accordance with its international obligations, but the use of sanctions has been delayed every time, providing Ukraine is the time to change.

1.3.3.1 Documents of the United Nations (UN)

International legal instruments undoubtedly occupy a central place in the system of international human rights protection and the most authoritative source of international norms in this area is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. Of the thirty articles of the Declaration, which were of a recommendatory nature and were the result of the Second World War, Art. 18 of the General Declaration states: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes the freedom to change his religion or belief and the freedom to practice his religion or beliefs individually or in association with others, public or private, in teaching, worship, and performing religious and ritual ceremonies'. It is in this article that the content of religious freedom in the legal aspect of its consideration is most fully described.

Also the most important achievement of the United Nations was the adoption by the General Assembly on November 25, 1981 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. As the General Assembly noted, ignoring and violating human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief of any kind, are directly or indirectly the cause of wars and the heavy suffering of humanity, especially when they serve as a means of foreign interference in internal cases of other states and lead to incitement of hatred between peoples and states. This Declaration The UN General Assembly Declaration entrusts members of the UN with the duty to adopt or repeal legislation when necessary to prohibit any discrimination based on

religion or belief, and to take appropriate measures against intolerance based on religion and other beliefs in this field. The Declaration essentially specifies which freedoms, from the international legal point of view, should be given to believing people and their associations in order to ensure freedom of conscience⁹⁵.

1.3.3.2 Documents of the Council of Europe

Among the main documents of the Council of Europe, such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted on November 4, 1950 in Rome in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with a view to observing signatories (members of the Council of Europe) and securing in its territory human rights and fundamental freedoms. This document was ratified by Ukraine only on July 17, 1997, the text of the General Declaration was ratified with statements and reservations, and came into force on December 11, 1997. It should be noted that in spite of reservations, in this case, Ukraine has recognized the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), which today is a real mechanism of protection of the rights proclaimed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Despite the fact that the text of the Convention has been changed many times, the article is especially important for us. 9. It is proclaimed that ‘Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right implies the freedom to change religion or beliefs, as well as the freedom to practice their religion or beliefs individually or in association with others, publicly or privately, in worship, teaching, and performing religious and ritual ceremonies’. At the same time, paragraph 2 of the same article states: ‘Freedom to profess a religion or belief is subject to restrictions that are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public security, for the protection of public order, health and morals, or protection rights and freedoms of other people’⁹⁶. Article 9 is also related to Article 10 (Freedom of expression), Art. 11 (Freedom of assembly and association) and Art. 14 (Prohibition of discrimination).

Other important documents are the European Social Charter (1961)⁹⁷, the European Cultural Convention (1955), which ‘came into force as the main instrument through which 48

⁹⁵ SHESTOPALOV M.A. *The role of international human rights standards in the regulation of state-church relations* // Human Rights and International Law: collection of articles of young scientists / Moscow city. ped. un-t, M., 2016, pp. 26-29.

⁹⁶ THE CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_004.

⁹⁷ THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_062.

European states expressed their commitment to cultural cooperation'⁹⁸ and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995)⁹⁹. These legal acts are definitely aimed at protecting and preserving the ideals of European society, and at the same time protecting the freedom of conscience. As noted by prof. Lemak, namely, 'the idea of tolerance and intercultural dialogue is central to developing standards for the consolidation of the rights of national minorities'¹⁰⁰. Note that the idea of tolerance and, in this case, interreligious dialogue should also be present in the development of legislative standards for the right to freedom of conscience and religion in Ukraine.

The Framework Convention was signed in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995 and ratified by Ukraine on December 9, 1997. According to her, signatories undertake 'to create the necessary conditions for persons belonging to national minorities to have the opportunity to preserve and develop their culture, to preserve the basic elements of their identity, in particular, religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage'. The parties shall encourage tolerance and intercultural dialogue (Article 6), guarantee the freedom of peaceful gatherings, freedom of conscience and religion (Article 7), recognize the right to establish religious institutions, organizations (Article 8). According to the Framework Convention, 'human rights in international law are universally recognized, that is, those recognized by any person, regardless of ethnic origin or ethnic origin, language, religion, race, or other factors'¹⁰¹.

It should be noted that the documents were adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and approved as Resolutions and Recommendations covering all spheres of state-confessional relations and have a wide range of applications.

The urgent problems of relations between the state, religion and society are devoted to the PACE Recommendation No. 1556 (2002) 'Religion and Change in Central and Eastern Europe'; PACE Recommendation 1804 (2007) 'State, Religion, Secular Society and Human Rights'. These documents detail the situation in Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialist regimes, and the 'disappearance of the 'Iron Curtain' led to the fact that the religious and cultural section in Europe became more evident and even more intensive. Two Christian cultures, Western and Eastern, are very little known to each other, and ignorance is a very

⁹⁸ BALANYUK YU.S. *Legal support of the Council of Europe's activities in the field of cultural heritage conservation*. Scientific journal of the National Pedagogical University named after M.P. Drahomanov. Ser. 22. 'Political science and teaching methods of socio-political disciplines'. Iss. 11. K. : Publishing house of NPU named after M.P. Drahomanov, 2013, p. 95.

⁹⁹ THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_055.

¹⁰⁰ LEMAK V.V. *Legislation on National Minorities in Ukraine: Issues of Improvement* / V.V. Lemak, O.V. Lemak // Bulletin of the Central Election Commission. – 2014. – № 1, p.73.

¹⁰¹ KOLISNYK V.P. *The legal nature of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. Bulletin of the Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine. 2001. № 4 (27). Kh. : Pravo, 2001, p. 41.

dangerous obstacle to the unification of Europe'(p.7). The questions raised by these acts, unfortunately, have not yet been answered in a number of Member States. The Council of Europe calls on all churches, religious organizations, centers and associations to guarantee the status of legal entity in the event that their activities do not violate human rights or international law; guaranteeing church organizations whose property has been nationalized in the past to restitute this property for a certain period of time and, in those cases where this is impossible, to pay just compensation; mediation in the settlement of conflicts and disputes between the parties with their consent, with the diligent implementation of the requirement for non-interference of state bodies in matters of dogma or other internal religious disputes.

The issue of freedom of conscience and guarantees of religious human rights is devoted to the Resolution of the PACE No. 1510 (2006) 'Freedom of expression and respect for the feelings of believers', PACE Resolution No. 1928 (2013) 'Guaranteeing human rights in relation to religious and other beliefs and the protection of religious communities from violence'; PACE Recommendation No. 1202 (1993) 'On Religious Tolerance in a Democratic Society'. Resolution No. 1510 reminds us that 'conscience and religion are the main components of human culture' (p.2), and 'Christians, Muslims, Jews and adherents of other religions are in Europe at home, as well as people without religion' (p. .4). At the same time, already in 2013, in its Resolution No. 1928, the PACE expresses its deep concern over the 'increase in the number of acts of violence against religious communities and individuals over the world in connection with their religious and other convictions all over the world'. It stresses that 'in connection with their religion or beliefs, people are subjected not only to physical but also to psychological violence and unconditionally condemns such violence' (p.1).

The Assembly also confirmed the 'great importance of the independence of religious communities and their separation from the state, as well as the neutrality and impartiality of the state in matters of religion' (paragraph 3), condemned 'any facts of the formation of negative stereotypes of people based on religious beliefs, as well as propaganda of religious hatred, which is equivalent to inducing discrimination, hostility and violence' (paragraph 6). The resolution also stresses that 'there are still problems in the member states of the Council of Europe. So, serious misunderstanding is the inconsistency of recent constitutional reforms in some Member States, Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights' (paragraph 9). It is also interesting that, in one of the appeals to Member States, the PACE has not missed one of the gender issues, 'taking into account the special status of women and girls in many traditional religions, protecting women and girls, and ensuring that religion is never used as an excuse to justify violence against women, such as homicide killing, bride burning, forced marriages, female

genital mutilation, even practicing members of religious communities to which they belong'. PACE Resolution No. 1464 (2005) 'Women and Religion in Europe' was fully devoted to the question of the rights and role of women in religious and secular society. The PACE calls for 'to refuse recognition of the provisions of the family law of other states and laws on the status of the person based on religious principles and violating the rights of women, to stop their application in their own territory, and, if necessary, to revise existing bilateral agreements' (paragraph 7.1.2), 'To ensure the separation of the church from the state, necessary in order to prevent the use of religiously motivated rules of law and politics (e.g. concerning family law, divorce and abortion) against a woman (p.7.3). The resolution also touched upon the issue of gender policy in secular society, in which 'there are more hidden and less exotic manifestations of intolerance and discrimination, are much widespread in Europe – and which can no less promote the enslavement of women – such as the refusal to question the patriarchal foundations, who consider the role of wife, mother and housewife as an ideal for a woman, and a refusal to take positive steps to support women (for example, during parliamentary elections) (p.4). In accordance with this document, the Council of Europe 'has undertaken and further commitments to the realization of the protection of women's rights'¹⁰².

A fairly large number of PACE resolutions and recommendations are devoted to Islam: PACE Resolution No. 1605 (2008), 'European Muslim Communities in the face of Extremism', Resolution 1704 (2010) 'Freedom of religion and other human rights of non-Muslim minorities in Turkey and Muslim minority in Thrace (Eastern Greece)', PACE Resolution No. 1743 (2010) 'Islam, Islamism and Islamophobia in Europe', PACE Recommendation No. 1831 (2008) 'European Muslim Communities in the face of Extremism', PACE Recommendation No. 1927 (2010) 'Islam, Islamism and Islamophobia in Europe'. As European scholars point out, 'the integration of Islam into immigrants into European society has grown into a socio-political problem of our time'¹⁰³.

PACE Resolution No. 1563 (2007) 'Fighting anti-Semitism in Europe' emphasizes the need to combat such a phenomenon as anti-Semitism, referring to so-called religious anti-Semitism. In the opinion of the PACE, the leaders of anti-Semitism 'often, but not exclusively, are very right movements, ideologues of Islam and extreme left political structures' and it appears 'hostile to the Jews, their religion, culture, to their identity as a community of people. Such hostility sometimes reaches open hatred, manifested through behavior and various actions:

¹⁰² LINDNER H. *Bildung, Erziehung und Religion in Europa Politische, rechtshermeneutische und pädagogische Untersuchungen zum europäischen Bildungsauftrag in evangelischer Perspektive*. Berlin ; New York, 2008, s. 122.

¹⁰³ JOPPKE C. *Islam in Europa: Integration durch recht und ihre Grenzen*. Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. 2013. Sonderheft 65, s. 410.

desecration, vandalism, publications, insults, threats, aggression or even murder' (paragraph 4). In view of the fact that the resolution was adopted at the height of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Assembly expresses its condolences to the events that have contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism in Europe (paragraph 5), and calls for the strengthening of anti-Semitic measures envisaged by law and to consider anti-Semitic motives as an aggravating circumstance to commit intercultural and inter-confessional dialogue between different communities (paragraph 12.9), to actively and resolutely condemn all states that support anti-Semitism, denial of the Holocaust and incitement to genocide (clause 12.19). Not surprisingly, in recent years 'there is a tangible increase in the interest of researchers in the problems of religious anti-Semitism'¹⁰⁴. The PACE also called for its resolution to intensify the study of the history and culture of major religions in schools (paragraph 12.7).

In this case, it is necessary to mention the relevant PACE acts related to education and religion. For example, the PACE Recommendation No. 1720 (2005) 'Education and Religion' and the PACE Resolution No. 1580 (2007) 'The danger of creationism for education'. Speaking about education and religion, it is emphasized by the fact that 'in many families gradually disappears knowledge of religion. More and more young people do not have the necessary foundation to fully appreciate the society in which they have to live and others who oppose this society' (par. 3), and 'knowledge of religions is an integral part of the knowledge of the history of human civilization. And this is completely different than a confession of a certain religion and observance of religious rites. Even in states where religion is clearly dominated, one should teach the origin of all religions rather than prefer one religion or support proselytism' (p.8). The Assembly also recommends that the Committee of Ministers encourage the governments of the Member States to provide for the study of the fundamentals of religion in public primary and secondary schools (p.14).

PACE Resolution No. 1763 (2010) 'The right to object to conscientious objection in providing legal medical care' covers some of the problematic issues in the relationship between religion and medicine. The resolution emphasizes that 'no person, hospital or institution should be compelled, prosecuted or discriminated in any form by refusing to perform, delivering, assisting or abortion, committing human miscarriage or euthanasia or any other action that may lead to the death of a human fetus or an embryo, for any reason' (p. 1). The Assembly also calls on the member states of the Council of Europe 'to guarantee the right to object to conscientious objection in accordance with the procedure described' (p. 4.1), 'to ensure that patients are

¹⁰⁴ KOZEROD O.V. *The History and Contemporary Religious Anti-Semitism: The Newest English-language Historiography of a Problem*. Ukrainian Religious Studies. 2010. № 54, p. 183.

informed of any objections in a timely manner and sent to another healthcare worker' (p 4.2), 'to ensure that patients receive the necessary treatment, in particular in emergency situations' (p. 4.3).

The rapid growth of the number of adherents and the variety of sects in the European space is also a source of concern for the Council of Europe and has led to the preparation of a number of relevant documents related to the illegal and illegal activities of sects, the involvement of minors, etc. These acts include: PACE Recommendation No. 1178 (1992) 'On Sects and New Religious Movements', Decision of the Committee of Ministers of the PACE (1994) on the Recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly No. 1178 (1992) 'Sects and New Religious Movements', PACE Recommendation No. 1412 (1999) 'Illegal activity of sects', Response of the PACE Committee of Ministers to the Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation No. 1412 (1999) 'On illegal activity of sects', as well as PACE Resolution No. 992 (2014) 'Protection of minors from the harmful influence of sects'. All of them are united by concerns about the spread of new religious doctrines (the result of which was a large number of appeals from various associations and families who believed that they were harmed by the activity of sects) and at the same time stress that the freedom of conscience and religion, guaranteed by Article 9 of the European The Convention on Human Rights makes the special legislation on sects undesirable because such legislation may contradict this fundamental right and damage traditional religions. It is interesting to note that the Assembly does not assume responsibility for defining what constitutes a sect or whether it is a religion or not, but considers it 'extremely important to ensure that the activities of these groups, whether religious, esoteric or spiritual, in line with the principles of our democratic societies and, in particular, the provisions of Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and was also lawful'. In the period of 2007-2008, attempts have been made in Ukraine to change the legislation concerning the registration of religious organizations to prevent the development of sects in Ukraine. H.H. Moskal introduced to Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine a bill 'On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine' On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations' (concerning the prevention of the activities of destructive religious types and totalitarian sects), which proposed to increase the number of citizens required to establish a religious community from 10 to 50, which religious activities in educational institutions. Article 24 of the relevant Law was proposed to be supplemented with the paragraph: 'Foreign citizens have no right to be members and to participate of the governing bodies (to hold leading positions) of religious organizations registered in Ukraine'¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ DRAFT LAW OF UKRAINE 'ON AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW OF UKRAINE' ON FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS' (concerning the prevention of the activities of destructive

Separately, the PACE Recommendation 1805 (2007) ‘Sacrilège, religious images and hostile speeches addressed to persons in connection with their religion’ raised questions of blasphemy and sacrilege. Although the PACE points out that ‘in relation to blasphemy, religious image and hostile expressions against individuals on the basis of their religion, the state is responsible for defining what should be considered a criminal offense within the framework of the case law of the European Convention on Human Rights’, but at the same time recommends that national legislation providing for ‘punishment for statements calling for hatred, discrimination or violence against a person or group of persons based on their religion or for any other reason’ (paragraph 17.2.2), ‘were revised from the law abolition of criminal liability for blasphemy as an insult religion’ (p.17.2.4). This document and the issues of freedom of speech, which can sometimes be regarded as blasphemy, are touched on, since today ‘some societies believe that freedom of speech should not be protected when used for blasphemy’¹⁰⁶. What is interesting is the fact that in 2006, Germany had already had a precedent for blaming blasphemy against Islam, in Britain, the law condemning blasphemy acts only in relation to the Anglican Church, although it should be noted that the last such case was considered by the court back in the far 1922 . The law on blasphemy was abolished by Iceland's parliament in 2015.

PACE Resolution No. 916 (1989) on Unused Religious Buildings calls on states ‘to take effective measures to preserve unused religious buildings and, where possible, to make them acceptable in the future’ (paragraph 11.i), ‘providing financing or tax privileges for the restoration, repair or maintenance of religious buildings, both used and unused, to guarantee that they will not be neglected’ (p. 11. Vi), stimulating the more imaginative use of existing religious buildings, which means partial use data structures like museums, art galleries, concert halls and others.

While the European community emphasizes the issue of relations with the Islamic world and a large number of anti-Semitic manifestations, the Council of Europe gives its recommendations on the situation with Christian communities in the Middle East. Recommendation No. 1957 (2011) ‘Violence against Christians in the Middle East’ calls for ‘to take into account the situation of Christians and other religious communities in the framework of their bilateral dialogue with the countries concerned’ (p.12.2), while ‘not encouraging members of Christian communities in the Middle East to search for asylum in Europe, except when the survival of such communities becomes impossible’ (p. 12.5).

religious types and totalitarian sects)» [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_2?pf3516=2419&skl=7

¹⁰⁶ ENGIBARYAN R.V. *Constitutional development in the modern world: the main tendencies* / R.V. Engibaryan. 2nd ed. M.: NORMA, 2010, p. 152.

Taking into account the Council of Europe's legal policy on inter-religious and intercultural dialogue, the practice of regular meetings of secular organizations and representatives of the three traditional monotheistic religions of Europe was launched to work together in the proposed areas. As a result of such meetings, joint decisions were made, which were subsequently implemented in official documents of the Council of Europe. The results of such meetings were such documents as the Declaration of San Marino. Final Declaration of the European Conference 'Religious Dimension of Intercultural Dialogue' (San Marino, 2007); PACE Recommendation No. 1962 (2011) Religious Dimension of Intercultural Dialogue; Response of the PACE Committee of Ministers to the Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation No. 1962 (2011) 'Religious Dimension of Intercultural Dialogue'.

A separate PACE Recommendation No. 190 (1995) is devoted to Ukraine 'Concerning the Accession of Ukraine', in which it recommended the Committee of Ministers to invite Ukraine to become a member of the Council of Europe. A separate point also concerned the situation between the Orthodox churches, at that time Ukraine promised, and the Council of Europe expressed the hope that 'the peaceful resolution of existing disputes between the Orthodox churches will be accelerated while ensuring the independence of the church in its relations with the state, a new non-discriminative system of registration of churches and legal resolution of the question of the return of church property'. In almost ten years, in the PACE Recommendation No. 1722 (2005) 'On the Execution of Obligations and Obligations by Ukraine', it was noted that the Ukrainian state authorities faced obstacles 'in ratifying the Treaties of the Council of Europe since, since the accession of ten years ago, Ukraine ratified only 45 and signed 27 contracts from 200 (as of August 2005)'. It was also noted that the Law 'On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations' dates back to 1991, although 'considered one of the best laws on freedom of religion in the region', but 'a very progressive law at the time of its adoption now requires significant changes'. The introduction of a non-discriminatory system of registration of religious organizations, the provision of a legal entity to a religious association, the legal mechanism for the return of church property, have not been implemented. Unfortunately, these issues today and added with others.

1.3.3.3 Documents of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

The important documents of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe are:

The final document of the Vienna Meeting of Representatives of the States Parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, adopted in 1989. Among the issues raised in

this document is the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief for all, without distinction of race, gender, and religion.

The document directly concerns issues of freedom of conscience and religion. Confirms and calls for respect for the right of religious associations:

- to establish and maintain freely accessible places of worship and assembly;
- to elect, appoint and modify their personnel in accordance with their respective requirements and standards, as well as any freely agreed arrangements between them and their state;

- to apply for assistance and receive voluntary financial and other donations;

Continuing the list of rights of religious organizations:

16.5 To join in consultation with religious communities, institutions and organizations in order to achieve the best understanding of the needs of religious freedoms.

16.6. To respect the right of everyone to give and receive religious education in a language of their choice either individually or jointly with others.

16.7. In this context, to respect for, among other things, the freedom of parents to ensure the religious and moral upbringing of their children according to their convictions.

16.8 To allow training of staff in relevant institutions.

16.9 To respect the right of believers and religious associations to acquire and use holy books, religious publications in their chosen language, and other possessions and materials related to the confession of religion or belief.

16.10 To allow religious communities, institutions and organizations to produce, import and distribute religious editions and materials.

16.11. It is good to consider the interest of religious associations in participating in public dialogue, including through the mass media¹⁰⁷.

The important documents of the Organization are the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, Decision No. 13/06 of the OSCE Council of Ministers ‘Combating Intolerance and Discrimination and Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding’, adopted in 2006; Decision No. 10/07 of the OSCE Ministerial Council on ‘Tolerance and Discrimination: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding’ (2007).

¹⁰⁷ INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ACTS ON THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION [Text]: textbook / comp. by Oleksandr Bilash (Archimandrite Evfrosin). Uzhhorod: Alexandra Garkusha Publishing House, 2015.

1.3.3.4 International religious organizations: their role in international legal relationships

The status and prospects of the development of international law at the present-day historical stage are estimated differently by lawyers in different ways. Unfortunately, the recent tragic events in Ukraine, due to the constant violation of the norms and principles of international law, unambiguously revealed the crisis in the world community. This crisis, as one of the stages of development of international legal relations, affects all spheres of life of the world civil society, including the religious sphere.

The interaction of religion and society is an important issue in each state. It is not a secret that religious institutions, in addition to their educational, social, charitable activities, play an important role in political state-building processes. Religion or religious organizations historically influenced the choice of the way and strategy of civil society development, formulated the goals of its development. In recent decades, the influence of the religious factor on international politics has increased significantly, and the fact that more than four dozen constitutions of the world powers fix the privileged position of a particular religion speaks for itself.

At the international political level, the international ecumenical organization, which includes 348 churches of different traditions, namely the ‘World Council of Churches’, the Christian ecumenical organization uniting the majority of the Churches of Europe ‘Conference of European Churches’, the World Islamic Congress, International Muslim Ecumenical (Pan-Islamic) Organization ‘World Assembly on the Approximation of Islamic Madhambas’, American International Organization ‘World Church Service’, Asian Buddhist Conference, etc. That is why the research and analysis of the role played by international religious organizations in international legal relations is an important and actual direction of research at the present stage of development of international law.

In recent decades, European and American scholars have been actively exploring the role of international religious organizations in international legal relations. According to the Library of the USA Congress, in the period from 2001, 20 monographs, devoted to the role of religion, especially Islam in international relations¹⁰⁸ were published in English. So, the following

¹⁰⁸ PAPKOVA I.A. *Religion and international relations: the state of discipline in the USA*. Politiya. 2010. N 1 (56), p. 112.

scientists devoted their papers to this topic: J. Haynes¹⁰⁹, G. Thomas¹¹⁰. Furthermore, O.D. Voskresenskiy. P.I. Kasatkin. Yu.V. Kosov worked on this subject at different times.

The growing influence of religion on international relations and the activation of the activities of international religious organizations is conditioned primarily by the instability of the world political system. No one now denies that religious international organizations are full and equal members of international relations.

In the European space, the influence of religion on socio-political life is felt right now when discussing issues of European integration and enlargement of the EU, as well as the formation of pan-European institutes, where religious organizations are trying to actively influence European integration processes directly or through politicians. Note that international religious organizations continue their active activities and at the legislative level. Under the influence of Christian churches and international religious organizations, Article 51 was introduced to the draft Constitution, which guarantees respect for the European Union to the status of churches and religious associations in the EU member states, as well as to the traditions of interaction between church and state in these countries.

Most scholars consider the typology of international religious organizations to be correct, which includes three types: the government (Organization of the Islamic Conference), world and regional international organizations (World Council of Churches, Conference of European churches, etc.), individual international religious organizations (Roman Catholic Church, Ecumenical and Moscow Patriarchate, etc.)¹¹¹. In our case, according to A. Dorska, 'under international religious organizations in current conditions, non-governmental organizations based on their attitudes and values of a religious and spiritual nature based on their activities and having a religious motivation to participate in international relations, as well as intergovernmental organizations, which set itself the task of ensuring religious solidarity in all spheres of life'¹¹².

Most of these organizations were founded and created in the twentieth century. So, the World Council of Churches, founded in 1948 in Amsterdam (the Netherlands), is one of the most representative and influential inter-Christian organizations, the leading center for the modern ecumenical movement, whose members are Protestant, Orthodox and non-Chalcedonian

¹⁰⁹ HAYNES J. *Transnational Religious Actors and International Relations*. Third World Quarterly. 2001. Vol. 22. № 2

¹¹⁰ THOMAS G. *Religions in Global Civil Society*. Sociology of Religion, 2001. Vol. 62. № 4.

¹¹¹ KASATKIN P.I. *On the role of religious actors in contemporary world political processes*. Bulletin of MSIA-University. 2010. №1, p. 258.

¹¹² DORSKAYA A.A. *International Religious Organizations and the Formation of International Civil Society*. Civil Society in Russia and Abroad. 2014. № 4, pp. 7-10.

(monophysical) churches and associations¹¹³. In addition to the Protestant, Anglican and Old Catholic, there is a number of Orthodox and non-Chalcedonian (monophysical) churches that represent more than 440 million believers from various Christian denominations. It should be noted that the Roman Catholic Church is not a member of the World Council of Churches, although it has its representatives in this organization. In addition to establishing relationships and dialogue with churches of various denominations, the World Council of Churches is actively working in the field of research on topical political, socio-economic, scientific and technical and environmental issues, thereby directly influencing international politics in these areas. This is also due to the fact that, due to its de jure independence, ‘international non-governmental organizations have certain advantages in world politics in comparison with traditional actors – states and intergovernmental organizations’¹¹⁴. The formation of such an organization in 1948 was regarded as the unifying initiative of Christian churches for influencing international politics, including as a responsible player in world politics with peacekeeping functions¹¹⁵. After all, churches can support or not support certain state initiatives, also at the international level, thus significantly affecting the mass consciousness of believers as citizens. It is well-known that the World Council of Churches was created with the direct participation of representatives of the political and financial elite of the United States. In its first Assembly, which took place in Amsterdam in 1948, the future US Secretary of State George F. Dulles took part.

The conference of European churches today unites 115 Orthodox, Protestant, Anglican and Old Catholic Churches from all European countries and was founded in 1959. The conference was organized to promote reconciliation between the peoples of Europe divided after the Second World War. Among the stated objectives of the conference are two main: The stated objectives of the Conference: the convergence of churches in their pursuit of unity and the assistance of churches of different denominations in achieving mutual understanding, despite historical, geographical, linguistic and economic barriers.

It should be noted that on December 20, 2013, the Conference of European Churches issued an official Statement on events in Ukraine and appealed to all its members to introduce ‘special

¹¹³ KRYZHANOVSKA O. O. *The World Council of Churches* // Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine: 10 t. / Ed. by V. A. Smolii (head) and others. ; Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Kyiv : Naukova dumka, 2003. V. 1. : A–B, p. 649.

¹¹⁴ NOVAKOVA O.V. *The role of international non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the concept of sustainable development* [Electronic resource]. Political science notes. 2013. № 7. Access mode: http://nbuv.gov.ua/j-pdf/Polzap_2013_7_4.pdf.

¹¹⁵ PLATHOW, M. *Reinhold Niebuhr und die I. Weltkirchenkonferenz in Amsterdam 1948. Das christliche Zeugnis internationaler Verantwortung*, in: D. Schössler/M. Plathow (Hrsg.), *Öffentliche Theologie und internationale Politik. Zur Aktualität Reinhold Niebuhrs*, Wiesbaden 2013, s. 72.

prayers for the people and the efforts of the Churches of Ukraine in their struggle for unity, harmony and good governance of the state’.

International religious organizations include the Christian Peace Conference as well¹¹⁶. This organization has played a significant role in the recent past as an international peacekeeping organization with consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council. The organization was established in 1958 and unites religious organizations of 86 countries of all continents. Collaborates with ecumenical and regional youth, women's and other religious associations. The Christian Peace Conference draws from a theological perspective the question of the responsibility of Christian churches for preserving peace, relaxing international tension, and opposing the use of weapons of mass destruction. The Christian Peace Conference was created in opposition to the World Council of Churches, which was believed to be under the control of the United States¹¹⁷. Despite the fact that the Christian Peace Conference was created on the initiative of the churches of the socialist countries, representatives of the United States, Britain, Austria, France, and Switzerland joined the work of the organization very quickly. Thus, the organization of the Christian Peace Conference has become another alternative platform involving religious organizations in matters of peace between the socialist and capitalist camps.

The youth wing of international religious organizations belongs to the World Orthodox Youth Brotherhood ‘Syndesmos’, founded in 1952 in France. At present, 126 organizations and educational institutions from 42 countries take part in the activities of the fraternity. In recent years, this organization loses its influence and is criticized by certain church leaders for their extraordinary politicization and financial dependence on the World Council of Churches and the European Commission.

The international church organization ‘World Church Service’, which consists of 37 churches and organizations and operates in 30 countries of the world, provides humanitarian assistance to disaster areas and assistance to refugees all over the world, thus affecting international relations. Even today, the World Church Service, together with the Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States, Lutheran and Jewish associations, has petitioned the US government to accept 100,000 Syrian refugees.

The Asian Buddhist Peace Conference literally repeats the goals of Christian peace conferences, only by making possible adjustments to social justice. The Asian Buddhist Conference, founded in 1970, is an international non-governmental organization of Buddhists in

¹¹⁶ WORLD POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A Textbook for Higher Schools / ed. by Yu.V.Kosova. SPb.: Piter, 2012, p. 119.

¹¹⁷ LIVTSOV V.A. *ROC and ecumenical activity of international pro-Soviet organizations*. Vlast. 2008. № 1, p. 80.

Asia, which, according to its constituent documents, stands for a careful attitude towards nature, for peace and disarmament, for the freedom and independence of peoples, for social justice and for the protection of human rights and dignity. Traditionally, the conference was attended by representatives of Buddhist communities of Nepal, Sri Lanka, Laos, Cambodia, Mongolia and the Soviet Union (later Russia). We note that the theme of 'Buddhist diplomacy' is actively used by China in relation to neighboring countries: India, Thailand, Nepal, Myanmar, Laos, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Japan, Mongolia and Indonesia. For this technique, educational, social, scientific projects, and projects related to religion were used, for example, for the worship of the sacred remains of Buddha in other countries stored in China¹¹⁸.

The influence of Islam in world politics manifests itself mainly through the international activities of Muslim states, especially those of Islam, where Islam was declared a state religion (Arab countries, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia), and numerous international organizations and Islamic associations.

A separate analysis is worthy of attention from international Muslim religious organizations. The idea of creating a single international organization that could unite all Muslims in the world arose after the elimination of the Khilafah in Turkey in 1924. In 1926, the first international Muslim organization World Islamic Congress, which brings together representatives from over 40 countries, was founded. According to O.D. Voskresenskiy, in the Islamic theology and jurisprudence of the Middle Ages and of modern times there was no developed theory of international relations. As norms governing the relationship between peoples, the following are used for the Quranic principles, such as the principle of Islamic brotherhood, jihad, the ideal of the Muslim community-state – ummah¹¹⁹. In this organization, Islamic countries are represented by religious leaders, theologians, heads of local Muslim organizations, and sometimes state figures, which of course also affects international relations.

Another well-known Muslim organization is the International Muslim Ecumenical (Pan-Islamic) Organization, founded in 1990 in Iran under the name of the World Assembly on the Approximation of Islamic Madhambas¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ ZHANG J. *Buddhist Diplomacy: History and Status Quo*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2012, p.29.

¹¹⁹ *East / West: Regional Subsystems and Regional Problems of International Relations. Tutorial / Edited by A.D. Voskresenskiy*. Moscow: Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University); "Russian Political Encyclopedia", 2002, p. 257.

¹²⁰ Mazhab means a religious and legal school (direction) of Islamic law, which in the world number up to six. This organization calls for the reconciliation of all Islamic madhhabs and proclaims its main activities in conducting international conferences and symposia leading to this goal. Since 1999, the organization has initiated an annual International Conference on Islamic Unity. The Assembly created a research center for the development of a platform for the integration of various Muslim religious schools. Widely known in the world is the International Union of Muslim Scientists - an international non-governmental Islamic organization founded in 2004 in London.

Modern international legal relations are characterized not only by the expansion of the sphere of its application, but also by its significant activation. At the same time, the activation of religious life, modern denominational dynamics significantly affect the development of international legal relations. Religious leaders, on behalf of their churches and religious organizations, are increasingly expressing their opinions about those or other events and changes in the world. And their voice is becoming more effective thanks to the international religious organizations they are part of. Today, churches are trying to build a single Christian space, attempts are being made to overcome the cult and theological differences between all Christian churches, so without exaggeration it can be said that the hopes for reducing the role of religion in the state-building processes of the 21st century are erroneous, and religious organizations continue to play a significant role in the process of state-building and international legal relations. And despite the fact that a separate group of the legal system is only beginning to be formed, further research must be taken into account that the activities of religious organizations, their statutes and the functioning of the system are inextricably linked with the right to freedom of conscience and religion, as well as with three different branches of law: international law, internal-state law and church law.

Conclusions to chapter 1

By setting the goal in this section not only to determine the approaches to the comprehension of the phenomenon of freedom of conscience, but also to systematize the knowledge and practical experience accumulated about it, to formulate a conceptual apparatus on the basis of the generalization of the collected material, we used a comparative historical method. Taking into account that the historical path to modern understanding of the legal institution of freedom of conscience is inextricably linked with the process of secularization of civil society, we tried to systematize the approaches and define the term ‘secularization’, to denote the general and differences in the concepts of ‘religion’ and ‘religiousness’, taking into account different criteria ratings. It is worth mentioning that, for a long time, outstanding work on outstanding issues, Ilyin I.A.¹²¹, Berdyayev N.A.¹²², Bulgakov S.N.¹²³ were forgotten. Continuing to explore the criteria for understanding religion, we conclude that in today's society,

In 2010, representatives of the IUUU participated in the negotiation process for finding a truce in the Sa'dah conflict between the Zaydi rebels and the Yemeni government.

¹²¹ ILYIN I.A. *Axioms of religious experience: research*. V. 1-2. M., 1983.

¹²² BERDYAYEV N.A. *Philosophy of freedom. The meaning of creativity*. M.: Pravda, 1989.

¹²³ BULGAKOV S.N. *Orthodoxy: Essays on the teaching of the Orthodox Church*. M.: Terra, 1991.

the term 'religiosity' is often associated with the concept of 'spirituality', rather than the distortion of the proper essence and the filling of both concepts.

Confirming the idea of the constant search for ideals and high values by man, it was also important to trace the evolutionary path from intolerance and persecution to religious tolerance, the right to freedom of belief, to freedom of conscience. Step by step exploring models of the relationship between society and religion, moving from a limited legal institution of freedom of religion in ancient Greece to tolerance, as recognition of the right to the existence of another's religion, tolerance to its free confession in ancient Rome; from the persecution of Christians I-III centuries. after the Nativity of Christ before the recognition of Christianity as the dominant religion of the Roman Empire; from the assertion of Christianity as a state religion to persecution of the Gentiles; from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, from the New to the Modern Times, we have outlined the principled positions of the principle, essence and structure of the right to freedom of conscience and religion. As a result of the analysis of this institution, historical and theological (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy), legal and sociocultural context, the model restored and the main stages of the formation of freedom of conscience and religion and its place in European culture, as well as grounds for the modern international standard of freedom of conscience.

By denoting freedom of religion as part of the right to freedom of conscience and defining the concept of freedom of the church, we come to the conclusion that the legal genesis of freedom of conscience consists of three main stages, and modern realities require new approaches and the development of a new method of training law specialists, research work in the field of human rights. The creation of a subsection dealing with state and confessional law as an integrated legal institution is relevant to our investigation.

2. RELIGIOUS POLICY OF SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN 1917-1939

2.1 Formation of the political and legal foundations of the Soviet system of state and church relations (1917-1922)

2.1.1 Transition from cooperative to separation model of state and church relations

2.1.1.1 Main models of state and church relations

The path to freedom of conscience, throughout the history of the state and the law, was not easy and not straightforward. Various contradictions between ideological adversaries often led to religious wars, repressions, and negative attitudes towards different supporters of different worldviews. It is worth noting that in this way and for a long time, legal forms of state-church relations are formed and established. At the end of the 18 century, the main types of relations between the church and the state that exist to this day are beginning to be reformed:

- religion tolerance, in which one or more religions are privileged, and all others are declared tolerant (or intolerant);
- freedom of religion, in which all religions are equal among themselves, and a person free in his choice of denomination and the sending of a religious worship;
- freedom of conscience, which, besides proclaiming the equality of all religions among themselves, allows a person not only to freely choose any religion but also to be unbelieving. Today, about a third of the states have proclaimed in their basic laws the principle of freedom of conscience.

As for the twentieth century, as S. Shapravsky points out, ‘the church has become an inalienable attribute of every European state. Since the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, she gradually took her niche in the complex state mechanisms of management of society. In history, there were times when the church was trying to take over the role of the state, subjecting itself to power levers, but such a situation could not last long because the state without a church can survive, but instead the church without state actually’.¹²⁴

Today many scholars agree that there are two main models of state-confessional relations: cooperation and separation.

¹²⁴ SHAPRAVSKY S. A. *Models of State-Church Relations: European Context* / S.A. Shapravsky // Scientific Notes of the National University of Ostroh Academy. Series: Historical Religious Studies. 2015. Iss. 12. pp. 183-198.

2.1.1.1.1 Cooperative model

This model of relations between the Church and the state practically does not depend on the political structure of society, since in its ideal variant the state and the Church are equal partners. They agree on mutual support, rights and duties.

Under this type of relationship, the state assumes the protection of leading, traditional confessions, cooperates with them in many spheres of public life, and provides only minor civic rights to small religious communities. Such small religious associations that do not have agreements with the government are entered in the state register, have the status of a legal entity, enjoy certain tax benefits, but do not have the opportunity to conduct extensive missionary work.

Relationships are governed by constitutional norms, as well as agreements and arrangements with churches and religious associations.

Ukrainian political scientist I.Koval believes that a cooperative model of state-church relations is viable only if the leading confession makes a clear choice in favor of freedom of religion, does not seek to use its influence on the state and the population to restrict the rights of religious minorities. A more complex and contradictory transition to a cooperative model of state-church relations takes place in those countries where attempts are made to strengthen statehood, relying on one religious organization and restricting the rights of other denominations and religions. This path does not promise the progress toward democracy, it hinders the development of a full-fledged cooperation of the state with a wide range of religious organizations in the field of charity and spiritual education¹²⁵.

Areas in which the state actively cooperates with the church in the cooperative model of relations, can be divided into several groups.

1. Recognition of legal force according to ecclesiastical acts. For example, the conclusion of a church marriage entails the same legal consequences as the marriage of a public. Marriage in the form of both civil and religious choice of spouses may be in countries such as Spain, Italy, United Kingdom, Canada. It is interesting to note that in the United Kingdom, a marriage committed by a rites other than Anglican religions, is recognized as civil.¹²⁶ Also, in the Catholic countries (Spain, Italy, etc.) the marriage in church form involves the mandatory notification of the state authorities on the act of the marriage ceremony.

¹²⁵ KOVAL I.V. *Interaction of the Church and Civil Society Institutions: Political Analysis* / I.V. Koval. – Author's abstract. ... candidate of politic. sciences – L.: National University of Ivan Franko, 2007, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁶ TRUSH, J.S. *Family law of Great Britain: peculiarities of property relations between spouses*. Legislation. 2009. № 4, pp. 86-89.

2. Direct involvement of church representatives in the exercise of state power or mandatory membership of the state church of certain state executives. This tradition is still preserved in some Protestant states. Thus, in the House of Lords of the British Parliament there is a certain quota for church hierarchs occupying these places in a lifetime (at present the Chamber has 26 spiritual lords. Among them are the five most important prelates of the church: Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop of York, Bishop of London, Bishop of Durham and Bishop of Winchester). Swedish law stipulates that a member of the government dealing with church affairs must belong to the Gospel Lutheran religion.

3. Teaching religion in educational institutions, combined, as a rule, with the right of the child and his parents to refuse to study relevant religious denominations. Mutual recognition of diplomas and scientific degrees of church and secular scientific institutions. Such an institution is rather widespread in European countries. In some countries, such as Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Germany, Finland, the state and religious organizations together solve the problem of religious education. In most cases, religion is the subject of choice. In Sweden, Italy, Spain and Austria (with the consent of the parents) in all primary, secondary and special schools, in educational institutions that train teachers and educators of kindergartens, compulsory teaching of religion is explicitly provided by law. It should be noted that where this subject is compulsory to study, for example in Germany, Cyprus, Malta, Finland, Greece, schoolchildren have the right to refuse to study it¹²⁷. Also, the UK Government legislatively regulates the study of certain areas of religion included in the compulsory education program for children under 16 years of age.

4. Direct state financial and financial support of the church or stimulation of such support by private individuals and organizations through the introduction of a system of tax benefits.

Today the model of direct state financing is valid only in Belgium and Greece. In Greece, the church has its own income from movable and immovable property, at the same time, the state practically fully provides funding for the ruling religion. The state undertakes the full financing required for the preparation of Orthodox clerics and allocates annual subsidies to the Apostolic Deaconium (L.976 / 1946, Art.24 (1; 8) and for the Cathedral in Athens (2844/1954). The state pays wages to about 10,000 Orthodox bishops, priests and deacons. In Greece, there is a simplified tax procedure.

In Belgium, church activities are funded directly by the state and, to a lesser extent, through voluntary donations. Article 180 of the Belgian Constitution guarantees the payment of state salaries and pensions to clerics, which is part of the expenditure part of the Belgian annual budget.

¹²⁷ WILLAIME J.-P. *Different Models for Religion and Education in Europe*. Religion and Education in Europe: Developments, Contexts and Debates, p. 60.

The church receives income from property owned and exempt from taxes on buildings where worship is conducted. City authorities, in which the parish is located, must provide the priest with housing or compensate for his expenses under this article.¹²⁸

5. Close cooperation in the field of the protection and preservation of cultural and historical monuments. This is a very natural norm, since churches, icons, church utensils quite often are not just 'objects of worship', but also masterpieces of art, and because of this quite rightly recognized as a national heritage. The state can not be indifferent to its preservation, however, it should not violate the church's rights to this property. The Government and administrative units may allocate a part of their funds from the budgets for the restoration and repair of the objects owned by the church, especially those registered as cultural monuments.

6. The next very important sphere of cooperation between the state and the church is the joint implementation of social programs. The state partially or fully finances, and the church implements them. In this way, the state uses the vast experience and potential of religious organizations to help the most vulnerable sections of the population.

2.1.1.1.2 Separation model

The separation model of the separation of church and state is characterized by the following features:

– the state and its organizations do not have the right to control the attitude of their citizens to religion and do not keep records of citizens on this basis. In this case, the conduct of such records may be considered as discrimination on religious grounds.¹²⁹

– the state does not interfere in internal church activities (if the current legislation is not violated). In particular, the state does not interfere with the content of beliefs, ceremonies, ceremonies, cultures and other forms of religious needs, the internal self-government of religious organizations, the relations between organs of religious organizations, their relations with believers, as well as the cost of funds related to religious needs;

– the state does not provide the church with material or any other, including financial, support;

– the church does not perform any public functions;

¹²⁸ BILASH O.V. *The main models of funding churches and religious organizations in the European Union*. Actual issues of state and law. Scientific works of the National University "Odessa National Law Academy". 2014. № 73, p. 172.

¹²⁹ KUKURUZ O. *Institutional mechanisms for prevention discrimination in Ukraine on the basis of religion*. Bulletin of the NKCCM № 3'2014, pp. 281-285.

– the church does not interfere in the affairs of the state, but only deals with issues related to the satisfaction of the religious needs of believers. For its part, the state protects the legal activities of the church and religious organizations. Thus, the separation of church and state means reorientation of social life into secular values and norms.

The separation of the church from the state in practice means the inability of the church to interfere in state affairs for the active intervention of state institutions in the affairs of the church. However, this thesis needs to be clarified. First, it should be noted that there are different forms of separation of church and state. Within this model, two lines can be distinguished: the antagonistic (French model) and non-antagonistic (American model) separation of church and state.

In the context of our dissertation, we are more interested in the model of the antagonistic separation of church from the state or the so-called French model. This model is connected with the idea of the Great French Revolution, has repeatedly developed into an outright persecution of believers. The Paris Commune managed to nationalize church property, prohibit the participation of clerics in government, abolish the oath in the Bible, deprive church acts of legal force. This tradition of state-church relations was enshrined and continued in the Law of the Republic of France ‘On the Separation of Church from the State’ of 1905, the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States of 1917, the Decree of the RSFSR ‘On the Separation of Church from State and School from Church’ in 1918.

The separation of church from state in the USSR meant state atheism and persecution of religious communities. And in this case, the conflict between the state and the church, as subjects of the ideological conflict, is vividly followed¹³⁰.

2.1.2 Transition from separation model to atheism and repressions

Models of relations between the Orthodox Church and the state were formed both on the basis of church ideas about the ideal of such relations, and on the basis of historical reality. History of the twentieth century. In many countries around the world, there were many examples of anti-clerical government policies, the most acute on the territory of the Russian Empire, where the events of 1917 brought about radical changes in church-state relations.

¹³⁰ ORLYANSKY V. S. *Conflictology. Tutorial*. K. .: Center for Educational Literature, 2007, p. 67.

2.1.2.1 Decree on Land (October 26 / November 8, 1917)

One of the first decrees of Soviet power adopted at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8, according to a new style) in 1917 was the Decree on Land. According to the decree, the land was nationalized, that is, private ownership of land was abolished. Decree without any ransom handed over landlord, specific, monastic, church lands with all the inventory and buildings at the disposal of volost zemsky committees and county councils of peasants' deputies, which were assigned measures to observe the strictest order when confiscating landed estates. This included all the church and monastery lands 'with all their living and dead implements, manor buildings and all supplies'. Naturally, after the publication of this Decree, the seizure of monastic and ecclesiastical lands begins by volost committees: the peasants imposed a sequestration on the possessions of the clergy and forbade the clergy and clergymen to use these lands. The cases of seizures, requisitions and simple looting of church and monastic property also became more frequent.

As the scientist Zybkovets N.F. states: 'the church lost about 3 million acres of land, 84 plants, 704 hotels, 436 dairy farms, 602 farmyards, etc.'¹³¹.

Later, the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918 will declare land, forests, subsoil and water as an object of exclusive state property and national (national) property (Article 3). The stated norm will be reproduced in the Constitutions of the USSR in 1936 and 1977.

2.1.2.2 Declaration of the Rights of the People of Russia (November 2, 1917)

The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on November 2 (15), 1917. It was signed by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Lenin Vladimir Ilyich and the People's Commissar for Nationalities Affairs I.V. Stalin.

The Declaration proclaimed four basic principles of national policy:

- equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia;
- the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination up to the separation and formation of an independent state;
- the abolition of all and any national and national-religious privileges and restrictions;
- free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia¹³².

¹³¹ ZYBKOVETS V.F. *Nationalization of monastic property in Soviet (1917-1921)*, M., 1975, p. 110.

¹³² DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA // Great Soviet Encyclopedia / Edited by A.M. Prokhorov. 3rd edition. Moscow: Soviet Encyclopedia, 1969-1978.

We are interested in the third point, thanks to which the church is completely excluded from the sphere of civil and state life.

2.1.2.3 Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars 'On Transferring the Cause of Upbringing and Education from the Spiritual Establishment to the People's Commissariat for Education' (December 11, 1917)

On December 11, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a resolution 'On Transferring the Cause of Upbringing and Education from the Spiritual Department to the People's Commissariat for Education'. All church schools were nationalized. Since January 1, 1918 in the secular educational institutions were abolished the positions of teachers of the Law of God of all denominations. It should be noted that the Law of God's Law in the education system of pre-revolutionary Russia was one of the basic subjects for all primary and secondary educational institutions. In school, the grade on this subject was usually indicated first. It is worth noting that the attitude towards this discipline began to change after the February revolution under the Provisional Government and even before the power of the Soviets came. On July 14, 1917, the Provisional Government published the Law on Freedom of Conscience, the 4th provision of which referred to the freedom of religious self-determination for every citizen when he reached the age of 14. This Law on Freedom of Conscience already implied changes and innovations in relation to the system of teaching the Law of God in educational institutions. The discussion that arose around the issue of the compulsory teaching of the Law of God revealed a wide range of painful problems, not only the position of the subject itself in the school, but also the relations between the school and the state, the church and the school, the church and the state. And the October Revolution of 1917 prevented the completion of this discussion.

2.1.2.4 Decree 'On Dissolution of Marriage' (December 16, 1917) and 'On Civil Marriage, Children and the Conduct of Books of State Acts' (December 18, 1917)

Family legislation has also undergone changes. In December 1917, the decrees "On Dissolution of Marriage" and "On Civil Marriage, Children and the Conduct of Books of State Acts", which deprived a church marriage of legal force, appeared.

The decree 'On Dissolution of Marriage' initiated the codification and unification of Soviet legislation on marriage and family. He transferred divorce cases to the jurisdiction of civil courts and registry offices and changed the entire existing procedure for divorce proceedings. The

church divorce was replaced by a civil divorce, the procedure for divorce was simplified. Henceforth, it was to be carried out at the request and consent of one of the spouses, without specifying the reason for divorce, hearing witnesses and bringing evidence; the payment for divorce was not collected.

Paragraphs 10-12 of the Decree proclaims:

‘10. Cases concerning the recognition of marriages as unlawful or invalid are subject to the jurisdiction of the local court.

11. The effect of this law extends to all citizens of the Russian Republic, regardless of their belonging to one or another religious faith.

12. All the departments of the Orthodox and other confessions now in the spiritual consistories, in the ruling synod and all institutions of other Christian and other confessions, and with officials for the administration of the spiritual affairs of all confessions of the divorce proceedings, by which decisions or decisions have not been decided, have not yet entered into legal force, are recognized by the force of this law destroyed and subject to, with all the archives of the above-mentioned institutions and persons of divorce cases being in production, soap has to be stored in the local district courts. The parties are given the right, without waiting for the termination of the previous case, to make a new request for the dissolution of marriage under this decree, and there is no need for a new publication (paragraphs 4 and 5), if it has already been carried out in the same manner’¹³³.

By abolishing the church dissolution of marriage and the jurisdiction of the church in these matters, the Decree not only discovered its anti-church impetus, but also helped to strengthen the position of the new Soviet state as a subject of law.

As for the decree ‘On Civil Marriage, on Children and on the Books of State Certificates’, this document became part of an anti-religious campaign that unfolded in all corners of the country.

‘The Russian Republic will henceforth only recognize civil marriages’¹³⁴, – it was said in a Decree of December 18, 1917. The Decree entrusted the book of acts of civil status to Soviet bodies, whereas formerly the main proof of the marriage was parochial (metric) books. Voluntaryism was a prerequisite for marriage. Some restrictions were removed, which established prerevolutionary legislation. In particular, marriage did not require the consent of the parents or the permission of the authorities. To register a marriage, matters of belonging to a

¹³³ DECREES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. Volume I. October 25, 1917 – March 16, 1918 M.: State publish. house of political literature, 1957.

¹³⁴ COLLECTION OF LEGAL ACTS AND GOVERNMENT ORDERS OF 1917-1918. Department of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. M. 1942, pp.161-163.

particular estate, nationality or religion did not matter. The prohibition of marriage between persons who were distant relatives was also canceled. The age of marriage was set for men – 18 years, women – 16. The marriage age for the indigenous peoples of Transcaucasia was reduced accordingly to 16 and 13 years.

Almost a year later, the Code of Laws on Civil Status, Marriage, Family and Guardianship Law, adopted on September 16, 1918, is approved. It is worth noting that the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1918 unanimously condemned both the decree on civil marriage and the marriage-family code adopted on its basis as acts aimed at undermining not only the religious but also the moral foundations of the family¹³⁵. And in reality, ‘in practice, there were often cases of sexual promiscuity, which were simply covered with slogans about free love. In addition, the freedom of marriage relations undoubtedly contributed to the devaluation of family values’.¹³⁶

2.1.3 Decree ‘On Separation of Church from State and School from Church’ (January 23, 1918)

Legislative acts of the first months of the existence of the Soviet government paved the way for the subsequent legislative separation of church and state, which was the reason for changing the legal status of the church. Vladimir Lenin in his work ‘Socialism and Religion’ essentially clarified the whole future policy of the Soviet government, in particular he wrote: ‘The state should not have business before religion, religious societies should not be connected with state power. Everyone should be completely free to profess any religion or not to recognize any religion, that is, to be an atheist, which is usually every socialist. No difference between citizens in their rights in their dependence on religious beliefs is absolutely unacceptable. Any even mention of a particular religion of citizens in official documents must be unconditionally destroyed. There should be no extradition of the state church, no extradition of state funds to church and religious societies, which must become completely free, independent of the power of the unions of like-minded citizens ... Complete separation of church and state is the demand that the socialist proletariat makes towards the modern state and modern churches’¹³⁷.

¹³⁵ CHERNYKH A. *Stanovlenie Rossii Sovetskoy. 20-e gody v zerkale sotsiologii*. M., 1998, p. 174.

¹³⁶ MAKSIMOVA O.D. *Stanovlenie sovetskogo brachnogo prava // Pravo i politika*. 2013. № 5, p. 677.

¹³⁷ LENIN V.I. *Socialism and Religion // Whole collect. of works of V.I. Lenin*. V. 12. M., 1968, pp. 143-144.

2.1.3.1. Preparation and adoption of the Decree

Judging by the various private acts of the Provisional Government and public statements by the provisional ministers, the Church-state relations were also expected to reform before the Bolsheviks came to power: on June 20, 1917, the Provisional Government issued a decree on the transfer of church and parish schools and teachers Seminaries under the Ministry of Public Education; the law on freedom of conscience, published on July 14, proclaimed the freedom of religious self-determination for every citizen at the age of 14 when children are still attending school; On August 5, the Provisional Government abolished the Procurator-General's Office and established the Ministry of Confessions.

The issue of the publication of this decree was first raised in the Council of People's Commissars on December 24 (11), 1917. A special commission was set up to draft a decree by the Council of People's Commissars. The commission included such people as: writer and lawyer, people's commissar of justice Peter Stuchka, Russian revolutionary and interpreter, statesman and people's commissar of education Anatoly Lunacharsky, member of the board of the People's Commissariat of Justice Peter Krasikov, famous lawyer, law professor of St. Petersburg University Mikhail Reisner and the priest Michael Galkin. Already in 1918, Galkin publicly announced his abdication and engaged in propaganda of atheism under the pseudonym Gorev, and on January 1, 1919, he was accepted into the party.

The draft Decree on the separation of church and state was published on December 31, 1917 in the newspaper of the Right Socialist Revolutionaries 'The Cause of the People'. The publication was accompanied by a simple short explanation that this project is currently being considered by the Council of People's Commissars and will soon be submitted to the approval of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at one of its forthcoming meetings.

The text of the Decree prepared by the commission, after the introduction of V.I. Lenin's number of amendments and additions was approved by the Council of People's Commissars on February 2 (January 20), 1918. Thus, V.I. Lenin re-formulated the decree 'The Church Is Separated from the State' (in the draft it was given in the following edition: 'Religion is a private matter of every citizen of the Russian Republic').

The adopted decree entered into force on January 23 (February 5) the same year, the day of the official publication in the 'Newspaper of the Workers' and Peasants' Government'¹³⁸.

The importance of this decree is also indicated by the fact that the Decree started the Code of Laws of the RSFSR (published in the eighties in 8 volumes). The Decree was declared invalid

¹³⁸ KIRICHENKO M.G. *State and Church. To the history of Lenin's decree* // Science and Religion. 1987. № 4, p. 2.

by the Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of October 25, 1990 'On the Procedure for the Enactment of the Law of the RSFSR 'On Freedom of Religion ''.

2.1.3.2 Basic rules of the Decree

In the original Decree, with corrections in the text – V.I. Lenin and N.P. Gorbunova, with signatures – autographs: V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin), N.I. Podvoisky, V.A. Algasova, V.E. Trutovsky, A.G. Schlichter, P.P. Proshyan, V.R. Menzhinsky, A.G. Shlyapnikova, G.I. Petrovsky, V.D. Bonch-Bruevich, N.P. Gorbunov said:

‘1. The church is separated from the state.

2. Within the Republic, it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations that would restrict or restrict freedom of conscience, or establish any advantages or privileges based on the religious affiliation of citizens.

3. Every citizen can confess any religion or not confess any. All kinds of righteousness, connected with the confession of any kind of faith or the disbelief of any faith, are abolished.

Note. Of all official acts, any indication of religious affiliation and non-belonging to citizens is eliminated.

4. The actions of state and other public-legal public institutions are not accompanied by any religious rites or ceremonies.

5. Free performance of religious rites is provided insofar as they do not violate public order and are not accompanied by an encroachment on the rights of citizens and the Soviet Republic. Local authorities have the right to take all necessary measures to ensure in these cases of public order and security.

6. No one can, by referring to his religious views, evade the performance of his civil duties.

Exceptions from this provision, under the condition of replacing one civil obligation with another, in each individual case are allowed by the decision of the people's court.

7. A religious oath is revoked. In necessary cases, only a solemn promise is given.

8. Acts of civil status are conducted exclusively by civil authority: divisions of marriage and birth records.

9. The school is separated from the church. Teaching of religious beliefs in all state and public, as well as private educational institutions, where general education subjects are taught, is not allowed. Citizens can teach and learn religion privately.

10. All ecclesiastical and religious societies obey the general provisions on private societies and unions and do not enjoy any advantages or subsidies, either from the state or from its local autonomous and self-governing institutions.

11. Forced collection of levies and levies in favor of church or religious societies, as well as measures of coercion or punishment by these societies over their members, are not allowed.

12. No church and religious societies have the right to own property. They do not have the rights of a legal entity.

13. All property existing in Russia, the church and religious societies are declared public property.

Buildings and objects designed specifically for divine purposes are given, under special orders of local or central government, to free use of the respective religious societies¹³⁹.

Based on the text of the decree, the latter consistently fixed the norms that would ensure the separation of church from state and school from the church:

a) equality of all religious associations before the law, regardless of their confessional affiliation and organizational and legal form;

b) removal from all official acts of any indication of religious affiliation (non-belonging) of citizens;

c) the removal of metrics from the church and its transfer to secular authority;

d) prohibition of accompanying the activities of state and other public institutions by religious rites or ceremonies;

e) abolishment of the religious oath in the activities of state bodies and the legal proceedings;

f) prohibition in all public, public and private educational institutions of the teaching of religious subjects.

¹³⁹ *Russian State Archive of Social and Political History*. F. 2. Op. 1. D. 5212. L. 1-5.

2.1.3.3 The Church's reaction to the adoption of the Decree

On January 10, 1918, Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd sent his appeal to the Council of People's Commissars. It was reported that the implementation of the decree 'threatens with great grief and suffering the Orthodox Russian people', and that 'unrest can take the power of spontaneous movements'. The Metropolitan stated his confidence that 'all power in Russia cares only about the welfare of the Russian people and does not want anything to do that would lead to grief and the woes of the huge part of it'. In conclusion, Benjamin expressed the hope that his voice would be heard.¹⁴⁰ It should be noted that from the Holy Martyr Benjamin the critic was not directed against the very act of secession, but mainly against the confiscation of temples and all church property, in other words – against the planned robbery of the Church. After reading this letter, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars V.I. Lenin imposed a resolution demanding to speed up the preparation of the final version of the decree. An official response to the archpastor on his appeal from the Council of People's Commissars did not follow.

Even before the decree was issued, the authorities began to close churches and take away church property. So, on January 13, 1918, the authorities demanded that the brotherhood of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra leave the monastery and vacate its premises under the infirmary. His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon wrote in his 'Appeal' of January 19 / February 1, 1918: '... The property of monasteries and Orthodox churches is selected on the pretext that it is a national property, but without any right and even without the desire to reckon with the legitimate will of the people ... And, finally, the power that promised to establish the right and truth in Russia, to ensure freedom and order, shows everywhere only the most rampant self-will and continuous violence over all, and in particular – over the holy Church of the Orthodox'.

It should be noted that it is precisely for this period that the work of the First Local Council of the Orthodox Russian Church, opened August 15 (28), 1917 in the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, fell from the end of the 17th century. His most important decision was the restoration on October 28, 1917, of the patriarchate in the Russian Church, which put an end to the synodal period in the history of the Russian Church. The cathedral lasted more than a year, until September 7 (20), 1918.

On January 25, the Holy Council issued a 'Council Decree on the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the Separation of the Church from the State':

¹⁴⁰ CHURCH RECORDS. 1918. № 1. Additions, p. 24.

«1. The Decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of the Church from the state is, in the guise of the law on freedom of conscience, a malicious attempt on the whole structure of life of the Orthodox Church and an act of persecution against it.

2. All participation, both in the publication of this legitimization of the Church, and in attempts to enforce it, is incompatible with belonging to the Orthodox Church and brings to justice those guilty until excommunication (in the follow-up to the rule of the saints the apostle and the 13th rule of the Seventh Ecumenical Council)¹⁴¹.

Later, on September 6, 1918, the Local Council, in opposition to the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR 'On the Separation ...' and instructions for its application of August 24, 1918, declared the parishes as legal persons whose right to dispose of property was limited to the supreme owner – the church organization as a whole¹⁴².

A sharp assessment and condemnation of the decree was given by Patriarch Tikhon on May 15 (28), 1918, in his message to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Herman V: 'People who came to power in our country, alien to the Christian, and some of them of all faith, had an ungodly intention to remove from the leadership people's life and from its consecration the Orthodox Church. They have devised a law, or, better to say, lawlessness in order to withdraw from her as much as possible ways to manifest Her saving influence on the souls of believers. The church is deprived of their property rights by their decision, and the most holy temples are converted to the public property of the whole country, and as a result Orthodox Christians, Mohammedans, Jews and Gentiles also acquire the rights to our Shrines. Disposal of temples and even sacred vessels, the cross, the Gospel and icons and their provision for divine services to Orthodox Christians is recognized as the right of civil authorities. Teaching the laws of God in public, public and private schools is expelled. Church schools, both popular and preparatory for persons who devote themselves to the service of the Church, are being destroyed. All church ordinances, religious rites and public prayers are recognized as extraneous and unnecessary for the state. Such is the revolution in the life and life of the Orthodox Russian people, which the current rulers intended to produce'¹⁴³.

¹⁴¹ THE HOLY COUNCIL OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. ACTS. B. 6. Iss. 1. M., 1918, p. 71-72.

¹⁴² DEFINITION OF THE HOLY COUNCIL OF THE ORTHODOX RUSSIAN CHURCH ABOUT CHURCH PROPERTY AND ECONOMY // Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet era: 1917-1991. / Comp. G.Shtrikker: In 2 volumes. V.1. M., 1995, p. 131.

¹⁴³ MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS PATRIARCH TIKHON TO THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE HERMAN V ABOUT THE PERSECUTION OF THE PERSECUTION ON THE CHURCH OF GOD IN RUSSIA, MAY 15 (28), 1918 // Acts of the Most Holy Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence about the canonical succession of the highest ecclesiastical authority. 1917-1943 Collection in two parts / Comp. M.E. Gubonin. M., 1994, pp. 131-132.

But the power continues the offensive, the Resolution of the 3 All-Russian Congress of Soviet Justice figures on June 25, 1920, on the report of Comrade Krasikov 'On the Separation of Church and state'¹⁴⁴. The resolution read: 'The leadership of the decree on the separation of the church from the state should be more consistent and resolute and belong exclusively to the justice bodies, being implemented on the ground through the Departments of Justice.

2. With regard to the diocesan councils and the centers of church administration, a sustained policy is needed to deprive them of all remnants of power over citizens, as well as the factual ability to pump out through their economic apparatus huge amounts and amounts intended for the organization of a centralized old church machine, governmental organization.

3. In relation to such barbaric remnants of religious hypnosis and darkness, what is the cult of dead bodies and dolls¹⁴⁵, it is necessary to carry out their complete liquidation on the ground and relying on the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses to do so systematically and consistently, avoiding harmful indecision and half-heartedness in activities, which for the most part, as experience has shown, is due precisely to the insufficient preparedness and plannedness of the actions of local bodies. The regional executive committees are obliged to check all the conditions for carrying out measures to eliminate the relics.

4. On the basis of the Decree on attracting persons who do not engage in socially useful work to work, to attract to the productive work a huge mass of employees of the church organization.

5. To recognize as inadmissible and contrary to the interests of the revolution the granting to religious collectives of special rights and privileges (the rights of agricultural communes, production communes).

6. It is necessary to change the law on exemption from military service on the basis of religious beliefs in the sense of applying it primarily to historically established sects and individuals, their own life and the struggle with tsarism, which has proved the sincerity of their delusions and the admission of expertise as from representatives of the sects themselves (without the privileges of one body – the joint Council), and experts, called by the court'.

The opposition of believers and antireligious people continued until 1922, when the removal of church values was effected. A trial took place, which significantly weakened the strength of believers and contributed to the strengthening of anti-religious religions. Then the

¹⁴⁴ RESOLUTIONS OF THE III-RD ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF FIGURES OF SOVIET JUSTICE. Moscow: Moscow Department of the Military Printing Office of the All-Russian General Staff, 1920. 18 p.

¹⁴⁵ In this case we are talking about the relics of saints and other relics.

government received and was able to complete the process of carrying out the Decree on separation of church and state.

2.2 Anti-religious policy of Soviet authorities in 1919-1929

2.2.1 Variety of forms and methods of struggle with Church

The forms and methods of the struggle of the Soviet power with the church, its ideological adversary, as the authorities believed, were very diverse from the anti-church campaign to uncover relics, confiscate church valuables to create a renewed schism ...

2.2.1.1 Anti-church campaign on relics opening of 1919-1920

One of the elements of the struggle and anti-religious policy of Soviet power against the church was the anti-church campaign to unseat the relics of 1919-1920. As historian Natalia Mayorova describes the events, since the autumn of 1918 the campaign has acquired a mass character¹⁴⁶. It was then that the first news of the defeat of the Red Army men Alexander Svirsky monastery (Olonets province). The opening was accompanied by mockery at the relics.

The campaign was conducted by the authorities systematically, referring in many cases to the wishes of the working people to uncover the 'age-old deception'. The campaign acquired special proportions in the spring of 1919¹⁴⁷. The Decree of the People's Commissariat of Justice of March 14, 1919 stated that it was necessary to welcome the 'dissection of the relics produced locally on the initiative of the workers themselves ... since in all cases, as one would expect, in fact it turns out that there are no relics, and at the same time it is clear to all that centuries-old deception of the clerks of the cult is revealed, as well as speculation of the exploiting class on the religious feelings of the dark and ignorant masses'¹⁴⁸. As the official press wrote in those years, namely the journal *Revolution and the Church*, only 63 autopsies were made at the initial stage of the campaign 'in a number of gubernias, in the presence of the clergy, expert doctors and representatives of the Soviet government, according to information available in the 8

¹⁴⁶ MAJOROVA N.S. *The opening of the relics of Sergius of Radonezh and the campaign to eliminate relics on an all-Russian scale*. Bulletin of KSU named after O.N. Nekrasov. № 2, 2016, p. 52.

¹⁴⁷ SHKAROVSKIY M. V. *St. Petersburg diocese during the years of persecutions and losses of 1917-1945*. – SPb.: Faces of Russia. 1995, p. 44.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Department relics. An autopsy revealed a whole series of falsifications, with the help of which the worshipers deceived the masses'¹⁴⁹.

On July 30, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a resolution 'On the Elimination of Relics on an All-Russian Scale'; the PCJ circular dated August 25 of the same year prescribed the complete liquidation of the relics, their transfer to museums; 'In cases of discovery of charlatanry, fiction, falsifications and other criminal acts', the justice departments were to initiate 'prosecution against all the perpetrators'. It is worth noting that as early as February 17, 1919, St. Tikhon, Patriarch of All Russia, issued a decree in this regard instructing the ruling diocesan bishop to avoid mockery of the holy relics and the temptation for believers to remove the reasons for this, ie, remove all external inclusions from cancer-relics¹⁵⁰.

Patriarch Tikhon urged believers to avoid participation in political parties and speeches, to obey orders of the Soviet authorities and not to give any reasons justifying her suspicion, until they contradict faith and piety¹⁵¹. The outrage over the religious relics of believers caused a wave of anti-government speeches, and in some cases, when priests and believers tried to save their relics, shooting was fired.

The campaign lasted from October 23, 1918 to December 1, 1920, during which many relics were confiscated and destroyed. By 1922, the campaign completely exhausted itself, although later there were special cases of covering the relics. The very same campaign to uncover relics in 1918-1920 was a sort of prologue to the anti-religious actions of 1922, aimed at terrorizing the church, breaking its spiritual resistance and undermining its influence on the people.

2.2.1.2 Campaign for the confiscation of church values of 1921-1922

Campaign for the confiscation of church values in 1921-1922 under the pretext of fighting the mass famine in the Volga region, Ukraine, Siberia, the Urals and the Kuban became the next stage of the anti-church struggle of the Soviet government. As noted by Romanovskaya V.B. 'This campaign was aimed at depriving the church of the material base, weakening the influence and liquidating the clergy and church activists as a social class, and destroying the shrines of the

¹⁴⁹ REVOLUTION AND THE CHURCH. *Report of the 8th Department of the People's Commissariat of Justice to the Congress of Soviets*. 1920, № 9-12.

¹⁵⁰ ROGOZYANSKIY A. *Passion by relics*. St. Petersburg: Society of Saint Basil the Great. 1998, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵¹ ACTS OF HIS HOLINESS TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW AND ALL RUSSIA, LATER DOCUMENTS AND CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT THE CANONICAL SUCCESSION OF THE HIGHEST CHURCH AUTHORITY. 1917-1943 / comp. M.E. Gubonin. Moscow: Publishing House of the Orthodox St. Tikhon Theological, 1994, pp. 163-164.

church'¹⁵². The development and direct conduct of the seizure campaign were entrusted to M.I. Kalinin (although the actual leader was Lev Trotsky) and the Central Committee for the Relief of the Famine ¹⁵³.

On December 27, 1921 The All-Russia Central Executive Committee adopts a short Decree on the fate of 'Colossal Values that Are in Churches and Monasteries'. The Decree requires local authorities to distinguish, seize, eliminate and use this property:

1) 'property of historical and artistic significance', which 'is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the department for museums' People's Commissariat of Education and can not be alienated without its permission;

2) 'property of material value', subject to transfer to the State Repository;

3) 'property of everyday character, where it was still preserved', the future of which the Decree holds back, leaving its decisions at the discretion of local authorities. However, below are criticized 'the recent liquidation of property by local authorities through unorganized sale or transfer to groups of believers'.

Already a little later on February 23, 1922, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee issued a new Decree concerning church property. In particular, it said: 'In view of the urgent need to hastily mobilize all the resources of the country that can serve as a means of combating hunger in the Volga region and for seeding its fields, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in addition to the decree on the seizure of museum property, ruled: 1. Invite the local Soviets, within one month from the date of publication of this decree, to remove from the church property, transferred to the use of groups of believers of all religions, according to the inventories and treaties, all precious objects of gold, silver and stones, the seizure of which can not significantly affect the interests of the cult itself, and hand it over to the bodies of the People's Commissariat for Nursing with a special assignment to the fund of the Central Commission for Assistance to the Hungry'¹⁵⁴. Specifically stipulated that the Decree only concerns those items

¹⁵² ROMANOVSKAYA V.B. *Repressive bodies in Russia of the twentieth century*: Monograph. N.Novgorod, 1996, pp. 173-194.

¹⁵³ Central Committee 'Pomgol' – Central Commission for Assistance to the Hungry at the Central Executive Committee. It was created in accordance with the decisions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of February 17 and July 18, 1921. Chairman-MI. Kalinin. Among the main tasks: finding funds to fight hunger, ascertaining its size, resolving questions about the recognition of individual provinces and counties starving, implementing the decrees of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the seizure of church values, etc. Abolished on October 15, 1922. It was succeeded by the Central Committee, Commission for Combating the Aftermath of Hunger in the Central Executive Committee), formed by a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of September 7, 1922. Chairman-MI. Kalinin. Among the main tasks: providing loans to the affected areas, material assistance and tax benefits to peasants and other categories of people affected by hunger. Was liquidated on August 1, 1923.

¹⁵⁴ RUSSIAN PATRIARCHS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. THE FATE OF THE FATHERLAND AND THE CHURCH ON THE PAGES OF ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS. Moscow. Publishing house RAHS. 1999, pp. 59-60.

‘the withdrawal of which can not significantly affect the interests of the cult itself’, it was also necessary to involve representatives of groups of believers in the conduct of events. In practice, authorities have consistently violated the provisions of its own resolution¹⁵⁵. As indicated by Rasimeshina T.V. ‘The decree on the seizure of church values from February 23, 1922, did not actually provide for the church's participation in measures to alienate its values. He also did not leave the possibility for churches and monasteries to keep part of the relics in his property through reimbursement to the state of their value by gold and silver’¹⁵⁶. Many relics taken from the temples were destroyed or irretrievably lost, sent for remelting, and the money received from the sale was spent on the very campaign to withdraw them¹⁵⁷. The total weight of the precious metal seized in the churches, according to the Book of Accounting for Church Values of the Central Committee of the Segodnya on October 1, 1923, was 26 poods of gold and 24,565 poods of silver, not counting the coins¹⁵⁸.

It is also a natural fact that forcible removal of objects intended exclusively for divine purposes (sacred vessels) caused a lot of protests among believers. Patriarch Tikhon tried to prevent such a situation, and in a letter to Mikhail Kalinin on February 25, 1922, calls for abandoning such an unexpected decision, fraught with unpredictable consequences¹⁵⁹. Great resonance caused the execution of parishioners in Shuya on March 15, 1922, during which four people were killed. Arrests and executions began.

Only in the middle of 1922, in cases involving the confiscation of church values, 231 trials were held in the country over 700 accused; the defendants were brought to justice both for political articles - in the case of public conviction or opposition, and in criminal cases – In attempts to conceal church utensils. There were often sentences to the death penalty, but nevertheless propaganda actions did not bring much success to the organizers of the anti-church campaign.

2.2.1.3 Renovationist split or ‘Living Church’ as a means of anti-church policy of Soviet government

Using methods, various methods of fighting the church, including the opening of relics, the seizure of church values, the authorities could not help using their desire to destroy the enemy

¹⁵⁵ LATYSHEV A.G. *Declassified Lenin*. M.: Mart, 1996, p. 145-172.

¹⁵⁶ RASTIMESHINA T.V. *The removal of church values as a direction of the Soviet state's policy towards the cultural heritage of the church in the 1920s*. Bulletin № 2, 2016, p. 24.

¹⁵⁷ POKROVSKIY N.N. *Politburo and the Church*. 1922-1923. Three archival affairs // The New World: Journal. 1994. № 8, p. 199.

¹⁵⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation. F. P-1066. Op. 2. D. 337. K. 1a.

¹⁵⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation. F.1235. Op.97. D.54a. L.38-39.

‘from within’, by initiating and forming an internal church split. Lev Trotsky, who practically oversees the campaign to seize church values, ‘developed a strategic plan for the struggle against the Church, including the organization of the church schism, the election of a hierarchy more loyal to the Soviet hierarchy in the local council, and the subsequent disintegration of the church society weakened as a result of the ‘renewal’¹⁶⁰. This is how the ‘Living Church’ emerges as a renewal organization that arose in May 1922 with the active support of the State Political Administration under the NKVD of the RSFSR. The leader of the ‘Living Church’ throughout its existence was the ‘protopresbyter’ Vladimir Krasnitskiy. In the first months of its existence, it united virtually all the renovationism, and therefore gave the revival movement the unofficial name ‘The Living Church’.

After the arrest of Patriarch Tikhon on May 9, 1922, the Renovationists create the Higher Church Administration. By deception and threats, its representatives sought the seizure of power in the Orthodox dioceses, demanding the recognition of the renewed HChG as the highest ecclesiastical authority. As S.S. Zagrebina states ‘the Russian Orthodox Church was struck off twice. First – the confiscation of church values, which caused not only material damage, but also spiritual suffering from the desecration of liturgical objects. Then – the organization of the church schism. In fact, the forms and methods of civil war were introduced into the church and divided the clergy, divided the laity into opposing groups. One group consisted of adherents of Patriarch Tikhon, the other – the so-called ‘Renovationists’ – supporters of broad intra-church reforms’¹⁶¹. As for the goals of the renovation movement, they were contained in the ‘democratization’ of management and modernization of worship. The leadership of the Renovationists opposed the leadership of the Church by Patriarch Tikhon, claiming full support for the new Soviet regime and the reforms under way. The organs of Soviet power universally supported the Renovationists, seeing in this current a force capable of seriously undermining the Russian Orthodox Church from within.

Released from house arrest, Patriarch Tikhon condemned the ‘Living Church’ and renovationism in general, which he stated in his messages of June 28 and July 1 and 15, 1923, and in 1924 recognized the Renovationists as divided, which significantly undermined position of all renovation organizations. It is interesting that Bishop Antonin (Granovskiy) believed that the split was more in the hands of the ‘Tikhonovtsy’. ‘He saved the Russian church from the final

¹⁶⁰ IVANOV S.N. *The Chronology of the Renovated ‘Revolution’ in the Russian Church on New Archival Documents // Vestnik PSTGU. Series 2: History. History of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2014. Iss. 3 (58), p. 30.*

¹⁶¹ ZAGREBIN S.S. POWER AND THE UPDATE OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. SOCIETY AND POWER № 3 (23) 2009, p. 90.

roul of her revolutionary wrath, and Tikhon himself saved his life and secured the Don monastery'¹⁶².

2.2.2 Anti-church legislation of the USSR

2.2.2.1 Freedom of conscience in the Constitutions of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR

As has been repeatedly mentioned, the first act of the constitutional nature of the Soviet state with regard to freedom of conscience is the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of 20.01.1918 'On Freedom of Conscience, Church and Religious Societies'¹⁶³. Later, in 1924, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was adopted and approved by the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR in January 1924. It should be noted that the first Constitution of the USSR did not contain sections on the basic rights and duties of citizens, leaving the regulation of this institution at the level of the constitutions of the union republics and consisted of two parts: the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR and the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR. Given the limited period of our research, the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918, 1925 and 1937, as well as the Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic of 1919, 1929 and 1937 are of particular interest to us.

It should be noted that the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918 (Article 13) does not share the concept of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, as is confirmed by subsequent acts of Soviet constitutional legislation. This Constitution, in fact, became the basis for the Constitutions of other Union republics. The Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, approved by the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in a meeting on March 10, 1919 and adopted in final form by the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee in the March 14, 1919 session in Section III, 'Declaration of the Rights and Duties of the Working and Exploited People of Ukraine' the following clarification on the freedom of conscience: '... in the forms of ensuring that the workers have real freedom of conscience, as well as preventing the use of religion and the church in the interests of preserving the class system, the church is separated from the state, and for all citizens the right is recognized to propagate religious teachings that do not pursue any social and political goals, as well as anti-religious teachings that do not contradict

¹⁶² Proceedings of the First All-Russian Congress or Union Council Church Revival. Toropets, 1925, p. 34.

¹⁶³ ON FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES: Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of 20.01.1918 // Decrees of the Soviet Government. Moscow: State publishing house. lit., 1957. V. 1, pp. 373-374.

the communist worldview in their spirit'¹⁶⁴. As later wrote the Soviet scientist V. Goncharenko 'For the first time the working people of Ukraine in the legislative order were given freedom of speech, conscience of the press ...'¹⁶⁵.

In 1925, the new Constitution of the RSFSR was adopted, which practically did not change Art. 4 'In order to ensure for workers effective freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the state and the school from the church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens'¹⁶⁶ by the previous Constitution. Only in 1929, by the decision of the Fourteenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, this article was changed. The words 'freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda' were replaced by 'freedom of religious confessions and anti-religious propaganda'. This replacement testified to limiting the influence and rights of believers and depriving them of the possibility of religious preaching outside the boundaries of their religious buildings. This correction is found later in the 1936 Constitution of the USSR¹⁶⁷ and also 1977 one¹⁶⁸.

2.2.2.2 Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR 'On Religious Associations' (April 8, 1929)

On April 8, 1929 there was adopted by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR the Resolution "'On Religious Associations'¹⁶⁹. It can be said that this was a guide, instruction to the Decree 'On Separation of Church from State and School from church'. The above resolution not only confirmed all the provisions of 1918, but also expanded them. The provision (clause 2) defined two forms of religious associations – a religious society and a group of believers. At the same time, 'every citizen can be a member of only one religious-religious association (society or group)'.

So paragraph 17 forbade religious associations:

¹⁶⁴ THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC. K., 1919.

¹⁶⁵ GONCHARENKO V.D. *The First Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR* / V.D. Goncharenko // Problems of socialist legality. Kh. : Higher school., 1983. Iss. 11, p.15.

¹⁶⁶ THE CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE RSFSR, adopted on May 11, 1925. – M., 1925.

¹⁶⁷ THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS: EXTRAORDINARY VIII ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIETS on December 5, 1936 // Bulletin of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR Union and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1936, Dec. 16 (№283).

¹⁶⁸ THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS: Adopted by the extraordinary seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on October 7, 1977 // Bulletin of the SS of the USSR. 1977. №41, p. 617.

¹⁶⁹ ON RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS: *Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR* of 8.04.1929 // SU RSFSR. 1929. №35, p. 353.

a) to create mutual funds, cooperatives, production associations and generally use the property at their disposal for any other purposes than satisfying religious needs;

b) to provide material support to its members;

c) to organize specially for children's, youthful, women's prayer and other meetings, and general biblical, literary, needlework, labor, for teaching religion, etc. meetings, groups, circles, departments, as well as arrange excursions and playgrounds, open libraries and reading rooms, organize sanatoriums and medical assistance.

In prayer buildings and premises, only books necessary for the worship can be stored.

A separate statement was written about the prohibition of teaching 'any kind of religious dogma in state, public and private educational and educational institutions. Such teaching can be allowed only at special theological courses opened by citizens of the USSR with the special permission of the permanent commission under the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the examination of religious issues and on the territory of the autonomous republics with the permission of the central executive committee of the corresponding autonomous republic'.

2.2.2.3 Criminal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1922)

On June 8, 1927 it was adopted a new Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR¹⁷⁰. On August 23, 1922 the code was enacted¹⁷¹. Prof. Benitskiy A.S. notes: 'The Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in 1922 actually reproduced the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, adopted May 26, 1922 at the 3rd session of the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Army and Cossack deputies'¹⁷². Our analysis of Chapter 3 of the Special Part of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR of 1922, entitled 'Violation of the rules on the separation of church and state' and the corresponding Chapter 4 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR of 1922, almost fully confirm this statement. As in practically the entire code, this section only indicates the maximum limit of possible punishment¹⁷³.

¹⁷⁰ THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR (approved by the VUTSIK August 23, 1922) with an alphabetical index: Bulletin Official. – Kharkov: Ed. People's Commissar of the Ukrainian SSR.

¹⁷¹ ON THE ENACTMENT OF THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR: VUTSVK Resolution dated August 23, 1922 // UCSU. 1922. №36, p. 554.

¹⁷² BENITSKIY A.S. *Responsibility for involvement in a crime and complicity in a crime in accordance with the Criminal Code of the USSR in 1922 and 1927* // A.S. Benitskiy // Scientific Bulletin of the Lviv State University of Internal Affairs. 2013. Iss. 4, p. 199.

¹⁷³ NOVAK K.M. *The main features of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in 1922* / Novak Kateryna Mikhailovna // The theory and practice of modern jurisprudence: materials and Allukr. sciences Conf., Kharkiv, March 15 2013 – April 15 2013; Constitutional construction in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Soviet era: materials of the round table, Kharkiv, March 24, 2013. Kh., 2013, p. 201-202.

Here are some examples:

Art. 111. Teaching juvenile and minor religious beliefs in public or private schools and schools is punishable by forced labor for up to one year;

Art.114. Execution of religious rites in state institutions and enterprises, as well as the placement of any religious images in these buildings, is punishable by forced labor for a period of up to three months or a fine of up to 300 rubles in gold.

It must be said that Art. 115 provided for criminal punishment in the form of forced labor for a period of up to six months and for those who impeded the conduct of religious rites (which do not violate public order and do not infringe on the rights of citizens). But hardly this article was ever used in the interests of the church.

2.2.2.4 Administrative Code of the Ukrainian SSR (1927). Rules about the cults

The only example of the codification of administrative law in the former USSR until the 1980s when the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR on Administrative Offenses were adopted became the Administrative Code of the Ukrainian SSR of 1927¹⁷⁴. This code regulated a fairly wide range of social relations. Almost immediately the code was translated into German¹⁷⁵.

The Administrative Code also included Chapter 10 of the 'Rules on Cults', which was divided into three sections: 'Foundations', 'Religious Communities', 'Religious Property'. The first section confirmed the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, and also confirmed the right of every citizen to 'to recognize any religion or not to recognize any religion. Recognition of any religion or the non-recognition of any religion is not subject to any limitation and gives no advantage'.

It should be noted that in the same article 351, a special note emphasizes the prohibition on the designation in the official acts of citizenship of a religion, it is also forbidden to indicate non-belonging to religious confessions.

According to the Administrative Code of 1927, citizens had the right to found religious communities, adhering to the rules established for non-profit organizations, such as societies and citizens' unions (Art. 358). Religious communities could not have the rights of a legal entity (Art. 360).

¹⁷⁴ ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR. The text and poetry commentary. Ed. by S. Kanarskiy and Yu. Mazurenko. With the preface of V. Valitsky. Law at NKU Ukrainian SSR, 1928.

¹⁷⁵ Verwaltungsgesetzbuch der Ukraine von 1927 (introductory article by V. Durdinevsky and translation of the full text to German); Zeitschrift für Ostrecht. Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau, Heft 10-11. Berlin 1928.

Concerning the property of religious communities, in this case all religious property (with the exception of the religious communities temporarily transferred by private individuals) was state property (Art. 366).

2.3 Great Terror (1937-1938)

2.3.1 Reasons and goals

Most historians hold the view that in 1936-1938 the highest political leadership of the USSR, led by Stalin, decided to destroy all political opponents of the regime. According to the German historian Leonid Luks, forced collectivization and dekulakization also caused local protests and discontent among the masses¹⁷⁶. This means that discontent, like fear of power, has been growing for a long time. The aggravation of the international situation also played a role. The threat from internal enemies in the event of war was much talked about in 1937-1938. Soviet leaders, mass accusations of ‘shooting’ cases in espionage and assistance to countries such as Japan and Germany, only confirm this. Stalin repeatedly develops the thesis of exacerbating the class struggle and strengthening state power in the process of creating a classless society, stating that ‘the abolition of classes is achieved not through the extinction of the class struggle, but by strengthening it’¹⁷⁷. Espionage and complicity to foreign countries is often blamed on the clergy.

On March 27, 1937, Circular No. 23 of the USSR NKVD issued a statement on the strengthening of the agent-operational work on ‘churchmen and sectarians’, which initiated mass repressions against believers. It is alleged that the ‘churchmen and sectarians’ became active in connection with the adoption of the new Constitution and are preparing for the elections to the Soviets, ‘aiming at penetrating the lower-level Soviet bodies’¹⁷⁸. In fact, the clergy and believers with great enthusiasm took the way out of the Constitution of 1936, depriving this contingent of the status of ‘deprived people’ and equalizing all citizens of the USSR. The abolition of restrictions on participation in elections, including for the clergy, as well as the declaration on ‘the expansion of Soviet democracy’, led to the fact that among the population there was actually a hope that the state would refuse persecution of religion, but the circular prescribes the reverse measures aimed at ‘revealing and rapidly destroying the organizing centers of illegal work of churchmen and sectarians’: the split in the church communities, the weakening of the material base of the church, the difficulty of participating in elections, etc.

¹⁷⁶ LEONID LUKS. *Geschichte Russlands und der Sowjetunion*. Von Lenin bis Jelzin. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, p. 256.

¹⁷⁷ STALIN I.V. *Compositions*. V. 13. M., 1951, p. 211.

¹⁷⁸ Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation. F. 66. Op. 1. D. 413. L. 57.

As Igor Kurlyandskiy writes: ‘One of the main objects of terror in 1937-38 practically became all the religions and churches in the Soviet Union, because simultaneously with the pogrom campaigns, the field for the official Marxist worldview was finally cleared’¹⁷⁹.

2.3.2 NKVD Order № 00447 ‘About Repression of Former Kulaks, Criminals, and Other Anti-Soviet Elements’ (July 30, 1937)

On July 7, 1937 Order No. 5/01580 of the Prosecutor of the USSR ‘hooliganism of the accused, who in their concrete content are counter-revolutionary attacks against Soviet power, the Constitution of the USSR, our leaders, or by attacks of a grossly chauvinistic nature’, according to the rules on the totality of crimes, according to art. 58-10 or according to art. 59-7¹⁸⁰ of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and the corresponding art. of CC of other union republics.¹⁸¹ It is worth noting that Art. 58 of the Criminal Code became the main one for most executions¹⁸².

A little later, on July 30, 1937, the operative order of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR No. 00447 ‘On the Operation of Repressing Former Kulaks, Criminals and Other Anti-Soviet Elements’¹⁸³. In the category of criminals, there were already beggars, unemployed, homeless people, and persons without a valid identity card and permission to stay in the respective settlements. Including ‘repressed clerics and sectarians, former active participants in anti-Soviet armed actions’¹⁸⁴. In particular, churchmen (clergy and members of religious communities) and sectarian activists, who are now in prisons, camps, labor settlements and colonies, are mentioned in the section ‘Contingents subject to reprisals’ among ‘former kulaks, punishers, bandits, whites’. Not surprisingly, after almost 20 years of fighting the church, according to the official census of the population in the USSR in 1937, 55.3 million people or

¹⁷⁹ KURLYANDSKIY I.A. *Power and religion during the "Great Terror" (1937-1938 gg.). On new archival documents* // Proceedings of the Institute of Russian History. Issue. 9 / Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Russian History; resp. ed. A.N. Sakharov, red.-coord. E.N. Rudaya. M.; Tula, 2010, p. 255.

¹⁸⁰ Propaganda or agitation aimed at excite national or religious hatred or hatred, as well as the distribution or production and storage of literature of the same nature.

¹⁸¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 8131, op. 28, d. 22, l. 5.

¹⁸² Article 58 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR in the wording of 1938 58-1a. Change to Homeland, i.e. actions committed by citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the expense of the military might of the USSR, its state independence or the inviolability of its territory, such as: espionage, the issuance of military or state secrets, the transfer to the enemy, flight or flight abroad, shall be punishable by the highest measure of criminal punishment - shooting with confiscation of all property, and under mitigating circumstances - imprisonment for a term of 10 years with confiscation of all property".

¹⁸³ Soviet State Terror and Resistance to the Totalitarian Regime: A Chronicle of Major Events. 1917-1991 / Comp. By A.D. Margolis, T.B. Pritykina, A.Yu. Daniel – SPb: Norma, 2017.

¹⁸⁴ "Through the corpses of the enemy for the good of the people", "Kulak Operation" in the Ukrainian SSR in 1937-1941. T. 1: 1937 M. : (ROSSPEN): The Boris Yeltsin Presidential Center Foundation: The German Historical Institute in Moscow, 2010, p. 99-115.

56.7% of persons 16 years of age or older called themselves believers¹⁸⁵, of which 41.6 million are considered to be Orthodox¹⁸⁶. That in conditions of constant repression, anti-church propaganda, meant a huge setback in domestic state policy. Perhaps, and this important point of the questionnaire (additionally made personally by Stalin) served to recognize the census as invalid, the leaders were repressed, and the documents were classified.

Returning to the order of the NKVD of the USSR №00447, as noted by a number of historians, it was this operation that was the central element of the chain of events known in history as the ‘Great Terror’¹⁸⁷. In the second section of the order, it was discussed the measures of punishment for the repressed. Two categories were established. The first included all the ‘most hostile’ elements that are subject to immediate arrest and execution (after reviewing their cases on threes), and to the second – ‘less active, but still hostile element’, subject to arrest and imprisonment in camps or prisons for a period of 8 to 10 years. Further, the quantitative indicators of the repressed in each individual region (‘limits’ for the republics, regions and regions), developed on the basis of the credentials received from July were received from the localities.

It should be noted that the wife, children of priests and believers also fell into the repressive car. August 15, 1937 issued an order of the NKVD USSR № 00486 ‘On the Operation to Repress the Wives and Children of Traitors of the Motherland’¹⁸⁸. According to this order, the wives of those who after August 1, 1936 were sentenced to be shot, imprisoned or camped by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court or military tribunals for belonging to ‘right-Trotsky espionage and sabotage organizations’ were subject to arrest. Children from 1 to 3 years who were left without supervision were sent to the nursery and children's homes of the People's Commissariat of Health, from 3 to 15 years - to children's homes of the People's Commissariat of Education. If children over the age of 15 were recognized as ‘socially dangerous’, then they could be sent to a camp, a correctional labor colony or ‘special regime children's homes’.

2.3.3 Results of Great Terror for church

¹⁸⁵ VOLKOV A.G. *Census of the population of the USSR in 1937. History and materials* // Express information. A series of "History of Statistics". Issue 3-5 (Part II). M., 1990, p. 6-63.

¹⁸⁶ YEMELYANOV N. YE., KHAYLOVA O.I. *Persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church (1917-1950)* // Russia and the Modern World. — 2008. — № 4 (61), p. 125.

¹⁸⁷ *Vertical of great terror. The history of the operation on the orders of the NKVD №00447* / Mark Junge, Gennady Bordyugov, Rolf Binner. – M.: New Chronograph; AIRO-XXI, 2008, p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ ROGINSKY A.B, DANIEL A. YU. *"Wives are subject to arrest"*. Text. Of A.B. Roginsky, A.Yu. Daniel // Prisoners of "ALZHIR": List of female prisoners of Akmola and other branches of the Karlag./Creat.: V.M. Grinev, B.V. Goretsky, G.N. Karsakova and other-M.: Zvenia, 2003, p.12.

German historian Karl Schlögel points out that the Great Terror became an attempt of the Soviet government to ‘solve a social problem’¹⁸⁹. The price of the ‘solution’ was incredibly high. The vast majority of those arrested in 1937-1938 (as well as in other periods) were found not guilty, but their lives can not be returned.

Only for 9 months (from July 1, 1937 to April 1, 1938), the number of prisoners in the Gulag increased by more than 800 thousand, exceeding 2 million¹⁹⁰.

According to Reference 1 of the special department of the NKVD of the USSR on the number of people arrested and convicted from October 1, 1936 to November 1, 1938, only from October 1, 1936 to November 1, 1938, 668,305 people were sentenced to death¹⁹¹. The same thing happened with the clergy. In the struggle against religion, propaganda began to gradually fade into the background, giving way to open struggle against religious organizations and repressions against believers. It is no accident that the period from 1932 to 1937 received the name of the ‘godless five-year plan’ in the history of the church.

Continuous arrests, landings and shootings of churchmen lasted throughout the period of 1937-1938. Historian Dmitriy Pospelovskiy wrote that during the decade (1931-1941) in Orthodoxy ‘80 to 85% of the priests, that is, more than 45 thousand’ were abolished or arrested ‘(they are the servants of the Patriarchal or the so-called ‘Tikhon’ church, and also renovationists)¹⁹².

By 1939, around 100 temples out of 60,000 operating in 1917 remained uncovered throughout the country. Only 4 ruling bishops remained at liberty, and ‘evidence’ was fabricated for them at the NKVD to arrest, which could happen at any time.

Conclusions to chapter 2

One of the goals that was set when writing this section was to find out and determine the cause of the conflict between the Soviet state and religious organizations. In one of his works, Sergei Kara-Murza wrote: ‘Any ideocratic state emerging in a revolutionary way inevitably comes into conflict with the Church, which was an important part of the old statehood. Coexistence on equal two ‘bearers of truth’ - two structures claiming to be the highest arbitrator

¹⁸⁹ KARL SCHLÖGEL. *Terror und Traum. Moskau 1937* (Terror and Dream: Moscow 1937). — Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2008, p. 643.

¹⁹⁰ *The system of forced labor camps in the USSR, 1923-1960: Reference book / Comp.* M.B. Smirnov. Ed. by N.G. Ohotina, A.B. Roginsky. M., 1998, p. 41.

¹⁹¹ Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation. F. 8 os. Op. 1. D. 70. L.97- 98. Published: The tragedy of the Soviet village. Collectivization and dekulakization. 1927-1939. In 5 volumes. V. 5. B. 1,2. M.: ROSSPEN, 2006.

¹⁹² POSPELOVSKIY D.V. *Russian Orthodox Church in the XX century*. – M.: Republic, 1995, p.170.

in matters of general ethics, is impossible'¹⁹³. Indeed, the young Soviet state saw in the church its ardent opponent, and not just an adversary, but an ideological one. It was more difficult to break it. The Bolsheviki who came to power did not hide that their goal was not just a social reorganization of society, but a complete change in the consciousness of a person, the education of a new man, a man 'free' from some "religious prejudices", as they were said at that time. In November 1913 Vladimir Lenin wrote to Maxim Gorky: '... every religious idea, every idea of every god, every flirtation, even with God, is an unutterable abomination, especially tolerated (and often even benevolently) encountered by the democratic bourgeoisie, which is why it is the most dangerous abomination, the most vile 'contagion'. A million sins, dirty tricks, rape and physical attacks are much easier to reveal by the crowd and are therefore much less dangerous than the subtle, spiritual idea of the God-of-God dressed in the most elegant 'ideological' costumes'¹⁹⁴.

Most likely, it is for this reason that practically simultaneously with the coming of the Soviet power, a number of legislative acts and normative documents appear that infringe upon the rights of churches and religious organizations. This applies to the Decree on Land adopted on October 26 / November 8, 1917: The Decree, without any ransom, transferred the monastic, church lands with all the implements and buildings to the rural district committees and counties; Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia of November 2, 1917: the church is completely excluded from the sphere of civil and state life; Decisions of the Council of People's Commissars 'On the transfer of the cause of upbringing and education from the spiritual department to the People's Commissariat for Education' on December 11, 1917: the church educational institutions were nationalized. The Decree On the Dissolution of Marriage (December 16, 1917) and On Civil Marriage, Children and the Conduct of Books of State Acts (December 18, 1917) also contributed to the eradication of religion in the state.

On January 23, 1918, the Decree On the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church consolidated the school's branch from the church, equated all church and private societies with private ones, banned possession of private property, prohibited the activities of state and other public institutions by religious rituals or ceremonies, etc. A little later, the state fights the church through various campaigns, such as the Anti-Church campaign to

¹⁹³ KARA-MURZA S.G. *The Soviet Civilization. From the beginning to our days*. M.: Algorithm, Eksmo, 2008, p. 254.

¹⁹⁴ LENIN V.I. *LENIN V.I. Whole collect. of works of V.I. Lenin. V. 48. M. 1970. P. 226*; Lenin's letter was caused by the appearance in the newspaper "Russian Word" No. 219 of September 22, 1913, of Gorky's article "On Karamazovism" with a protest against staged by the Moscow Art Theater of the reactionary novel "The Possessed" by FM Dostoyevsky. The bourgeois press came out in defense of Dostoyevsky's play. Gorky responded with a new article - "More on Karamazovism," which was published in No. 248 of the "Russian Word" of October 27, 1913.

uncover the relics of 1919-1920 and the Campaign for the Expropriation of Church Values of 1921-1922, practically creates and actively supports the renewal split within the church. Gradually, the state consolidates anti-church norms in the legislative acts of the USSR, the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR and other union republics. Passes to mass repressions against the clergy, the peak of which occurred in 1937-1938. The churches are massively closed, the clergy are shot, the families are sent into exile.

3. STALIN'S REPRESSIONS IN ODESSA AND SOUTH OF UKRAINE

3.1 Situation in Odessa region

If the so-called first stage of anti-church policy (1917-1929) is propaganda of atheism and the beginning of a massive attack on religion, then the next decades of Soviet power are characterized by destructive actions towards religion. In the 1930s. not only the educational institutions, clergy and religious organizations were liquidated, but the clergy, believers were also liquidated. According to the government commission for the rehabilitation of victims of political repression, in 1937, 136,900 Orthodox clerics were arrested, 85.300 of them were shot; in 1938, 28,300 people were arrested and 21,500 were shot; in 1939, 1,500 people were arrested and 900 were shot; in 1940, 5.100 were arrested, and 1.100 were shot; in 1941, 4,000 were arrested, and 1,900 were shot¹⁹⁵. These figures include the priesthood, clergymen of the South of Ukraine and, in particular, the Odessa region.

The scale and true causes of repression against the clergy by Soviet historiography were hushed up or distorted. Atheistically minded authors denied the possibility of oppression of the church by Soviet power. Only in the early 1990s, after the independence of Ukraine, the KGB archives were gradually opened, although access to the repressed for many years would be closed and only years later, the relatives of the repressed and investigative units could be accessed by special permission. For the same special permission, the archive of the Office of the Security Service of Ukraine worked for many years also the author-dissertator. Description of single and group cases, processing of documents has become a major task. The studied forensic investigation materials were practically not introduced earlier in scientific circulation, only a part of the cases processed by us entered into the cycle of Internet publications 'Odessa Martyrolog' published by us¹⁹⁶. Some articles were published in foreign publications, particularly in

¹⁹⁵ YAKOVLEV A.N. *On relics and oil*: monograph / A.N. Yakovlev. - Moscow: Eurasia, 1995, p. 94-95,

¹⁹⁶ Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Martyrs and Confessors. Saints and not saints ... Part 1 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-mucheniki-i-ispovedniki-svyatyie-i-ne-svyatyie-59615> ; Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Exposed by testimony ... Part 2.// Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-izoblichen-svidetelskimi-pokazaniyami-chast-2-59769> ; Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: "By social origin - pop, by social status - pop. Shoot". Part 3. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-po-sotsialnomu-proiskhozhdeniyu-pop-po-sotsialnomu-polozheniyu-pop-rasstrelyat-chast-3-60243> ; Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology : The Holodomor in Ukraine not only became a tragedy, they were exiled or shot for "the memory of the Holodomor" ... Part 4. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-golodomor-v-ukraine-ne-tolko-stal-tragediei-za-pamyat-o-golodomore-ssylali-ili-rasstrelivali-chast-4> ; Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: "Christ suffered for us, so we must endure the courts, arrests, but hold fast to the faith." Part 5. //

Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-khristos-stradal-za-nas-tak-i-my-dolzhny-terpet-sudy-aresty-no-krepko-derzhatsya-very-chast-5-61610> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: "Christ suffered for us, so we must endure the courts, arrests, but hold fast to the faith." Part 5. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-khristos-stradal-za-nas-tak-i-my-dolzhny-terpet-sudy-aresty-no-krepko-derzhatsya-very-chast-5-61610> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology. The ideological adversary has no nationality, sex and age ... Part 6. // Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/node/62543> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: And classmates comrade. Stalin was also shot? .. Part 7. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-i-odnoklassnikov-tov-stalina-tozhe-rasstrelivali-chast-7-63780> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology. From the case of the shot: "I was given his hair and cloak and said that they sent him ...". Part 8. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-iz-dela-rasstrelyannogo-mne-peredali-ego-volosy-i-plashch-i-skazali-chto-vyslali-ego-chast-8-64951> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: To serve, even when death is near ... Part 9. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-sluzhit-dazhe-kogda-smert-blizka-chast-9-67190> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Cruelty can not be justified. Even through the centuries ... Part 10. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-zhestokost-nelzya-opravdat-dazhe-cherez-veka-chast-10-68484> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Echoes of the Civil War ... It all started with denunciation. Part 11. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-otgoloski-grazhdanskoi-voiny-vse-nachalos-s-donosa-chast-11-68822> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Arrested right in the temple ... Part 12. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-arestovan-priamo-v-khrame-chast-12-70536> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: Often a certificate of death of a loved one in the camp from heart disease meant ... shooting. Part 13. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-chasto-spravka-o-smerti-blizkogo-v-lagere-ot-bolezni-serdtsa-oznachala-rasstrel-chast-13-71439> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA MARTIROLOGUE: Odessa group "TOC". Martyr Leonid Salkov and others. Part 14 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-odesskaya-gruppa-ipts-muchenik-leonid-salkov-i-drugie-chast-14-72402> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA MARTIROLOGUE: Lenin pointed to Solovki ... Part 15. // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-lenin-ukazal-na-solovki-chast-15-73248> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: From the life of the rector of the Mikhailovsky Church: the priest was shot, the temple was closed ... Part 16 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-iz-zhizni-nastoyatelya-mikhailovskogo-khrama-svyashchennika-rasstreljali-khram-zakryli-chast-16-7423> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA MARTIROLOGUE: What the Odessa bells are silent about ... Part 17 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-o-chem-molchat-odesskie-kolokola-chast-17-75956> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: The thorny path of three priests: from "enemies" to martyrs and confessors ... Part 18 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/content/odesskii-martirolog-ternisty-put-trekh-svyashchennikov-ot-vragov-k-muchenikam-i-ispovednikam-chast-18-77301> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: The way to Calvary is dotted not only with shards of stars ... Part 19 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://2010.orthodoxy.org.ua/node/80536> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology. St. Pavel Gayday and his confessors. Odessa period of life ... Part 20 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/odesskiy-martirolog-svmchpavel-gayday-i-izhe-s-nim-ispovedniki-odesskiy-period-zhizni-chast-20> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: New martyrs and confessors of the twentieth century. Why were the priests arrested? Part 21 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/odesskiy-martirolog-novom-ucheniki-i-ispovedniki-hh-veka-za-chto-arestovyvali-svyashchennikov> ;

Bulgaria¹⁹⁷. New documents were opened that contributed to deeper disclosure of the research topic, the interpretation of what was happening – decisions on arrests, interrogation protocols, decrees on clergymen references, closure and destruction of temples. Restored on the basis of forensic documents, the biographies of these people amaze the imagination of modern man. Constant beatings during interrogations, insults, ‘struts’ (when during interrogations, which lasted for days, prisoners were forced to stand at attention), the staged executions broke the will of many arrested and accused of crimes that they often did not commit. Some of them were forced to sign falsified protocols of interrogations, some were forced to stipulate neighbors, colleagues, and even sign blank sheets, where the investigator then entered the names that interest him. The study of these documents has not only a scientific, historical significance, but also serves to learn lessons, correctly determine the policy of relations between the state and religion.

In Odessa, as elsewhere, the ChK-GPU-NKVD constantly worked, revealing the ‘enemies’ of the people and Soviet power. But the peak of repression begins in July 1937. The number of arrests increases 10 times. In the departments of the NKVD of the region, a ‘socialist competition’ unfolded – who will more detain ‘the enemies of the people’. As a result, Odessa sent a letter to the head of the NKVD Yezhov with a request to increase the arrest limit by 1,5 thousand people.

Subsequently, in 1938, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR increased this limit several times more – by several thousand people in each category.

The results of these campaigns were staggering. Only in Odessa activists of the organization ‘Memorial’¹⁹⁸ and other organizations found 17 places of mass graves of victims of Stalinist repressions. The largest find was made in 2007. On the sixth kilometer of the Ovidiopol highway, near the shopping center ‘Metro’, from the mass grave extracted the remains of 1,086

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: 1931 year. In Odessa - a counter-revolutionary church organization. Part 22 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/odesskiy-martirolog-1931-god-v-odesse-kontrrevolyucionnaya-cerkovnaya-organizaciya-chast-22> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: 1931 year. In Odessa - a counter-revolutionary church organization. Continuation ... // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/odesskiy-martirolog-1931-god-v-odesse-kontrrevolyucionnaya-cerkovnaya-organizaciya-prodolzhenie> ;

Archimandrite Evfrosin (Bilash). ODESSA Martyrology: A priest, a psalm-reader, an elder is shot ... Is this enough to kill the faith of the villagers? Part 24 // Orthodoxy in Ukraine (an electronic resource). Access mode <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/odesskiy-martirolog-rasstrelyany-svyashchennik-psalomshchik-starosta-dostatocno-li-etogo>;

¹⁹⁷ Archim. Evfrosin (Bilash). Sveschenik Lyubomir Todorov is the only Bulgarian new martyr in the USSR // Access mode <http://dveri.bg/xcquc> ; Archim. Evfrosin (Bilash). Odessa Counter-Revolutionary Organization of 1931. // Forum Theologicum Sardicense. 2013, n.2, p. 21-63.

¹⁹⁸ The international historical and educational, human rights and charitable society "Memorial" is a non-governmental organization whose main task was initially to study political repressions in the USSR. Now this community of dozens of organizations in Russia, Germany, Kazakhstan, Italy, the Czech Republic, Belgium, France and Ukraine, leading research, human rights and educational work.

people. Most were killed by pistol shots in the back of the head. Among these executed were also priests. Regional Troika condemned to various terms of imprisonment, deportations and executions of hundreds of people a day¹⁹⁹.

In 1938, in the structure of the NKVD, a department was created within the framework of the Secret Political Department to combat the ecclesiastical and sectarian counter-revolution. Since that moment, the authority over religious organizations and the regulation of state-church relations on the ground is in the joint jurisdiction of the executive committees of the Soviets and local departments of the NKVD of the USSR. From this moment the clergy come under total control, and repressions against the clergy continue in the following years. According to the 'Odessa Martyrology' during the period from 1941 to 1952, 49 representatives of the churches of Odessa were repressed, including 35 priests, 14 monks and other clergy²⁰⁰, but this is already a topic of a separate scientific research.

3.2 Repressed clergymen during 1920-1934 (individual cases), destinies

Case No. 86 (file R-1174, item 1), kept in the State Archives of the Odessa Region, tells about the fate of the priest from village Bolshjy Buyalyk Stefan Bibikov, sentenced in 1920 to 3 years in a concentration camp. His further fate is unknown to us ...

It is interesting to see this archival case by the fact that it tells in some detail about some significant events, both in the social and church life of the Odessa region that took place during and after the Civil War. And if not for the tragedy of the situation and the time of what is happening, one might think that this is a draft of another modern detective story. In any case, this layer of church history on the level of local history, in our opinion, despite the open access to the materials, will remain unexplored for a long time to the full.

3.2.1 Priest Stefan Bibikov

On August 21, 1920, on the basis of the order No. 15 of the Administration of the Uyezd Revolutionary Committee and the chairman of the Troika, the abbot of the church of village Bolshoy Buyalyk (*now the village of Blagoevo, Ivanovo district, Odessa region – author*) priest Stefan Vasilyevich Bibikov was arrested.

¹⁹⁹ The Troika is the organ of extrajudicial sentencing. In 1937-1938 at the oblast level (there were also republican and regional triples) consisted of the head of the regional department of the NKVD, the secretary of the regional committee and the regional prosecutor.

²⁰⁰ Odessa Martyrology: Data on the repressed Odessa and Odessa region during the years of Soviet power. V. 1 /Comp.: L. V. Kovalchuk, G. A. Razumov. - M.: OKFO, 1997. - P. 677.

The reason for the arrest was the denunciation of one of the villagers B. Buyalyk, in which the latter showed that ‘the priest constantly in the past year collected mugs and agitated against Soviet power, saying that the Soviet government is the authority of the robbers’. The signature under the denunciation was raised by another person because of the illiteracy of the informer.

On August 27 to the Revolutionary Tribunal in village Severinovka (*it this village in 1983 the film ‘Green van’ was filmed - author*) by the wife of the priest A. Bibikova there was filed the following statement:

‘Attaching herewith the certificate of the former secretary of the Gorukhd military commissariat Geller, assured by the Chief of the Mobilization Unit, I ask you to pay attention to this certificate, which states how sincerely the husband defended the Soviet power with the risk of his own life, and in addition applying the testimony of Comrade. Tsvetkov, in which you can see that my husband also saved his life, and therefore I most humbly ask my husband to be released from custody. I also attach the certificate of the Party worker to comrade Zakharchenko’.

A certificate of August 26, 1920, signed by the former secretary of the 2nd Mobilization Commission, A. Geller, was actually attached, at that time secretary of the House Committee, who made sure ‘that when the uprising took place in the village of B. Buyalyk in August last year on our detachment of Red Army men in 150 people with 2 Reception Mobilization Commission under the chairmanship of the former head of the Agitprosvet-Political Administration comrade. (*the surname is illegible - author*) (communist) in which I, the undersigned Geller was the secretary, the priest Bibikov and his wife took an active part first in harboring from the insurgents of all the comrades of my clerks in the office and myself, then acting on the leaders of the insurrection and brutalized from inciting the dark mass of the peasants with all the strength of their authority and position, persuading them to abolish the death penalty that they demanded over all surviving members of the commission, doctors and Red Army men.

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On August 22, 1920 deputy head of the Department of Public Education and Civil Status comrade Tsvetkov made the following statement, addressed to the wife of S. Bibikov:

‘In view of the arrest of your husband, the priest S. Bibikov, I consider it my duty to testify to whom you should know (*all the interesting times were, someone should have known, and who does not - the author*) that in the last days of July 1919 during the insurgency I, the undersigned, was arrested by the insurgents and thanks to the temporary rebel council and priest S. Bibikov I was released by the rebels who were expecting to shoot me».

²⁰¹ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 86. L. 24

On August 27, also the statement of a member of the Communist Party Comrade S. Zakharchenko (party ticket number 152):

‘Identity card. Given the real citizen Stepan Bibikov in the fact that working with him in the field of the Cooperative Office I know his Bibikov as irreproachably trustworthy both in conviction and in his deeds’.

They petition for the release of the priest in his identity card and parishioners of various churches, "knowing our parish priest Stephen's arrival as a kind and sympathetic person, for all our spiritual demands and needs, which is our call at all times, that he has never opposed to the Soviet power said, and therefore ask him to release him from his arrest'. This certificate was signed by 33 people.

In the case file there is Protocol No. 30 with the signatures of 37 people ‘of the general meeting of citizens of the village Andreevka of Evgenyivska volost of the Tiraspol Uyezd’ dated August 30, 1920, exactly repeating the previous certificate.

In the verdict of August 26, 1920, the Liszin Committee of the unregulated villagers consisting of 60 householders, the priest Stepan Bibikov is described as ‘an honest and honorable man’ and again asks for his release.

The parishioners of the church themselves did not stay aside B. Buyalyk their ‘Application for Release’ to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee signed more than 250 people.

On September 1, 1920, the priest Bibikov was interrogated. In addition, we learn that the priest Bibikov – 43 years old, the family consists of 3 people, has 1 horse and 1 cow.

‘In 1918, 1919 and 1920, I was nowhere in any organization of the Volunteer Party and other such organizations since I was from the family of the poor sexton and serf peasant woman, from whom I remained an orphan for 11 years, I was in the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries 1904 and 1905, for which he was arrested in the village Gorodok of Ostrozhsy Uyezd of Pskov Gubernia.

When there was a congress of clergy in the city of Odessa, I expressed the following that I can not and protest against this appeal to the clergy and laity, this meeting was attended by Colonel Rozanov, at which time my stated words against such protests were announced to me by the rector of the seminary, that as as if I did not say anything about the proposal and continued to work out the text of the appeal, I stated that I will not sign the text because I do not have the authority to do so, the clergy decided not to interfere at the first congress in politics. My words can be repeated by the inspector of the seminary Konstantin Spassky, missionary Mikhail Kalnev’.

It is noteworthy that the protocol itself was compiled by the People's Investigator of the district completely illiterate, but the phrase 'Soviet power' is always written with a capital letter, and throughout the whole case it was not reduced to 'conscience' as we see it in other matters.

On September 6, the informer himself was questioned, we are informed about him that he himself at the age of 53, the family consists of 12 souls, was not under trial and investigation, the land has 2 desiatins, as well as horses and 2 cows.

«I know well the priest Bibikov as a counter-revolutionary, always communicating and agitating against Soviet power. I know him even when the provisional government when another priest Alexander Burilovich was enrolled in our party, **he Bibikov collected another party of kulaks and called them Parafians of the Assumption Church** and then in the past he was agitated, but not seen in the team ".

The indictment of the People's Investigator of the district of September 9, 1920 says: "... Bibikov is accused of having been in rebel detachments in 1919 and blessed the dark host to go on the offensive against the Soviet troops and himself was at the rebel headquarters where he contributed to those in assistance and conducted agitation against Soviet power and even said what the Kumunists are and where they keep Apareth in the hands of the movement. "

The judicial session of the Departure session of the Odessa Gubrevitribinal in Odessa district on the case of the priest Stefan Bibikov, accused of counter-revolution, took place on September 10, 1920. An interesting protocol is the meeting, which describes in great detail the very process of what is happening ...

«At 12.20 the Chairman opened the session.

The session was attended by witnesses Dmitri Ivanovich Lunzov from the village B. Buyalyk, Zinoviya Timofeeva Reznichenko and Feodor Grigorevich Karman from with. Severinovki, Shiman Benezianovich Kleiner, Aron Itskovich Gershkovich, and Leiba Itskovich Gershkovich from the village of B. Buyalyk. Witnesses were warned of strict liability for false testimony and removed to a special room. Accused Bibikov challenge to the judges did not say, did not plead guilty and showed the following:

«On the night of June 21 st. in B. Buyalik was fired and a member of the mobilization commission who lived in his apartment Tchaikovsky said that there are inexperienced soldiers who shoot for their own comfort, but outside the window there was a cry: where are our hostages. It turned out that people from Severinovka came to rescue their hostages, taken for soldiers in Buyalyk. There were no hostages. Comrade ran into the courtyard. Geller and two other comrades who asked to save them. He let them into the house and locked it. Then two insurgents began to knock at his house, threatened to break the door, one of the rebels sent a barrel of it and ordered

to stand aside. They asked if he had Communists? He replied that there were mobilized soldiers, took Tchaikovsky and led him away. Soon the insurgents again came to him and demanded the Communists, saying that he hid another two, looking for them through the rooms, looking for weapons. Geller at that time hid in bed. He told Geller that as a man and a priest he had to save him, changed it into a priestly caftan and led him to the glacier cellar. All the comrades hidden by him remained alive. It was Sunday, he went to serve in the church, what was done on the square he does not know. After the Mass, he fed Geller and went to the second priest, where he was until evening. Two of them were sent to him and declared that the gathering had gathered and their priests were being asked to serve a moleben. He invited everyone to the church, but considering the moment and mood, he went to the parish where the icon was prepared. Since he could not serve a thanksgiving service, he therefore told the people that everyone was happy about the revolution, and now the blood is pouring down, quite blood and inviting to pray for the installation of love and the eradication of hatred. On the second day he was invited to the Headquarters, where he learned that there were 27 prisoners. He asked permission, as a priest, to visit the prisoners, for which he received permission. He went to the prisoners, calmed them down, said that he would not take revenge and asked if they did not need anything. He told the prisoners that the rebels were already shouting that they did not need blood. He then returned to the insurgent council and asked for permission to take one prisoner on bail. On the third day he again visited the prisoners with the permission of the headquarters and told them that he would have taken all on bail, but that under guard they were safer. He took Dr. Skvortsov on bail. Then he learned that in the shed near the volost the wounded were lying, it was hot and the conditions for them were very unfavorable, which he told the council and the wounded were sent to Severinovka and he went with them to Severinovka, along the way gave them drinks and rendered mercy. He spent the night in Severinovka and returned to Buyalyk. On the 4th day a detachment under the command of Gorev came to Buyalyk and arrested the teacher Tsvetkov. Bibikov was asked what he could say about him. Bibikov replied that Tsvetkov was not evil, he should not be punished, and the detachment chief said that only out of respect for him, Bibikov, left Tsvetkov under house arrest. On the 4th day it was clear that there was no order among the insurgents, some officer Markov came and began to dispose of him as a boss, but then he fled shamefully. When Soviet troops appeared, he and the priest left for Kuyalnik on foot, since when weapons are in operation, they do not figure out who is right or who is wrong. We went to Adamovo, where they were from 25 to 29 July according to St. Petersburg, and then came to Severinovka, as rumors began that his apartment was looted. Then he was in Severinovka, where Reznichenko saw him sewing linen. He did not take part in any counterrevolutionary

organizations, he treated negatively the pre-armament, as the whole parish knows. When Grigoriev drove the Greeks, Buyalyk was bombarded. This was on Sunday and he asked in sermon what contradictions there could be between brothers, that no one asked us to protect us from the north from the south, and offered to pray for the disappearance of misunderstandings. After that, a rally was convened, at which officer Popinsky spoke, speaking of the advantages of the goodwill, but he was not followed. For the second time Bibikov openly opposed the goodwill in Odessa at the Congress in 1919²⁰², at which Colonel Ryazanov spoke, who asked for fidelity and support of the goodwill. The clergy made a proposal to draft an appeal to the people about the support of the goodwill. Bibikov, despite the presence of the bishop, said that he strongly opposes it. Rector Spirit. Seminary Brechkevich proposed that the congress consider his words as if not the former. He asked for a speech on a personal issue and said that he was squeezed his mouth and if he recognized Dobroarmia, then with great korektivny and that the clergy at the first congress decided not to interfere in politics. After that, Brechkevich apologized to him and said that he only wished that there were no attacks on Bibikov.

All the same, the appeal to the people was not sent.

He was not a monarchist, even under the monarchy, when he was a student at the University of Yuryev, was a member of society (*the name illegible - author*) and left the party when she decided to terrorize some people, since he was opposed to shedding someone's blood. He narodovolets, sees the salvation of Russia is not in the past power, but in Bolshevism through evolution. Bolshevism is a stream that meets obstacles on its way, but when external and internal obstacles are removed, it will be seen which items Bolshevism will accept life, and which are not. He never expressed himself against the commune. The idea of the commune is holy and great, and if it is accidentally stuck, then its sanctity does not decrease (*orthography and stylistics are preserved - author*).

Witness Lunzov showed that Bibikov in 1919 collected mugs of kulaks, agitated against the Soviet authorities, before he was in the Peasant Party, and "was in the party of kulaks, which he called the parasitic parishion of the Assumption Church." When the Soviet troops suppressed the insurrection, Bibikov escaped, hid the bandits, spoke against the Soviet authorities. Lunzov heard himself as Bibikov said that those who kill will be punished when volunteers come. Did Bibikov have relations with the headquarters of the insurgents, did he say that Lunzov does not know enough blood. Lunzov attended the prayer service and heard that Bibikov spoke against Soviet power.

²⁰² Ibid. L.d.25 (turnover)

Reznichenko showed that after the rebellion Bibikov had a priest in Severinovka before the feast of the Assumption. Before this holiday people came from Koshev and invited Bibikov to Koshevo.

Karman showed that Bibikov from July 21 to 25, according to Art. Art. twice came to Severinovka, the first time with the wounded Red Army men, spent the night and went back the next day. Another time with the second priest came to Severinovka on July 26 under art. Art. Bibikov's wife also came to Severinovka and said that all the people from Bujalyk had fled. Bibikov said that they had crushed his apartment, so he absolutely would not like to go home, but on August 14, according to art. Art. the church elder came and invited him to Buyalyk for the temple holiday, and they said that he would make all the destroyed. The pocket in the sermons of Bibikov did not hear anything wrong. Once Bibikova's wife asked Karman to accompany her to Koshevo and on the way they met the arrested Red Army soldiers, two of them bowed to Bibikov's wife, who told Karman that these Red Army men lived in her apartment.

Kleiner Shiman showed that he lives from Bibikov at a distance of 1 verst. During the uprising, his father was killed for hiding three Red Army soldiers, the rebels wanted to kill and Kreiner, but Bibikov ordered that he be released. Geller told Kleiner that Bibikov had saved him by hiding him first in bed and then in a glacier. Bibikov came to the arrested, among whom was Kleiner, and said that he insisted that no one was shot. Bibikov stood near the wall of the neighboring house with the parish and insisted that no one was killed. Bibikov lives in the third house from the parish. Bibikov personally in the presence of Kleiner told the people that he would not be killed. What Bibikov said at the moleben, Kleiner does not know, but he heard that the peasants insisted that he serve a moleben. When Bibikov left Bulylyk, Kleiner does not know. When Sharov came and whether Bibikov was at the meeting, he does not know. Whether Bibikov was at the Rebel Headquarters, he does not know. When Bibikov left, who was looking at his apartment, why he had left, who had plundered Bibikov, Kleiner does not know.

Hershkovich Aron showed that if it were not for Bibikov, the rebels would have killed all the Jews. Hershkovich was beaten, but who does not remember. His wife escaped and was not spoiled by his neighbors Pepov. What Bibikov did during the uprising, he does not know. When Gershkovich was detained, Bibikov, standing on the square among the insurgents and did not allow to kill saying that he did not have to kill civilians, Bibikov hid 3 Red Army men. At the prayer service and the meeting Hershkovich was not and what Bibikov said did not know.

Gershkovich Leib showed that he was a tailor, he did not take part in the uprising, but stayed at home. Bibikov advised the Jew not to go out, since they could kill him. Moleben was about 4 hours in the parish, when all calmed down the gang wanted to kill, but Bibikov said not

to kill. The volunteers wanted to take his son as a communist, but went to see Bibikov in the square. When the Red troops began to attack, Bibikov left with the rebels. Who robbed Bibikov does not know.

Witness statements and documents were read out.

Bibikov showed that he met Mr. Sinyakov in 1920 when he was on duty in the case of the requisition of my home for school. The local singer ordered him to clean the house, and the Council ordered the opposite. Wanting to find out who to listen to, he turned to Comrade Sinyakov, who said that he should listen to the executive committee and he cleaned the apartment. I've never seen Sinyakova before. Sinyakov asked him where he was when Sinyakov and Red detachment advanced to Buyalyk, and Sinyakov said that if he had not left, Sinyakov would have hung him up and that Bibikov was ashamed to lead people to murder. Sinyakov told him to go home and try to make amends for the past.

Luizov showed that he himself had heard how Bibikov, prior to the uprising and during the uprising, had said that the Soviet regime was bandits.

Accused Bibikov explained that at night from 3 to 5 o'clock he was busy rescuing Geller, having served the Mass, fed Geller and went across the square to the 2nd priest. Maybe at this time and caught kamunistov. He passed through the square after the order was not shot.

After appropriate interrogations, the investigator declared the investigation complete and gave the last word to the accused.

In the last word, Bibikov said that he was depressed by the accusation, which struck him like a lump. The preliminary investigation did not give such a charge. He is a priest and the type of blood is disgusting to him, never in his life has anyone done evil and is not offended. He is a proletarian, his mother is a serf and peasant, relatives of poor farmers, he was an orphan for 11 years and received education at his own expense. He never pushed anyone to crime and did not commit a crime. Asks to pay attention to hundreds of people's signatures, petitions of party workers, asks not to believe the testimony of the informer, asks to draw attention to the fact that not a single life thanks to him was saved and made a fair verdict, which he will accept as the voice of the people.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the verdict and the procedure for appealing were announced.

The chairman closed the meeting."

According to the verdict of September 10, 1920 "in the name of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the exit session of the Odessa Gubrevtribunal on the Odessa uyezd in the village. Severnovke in the court session in the composition of the Chairman Shenderovsky, members of Matveyev and Gengart, having examined the case of the citizen. from. Bol. Buyalik Stepan

Vasilievich Bibikov, 43, on charges of counter-revolution and bearing in mind that the facts of the case are established that he undoubtedly had a close connection with the rebel movement in July 1919, as indicated by his presence on the square among the rebels at the time of catching the remnants of the defeated squad Red Army soldiers, his departure together with the rebels as the Soviet detachments approached, and also the fact that volunteers applied to him for advice, which of the Jews was a Communist, that he was generally unhappy and definitely expressed his opinion Soviet power in preaching, but on the other hand, taking into account that he saved several lives at the time of the massacre of the rebel crowd, the Revolutionary Tribunal, guided by the proletarian revolutionary conscience and socialist sense of justice, sentenced: Citizen. of Bol. Buyalyk Stepan Vasilievich Bibikov to three years of the concentration camp".²⁰³

3.2.2 Priest Iosif Karpenko

From an investigative file stored in the State Archives of the Odessa region²⁰⁴ it becomes known that the priest of the church of the holy martyr Stephen, the former Military Council of Odessa, on May 25, 1920, was arrested and later imprisoned by the decision of the Extraordinary Investigation Commission. On July 12 of the same year he was convicted and sentenced to 1 year of forced labor in the camp. In the case there is a petition from parishioners of the church (116 signatures) asking for the release of the priest. In this petition, the priest Karpenko is described as a man who "never engaged in politics and taught in the church only a kind, honest life and love for his neighbor according to the teaching of the gospel. He is a sick man, can not carry out manual labor and has an advanced age of 50 years. Since during the search he did not find anything that reveals in the counter-revolution, we once again earnestly ask for his complete release."

The head of the Army of the Armored Parts (the signature is illegible) solicits for the priest, who certifies that "knowing personally for many years of the Priest Comrade. Karpenko, his origin and life, I can not admit that he was an opponent of Soviet power and always fulfilled only his pastoral duties to all was apolitical and did not display counterrevolutionary acts in anything. "The future fate of the priest is unknown to us.

²⁰³ Ibid. l.d. 29

²⁰⁴ SAOR, Fond R-73, op. 1, d. 25

3.2.3 Priest Pavel Kapitonov

Born in 1891 in the town of Rovny Elisavetgrad Uyezd, Kherson province, Russian, graduated from theological seminary, priest; before his arrest he lived in the village of Zlatoustovo - Pole Novopokrovskoy volost of Odessa county.²⁰⁵

Arrested on November 18, 1920 Sukhomlinov military commissar on charges of counter-revolution. In a statement Glovatsky said that Kapitonov asked her how the health of the Soviet government and soon it will overturn. During the interrogation, he announced that since there were no newspapers in the village, and Glovatskaya often went to the city, he asked her about the situation at the front. By order of the investigator Kovalchuk on November 24, 1920, the case was transferred to the revolutionary tribunal. The decision of the tribunal is absent. (There is a resolution on the transfer of the 1349rubles seized during a search in accordance with the verdict to the state's revenue.)

In the case there is a document "Interrogation to the protege before the ordination to the priest from 26.01.1917", from which it becomes known that on January 26, 1917, the petitioner - the first psalmist of the Intercession Church of the municipality of Adzhalaki, Alexandria County, Pavel Ivanovich Kapitonovo is limited, according to his petition to the priestly place to the Ioanno - Zlatoust church of the village of Zlatoustovo Field of the Kherson eparchy, Odessa county.

At that time he was 25 years old, the son of a priest, studied at the Odessa Theological Seminary, which he graduated in 1915, certificate of education No. 1511, married to the first marriage to a girl, Catherine Karpova, Danilenko, the daughter of a hereditary citizen, Orthodox, confession of the Orthodox and the schismatics and sectarians in religious communication was not.

3.2.4 Priest Aleksey Velikiy

Velikiy Aleksey Andreevich, 48 years old, from peasants, lives in the village of Kohovka, Holy Trinity Volost, priest of the village of Kohovka, is married and has 3 children, education is inferior, since 1911 he served as a priest in the village of Blagodarevka in Elisavetgrad county, in July 1915 was transferred to village Kohovka, tried in 1917 at the beginning of the revolution for praying for the tsar, in 1918 he was arrested by fellow villagers.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 120

²⁰⁶ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 464

He was arrested on December 28, 1921 in the village of Svyato-Troitskoe.

Here is an excerpt from the record of the interrogation held on December 24, 1921 in the local department of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, speculation and crimes in office.

Q: Have you ever been tried for anything?

A: When I was arrested at the beginning of the revolution, because I proved that I was praying because of my old habit of speaking out of inertia, I was released from custody. They tried me in the Holy Trinity Volost.

Q: Tell me, please, have you been tried either during the Revolution of the Soviet Government?

A: Approximately in March 1918, was arrested by soldiers and drove me to Maerskoe, where the headquarters of the 2 South Sov. Army, whose commander was Bokhantsev.

Q: What accusations have you made?

A: I was tried by a man 5 brought a case brought against me, accusation that I had a machine gun at the church where I was a priest during the Petliurists' stay in this village. Actually, this accusation was not brought against me at court, but from the people, I do not remember from whom I found out that they accuse me that the church bell tower of the village where I was a priest was at that time in the village Petliurists a machine-gun was fired at the Bolsheviks.

Q: Did you also find out that you were arrested for that reason, that the headquarters of the Petliurists was at your house?

A: No, I did not know about this and I did not have such a staff in my apartment.

Q: Tell me please, did you get interrogated in the Anan'evsk Politburo? Have you applied for this issue?

A: Yes, they interrogated me. Did not address me with such a question.

Q: Are you a supporter of what Russia?

A: Indivisible.

Q: What power is at the head?

A: Anything, if only it was good for people to live.

Q: Tell me, do you agree or disagree with the policy of the Soviet government on the self-determination of nationalities?

A: I'm not for an independent Russia. I find that peoples, like the Tatars and other peoples, can be arranged according to their own peculiarities, but against this, that they are separated from Russia.

Q.: Did you know by accident who of the villagers spoke to you in 1917?

A.: I do not know and could not find out.

Q: Who told you this?

A: In the rural municipality (St. Trinity) they told me this.

Q: How are the names of these people?

A: I do not know their names.

Q: Who gave you this?

A.: I do not know who it was, the chairman or the secretary of the volost.

According to the extract № 6 from the protocol of the Provincial Revolutionary Tribunal of June 27, 1922, a resolution was passed to stop the case for lack of corpus delicti. Justice took more than six months to make such a decision in the relationship of the priest Aleksey Velikiy.

3.2.5 Priest Antony Grinevich

Priest Anthony Yustinovich Grinevich²⁰⁷ born in v. Belousovka Gaisinsky county Podolsky province in January 1875 in the family of a priest, graduated from the Podolsk Theological Seminary²⁰⁸, speaks Greek and Latin.

From the record of the interrogation, certain facts become known (some data differ from the information of the arrested person): from 1905 to 1914 he served as a priest in the village of Tymkovo, in 1907 he was in the State Duma,²⁰⁹ from 1914 to 1918 he was at the front, from 1919 to 1920 he lived in Kiev (it is said that "in Kiev under the hetman was the Minister of Justice and the head of the military clergy administration, which is not confirmed by other sources), from March 1, 1920 to the moment of arrest²¹⁰ was a priest with. Pokrovka of the Trinity Volost of the Baltic district of the Odessa province²¹¹.

On the question whether Father Anthony was in Petliura's army during the interrogation, Archpriest Anthony showed that "he was an extras of the Ministry of the cult of confession from

²⁰⁷ After the transition to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, he was ordained a bishop on August 29, 1923. In 1924 he signed the Memorandum of Plenum of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council on the Unification of Churches. In 1927, Antony was the only bishop present who, at the call of Vladimir Chekhovsky, supported Metropolitan Basil Lipkovsky, who was removed from the "burden of metropolitan service." From 1928 to 1930 he was Archbishop of Balta and Pershotravensk (Pervomaysky).

²⁰⁸ Podolsk (Kamenets-Podilsky) Theological Seminary is the secondary spiritual educational institution of the Podolskaya diocese of the Orthodox Russian Church. It was opened in 1797 in Shargorod, in 1805 it was transferred to Kamenets-Podolsky. In 1920, with the advent of Soviet power, the seminary was liquidated.

²⁰⁹ SAOR, Fond P-1774, op. 1, d. 382, l.d. 6. Indeed, the priest Antony Grinevich in 1907 became a member of the State Duma of the II convocation from the Podolsk province. See: M. Boiovich. Members of the State Duma (portraits and biographies). The second convocation. M, 1907. P. 246

²¹⁰ The arrest of the priest Antony Grinevich was carried out on December 28, 1921, according to the denunciation of S.Krasnov.

²¹¹ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 382

July 1919 to February 1919, and when the ministry was evacuated to Galicia, then, unwilling to evacuate, he moved to Ananyev, where he was»²¹².

Here is an excerpt from the interrogation of the arrested:

Q: When did you return to Ananiev after the Bolsheviks left Ukraine in the fall of 1919, did the Cossacks live in Ananyev?

A: I remember that some parties came, but I do not remember who came. I have hidden many Jewish families from some parties coming to Ananyev. "

The statement on the harboring of Jews is also confirmed by a document with 20 signatures of representatives of Jewish families. In particular, it says: "We, the undersigned representatives of Jewish nationality, testify that during their stay in Ananyev, Petliura and Cossack gangs found shelter in the house of priest Anthony Grinevich, which saved their lives."

When asked about agitation in the church "not to go to school, because they do not teach God to pray," the priest answers: "No, I did not call for it, since I myself send my children to a vocational school in Ananiev, where my two girls study , Elena and Maria, at the economic department."²¹³ The investigator continues to blame the detainee and asks the question: Did you speak at the church on Sunday, October 30, addressing women, that women should agitate among the peasants not to send children to school, because they do not teach children to pray to God; do not go to the theater; that this is not power, another power will come; to bring a shepherd, otherwise you will soon die without victims?

Father Anthony's answer is precise and logical: It's all a lie, I never said that. My son himself is the director and director of the theater and visiting artists always find shelter in my house. I never said such speeches, since I am a supporter of the old church, not of the old one, but of the Ukrainian, giving more space to the world-view of listeners and professors.

In the case there is a request from villagers from Pokrovka village (24 signatures), Novo Ivanovka village (23 signatures) and Komarovka village (14 signatures) to release Antony Grinevich and Fedor Pritulyak. The villagers said that the arrested "were never seen in propaganda, speeches and agitation against the Soviet authorities" that they know them "as honest people who never interfere in political affairs".

According to the decree of January 9, 1922, the investigative case on the charge of citizen Grinevich Anthony Iustinovich in the counter-revolution, which was expressed in "malicious

²¹² The original text of the protocol "I was not in the army, but was an supernumerary ..." was crossed out by the interrogator and replaced with the answer "I was in the army and was an extras".

²¹³ It is about the younger daughters of the priest - Elena, 17 years old and Marie - 15 years old. In addition, it is known about the two sons of Antony Grinevich - Petra, 23 years old, living in Vladivostok and Vasily, 18 years old, living in Ananiev.

propaganda in the church not to send children to school, since the children there are taught to shoot innocent people, agitate against the authorities, finding the Soviets not by power, arrival of some other authority "was transmitted along with the arrested to the exit session of the Revolutionary Tribunal for a public trial of the case because of its wide public resonance.

The Revolutionary Tribunal, by its decision of June 27, 1922, decided to terminate the case for lack of *corpus delicti*.

In January 1931, already Archbishop Anthony was arrested, he was under arrest in Odessa for nine months.

After leaving the prison, he settled in the village of Holy Trinity. The Holodomor survived in 1933. He died in poverty in February 1937 in Troitskoye, Lyubashevsky district.²¹⁴

3.2.6 Kalabin Petr Yakovlevich

The psalmist Petr Yakovlevich Kalabin was born in 1872, literate. Lived in with. Lozovatka Maloviskovskoy volost Elisavetgrad uyezd. The case was opened in April 1922 on charges of counter-revolutionary actions in connection with the campaign to take the church values into account.²¹⁵ Prikhozhanin V.D. Vovk, at the request of the peasants and at the dictation of the priest Kalabin, wrote the minutes of the meeting with a refusal to surrender the church values. This protocol was submitted to the volost executive committee, from there it was transferred to the Elisavetgrad political department and revolutionary tribunal. September 19, 1922 with the citizens of Kalabin and Vovk was taken a written undertaking not to leave. According to the decree of the investigator Steinberg the case was referred to the revolutionary tribunal. On March 23, 1922, the visiting session of the Odessa Provincial Revolutionary Tribunal sentenced both accused to a year of deprivation of liberty with strict isolation (Vovk was sentenced conditionally), besides, Priest Kalabin was deprived of all rights for a period of 3 years after serving his sentence. Taking into account the amnesty and the 5th anniversary of the October Revolution, the court ordered both defendants to be released from serving their sentence. In the case there is a petition of fellow villagers for their release.

²¹⁴ Burko D. Archbishop Anthony Grinevich // Native Church. 1967. P. 69

²¹⁵ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 576

3.2.7 Priest Vassian Malinskiy

Hieromonk of Bizyukov Monastery Vassian Trofimovich Malinskiy²¹⁶, Ukrainian, born in December 1878, literate, graduated from the city school, not a family one, from 1914 to 1917 served as a priest in the war, was not held accountable. On September 16, 1920, he was sent by the Administrator of the Kherson eparchy, bishop of Elisavetgrad Alexis, for the priesthood ministry station Kolosovka.²¹⁷ This business trip was connected with the closure of the Bizyukov Monastery, after which the priest served for some time in the village of Girjevo in the Novo-Petrovskaya Volost of the Tiraspol Uyezd. The 44-year-old priest lived in Kolosovka not very well, he repeatedly wrote to his relatives.²¹⁸

On the night of June 9, 1922, Hieromonk Vassian returned to Kolosovka from the station of Berezovka, where on that day he prayed for the divine service, headed by the arrived Bishop Parfenia Ananyevsky. A crowd of Red Army men and railwaymen gathered at the station around the priest. According to the interrogation protocol, he was accused of "being on art. Berezovka on the night of 8 to 9 July and waiting for the train you gathered around him a group consisting of railwaymen, among whom were - the station duty officer gr. Shevchenko and the old master Davgodovsky, as well as several Red Army men and frequent citizens, started agitating against the Soviets by literally saying the following: "The whole of Russia was transferred to the whole of Russia and it should have been another government, but all this is hampered by the Jews and that in general, thanks to them, there is a Bolshevik government . Some of the Red Army soldiers standing around you fully agreed with this and will be convinced by your eloquence and believing you as a spiritual person. "

During the interrogation, the priest pleaded guilty and showed that "... I began to speak on the topic of God and the clergy and gradually switched to the theme of the structure of the Soviet government and agitation against it, and all the while until my arrest I continue to talk about this, and on the objection of those present is answered with an objection trying to convince them of the truthfulness of my words. "

²¹⁶ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 385

²¹⁷ This fact is confirmed by the document in Ticket No. 5783 of September 16, 1920 signed by the secretary and the head of the Kherson spiritual consistory and necessary for the presentation to the local dean and abbot of the church.

²¹⁸ One of the letters of Father Vassian: Dear brothers my Pavel with the family and Sergey and his wife. I'm writing you a letter for two, please let me read to each other, now it is impossible to send many letters, because it is very expensive, too expensive. My health so far, thank God good, I live in the old place on the station. Kolosovka, I do not know how we will be very tired here, the main thing for the health of the very poor vegetation is not what there is a bare steppe and nothing more that does not bring any joy, the parish is also poor, but somehow interrupted. Expensive for all the terrible things do not buy up, I wonder at myself how I still live in the world, I would like to come to see you, but it's not possible for me to have big millions before I start.

On further interrogation, the priest categorically refuses his words and declares: "The agitation did not conduct against the Soviets, but led a conversation about life, there were railroads. servicemen and Red Army men, but were not going to groups. " Concerning the question of God and the clergy, the priest declares that he has dealt exclusively with the theme of disbelief in God, why in life there are various misfortunes and failures. Again denies his guilt and makes a statement that he signed the protocol with the charges being in frustration and in that condition could sign "everything that would not have been given to me."

In the case there is also a statement from the railway employees addressed to the chief of the Politburo of Berezovka, dated June 11, 1922, in which 15 employees claim to know the arrested priest of Malinsky Basil for two years and testify that "during this time he was not seen we are not in any agitation against the Sov. and in his sermons did not touch upon the issue of state building; considering the arrest of his misunderstanding, which resulted from his mental imbalance after the death of his close relatives, we ask the employees to release him on bail and we undertake to deliver him at your first request ".²¹⁹

Strange is the fact that in this letter of June 11, employees are already asking to release the priest, while in the questionnaire of the arrested person another date of arrest appears, namely on June 23, 1922 and again on the station. Berezovka. Perhaps this is a mistake. Perhaps, despite the priest's detention on the night of June 9, the documents relating to the arrest were issued and are only given on June 23. Not surprising, given the fact that the investigative case itself was instituted only on July 6, as described on the cover.

Employees and workers of Art. Kolosovka (36 signatures) fully vouch for the clergyman and request to release him in his letter of July 3, 1922. The local committee of the Kolosovka station in its recall No. 372 of July 4, 1922 also positively comments on the priest.

According to the conclusion of the case of July 7, 1922, the citizen of Malinsky Vassian Trofimovich, 44 years old, the priest of the Kolosovka church, where he lived before his arrest, accused him of counterrevolution, expressed in agitation against Soviet power, Citizen Malinsky gathered around him a crowd of railway employees and the Red Army at the station. Berezovka, led such agitation that at present there is Soviet power only because the Jews are in power, but if there were no "Jews" in power, then the power would have been different for a long time, but thanks to the Jews the Soviet power in this time is held, and as during the interrogation of citizen Malinsky, he conducted agitation in the above form, he showed that he was leading and pleaded guilty, moreover, he also pointed out that prior to his arrest he had been campaigning all the time against Soviet power, during the second interrogation Malinsky denied first testimony and not

²¹⁹ SAOR, Fond R-1774, op. 1, d. 385., l.d. 12

pleaded guilty. In view of the fact that Mr. Malinsky, as a clergyman and moreover conscious, still can not reconcile himself with owls. power and using authority among a crowd of dark masses conducted their anti-Soviet agitation, where the majority of servicemen and Red Army soldiers agreed with what he had said to them, and therefore Malinsky was considered a harmful element of the Soviet power, which restores the workers and peasants against the Soviet state. And taking into account that Mr. Malinsky carried out the above agitation in his first interrogation report, and therefore decided to send the indicated case to Citizen Malinsky to the Revolution Tribunal in order to bring him to lawful responsibility.

The further decision of the revolutionary tribunal is unknown to us. The only known fact is that on July 16, 1922 Malinsky's case was sent to Revtribninal, but after finding the person responsible, the messenger returned with a package of the case and safely put it in the closet without notifying the clerk. Three days later, on July 19, the package was seen and again sent to the revolutionary tribunal.

3.2.8 Priest Sergey Shevazutskiy

Priest Sergey Nikolaevich Shevazutskiy, was born in 1893 in the family of a psalmist in the village of Nerubalskie Khutor of the Odessa region. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary. He was ordained a priest in 1914, from that time he lived in the village. Novo-Georgiyevka Ananyevsky district. Wife - Shevazutskaya Natalia, son of Vladimir, born in 1917. and daughter Olga – 1920.²²⁰

The decision on the adoption of the case for production by the Tiraspol branch of the GPU, as well as the decree on the measure of restraint, is dated December 17, 1929.²²¹ The arrest is justified by the accusation "in the conduct of systematic anti-Soviet agitation against ongoing activities in the countryside, such as collectivization, against the conclusion of contracts with a tractor base, etc."

In the name of the chief of the Ananyevsky district militia from Tiraspol, an instruction was issued: "... Sergey Shevazutskiy, irrespective of the result of the search, is subject to arrest. The latter immediately send us a special escort. Simultaneously, question the citizens who can confirm about the anti-Soviet activities of Sergei Shevazutskiy. Interrogations should be detailed, with what specifically to record cases of anti-Soviet agitation ... "²²². During the search metric books and the book "Socialism and its impracticability in life" were found.

²²⁰ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18879-P (priest Sergei Shevazutskiy) l.d.7

²²¹ Ibid. L.d.1

²²² Ibid. L.d. 4

Here is a fragment of the witness interrogation protocol.

From the testimony of the witness, the chairman of the village council: "Pop ... systematically agitates against all the activities of the Soviet government, using for this purpose a prosperous part of the village and religious women, in addition, there is a circle of women in the church who walk around the village without any permission, collect donations for the priest... During the start of the grain procurement campaign, Shevazutskiy rebuked the peasants not to hand over grain surplus motivating that they would take the bread off later and because of his agitation the prosperous part of the village did not give up their surpluses

... Pop Shevazutskiy weekly reads sermons urging the peasants to attend the church by serving anti-religious propaganda, expressing themselves that "those who do not attend church will be punished by God, and therefore do not give up religion".²²³

The accused himself denied all charges against him.

Despite the complete disagreement of the priest Shevazutskiy with accusations against him, the indictment in the case says: "... Tikhonov's priest led active counter-revolutionary agitation against the campaigns carried out by the Soviet authorities in the countryside. Due to these data Shevazutskiy was arrested and brought to the investigation.

During the investigation it was established that Shevazutskiy organized a "sisterhood" in the village of Novo-Georgiyevka, subordinated the members of the sisterhood to his influence and used them for active agitation against the measures of power. In her counterrevolutionary activity, Shevazutskiy, in addition to "sisterhood", relied on the kulaks with whom he was in close contact.

When in 1929 a children's playground was organized, Shevazutskiy began to persuade women to come out against the playground and demand that it be abolished, because it is located near the church "zagazhivaya" "holy place". Children on the site offered not to start up, as they can become communists.

In 1929, at a public gathering, the question was raised about the use of the insurance sum for the building of a school in a village for a burnt church. Pop Shevazutskiy, with the assistance of the kulaks, began to agitate against the school. The women he processed performed at a general gathering shouting "We do not need school".

The case was referred to the Trial of the Court for a 10-year request to imprison Shevazutskiy in a concentration camp.

The session of the Judicial Troika at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 15, 1930 made a decision to imprison the accused in a concentration camp for a period

²²³ Ibid. L.d. 9

of 10 years, counting the term from December 17, 1929.²²⁴ The further fate of the priest Sergei Shevazutskiy is unknown to us.

Rehabilitated on August 9, 1989.

3.2.9 Priest Grigoriy Genkin

Priest Genkin Grigoriy Pavlovich, was born in 1877, in the city of Elisavetgrad²²⁵. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary, a psalmist since 1898, ordained priest in 1901²²⁶.

The decision to enlist as an accused with the phrase "engaged in anti-Soviet agitation, spreading counter-revolutionary literature" dates from February 4, 1930²²⁷. The same date is also on the decision to select a preventive measure²²⁸.

According to the protocol of interrogation of the witness, "Genkin was the leader of the entire church life under the Meshchansky church. The Church Council, composed exclusively of women, was no more than a toy in his hands. Without speaking openly with anti-Soviet agitation, he usually acted through his church asset, letting him know that the government is driving the church and does not allow believers to freely pray"²²⁹. The accused himself denied all accusations during his interrogation.

The indictment of 13 February 1930 says: "Gr. Genkin G.P. influential among the parishioners of the Meshchansky church, organized church clergy and church council exclusively from female fanatics. With the help of these women, he conducted his counter-revolutionary activities, distributed extracts from the foreign press relating to church life in the USSR, drawn up in the spirit of explicit anti-Semitism. He preached monarchical character, etc. With the help of those around him, he often hindered the implementation of various activities of the Sovlast. To gain trust from the parishioners, he took money for them, sometimes even in foreign currency ... Genkin led agitation among his parishioners in the spirit of the fact that the government is going to strangle religion first under the guise of removing the bells, and then completely liquidating the parish communities"²³⁰.

The case was referred to the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

²²⁴ Ibid. L.d. 31

²²⁵ Archive of SSU archive in the Odessa region. Case 13008-P (priest G.P. Genkin). L.d. 8

²²⁶ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odesa, 1906. P. 493

²²⁷ Archive of SSU archive in the Odessa region. Case 13008-P (priest G.P. Genkin). L.d. 5

²²⁸ Ibid. L.d. 6

²²⁹ Ibid. L.d. 8

²³⁰ Ibid. L.d. 13

A special meeting of the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR dated March 10, 1930, issued its protocol No. 64/394 on the expulsion of Genkin Grigori Pavlovich for a period of 3 years, counting the term from January 30, 1930²³¹.

3.2.10 Priest Aleksey Sidorov

Priest Aleksey Ivanovich Sidorov was born in 1900 in the town of Olviopol (Pervomaisk), Elisavetgrad county in the family of a shoemaker. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary. Russian, citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR. At the time of his arrest, he lived at the address: Lipetskoe-1, Birzul district of the USSR.

Family: wife - Sidorova Olga Antonovna; daughter - Sidorova Veveya, 7 years old; mother - Sidorova Feodora Grigorievna, 57 years old; mother-in-law - Skomorovskaya Julia Antonovna, 65 years old; brother - Sidorov Porfiry Ivanovich, teacher in the village of Sityaki, Makarovsky district, Kiev district; sister - Kirichenko Anna Ivanovna, prozh. in Zinovievsk.²³²

According to the decree on the commencement of the investigation, the selection of the measure of restraint and the presentation of the charge of January 23, 1931, Aleksey Ivanovich Sidorov is accused of "conducting counterrevolutionary agitation aimed at undermining the power of the Soviet power, and also finding a ferryman for the illegal crossing of the state border into Romania".²³³ By the same resolution, the detention in Tiraspol prison was determined by Silorov.

During the search and arrest on January 15, 1931 at the place of permanent residence in the village Lipetskoj nothing compromising was found²³⁴.

During the completion of the questionnaire, the accused Sidorov showed that he "really lived in the territory occupied by the army of Denikin. I lived then with my father at the station. Zherebkovo (AMSSR). I did not serve in Denikin's army. During the period of Denikin's stay in Odessa in 1918-1919, I was still young and studied in the seminary and did not serve in this army. In Alekseevskaya church, I served as a deacon in 1925"²³⁵.

Sidorov said during the interrogation of one of the witnesses: 'After calling him (Sidorov) in the Moldovan department of the GPU in July, he applied to the name of Bishop Sidorov'²³⁶.

²³¹ Ibid. L.d. 15

²³² SAOR. R-8065, op. 2, d. 9332. L.d.4

²³³ Ibid. L.d. 1

²³⁴ Ibid. L.d. 3

²³⁵ Ibid. L.d. 6

²³⁶ Ibid. L.d. 7

Judging by the story of the accused himself, such a transition was not easy for him, but this situation was typical for many regional clergymen. Lack of information, and even juggling of facts, uncertainty forced to move from one church "jurisdiction" to another in search of the right path to salvation.

About his search, the priest Sidorov said this: "... on the question of my belonging to the past in the past. "Opposition" Metr. Sergius, I can say that when the dispute began in the church circles about the authority of Metropolitan Sergius, Sergius took the place of the leader of the church life - by this time I had a very vague idea of what was going on between the hierarchs of the church, and in order to avoid mistakes, counting myself among a group of believers-debaters, decided to be neutral, refraining from any remembrance of the bishops for service, with the exception of the head of the church administration of Met. Petra. This situation continued until a purely accidental meeting between me and the head of the Ananyev "opposition" priest Korolchuk. When I meet, I enter into a conversation with him, doubting the correct line both of mine and of his behavior (non-recognition, non-recognition, etc.). He responded to this by showing me the Appeal of the Archbishop. Seraphim, in which the designated bishop of all those who do not recognize Mitras. Sergius and his Archbishop. Anatolia approved and allowed forbidden in the service of the latter. This made a strong impression on me and I decided to join the "opposition", beginning to commemorate the opposition archbishop for the service. Demetrius, tk. I had the impression that Met. Sergius autocratically without the blessing of Met. Peter took the church authority into his own hands.

After that I had to meet with the dean of the village. Marcishevsky, who was very saddened by my departure from the church for "opposition", but could not have been true of the position of Mithras. Sergius, but only persuaded me to leave the "opposition." By the time I left the "opposition" prot. Marcishevsky managed to prove (in June-July 30) the letter from Archbishop Anatoly to Metr. Peter in which he blesses the activities of Met. Sergius and mourns for everyone separated from the latter - it was possible to prove to me the falsity of my position as an "oppositionist" and I filed a petition with the archbishop. Anatoly about accepting me into communication with him. I had to meet with Korolchuk after that, but my conversations with him were of a general nature. I noticed that Korolchuk is very hostile to me for my submission to Arch. Anatolia. In general, before leaving my opposition, Korolchuk treated me with extreme suspicion and distrust and to my question who forms it, answered that he has some fanatical archimandrite Varsonofy in Kharkov - a person who is completely unknown to me and prot. Vinogradov in Zinovievsk.

I can also add that when my negative attitude to the opposition was revealed, Korolchuk left for the Pasitsel Monastery in July and there, in front of a crowd of people, in which my parishioners also, certified me as perjured. My situation in the parish after this incident was greatly shaken. ²³⁷

According to the Indictment of March 10, 1931, it became known that "the Moldovan department of the GPU received information that the resident of the village of Lipetsk, Birzulsky district, the SSR, Aleksey Ivanovich Sidorov, the priest conducts counter-revolutionary agitation aimed at undermining the power of the USSR. To this end, he agitates against the activities of the Soviet Socialist Republic. The construction, spreading provocative rumors about the change of power, groups around itself dissatisfied with the activities of the party and the Soviet government in the village and fearing responsibility overeat authorities - was preparing for an illegal transfer to the room. side.

The consequence (testimony of witnesses) made in the given case is established:

Sidorov Alexey Ivanovich took the priest's order in 1923. Priest in the mountains. Ananyev and Lipetsk about 8 years.

In the period 1929-1930. until recently, Sidorov adjoined the church group of "ultra-Orthodox", which unified the noreaktsionnye circles of the clergy and was associated with the head of the so-called. "Ultra-Orthodox" in the Ananyevsky district - Holy. Korolchuk. The latter read the appeal of Seraphim and other materials of the group of "ultra-Orthodox" in essence directed against the Soviet power.

Consisting of a group of "ultra-Orthodox" - Sidorov led counterrevolutionary work under the guise of religion, agitating among the clergy and laity against the Soviets.

Accused Sidorov is involved in art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, he did not admit guilty to committing the crimes incriminated to him.

Concerning certain facts of counter-revolutionary agitation, as about the anti-christian power and the imminent fall of the USSR, the accused tries to dissuade himself from what he does not remember ... ²³⁸

The case on the charge of the priest Sidorov was referred to the Special Meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, with an application to apply to the accused measures of social protection - imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. ²³⁹

²³⁷ Ibid. L.d. 17-18

²³⁸ Ibid. L.d. 21-22

²³⁹ Ibid. L.d. 23

A special meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on March 4, 1931 (protocol No. 56/654) pronounced a verdict in the case of **priest Aleksey Sidorov - to be sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years, counting the term from January 16, 1931.**²⁴⁰

Conclusion on rehabilitation – from 17 July 1989.²⁴¹

3.2.11 Priest Vladimir Shavorskiy

Priest Vladimir Yakovlevich Shavorskiy, was born in 1873. Has a higher spiritual education.

In the decree on the election of a preventive measure of July 30, 1931, priest Shavorskiy is charged under art. 54-10 and art. 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and also that "he was a member of a counter-revolutionary organization."

The search and arrest of the priest Shavorskiy was carried out in accordance with order No. 12660 of July 30, 1931 at the address: Odessa, ul. Yuryevskaya, 12.²⁴²

In the interrogation of the accused on August 31, 1931, the latter pleads guilty, tells about the presence and members of the "counter-revolutionary church organization that arose in Odessa among the local Orthodox clergy in the last year of the civil war - 1921". According to the accused, "the immediate tasks of this organization were to discuss issues closely related to the Constitution on the attitude of the Council to religion and the church, the ministers of religion and the elaboration of measures to restore the situation in which faith and the church existed before the revolution The form of the organization was a meeting of clergy confined to a church holiday or a significant event in the life of one or another member of the organization. True, there were specially convened meetings caused by the need to compose a discussion and sign a declaration on the attitude of the whole clergy to the Soviet state, to the renewal groups, to the b. Metropolitan Evdokim, about his brightly revealed renewal views in the field of theological science, organization of church administration "²⁴³.

On August 31, 1931, the accused was released on a written promise not to leave the city of Odessa²⁴⁴, from October 30, 1931, the undertaking not to leave is considered to be canceled.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Ibid. L.d. 24

²⁴¹ Ibid. L.d. 30

²⁴² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 13 943-P. L.d. 1

²⁴³ Ibid. L.d. 6

²⁴⁴ Ibid. L.d. 4

²⁴⁵ Ibid. L.d. 8

By a decree of October 21, 1931, the case was dismissed for lack of data on the counter-revolutionary actions of the accused priest Vladimir Shavorskiy.²⁴⁶

3.2.12 Priest Grigoriy Lebedev

Priest Lebedev Grigoriy Alexandrovich, was born in 1893 in Ananyev. Servant of the Alekseevskaya Church, Odessa ²⁴⁷.

According to the resolution on the commencement of the investigation of October 3, 1932, accused of carrying out anti-Soviet activities ²⁴⁸. The warrant for search and arrest No. 13444 was issued on December 3, 1932 ²⁴⁹. The next day during the search at the address of Odessa, ul. Borisovskaya, 31 nothing compromising is not found. At the time of his arrest on December 4, 1932, the family consists of his wife - Filatova Olga Aristarkhovna, son - Constantine and daughter Neonila.

The decree (on changing the measure of restraint) of December 31, 1932, was released from prison under a written undertaking not to leave the place, since "being in freedom will not affect the further course of the investigation."²⁵⁰

By a resolution of 2 January 1932, the case was dismissed for the lack of evidence of the charge.²⁵¹

3.2.13 Nikolay Burimovich

Nikolay Alekseevich Burimovich was born in 1885 in the city of Kherson in the family of a priest. He graduated from a folk school and a religious school. The clergyman is a deacon. He was administratively sent to the Vologda region in 1930. Again was arrested on April 10, 1933 in with. Bokovo Lyubashevsky district of the Odessa region. Family: wife - Anastasia, 46 years old.²⁵²

According to the decree on the commencement of the investigation and the selection of the preventive measure of April 10, 1933, Burimovich is accused of "having been exiled to the North in 1930, whence he fled, he appeared in the village of Bokovo and started agitating against the

²⁴⁶ Ibid. L.d. 9

²⁴⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 2933-P. L.d. 4

²⁴⁸ Ibid L.d. 1

²⁴⁹ Ibid L.d. 2

²⁵⁰ Ibid L.d. 5

²⁵¹ Ibid L.d. 6

²⁵² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18 163 – P. L.d. 2

political companies that are being conducted to disrupt them." The measure of restraint was defined as detention under the Lyubashevsky district police department.²⁵³

Interviewed on April 24, 1933.²⁵⁴

According to the Final Decision of April 28, 1933, investigative actions of the Lyubashevsky district militia established that "Burimovich NA being a clergyman for a long time in the village of Bokovo, served as a clerk, and also had 28 dessiatines at his disposal, which the poor worked on bonded deals, and Burimovitch believed that he would spend all his life like this, and in order for the peasants not to decipher the fraudulent activities of Burimovich, he successfully began to carry out anti-Soviet agitation and being a dangerous element for the village, the latter in 1930, was administratively sent to the Northern Territory at the place of Vologda for permanent residence, where he stayed for about 3 years, then escaped l.

He said: "The state has taken away the bread, people are starving and will continue to starve, will also be taken away, it is better not to sow it".²⁵⁵

The case was referred to the Trial of the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

On June 6, 1933, a special meeting of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decision to **Burinovich Nikolay Alekseevich to be imprisoned in a concentration camp for a period of 3 years**, counting the term from March 10, 1933.

The conclusion on rehabilitation dated May 23, 1989.

3.2.14 Priest Dimitriy Pankeyev

Priest Dimitriy Aleksandrovich Pankeyev, was born in 1896 in the village of. Grechanovka (Ivano-Petrovskaya) of the Kherson province.²⁵⁶ At the time of his arrest, April 26, 1933, is a priest with. Birzula.

Marital status: wife - Maria Vasilyevna Pankeyeva (Polanska), 30 years old; son - Alexander, 9 years old; brother - Antony A. Pankeyev, bishop on the expulsion in Yeniseisk; brother - Pavel Pankeyev, priest of the village of Shiryaevo, brother - Platon Pankeyev, priest with. Gvozdavka, the Balt district; brother - Mikhail Pankeyev, economist in Odessa; sister - Maria Parabin, wife of the priest with Korotkoe; sister - Nadezhda Ruban, wife of a priest from the village of Syrovo, Vradievsky district.

²⁵³ Ibid L.d. 1

²⁵⁴ Ibid L.d. 8

²⁵⁵ Ibid. L.d. 9

²⁵⁶ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 14 591-P. L.d. 2

According to the decree on the election of a preventive measure of April 26, 1933, he is accused of "anti-Soviet agitation aimed at disrupting the ongoing activities of the Soviet authorities".

From the record of interrogation of the accused on May 8, 1933, it becomes known that "My father was a priest in the village of Grechanovka. Since 1906, I started to study at school and so in 1919 I studied at the seminary until January. Without finishing seminary, I left the 6th grade because of the liquidation of the seminary. In the same year he was appointed a psalmist in the village of Krasnye Okny, in this post I was until 1923. At the same time I was in the Red Windows as a teacher of a labor school, I married in the same place to the daughter of a priest from Stavrovo - Polonskaya Maria Vasilyevna. In 1923 I was transferred to the village of Fedorovka for the same post. In 1924 he was ordained a priest by Bishop Onufriy of Odesa and was sent to the village. Birzulu, before his arrest where he was in the post of priest.

My brother Antony is a bishop, currently at an expulsion in Yeniseisk. I was exiled from Mariupol in 1927, for which I do not know. My sister lives with him "²⁵⁷.

According to the testimony of the witness - the psalmist of the church with. Birzula from the same May 26, the priest Pankeyev "Tikhonovka orientation. In 1925 he went to Kharkov and was ordained there for a second time.

... In a conversation with Pankeyev, he told me that his brother Anthony, the bishop of Mariupol was deported to the north 5 years ago. At first he said that he was expelled for 3 years, but he can not come just because he has no money for the journey and there are no clothes, he often writes with him and sends parcels ".²⁵⁸

According to the decree of June 11, 1933, the Commissioner of the Birzulsky Regional Department of the GPU, an investigation file on charges of DA Pankeyev. was terminated and the defendant released from custody released.²⁵⁹

3.2.15 Priest Fedor Shatunov

Priest Fedor Nikolaevich Shatunov, was born in 1878, in the village of. Trikhats of the Odessa region.²⁶⁰

The decision to initiate an investigation, as well as the decision to select a preventive measure, date back to October 17, 1933, with the same wording "conducted an active

²⁵⁷ Ibid. L.d. 4

²⁵⁸ Ibid L.d. 7

²⁵⁹ Ibid L.d. 13

²⁶⁰ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 2958-P. L.d. 4

counterrevolutionary activity to create an anti-Soviet grouping in the village of. Zimino of the Tsebrikovsky district»²⁶¹.

According to the protocol of interrogation of the accused on October 17, 1933, Shatunov pleads guilty "of active counterrevolutionary activity throughout the entire period of the existence of the Soviet government. In 1918 in the village of. I was the leader of the uprising against the Soviets, I was in the leadership headquarters. From 1921 to 1924 in the village. Kovalevka Nikolayevsky district was a member of the counterrevolutionary organization. In the years 1925-1926. organizer of the counterrevolutionary group. In 1929 he moved to live in the village. Zimino of the Tsebrikovsky district, where up to 1933 he conducted an active counter-revolutionary activity "²⁶².

Already in the subsequent protocol accused Shatunov refuses his previous testimony with the phrase "I do not recognize myself guilty of counter-revolutionary activities, since I declare that I did not conduct anti-Soviet agitation and did not participate in any groups"²⁶³.

On December 14, 1933, the accused Shatunov was released on the promise not to leave the place²⁶⁴.

The case is closed due to the lack of evidence of the accusations of February 2, 1934 ²⁶⁵.

3.2.16 Priest Nikolay Slobodyanikov

The priest Slobodyannikov (Slobodyanikov) Nikolay Fedorovich, was born in 1881 in Odessa²⁶⁶.

He graduated from the Tiflis Theological Seminary. In 1906 he was appointed to the Intercession Church of the Shiroky, Kherson Uyezd²⁶⁷.

In the decree on electing a preventive measure of November 17, 1933, Slobodiannikov is accused of "being a member of a counter-revolutionary organization, and also suspected of espionage in favor of Germany." Preventive detention was chosen as a preventive measure²⁶⁸, and the decision of February 14, 1934, is involved as an accused on charges of participating in counterrevolutionary insurgent organizations²⁶⁹.

²⁶¹ Ibid L.d. 1-2

²⁶² Ibid L.d. 5

²⁶³ Ibid L.d. 14

²⁶⁴ Ibid L.d. 17

²⁶⁵ Ibid L.d. 18

²⁶⁶ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 2918-P. L.d.3

²⁶⁷ Reference book of the Kherson diocese p.726

²⁶⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 2918-P. L.d. 1

²⁶⁹ Ibid L.d. 14

Interrogated by the investigator on February 8, 1934. Extract from the interrogation: "In Nikolaev, I since 1913, arrived from the m. Shirokoe Krivoy Rog district. He became a priest at the cemetery parish, and later moved to the parish of the city hospital. Since 1928 I have been in the Sergiev orientation and to this day I have been carrying out the duties of the Dean on the Mykolayiv, Ochakovo, Bashtan and Bug regions. In the circle of the spiritual world, both in Nikolaev and in the district of my service, I use authority, trust and influence "²⁷⁰.

According to the indictment of February 23, 1934, the accused guilty did not acknowledge himself, but taking into account the testimony of witnesses, the Odessa branch of the GPU recommended that the priest Slobodiannikov be included in the camp for a period of 5 years.²⁷¹

The case was referred to the Judicial Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

On February 27, 1934, the case was dismissed for the lack of evidence of the charge.

3.2.17 Priest Konstantin Voloshanovskiy

Priest Konstantin Yakimovich Voloshanovskiy, was born in 1894 in the village of Lyubomirka of Birzul district in the family of the psalmist of the Alexander Nevsky church. His father died in the early 90's, his mother a little earlier. I had to live with my sister and as a round orphan was given to the Tavrov spiritual school of Vinnytsia region, and then to Kamyanets-Podolsk Theological Seminary, in the summer of that year I received an appointment as a psalm-reader in the church with. Slavyanka Kamensky district, where in 1919 was transferred to the village. The Big Milk. In 1920 he was appointed to the village of Slobodka, in 1923, in connection with the closure of the church, he was transferred to the Bug District of the Vinnitsa Region. In 1925 in with. Sloboda, where the prayer house was built. In 1931 he was appointed a priest in the village. Lipetsk Birzul district.²⁷²

Was under investigation in 1932 under art. 54-10.²⁷³

He was arrested on December 29, 1934 on charges of "among the believers of the village conducting counter-revolutionary agitation by setting up the masses against the Soviet authorities, especially against collectivization, using for this personal interviews with peasants, confessions and sermons in the church.

The protocol of the interrogation of the clergyman is also interesting:

²⁷⁰ Ibid L.d. 15

²⁷¹ Ibid L.d. 17

²⁷² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 19227-P. L.d. 9

²⁷³ Ibid L.d. 5

"Question: How did you meet the October Revolution, with what feelings?

Answer: With good

Q: How did you look at the separation of church and state?

A: I welcomed this decree.

Q: Why?

A: I can not think of (*I should give credit to the record-keeping journalist, I recorded it as it is - author*)..

Q: What are your views on the Soviet state?

A: They are supportive and benevolent.

Q: Why do you feel friendly towards the Soviets? Workers have every reason to do this, but what are your reasons?

A: I am kindly treated as a Narodnik, because I was attentive to the whole people, without division according to the social. position.

Q.: So, you had the same attitude to the kulak as well?

A: Yes, the same.

Q: Has the profitability of the clergy decreased and what is the reason for this?

A: Profitability decreased due to the fact that the people stopped believing in God and attending church. This is caused by the lack of teaching in law schools of God, the education of youth in an anti-religious spirit and the lack of opportunities for collective farmers to attend church.

Q: To what religious stream did you join at the beginning of the revolution? When and why did you join the Tikhonov Current, despite the appeal of Patriarch Tikhon to fight the Soviets?

A.: The split in the church began in 1923, but until 1926 I did not adhere to any current and none of the patriarchs mentioned in the church service.

In 1926, he joined the Tikhonov orientation, solely for reasons of the church, canonical, because Tikhonov's church did not violate church canons. I did not know about the counter-revolutionary appeal of Patriarch Tikhon, but if I did, I would still adhere to Tikhonov's orientation, again for canonical reasons.

Q: Why are you crying in the church?

A.: I cry during the service that I see in people the strengthening of faith and the increased attendance of the church, these are traces of joy or when there are no believers during the big holidays, we cry for the fall of faith.

Q: How do you explain that you have introduced the gluing of a candle to a bowl, according to the Innokenty Method?

A: I did not attach a candle to the cup, but before the communion I asked people to buy candles and stand with lighted candles. There is no such custom in Moldova, but I transferred it from Podolia. He recommended teaching children to pray and leading them to church. "²⁷⁴

During the interrogation, the guilty did not admit anything. The accusations about conducting "counter-revolutionary conversations against collectivization" were also denied.

One of the witnesses involved in the case, the village brigadier, complains in his testimony: "The collective farmers do not go to work, especially on religious holidays, because many collective farmers go to the local church. I'm not mistaken that every Sunday during field work does not go to work more than 25%, in addition, on Saturdays at night, by 4 o'clock the farmers are also trying to quit their job and rush to church.

... Despite the fact that the orientation of the "Innokentyevs" and "Tikhonovites" to which Voloshanovsky adjoins have nothing in common and, it would seem, these are two hostile camps, but Voloshanovsky so skilfully put the case that both these orientations attend the church and consider Voloshanovskii for some kind of spirit without which they can not be ".²⁷⁵

Another witness points out: "In his sermon Voloshanovskiy once said about the sufferings of Christ and added that Christ suffered for us, suffered persecution, but did not depart from the faith, so we must endure suffering, trials, arrests, but hold fast to the Orthodox faith."

By decision of February 28, 1935 the case was sent to the Special Meeting of the NKVD of the USSR with an application for deprivation of liberty of the accused for a period of 5 years.²⁷⁶

A special meeting of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR resulted in the decision to imprison the accused K. Voloshanovsky. in the ITL for a period of 5 years, counting the term from December 29, 1934.

Rehabilitated on August 25, 1989.

3.3 Repressed clergymen during 1937-1938 (individual cases), destinies

3.3.1 Priest Nikolay Kurbet

Priest Nikolay Alekseevich Kurbet, was born on August 6, 1899 in the village of Nezavertaylovka, in the family of the priest Aleksey Nikolaevich Kurbet, shot in 1919 on charges

²⁷⁴ Ibid L.d. 10

²⁷⁵ Ibid L.d. 21

²⁷⁶ Ibid L.d. 35

of organizing an uprising against the Red Partisans²⁷⁷. He graduated from the Odessa Cadet Corps in 1917 and the Minsk Theological Seminary²⁷⁸.

He was arrested and was under investigation for three months, as having ties to Yugoslavia, with his sister living there. At the time of his arrest, he served as a priest of the Church of the Savior in the Savior in the village. Demidovka of the Oktyabrsky district.

In the decree on the commencement of the preliminary investigation of May 25, 1937²⁷⁹ and the decree on the election of a preventive measure of June 22, 1937, said "deliberately misinterpreted the Constitution of the USSR in order to use it for religious propaganda, engaged in anti-Soviet agitation. His church asset directed to the disruption of collective farm work, thereby undermining the power of the collective farms».²⁸⁰

During the search, carried out on May 24, 1937 at the place of residence in the village of Demidovka, letters and decrees of the dean have been found, the charter of the religious community, various circulars and instructions.²⁸¹

After all the interrogations of the accused, the latter pleaded guilty only to the fact that "on the basis of his assumptions he inadvertently used the figures from the census, I had no facts and made assumptions only from my arrival».²⁸²

The prosecution accused such points "Without any right, Kurbet traveled around the villages, organized prayer houses and performed various services in them.

In with. Anatolievka arranged a prayer house for the collective farmer, where he baptized children, collected all women, preached to them, walked around the villages of Berezovsky district, where he also found a place for religious people where he held gatherings and baptized children. " Even more absurd is the accusation "With a view to detaching the collective farm from the collective farms and bringing the collective farm masses to their side, Kurbet skillfully used the letter of Bishop of Feodosiya of Mykolayiv²⁸³, in which it was permitted to make prayers for the Soviet power in churches and based on this, the Kurbet in itself church actually prayed for the Soviet power and for the fallen heroes of the Soviet power.

Kurbet said, "Soviet power, as secretly did not conduct a census of the population, and I still became aware that we churchmen won and religious people were much more than unbelievers,"

²⁷⁷ Ibid L.d. 91

²⁷⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 19 678-P. L.d. 9

²⁷⁹ Ibid L.d. 1

²⁸⁰ Ibid L.d. 2

²⁸¹ Ibid L.d. 4

²⁸² Ibid L.d. 18

²⁸³ It is a topic regarding Bishop Feodosiy (Kirika) who in Odessa in 1933 metropolitan Anatoly (Grisyuk) of Odesa and Kherson and Bishop Porphyry (Gulevich), bishop of Crimea and Simferopol, was consecrated Bishop of Nikolaev, vicar of Odesa diocese

then in evidence of the revival of religion, Kurbet cited the fictitious figures allegedly existing and acting churches on the territory of the Odessa region, proving that there are a lot of workers in the church.

Trying to slander the party and individual Communists, he brought to the population fictitious, false facts that if communists organize communal funerals with music and with a banner at the dead communists, then priests come to us at the end of the civil funeral and ask for a religious funeral with the priest at the grave of the deceased.

Due to the fact that on May 8 the day was a working day, the village council did not agree to organize a wire to the priest Kurbet in the cemeteries of Anatolevka village, t. this could lead to the disruption of field work on the collective farm, but the priest Kurbet, seeking his own, organized two delegations of 7-8 women and sent them to the village council to the chairman demanding that the latter allow to arrange seeing-off.

Among the population and mainly among the faithful, he talked about the Constitution, and he dwelled mainly on Art. 124, gladly proving to the religious people that the religious people now have an unlimited right in their religious activities, that they can assemble, anywhere, produce whatever prayers.

His old active churchmen again cobbler Cordet, and people who departed from religion, he cursed and threatened with various divine predictions.

Among the population of the Anatolievsky village council, Kurbet, in the presence of collective farmers, thanked the conscience of the arresting priests and expressed gratitude by explaining that if the Soviets arrest priests, this punishment is from God and everything goes according to God's Scripture.²⁸⁴

As a result of such a propaganda of the priest of Kurbet, the population of the population has increased, as Kurbet himself shows, twice as much as the collective farmers' inclination toward religion. Such a religious trend included even children and children of school age, by participating in christenings, by engaging in religious movements.

And further ... "All these methods of religious propaganda on the part of Kurbet are a kind of camouflage of carrying out anti-Soviet work, the disintegration of collective farmers, the discrediting and undermining of the activities of the Soviet authorities".²⁸⁵

The case on charge of Kurbet was sent to the Judicial Troika of the NKVD for the Odessa region.

²⁸⁴ Throughout the whole case, neither in the records of the interrogations of witnesses, nor in the records of the interrogation of the accused himself, such records are found

²⁸⁵ Ibid L.d. 91

He was sentenced to execution according to the extract from the protocol No. 59 of the sitting of the Trial of the NKVD for the Odessa region of October 27, 1937.

He was shot on November 2, 1937.

Conclusion on the rehabilitation of September 8, 1989.

3.3.2 Priest Afinogen Sagaidakovskiy

Priest Afinogen Nikiforovich Sagaidakovskiy, was born on June 16, 1886 in the town of Bugrin in the Volyn province²⁸⁶, in the clergyman's family.²⁸⁷

He was ordained as a priest in 1913. He served until the closing of the church in 1935. After the closure of the temple - without a certain occupation.

In the decree on the election of a preventive measure of June 28, 1937, Sagaidakovsky was accused of "conducting counterrevolutionary agitation against the activities of the party and the Soviet government, sending provocative letters to foreign fascist organizations about the" famine "in the USSR, relations with the consulate of one of the foreign states, the task of which was carried out counter-revolutionary work. "

Pre-trial detention was determined in Odessa prison.²⁸⁸

The warrant for search and arrest was issued the day before, on June 27, 1937.²⁸⁹

During the interrogation of July 3, 1937, accused Sagaidakovskiy answering the questions of the investigator gives testimony about the existence of a counter-revolutionary organization and his direct participation in it. He talks in detail about goals and objectives (the usual cliches of the investigator), which are reduced to "organizing people dissatisfied with the Soviet government, in order to conduct agitation among the peasant population, proving to them that Sovstroy can not exist, that under the Soviet government the life of the peasantry does not improve, that the Sov. The government takes everything and they still remain hungry ".²⁹⁰

1. Already on subsequent interrogations, the investigator will literally point at the ideological foundations of a counterrevolutionary organization, under which the clergyman will be forced to subscribe.
2. During military operations against the USSR, organize insurrections, to provide practical assistance to the aggressor in order to destroy the Soviet power.
3. Conduct recruiting work, for the numerical expansion of the organization.

²⁸⁶ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 402-P. L.d. 6

²⁸⁷ Ibid L.d. 16

²⁸⁸ Ibid L.d. 4

²⁸⁹ Ibid L.d. 5

²⁹⁰ Ibid L.d. 8 (turnover)

4. To conduct anti-Soviet agitation among the population against the activities of the party and the government as a whole against the Soviet government.
5. The ultimate goal of the organization is the establishment of a monarchical system in Russia.²⁹¹

On the next interrogation of July 5, 1937, the defendant, responding to the next questions, stated that the head of the counter-revolutionary organization "is Porfiry Gulevich, by profession the archbishop, currently resides in the city of Krivoi Rog".²⁹²

According to the indictment, the case was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

Trial Troika, by its protocol No. 81 of November 16, 1937, decided to shoot the priest Afinogen Sagaidakovskiy.²⁹³

The sentence was carried out on November 28, 1937.

Conclusion on the rehabilitation of August 22, 1989.

3.3.3 Priest Stepan Ivanitskiy

Priest Stepan (Stefan) Grigorievich Ivanitsky, was born October 28, 1868 in Kherson, in the family of a clergyman. He graduated from the Theological Seminary.²⁹⁴ The psalmist since 1886, ordained deacon in 1900, in the priest's office in 1905 and appointed to the church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker with. Ingulskaya-Kamyanka of the Novgorodsky District of Alexandria Uyezd.²⁹⁵

He was arrested in 1928-29. Odessa GPU for interrogation and released on the same day. At the time of filling in the questionnaire on July 30, 1937, the family consists of Elena Aleksandrovna's wife, 67, Eugenia Grigoryevna's 82-year-old sister, lives in the care of Maria Stepanovna Umanets in Kherson.

In the reference of the acting chief of Belyaevsky RO, the NKVD, the following characteristic is given for Archpriest Ivanitsky SG. "Archpriest Gradenitskaya church, married, citizenship of the USSR, we judge, higher education.

²⁹¹ Ibid L.d. 21

²⁹² Ibid L.d. 10 (turnover)

²⁹³ Ibid L.d. 23

²⁹⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3603-P. L.d. 4

²⁹⁵ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 321

Ivanitsky works in the village of Gradenitsy as a priest, then as archpriest for 10 years, organized around himself a large church activist from the kulaks and also has, under the direct supervision of 3 more popes and 2 nuns.

Pop Ivanitsky at present openly propagandizes that according to the new Constitution the church will not be taken away from us, since they have no right. And we all should, as Orthodox people, and the Orthodox die.

In addition, he spreads all sorts of provocative rumors about the war and redivision of the Sov. The Union declares: "Soon there will be war, Germany will take Ukraine, and Japan Siberia and then it will be bad for those who subscribed to the closing of the church."

He also spreads rumors that he personally knows the leader of the people Comrade. Stalin, I by the nationality of the Georgians and let them just close, I'll talk everywhere and I will not be taken away.

In addition, he talks about the need not to be afraid and to believe in the Orthodox Church. He says: "I'm here for a humbug - the churches will not be closed, since I personally with Comrade. Stalin is well acquainted, I studied with him and sat at one desk".

With such conversations Ivanitsky encourages believers, in this regard, the church is progressing, where he has large incomes.

On May 3, 1937, after a sermon in the church, he openly addressed the believers, who said: "Brothers and sisters, believers, despite the fact that the authorities closed all roads to prevent believers from entering the church, , but their holiday did not take place. "

Despite the fact that Ivanitsky was repeatedly warned by the border detachment that he would not accept people without a pass from non-border zones, and also warned the latter that believers going to church take their passes with them. Ivanitsky did not do all this, than violates the border regime and allows penetration of spies into the border village.

Ivanitsky organized a large asset around him both in the village of Gradenitsy and in the neighboring villages of the AMSSR (more correctly the MASSR, ie the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic - auth.). The facts of the influx into the church for 50 and 60 km are noted.

Ivanitsky repeatedly calls on believers that they should rally around the church, where he immediately declares "we need to endure and in no case to abandon the church".²⁹⁶

Almost repeats the previous information-the description of the chairman of the Gradenitsky village council "Mr. Ivanitsky is a priest and actually the head of the religious community (fifty)

²⁹⁶Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3603-P. L.d. 1

and surrounded himself with kulak and a / s (anti-Soviet - author) elements, as well as ecclesiastical cliques, with work, he contrasted himself with owls. authorities.

Using the backwardness of believers, Ivanitsky organized a collection of money through his church agents (collectors church clerks Tsarenko Alexandra, Epur Lukeria, etc.) demanded and received a high payment for the wedding ceremony (60 rubles per pair), etc. He collected money from believers during church days for church repairs.

Through his agents organized the arrival of believers from the AMSSR who came without passports, arranged for them to sleep overnight without permission from the village council (autonomous village council), which violated the border regime. When the police took up the fight with the violation of the border regime, Ivanitsky viewed this as an obstacle from the s / s to the performance of religious worshipers, which he falsely complained to the higher authorities and spoke about it to believers. When, on May Day, the Kandel ferry, through which the believers from the AMSSR moved to Gradenitsa, did not work, Ivanitsky said in his sermon during Easter: "See, despite the fact that they do not let believers through the ferry to the church, yet to us more people have come, than to them to a demonstration. "

When unbelievers raised the issue of collecting signatures for the closing of the church, Ivanitsky began to persistently speak through his agents that he was allegedly studying with Comrade. Stalin, he is familiar with it and therefore the churches will not be closed and he will not be removed from the post of priest.

... Ivanitsky categorically disobeyed the demand of the s / s, the collective farm and the RIC to return to the kolkhoz collective farm Shalary Y.V., who was hired by a groom to church horses during the harvesting campaign.

Ivanitsky in order to disrupt the harvest campaign, to weaken labor discipline, to increase non-admission to work during the field works deliberately performs divine services in the church during the most insignificant holidays (Kazan Mother of God, Ivan Kupala, Peter and Paul, Ivan the Theologian, etc.) starting to ring from noon on the eve holiday.

Around the church are located directly 5 buildings-classes of incomplete secondary school, and Ivanitsky through his supporters organized a church visit during the holidays of schoolchildren. ²⁹⁷

Order No. 36 for search and arrest was issued on July 29, 1937. During the search, correspondence was found and selected.

²⁹⁷ Ibid L.d. 35

It is interesting that some witnesses summoned in the case give a written receipt in their unwillingness to stipulate or say anything about the priest. " For example, the witness Kostyanova has shown: "I will never tell anyone anything".²⁹⁸

When interrogating the witness-secretary of the religious community on August 4, 1937, the latter says that the priest Ivanitsky still studied with Comrade. Stalin in the same class of seminary.

The very same archpriest Ivanitsky answers the questions asked:

A.: Yes, indeed, on behalf of the government of the church community, I conducted propaganda among the population, for giving signatures for leaving in the village of. Gradients of the church, for b. Chairman Kurkin, with the words of some believers, forced them to sign a sheet in which they asked to close the church, threatening that if he refused, he would not issue the necessary certificates and would oppress them.

A: I explained to them that the New Stalin Constitution does not allow to take churches, if there are willing believers, and after that I collected in the church of 2020 signatures against the signatures collected by the chairman with 1090 signatures. Among these signatures were the signatures of persons who previously gave signatures to the chairman of the s / s for the closure of the church. But I did not use any threats.

A.: ... I know Comrade. Stalin only from newspaper portraits, I never saw him.

Literally a few days later the defendant's answers changed somewhat and he already agrees in some moments with the investigator:

A: Yes, I said that Stalin knows me, and that while I'm alive the church will exist in with. Fragments.

A: During the events in the Far East, I said that Japan would advance to Siberia, and Germany to Ukraine, but these were my personal considerations, as regards religion, I said that we need to believe until the end. "

The indictment is based on the two above-mentioned references, and therefore we will not give it.

The case was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region. August 9, 1937.²⁹⁹

According to the extract from Protocol No. 22 of August 20, 1937, the Trial Troika attached to the NKVD in the Odesa Oblast decided to conclude Protopriest Ivanitsky SG. in the ITL for a

²⁹⁸ Ibid L.d. 10

²⁹⁹ Ibid L.d. 37

period of 10 years with a pre-trial certificate from July 30, 1937.³⁰⁰ The conclusion on rehabilitation is from October 31, 1992.³⁰¹

3.3.4 Archpriest Panteleimon Shvachko

Archpriest Panteleimon Ivlevich Shvachko was born on July 7, 1891 in the village of Betsilovo Razdelniansky district of the Odessa region. A priest before and after the revolution. Education - secondary. Was tried in 1923 under art. 123-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Family: his wife - Varvara, born in 1898; daughter - Zoya, born in 1917; son - Boris, born in 1920; daughter Maria, born in 1928.³⁰²

According to the resolution on the election of a preventive measure of August 15, 1937, he is accused of "spreading counter-revolutionary notes among the collective farmers, led anti-Soviet agitation, took an autonomous school premises".³⁰³

The arrest warrant was issued by the Razdelnyansky RO NKVD of August 10, 1937, on the same day, Protopriest Shvachko, and was arrested at the place of his residence in the village of Bezilovo in the Razdelny district of the Odessa region.³⁰⁴

A general picture of what is happening is provided by a certificate issued by the head of the Razdelnyansky RO NKVD of July 23, 1937: "Pop Shvachko residing in the village. Betsilovo Razdelniansky district, conducts anti-Soviet activities among collective farmers and schoolchildren. The documentation documented that the priest Shvachko during the religious holidays "Easter, rescue, etc." pupils of grades 5-6 subjected them to confession and the "sacrament of Holy Communion," while during the said rituals, the priest Shvachko makes children go to church, saying that one does not interfere with one another, since one can go to school and simultaneously attend church.

In addition, Pop Shvachko, a pupil of the 6th grade of the Rastovets school, asked in confession about her participation in public work at the school and what she takes part in, whether she is a pioneer detachment and going to church, after which she gave the instruction "You can be a pioneer, but you need to go to church. "

Pop Shvachko disseminates the following religious notes among the collective farmers: "Pray to God once a week and write 9 notes and give them to people, maybe someone who has

³⁰⁰ Ibid L.d. 40

³⁰¹ Ibid L.d. 41

³⁰² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 10 668-P. L.d. 6

³⁰³ Ibid L.d. 7

³⁰⁴ Ibid L.d. 1

not forgotten faith in God, who will distribute these 9 notes and after 9 days will receive great joy. In Kharkov, one person wrote, distributed and received great joy, and one did not write and received great sorrow».³⁰⁵

In the case there is also the Decree of Bishop Tikhon of Odessa and Kherson on August 5, 1937, addressed to Archpriest Panteleimon Shvachko, the church of the village of Bicilievka of the Razdelny district. By this Decree Bishop Tikhon appointed Father Panteleimon to a new place of service in the Konstantin-Yeleninskaya church of the village of Rozalievka of the Razdelny district, in fulfillment of the request of the believers of the named village. Apparently, Father Panteleimon with his mother and children, did not manage to move to a new place of service, because of his early arrest.

In the Indictment of August 18, 1937, the charges against the Protopriest do not undergo special transformations. He also "attracted school-age children, subjected them to confession, during which he often forced to go to church to pray to God. He says: "One thing does not interfere with another. You can go to school and at the same time pray to God when you visit the church. "

The investigative case was referred to the Troika under UNKVD for the Odessa region.

According to the extract from the protocol No. 22 of the August 27, 1937 meeting of the Troika under the NKVD in the Odessa region, the priest Shvachko really "in 1936 conducted religious work among schoolchildren and pioneers. In the same year, he distributed to the population notes of counterrevolutionary content, urging the population not to lose faith in God at the time of the census. At the same time, during the population census, conducted agitation to write everything - believers.

In 1937, he arbitrarily occupied the school premises under his own apartment, broke the lock and when he received a proposal from the village council to vacate the apartment, he collected collective farmers among whom he complained about the Soviet power. "

Protopriest Panteleimon Shvachko was sentenced by Troika to imprisonment in the labor camp for a period of 10 years, with pre-trial detention from August 10, 1937.

It took only 17 days for the Soviet legal system to arrest a man, convict and sentence him, even without charge.

The convicted Shvachko was later lodged a complaint with the name of the Odessa Regional Prosecutor. In the resolution of the Acting President. Assistant of the Odessa Regional

³⁰⁵ Ibid L.d. 5

Prosecutor of May 29, 1940, decided to "leave the complaint without satisfaction, and report it to the complainant".³⁰⁶

And only on July 16, 1959, Protest (in the order of supervision). The prosecutor of the Odessa region E. Lushaenko in the presidium of the Odessa regional court whitewashes the good name of the priest. The prosecutor points out that "According to the decision of the Troika, Shvachko was found guilty of conducting anti-Soviet agitation among the population.

The above-mentioned decision of the Troika is subject to cancellation.

The case shows that there is no evidence of anti-Soviet agitation against Shvachko.

The witnesses in the case showed that Shvachko, being a priest among the believers, preached not to forget the "god", urged them to pray, to attend church on Sundays, and there were no other testimonies regarding Shvachko.

The charges and materials of the investigation of Shvachko are not disclosed.

... I ask to stop the accusation of the allegations. "

By decision of the Presidium of the Odessa Regional Court of July 20, 1959, the case against Protopriest Panteleimon Shvachko was dismissed for the lack of evidence of the prosecution.³⁰⁷

Protopriest Panteleimon Shvachko, according to a report from the secret department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, died on April 2, 1942.

3.3.5 Priest Aleksey Skaun

Priest Aleksey Skaun, born in 1873, in the family of a priest in the village of. Mulovate of Dubossary district of the MASSR. In 1895 he graduated from the 4th class of the Odessa Theological Seminary. From June 21, 1895 to November, the month of 1897, in the direction of Bishop John of Elisavetgrad, he served as a psalmist in the church in honor of St. John Chrysostom in the village. Chrysostom field of Odessa county. He taught at the parish school.

From November 1897 to May 1898, according to the decision of the school council and the confirmation of the archbishop of Odessa and Kherson Justin, "for the benefit of the school business, as a knowledgeable Moldovan language, moved to. Malaeshty-1 of the Tiraspol Uyezd. "

Since January 20, 1900, the resolution of Archbishop Justin was moved to the Holy Ascension Church of the Nerubai Khutor of Odessa by a psalm-player with the elevation to

³⁰⁶ Ibid L.d. 44

³⁰⁷ Ibid L.d. 52

the rank of deacon. Later, in 1901, after a test in the knowledge of the theological sciences for the 5th and 6th grades of the theological seminary, he was appointed priest of the Holy Protection Church in Horns of the Tiraspol district. In 1902 he was transferred to Goiany Dubovskoy volost Tiraspol county in the church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker.³⁰⁸

In 1919, according to the resolution of Bishop Alexis of Elisavetgrad, awarded with a loincloth and a scruffy, in 1928 Archbishop Anatoly was awarded a kamilavka.

On August 2, 1930, according to the resolution of Archbishop Anatoly of Odesa and Kherson, for 35 years of service to the Church of God, he was awarded a gold fox cross.

March 24, 1937, appeals to Bishop Feodosiy already as a priest of the Krasnopol church of the Frunzovsky district.

He was arrested on August 15, 1937, by the Frunzovsky RO of UNKVD in the Odessa region on charges of "being a minister of the cult systematically engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation directed against the State Council and its activities in the countryside."

And although during the investigation the defendant did not admit guilty. "His counter-revolutionary activity was confirmed by testimony."

In the extract from the protocol No. 22 of the sitting of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odesa Oblast, "Under the guise of religious rituals, he conducted counter-revolutionary work among the collective farmers aimed at disrupting the activities of the party and the government. He persuaded the collective farmers not to go to work on festive and religious days, to baptize their children, intimidating that unbaptized children would perish".³⁰⁹

Sentenced by the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region on August 27, 1937, to 8 years of forced labor camps.

In the case there is a complaint from Aleksey Skaun dated January 15, 1940, indicating that he was convicted of slanderous denunciations of the chairman of the village council. The complaint in the name of the prosecutor is rejected.

According to the testimony of witnesses, the relatives are dispossessed and shot.

Rehabilitated in 1994.

³⁰⁸ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 679

³⁰⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3595-P. L.d. 25

3.3.6 Priest Andrey Lyubchenko

Priest Andrey Ivanovich Lyubchenko, born in 1898, in the village of Ivankov, Andrushevsky District ³¹⁰, in the family of a priest.³¹¹

In the resolution on the election of a preventive measure of August 22, 1937, the accusation comes down to the usual formulation at that time: "... working as a priest conducted counterrevolutionary agitation among believers, often organized parties at home and, in the guise of drinking, conducted counter-revolutionary work, where, in order to discredit Stalin's the constitution interpreted it in a counter-revolutionary spirit, and also discredited the party leader and the government ".³¹²

In a certificate describing the chairman of the Old Mayak rural council of September 27, 1937, it was said: "Lyubchenko really arrived on the territory of our village on July 19, 1934. Arrived to work as a priest. Relations with the activities of the Soviet authorities were held during the church service, agitated mass against the spread of the loan in 1937. He carried out various anti-Soviet propaganda against collectivization, traveled around collective farms, confessed children from schools for 7 years, and was especially seen on Krasin's collective farm, conducted it secretly "³¹³.

Interesting information is found in the working correspondence of the head of the NKVD of the Andrushevsky district and the head of the NK NKD Shiryaevo, in particular it is reported that "Lyubchenko by the social position was a fist dekulakized, in 1930 the property was sold, was subject to exile, but the last of the village disappeared and the village no longer was returning. According to rumors, he had become a priest, he accepted a parish somewhere near Kiev. His son graduated from a theological seminary and was a priest, his daughter was a member of the collective farm, which was also expelled from the collective farm ".³¹⁴

According to the protocol of interrogation of the accused on October 19, 1937, to become known in 1932, the priest Lyubchenko was tried under art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR "for malicious evasion of state taxes" and after the payment in tenfold amount was released. It is interesting that Lyubchenko studied at the Zhitomir Pastoral School. In all other respects, the accused denies all his participation in the conduct of counter-revolutionary actions and anti-Soviet agitation.

³¹⁰ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 15 261-P. L.d. 13

³¹¹ Ibid L.d. 17

³¹² Ibid L.d. 12

³¹³ Ibid L.d. 1

³¹⁴ Ibid L.d. 2

Despite this, the indictment of October 11, 1937 issued an unequivocal verdict. "Lyubchenko arrived in the territory of Shiryayevsky district in 1933, settled in the prayer house as a priest. Being hostile to the Soviets, he systematically carried out anti-Soviet agitation among the collective farmers, visiting kolkhozes for religious rituals, and, along with this, agitated the collective farmers, in order to organize themselves in the fifties, they demanded the opening of churches.

Especially actively began to carry out counter-revolutionary agitation since the time when the draft of the new Stalin Constitution was issued. Lyubchenko often hosted himself at the apartment of the party, where he collected collective farmers and conducted counter-revolutionary agitation in the guise of booze. At one of these parties, in November 1936, he worked on the constitution, discredited and perverted it in a counter-revolutionary spirit, where Lyubchenko said that it was necessary to unite in order to be able to choose their people to the council, which could defend their rights.

At the same party, Lyubchenko discredited the leader of the party ".³¹⁵

The case was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD for the Odessa region.

Trial of the NKVD in the Odessa region by its protocol No. 55 of October 22, 1937, decided to shoot AI Lyubchenko.³¹⁶

The verdict was carried out on October 31, 1937.

Well ... this story requires continuation ...

According to the statement of Marfa Sylvestrovna's wife Lyubchenko on October 6, 1964, in which she asks to inform about the fate of her husband, the case on charges of AI Lyubchenko. was revised.

Having examined all the materials of the investigative case, it was established that Lyubchenko "guilty did not recognize himself, denying carrying out anti-Soviet agitation". The testimony of witnesses passing the case was recognized as "deprived of the necessary specifics and evidence of guilt Lyubchenko can not be. There are no other proofs than those mentioned in the case. In addition, the testimony of these individuals was refuted during the additional investigation and found their inconsistency in reality. "

In particular, the interrogated witnesses show that they have never been to the apartment of the priest Lyubchenko and have never heard any negative statements from Lyubchenko against the Soviet authorities. Some of the interrogated witnesses were not even personally acquainted

³¹⁵ Ibid L.d. 19

³¹⁶ Ibid L.d. 20

with him, and some even positively characterized him during the interrogation of 1937. The investigators insisted on signing the protocols, not allowing them to read.

Thus, according to the conclusion in the case of the accused Lubchenko of December 30, 1964, "Lubchenko's accusations brought against him in 1937, can not be proven proven."

According to the protest of the prosecutor handed over to the Presidium of the Odessa Regional Court of January 5, 1965³¹⁷ and the decision of the Presidium of 30 January, 1965, the case was terminated due to the lack of clarity in the composition of the crime.³¹⁸

From a letter from the witness of those events written in 1991 and attached to the case of Lyubchenko "... when I came to the prison with the transfer, nothing was received from me, they handed me his hair and a cloak, and said that they sent him to the stage ...".

3.3.7 Priest Kuzma Voynitskiy

Priest Kuzma Gavrilovich Voynitskiy was born on November 1, 1879 in the village of Voloshintsy Bessarabian province in the family clergyman. He graduated from 2 classes of the spiritual school. Family: at the time of arrest, no relatives, except brother of his father - deacon Mikhail Fyodorovich Voynitskiy residing in the territory of Bessarabia.³¹⁹

According to the decree on the election of a preventive measure from September 1, 1937, Frunzensky RO ROK NKVD USSR Vynitsky Kuzma Gavrilovich "engaged in anti-Soviet conversations against the activities of the Soviet authorities, shows trends in care abroad." Taking into account that Voynitskiy 'is socially dangerous and can influence the course of the investigation', this decree determined the detention in Odessa prison.³²⁰

In the case, the priest Voynitskiy passes as "no fixed place of residence", and the warrant for arrest and search No. 62 was issued on September 1, 1937. It is worth noting that according to the documents of the same investigation file, Voynitskiy was searched and arrested a day earlier, i.e. August 31. During the search, a trebnik was found, notes with prayers and the attitude of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR.³²¹

Here is a fragment from the record of interrogation of the accused Voynitskiy on September 5, 1937:

"Question: When and under what circumstances did you move from Romania to the USSR?"

³¹⁷ Ibid L.d.41

³¹⁸ Ibid L.d. 46

³¹⁹ SAOR. R-8065, op. 2, d. 8833. L.d. 4

³²⁰ Ibid L.d. 1

³²¹ Ibid L.d.3

Answer: Due to the fact that it was very difficult to live in Bessarabia, and I moved to Russia in 1904 or 1905. Here I enlisted in the religious cult as a psalm-reader. In 1905 I voluntarily went to serve in the tsarist army against Japan, and in 1914 I was at the front as a clergyman, after the war I stayed to live in Russia.

Q.: The investigation knows that you lived in the USSR engaged in espionage in favor of the Romanian sigurans. Do you confirm this?

A: No, I have never engaged in espionage and currently I do not do it.

Q: You are telling a lie. The investigation demands from you a frank confession.

A: I once again assert that I have never engaged in espionage. I can not show anything more on this case. "³²²

The interrogation was continued on September 14 of the same year:

"Q: The testimony of September 5 is not complete, you are a recruited neighboring foreign state for spy work in their favor, tell the investigation completely.

A: The testimony given by me on September 5 is correct, I have never engaged and do not engage in espionage, work in favor of a foreign state.

Q: In your testimony, you said that the last time you were in Romania in 1918, for what purpose did you go?

A.: Yes, I really was in Romania in 1918, I went for my mother, which I brought to Ukraine and she lived near me, five years after that she died. "³²³

According to the indictment of September 17, 1937, during the investigation it was established that the priest Kuzma Voynitskiy "... over the years, especially after the closure of a number of churches in the Frunzensky district, showed daily tendencies of leaving for Romania. Not having certain classes, he carried out anti-Soviet agitation, praising good life in Romania, declaring that at the first opportunity, he would go to Romania. Having connections with relatives living in Romania, he illegally transferred to them in 1918 and from where in the same year he illegally moved to the territory of the Soviet Union.

Attracted to the investigation as a defendant, Voinitsky guilty admitted himself completely"³²⁴.

The investigation file was referred to the NKJD Trial Troika.

³²² Ibid L.d. 5

³²³ Ibid L.d. 7

³²⁴ Ibid L.d. 8

By the decision of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR and the Prosecutor of the USSR? according to protocol No. 32 of November 14, 1937, **priest Kuzma Voynitskiy was convicted in the first category and sentenced to be shot.**

The verdict was carried out on November 29, 1937.³²⁵

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from August 22, 1989.³²⁶

3.3.8 Priest Lyubomir Todorov

Priest Lyubomir Konstantinovich Todorov was born in 1881 in the city of Filipopol (Plovdiv, Bulgaria). Education - secondary, spiritual. Bulgarian, citizenship of the USSR. At the time of his arrest, he lives in the village. Belyaevka of the Odessa region, where he serves as a priest.

Family: his wife - Agafia Stepanovna Todorova; daughter - Muntean Galina Lyubomirovna; son - Konstantin Lyubomirovich, Odessa, 14 Krasnov str., works in the Palace of Pioneers; son - Dmitry, Odessa, st. Slobodskaya, 49, pom. The driver on a freight train.³²⁷

Lyubomir Todorov, acting as a priest of the Belyaevskaya church, leads a hostile policy towards the Soviets among the peasants, is engaged in open agitation against the activities of the State Council and the collective farm system, distributed among those who believe in creating their own authority what is familiar with the Leader of the Peoples. Stalin, so the church in the village of Belyaevka will not be closed.

During the removal of church bells, Todorov declared: "It's all the same, although they take the bells off, but soon the church will serve, as it used to be, because the Soviet government will not exist for a long time."

In addition, Todorov LK He actively worked among religious people against the closure of the Church, by fraudulently compiling lists of believers against the closure of the church.

At the church, he organized a 50-ku from an anti-Soviet element, among which he prepares work for re-elections to the Supreme Council in such a direction to propose candidates from among religious people for what he held meetings. "

In the Decree on the election of a preventive measure of November 2, 1937, it is stated that "Todorov Lyubomir Konstantinovich, working as a priest in the Belyaevskaya church among churchmen, conducts anti-Soviet agitation against the Soviets, expressing anti-Soviet jokes and

³²⁵ Ibid L.d. 10

³²⁶ Ibid L.d. 11

³²⁷ SAOR. R-8065, op. 2, d. 11 900. L.d. 11

emigrating. Has relatives in Bulgaria ». ³²⁸ The measure of restraint to the priest was determined in Odessa prison.

On September 1, 1937, the priest, Lyubomir Todorov, was searched and arrested at his place of permanent residence in the village of. Belyaevka. During the search, they were found and seized: a passport, correspondence, lists of believers for a few years - 9 liters, and even military whistles - 2 pcs. ³²⁹

From the record of interrogation of the accused on September 16, 1937:

"Question: When did you come from Bulgaria to Russia?

Answer: I was in Bulgaria for the last time in 1899.

Q: What is the purpose of your visit to Russia?

A: I came with my mother. She came to live in Russia, where she lived for 8 years, after which she left back to Bulgaria. I enrolled in a religious school, graduated from a theological seminary and remained in Russia as a minister of the cult and have been working till now as a priest.

Q: In what year did you become a citizen of Russia?

A: I took Russian citizenship in 1905.

Q: Does the investigation know that you, among the collective farmers, have expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet authorities, wish to give truthful testimony in this case?

A: I never showed any discontent towards the Soviet authorities.

Q: You criticized the peasants for breaking away from the church. Do you confirm this?

A: I said that if they do not go to church, then our church will be closed and then blame themselves. ³³⁰

When asked by the investigator whether the defendant pleads guilty, the priest Todorov replied: "Yes, I admit myself guilty. Because I dragged the collective farmers into the church, that they blamed them, if they broke away from the church, and also because I did not forbid the collection of illegal inscriptions against closing the church». ³³¹

Conclusions of the Indictment of November 13, 1937 are built literally on the certificate of the Belyayevsky RO of the NKVD, already cited above. Particular emphasis is placed on the disagreement of the priest with the closure of the church, so "in order to organize the population against the closure of the church, Todorov walked the streets, persuading the peasants not to subscribe to the closure of the church and said:" Is this power. They say that the church is

³²⁸ Ibid L.d. 8

³²⁹ Ibid L.d. 12

³³⁰ Ibid L.d. 13

³³¹ Ibid L.d. 16

separated from the state, and they themselves rob the church and remove the bells. If the believers did not allow the bells to be removed, not so many collective farmers sold themselves for a bowl of borscht. But still, the Soviet government will not exist for a long time, but the church will be necessary for us. We must go and collect the signatures of believers ".³³²

According to the findings of the investigation, in the charges brought against the priest Lyubomir Todorov pleaded guilty in part and the case was sent to Troika for UNKVD in the Odessa region.

Trial of the NKVD in the Odessa region, at its meeting on November 27, 1937, rendered the decision of Todorov Lyubomir Konstantinovich - to conclude in the ITL for a period of 10 years from September 1, 1937.³³³

On March 5, 1938, in connection with the review of the case, the earlier judgment of the Trial Judge was changed. According to the protocol No. 113 of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region, a new decision was made: **the priest Lyubomir Konstantinovich Todorov was to be shot.**

The verdict was carried out on March 9, 1938.³³⁴

The conclusion of the rehabilitation is from May 22, 1989.³³⁵

3.3.9 Priest Georgiy Sendulskiy

Priest Georgiy Apollonovich Sendulskiy, was born in 1873, in the village of Sivki Ostrozhsky district of the Volyn province, in the clergyman's family. The clergyman was his grandfather³³⁶. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary. Ordained priest in 1901 and the first place of his ministry was the church of St. John Chrysostom in the village. Zlatoust-Field of Ochakivsky district of Odessa county.³³⁷

Arrested in 1917 by the GPU.

At the time of his arrest, he was a priest of the church in the village of Iasi in the Belyaevsky district. Arrested on September 10, 1937,³³⁸ according to the search warrant and arrest No. 115 of September 1, 1937³³⁹

³³² Ibid L.d. 18

³³³ Ibid L.d. 19

³³⁴ Ibid L.d. 22

³³⁵ Ibid L.d. 24

³³⁶ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 22 517-P. L.d. 18

³³⁷ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906, p. 99

³³⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 22517-P. L.d. 17

³³⁹ Ibid L.d. 15

According to the decree on the preventive measure of November 2, 1937, Sendulskiy is accused of "... working as a priest in the village of Yaski among the population conducting anti-Soviet agitation against the Soviet government, disseminating provocative rumors about the war between Germany and Japan with the USSR, voicing defeatist sentiments, misinterpreting Constitution of the USSR ".³⁴⁰

Extracts from the record of interrogation of the accused are most interesting:

"I read in the newspapers that foreign countries want to attack the USSR, which had a conversation with the peasants, said that it would be bad for the people, if there is a war, the blood of workers and peasants will be shed", "I said that earlier some peasants are better off lived "...

But the clergyman's answer to the question of the investigator about religious rituals sounds absolutely absurd: "I spread this all as dope, and in particular church rites, it's all invented for landlords and clergy".³⁴¹

During the investigation, the investigator issued an indictment on November 11, 1937, in which he incriminates: "G. Sendulskiy in the period 1929-1931. consisted in the Tikhonov counter-revolutionary organization ... Sendulskiy was arrested for his counter-revolutionary activities.

In 1933 Pop Sendulskiy led the preparations for emigration for which he moved to the border village of Iasi.

During the publication of the draft Constitution of the USSR, the religious people interpreted the anti-Soviet laws: "When the Constitution is approved, no one will close the church, and therefore we need to defend the church", which involved more believers so that in the event of a subscription to the closing of the church of believers there was a majority ".³⁴²

The case is directed to the consideration of the Trial of UNKVD in the Odessa region.

According to the extract from the protocol No. 89 of November 27, 1937 of the Trial of the NKVD in the Odessa region, a decision was made to shoot Sendulskiy.

The sentence was carried out on December 13, 1937.

Rehabilitated on October 20, 1989.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Ibid L.d. 13

³⁴¹ Ibid L.d. 19

³⁴² Ibid L.d. 20

³⁴³ Ibid L.d. 22

3.3.10 Priest Vladimir Ventsel

Priest Vladimir Petrovich Ventsel was born on August 15, 1893 in with. Trikrats of the Ascension District ³⁴⁴ in the clergyman's family. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary in 1911.

In the reference to Ventsel V.P. from 23.07.1937, issued by the head of the Razdelnyansky RO NKVD, Lieutenant G.B. Doroshko said: "The essence of compromising materials is that Ventsel before the people present in the church said that in connection with the new constitution, it is time that believers can open in any village church. To this end, Ventsel called on all the collective farmers present in the church to organize themselves in fifty religious people and on this basis applied to the district executive committee with a petition for the opening of the church, because The new constitution allegedly allows the churchmen to restore the old and build new churches. " This was enough to open a criminal case against Vladimir Ventsel, the "servant of religious worship."

Moreover, all this was confirmed by witness testimony, surprisingly repeating the certificate of Lieutenant GB: "Yesterday 10.06 on the occasion of the religious holiday" ascension "I came to the Capaklia Church and attended the sermon that Ventsel read for parishioners of the church. Pop Ventsel after the service read the sermon, which lasted about 15 minutes. I can not accurately reproduce the contents of the sermon, but I remember his speech well when he touched the church, that in connection with the new constitution the time has come when believers can open a church in any village. To this end, Ventsel called on all the collective farmers present in the church to organize themselves in fifty religious people and on this basis applied to the district executive committee with a petition for the opening of the church, because The new constitution allegedly allows the churchmen to restore the old and build new churches " ³⁴⁵.

In the course of the investigation of the case, more and more "details of the counter-revolutionary activities" of Priest Ventsel are being revealed, in particular, from the testimony of the teacher, a member of the Komsomol, the investigation becomes aware that: "Since the spring of this year, many children of school children began to attend the church, even to the detriment of their study ... Ventsel leads such agitation among the children of the Kirov and the October s / s where he himself goes very personally and has a close relationship with the collective farmers

³⁴⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 774-P (priest Ventsel V.P.) l.d.19

³⁴⁵ Ibid L.d. 3

who have remained in the hut. Antonovka, Pokrovka, etc. from these farms also many children go to church. There are also children from other villages of Budenovskiy and N. Dmitrievskiy s/s.

Pop Ventsel before Easter taught children, during which he asked them whether they pray to the god of the house, whether they observe fasts, because to eat fast is a fast sin.

Pop also conducts agitation among children of preschool children, children on the street often meet me and show piglets (coins) given to them by the priest say: "Aha, Nina Stepanovna, here we were in church and our father gave money, we are on the next Sunday too, let's go, the priest will give us money again. " Openly in the church, she tells the children to go to church and pray to God, and also to attract more children to the church, arrange gifts for them, give them toys, give them money for everyone, so that they go to church more often.

Pop Ventsel has a close relationship with the dekulakized returnees from the expulsion of Alexander Kapakli and other anti-Soviet personalities who come to him at night and have long conversations. To Ventsel very often come also unknown nuns, whom the priest sends through the villages to collect donations for the church. Ventsel persuades the nuns in his possession so that they find the exiled priest Gayday. ³⁴⁶

On September 10, 1937, the search and arrest of the priest, Vladimir Petrovich Ventsel ³⁴⁷.

In the indictment, the priest was reminded also of earlier "sins". So "in 1931 Ventsel openly opposed the payment of the State Taxes, he told the collective farmers that the village council inflicted them wrongly and gave them advice on how to write complaints to the center, and thus broke the timely payment of taxes.

In 1933 Ventsel led agitation among the collective farmers against the surrender of grain to the state, he said: "Do not surrender bread to the state because you will die of hunger ..."

In 1937 he attracted preschool children to church who told them to go to church and pray to God, give them all kinds of toys and money ".³⁴⁸

It was not without a template, too often for all kinds of visible and invisible sins against the Soviets added one more - the so-called "sin of the interventionist", in this case it manifested itself in this form: "Expressing his dissatisfaction with the co-power, Ventsel says:" ... because everything happens to an end, this Soviet banditry will not last long, if Germany and Austria act in the war, then Romania will not stay, and that war is inevitable is a fact ".³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Ibid L.d. 6

³⁴⁷ Ibid L.d. 15

³⁴⁸ Ibid L.d. 24

³⁴⁹ Ibid L.d. 1

It should be given credit, the investigator still admits: "The person questioned in this case did not plead guilty, but the presence of testimony fully confirms his criminal activities" and this reason is also enough to send the case to the Trial of the NKVD Odessa Trial Troika.

Extract from Minutes No. 32.5 of the meeting of the Troika under UNKVD in the Odessa Region dated September 15, 1937, according to the case of the Razdelniansky RO of the NKVD No. 2778 in relation to Ventsel V.P. is full of the usual resolution on the case of the clergyman - "shoot".³⁵⁰

The sentence was carried out on October 2, 1937, exactly at midnight.³⁵¹

Rehabilitated on November 21, 1989.

3.3.11 Priest Dmitriy Ignatyev

In a decree of September 11, 1937³⁵², after reviewing the material provided by the chief of the third branch of the RK to the police of Odessa against the priest Dmitry Illarionovich Ignatyev, 52, a native of the village of Slobodzei of MASSR, previously convicted, accused as an owlsh element, pom. Odessa regional prosecutor for the police found that Ignatyev Dmitry Illarionovich without certain occupation, in 1930 for an attempt to transfer to the border zone for three years was sent to a remote area. After serving the term, he returned and received a refusal to register, lived illegally in 1934 without a passport, without residence. Now he came to Odessa without a passport and lived illegally in Odessa, is a socially dangerous element, and therefore, guided by the 156 CCP, decided to elect a measure of restraint in the relations of Ignatyev D.I. detention in Odessa prison with enrollment for the head of the third branch of the RK of the police of Odessa, for registration for consideration of the judicial Troika of the NKVD in the Odessa region on charges of violating Art. 80 p. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

From further inquiries in the case and various orders we know that Ignatyev is a native of the village of Slobodzey MASSR, until 1909 he lived with his relatives and was engaged in agriculture. In 1910 he came to Odessa, periodically lived in Odessa until 1934, first worked in different enterprises, then served as a singer-psalm player in the church of St. Nicholas. He served as deacon in the Cathedral from 1925 to 1936. Periodically, he served as a priest in various places of the USSR, in 1930 he was tried by the NKVD Troika and sentenced to three years of free expulsion and deported to Kazakhstan in connection with the charge of crossing the Romanian

³⁵⁰ Ibid L.d. 26

³⁵¹ Ibid L.d. 27

³⁵² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 19 887-P. L.d. 2

border. In 1934 he was released, after which he again came to Odessa, did not have a certain place of residence, spent the night in a cemetery, lived illegally, and violated the passport law.

According to the extract from the protocol No. 891 of the Troika meeting of the NKVD for the Odessa region of October 3, 1937, the accused Ignatyev D.I. according to Art. 80 part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, as a violator of the passport regime, is imprisoned in the labor camp (forced labor camp - auth.) For a period of two years, counting the term from September 10, 1937.

On December 19, 1937, in the name of the head of the 1st building of the Odessa prison, one of the cellmates of Ignatyev from the 54th chamber receives a complaint-complaint "Due to the fact that there is a prisoner priest, Ignatyev D.I., prisoners of religious laws "on a sacred letter. Showing from the matches that in the Gospel it was written that such a devil would arise who would have the number 666. And if you write this letter with crayons or matches come out with a name, and when the matches were laid, came out on matches "Lenin" from the same and the same the number of matches is a five-star star. Dali, he preached that it should be VI. Lenin. Many of the prisoners ask if there will be an amnesty. He replies that if there is, then for one day "

³⁵³

During the interrogation, the cellmate confirms his testimony, adding that "the prisoners who are under his influence are drugged to such an extent that even baptize even water before drinking it. On December 21, the cell was talked about a possible amnesty by the Supreme Council. Ignatyev at the same time inserted a retort: "Look forward to shooting rather than amnesty"

At the interrogation on December 28, 1937, the convict Ignatyev D.I. denies all accusations in his address.³⁵⁴ At the same time, the investigator conducting the interrogation gives a certificate-description of Ignatyev, in which he indicates that during the interrogation "he behaved defiantly:

1) did not want to answer the questions asked, saying "that I have already been convicted - there is nothing to disturb me";

2) he considered all the questions asked to be a fictitious investigator for the creation of a new case;

3) during the interrogation did not sit on a chair and did not sit down, despite our requests and suggestions.

³⁵³ Ibid L.d. 5

³⁵⁴ Ibid L.d. 8

Speaking during the interrogation that he was deaf and poorly seen, illiterate, etc. Thanks to his lack of knowledge, he did not want to sign the protocol. The protocol I read to him several times, but he argued that he did not hear some words and did not see well. After everything, how to sign the protocol, he personally read it, already sees and hears ".³⁵⁵

The officer in charge of the Odessa Prison, in his decision of December 28, 1937, having examined the materials on the prisoner D.I. Ignatyev, found that "Ignatyev D.I., being hostile to the attitude of the Soviets while in Odessa prison, groups around him prisoners, among whom holds a CR. agitation, fomenting religious feelings in prisoners, Ignatyev used them for his CR. goals. Among the prisoners spread provocative rumors about the expected executions of prisoners. Conducting among the prisoners conversations on anti-Soviet themes, Ignatyev D.I. discredits the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet government. Bearing in mind that Ignatyev D.I. is a particularly dangerous social element, and that it does not respond to educational measures. "

The case of a prisoner Ignatyev D.I. was submitted to the Troika for UNKVD in the Odessa region.

According to the extract from protocol No. 111 of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region of December 23, 1937, a resolution was adopted on the execution of Ignatyev D.I.³⁵⁶ The verdict was carried out on January 2, 1938.³⁵⁷ Afterwards was rehabilitated.

3.3.12 Priest Andrey Okhrimovich

Priest Andrey Vasilievich Okhrimovich (Ohremovich), was born on July 1, 1883, with the village of Belaya Yampolskaya district of Vinnitsa region.³⁵⁸

Before and after the revolution - a clergyman. Graduated from the theological seminary.³⁵⁹

According to the decree on the election of a preventive measure of September 22, 1937, priest Okhrimovich is charged according to 54-10 part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in that "... he is a priest of the Savrani church. church agitation aimed at undermining all the activities of the Soviet authorities in the countryside, also spreading rumors about the imminent death of the Soviet government "and the content of the Odessa prison.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Ibid L.d. 1

³⁵⁶ Ibid L.d. 11

³⁵⁷ Ibid L.d. 12

³⁵⁸ now v.Belaya of Yampolsky district of Vinnytsia region

³⁵⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3522-P. L.d. 5

³⁶⁰ Ibid L.d. 2

On the same day, according to Order No. 49 of September 22, 1937, and the record of arrest and search from the same date in the village. Savran was arrested priest Andrey Vasilievich Okhrimovich, at the time of the arrest of the widower.³⁶¹

The next day, on December 24, the accused was interrogated, the accused refuses all accusations and speaks of his non-participation in counter-revolutionary activities:

"Q: You are arrested on charges of being a member of the CR. organization, whose goal is to overthrow the Soviet power, and as a member of this c.r. organizations wreaked havoc with the population. Саврани к.р. agitation aimed at frustrating all the activities conducted by the Soviet authorities in the countryside, do you admit that you are guilty of this?

A: No, I do not recognize, because I am not a member of any CR. organization, and did not conduct any a / c agitation ".

Despite the categorical refusal and disagreement of the accused himself with the accusations against him in the indictment of September 24, 1937, it is said: "In Savransk RO, the NKVD received materials that the priest of the Savran church, Andrey Okhrimovich, was among the population of Savran 's village. agitation aimed at overthrowing the Soviet government, which was the basis for the establishment of the investigative case.

The preliminary investigation into the case, testimony of witnesses and case materials established that the accused Okhrimovich, residing in Pervomaisk, since 1936, was the head of the kr. group of priests who conducted among the population c.r. agitation aimed at overthrowing the Soviet government.

Being since 1937. the priest of the Savran Church Okhrimovich continued to conduct among the population, namely, during the confession of the believer Bayrak Xenia persuaded to conduct among the population of c.r. agitation.

In the month of May 1937. when meeting with gr. Rehman Dorofei instructed him to distribute the cr. leaflets of church content. These leaflets were distributed during the month of May among the population of Savrani village and other villages.

In August 1937 accused Okhrimovich tried to hire an apartment to hold illegal meetings near the town of Borovitskaya. Accused Okhrimovich illegally sent religious rites to apartments from believers on condition that they must collect money for repairing the church and draw the population into the religious community.

Accused Okhrimovich also distributed CR. rumors of the imminent overthrow of the Soviet government.

In the charges brought against him, the accused Okhrimovich did not plead guilty.

³⁶¹ Ibid L.d. 4

In his crimes, he is exposed by the testimony and face-to-face rates of witnesses and the case materials ".³⁶²

The case was sent to the Trial of the Judiciary at the Odessa UNKVD.

The sitting of the Trial Troika at the Odessa NKVDD, dated September 26, 1937, according to the extract from protocol No. 48, decided to conclude a clerk of Okhrimovich A.V. in the CLC for a period of 10 years with pre-trial detention from August 22, 1937.³⁶³

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from November 12, 1992.

3.3.13 Priest Matvey Rudnitskiy

Priest Matvey Yakovlevich Rudnitsky, was born on September 7, 1880 in the village of Okny in the Krasnoyoknyansky district of Odessa region in the family of a teacher who later accepted the holy order.

At the time of his arrest, he served as a priest in the Sichavka village of the Kominternovsky district of the Odessa region.

According to the completed questionnaire on the day of the arrest, even before the Revolution and until 1924 Matvei Yakovlevich Rudnitsky worked as a teacher of the parish school, in 1924 was ordained a priest, graduating from the Seminary and the Theological Academy.³⁶⁴

Several times he was arrested. In particular, in 1926 he was arrested and released, but not convicted. In 1928 he was again detained, there was no court, and for the third time he was detained and tried according to Article 58 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, which resulted in him being sentenced to 2 months of forced labor.

About the family it is known that there were four children: son Eugene, specializing in agronomy; son Georgiy; daughter Vera Nesterenko, working at the time of the arrest of priest Rudnitsky, teacher of Osipovka village of Frunzovsky district; daughter of Dubov is a housewife.

September 15, 1937, the Comintern of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR issued a decree on the election of a preventive measure for Rudnitsky Matvei Yakovlevich, who was accused "of crimes under Art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code expressed itself in the fact that Rudnitsky working as a priest with. Sychevka, holds his own. work, organize religious communities and conduct unlawfully religious rites in other villages, collect money through the old women for the

³⁶² Ibid L.d. 20

³⁶³ Ibid L.d. 23

³⁶⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3398-P. L.d. 7

restoration of the church, illegally baptize children ... Rudnitsky as a pop who has influence and leaving him free can influence the course of the investigation and hide from the court. "

To the priest Rudnitsky M.Ya. detention in Odessa prison was determined.

On the same day, under No. 90, an arrest warrant was issued.³⁶⁵

Arrested priest Rudnitsky September 26 "without leaving the church with. Sychevka, "he found an unknown letter and 100 rubles.³⁶⁶

In a certificate issued by the head of the Comintern of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, it is said that "Rudnitsky M.Ya. is accused of carrying out agitation against the Soviets along with conducting religious rituals: "Forget it, God gave this power to the devil for a while, but soon it will change, persuade at the sermon - to keep the law, to keep his faith. Living in s.Sychavka, without the knowledge of local authorities, conducts religious rituals in other villages, baptizes children, etc., through their old women, the klikush collects money for the restoration of the church in Sychavka. He has correspondence with foreign countries, he received dollars from there. "

According to the report of the accused on September 27, 1937, the priest Matvey Rudnitsky, besides children, has a brother Nikolai, a pensioner living in Znamenka, and brother Vasily, a professor in Kharkov, sister Anna lived at that time in Odessa in Sverdlova St. No. 81.

As for the Rudnitsky Matvey Yakovlevich himself, until 1903 he worked as a teacher of the parish school with. Gandraburs near the city of Ananyev and near the station. Mardanovka in v. (illegible).³⁶⁷

It becomes known that the psalmist Matvei Yakovlevich has served since 1898.³⁶⁸

From 1903 to 1918 he was a psalm-reader and teacher, in 1918 he was ordained a deacon, continuing to teach.

In 1924 he became a priest was sent to the village. Karabanovovo of the Frunzovsky district, where he served until the close of the local church in December 1935.

In January 1936 he went to his brother in Znamenka, where he lived until March of the same year. Since September 15, 1936, he was appointed a priest in the village of. Sychev, where he served before his arrest.

As the defendant himself stated: "I was not subjected to dekulakization, in 1929 I was taxed in 700 rubles, which I did not pay, for which I was tried under art. 58 for 2 months of correctional labor ". In 1925 he was again arrested, but not convicted, for staying in Kharkov without

³⁶⁵ Ibid L.d. 4

³⁶⁶ Ibid L.d. 5

³⁶⁷ Ibid L.d. 9

³⁶⁸ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 637

registration for 3 days. In 1929, he was tried for non-payment of agricultural tax. In 1930, he was allegedly arrested for falsifying the renovation of icons.

From the same protocol of interrogation "In 1935 an article was read in the newspaper that the church was being closed, I advised the community to write a cult inspector, the community did not receive a response. And the church was closed, but my passport was taken away from me " ³⁶⁹

Throughout the interrogation, priest Matvey Yakovlevich Rudnitsky refuses to participate personally in the counter-revolutionary organization, although he acknowledges the fact of its existence.

According to the indictment of September 29, 1937, where it is said "that Rudnitsky, the director of the women's uprising, organized a mass, so that the latter would not allow the church to be closed. As a servant of the cult, he arrived in Sychavku village and, along with the religious ritual of the saloons, to hold a kr. work, persuade the collective farmers to collect money to repair the church, bring the children to church, tell the collective farmers that the new constitution has restored our rights and allows us to conduct religious rituals and now we must demand the return of the church. Rudnitsky being a priest exploited children aged 8 to 12 years.

The investigation also found that Pop Rudnitsky propagandizes among the population that in the near future there will be war and there will be a change of power, there is no freedom in the USSR, freedom only on paper, agitated about non-signing for a loan, did not let Sichava church close, says that the Sovshchad will do nothing , it is still weak.

Interrogated as the accused, Rudnitsky pleaded guilty in part. " ³⁷⁰

After the indictment, the investigative case was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

By Protocol No. 56 of October 22, 1937, the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odesa Oblast made a decision to imprison the accused priest Rudnitsky in the ITL for a period of 10 years, counting the term from September 15, 1937.

Rehabilitated on February 15, 1994.

3.3.14 Deacon Nikita Shtepenko

Deacon Nikita Ivanovich Shtepenko was born in 1901 in the city of Alexandria in the Kherson province in the family of a world judge, a personal nobleman. At the time of his arrest,

³⁶⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3398-P. L.d. 10

³⁷⁰ Ibid. L.d. 47

he lived at the address: Odessa, 72 Ostrovidov str., Ap. 13. A Greek church choir and a 3rd year student of the Pharmaceutical Institute.

Family: wife - Sofia Moiseevna Sheikman, born in 1914, postman of the post office; six-month-old son.³⁷¹

According to the decree on the election of a preventive measure of October 19, 1937, Stepanenko Nikolai Ivanovich "is associated with a counter-revolutionary element and conducts anti-Soviet agitation. Can hide from the investigation and the court and his stay at large may affect the course of the investigation ".³⁷² The measure of restraint of Shtepenko was determined detention in Odessa prison.

The search protocol and the arrest were made on October 21 according to order No. 2660 of October 20, 1937. During the search, the passport and correspondence were withdrawn.³⁷³

One of the passing witnesses on the case, showed the following: "Shtepenko Nikita Ivanovich I know since 1921. During this entire period, Stepenka, as I know, was close to the church-believers, takes part in the choir of the church. Recently, he is the regent of the choir of the Greek church. During the existence of the Ukrainian church in Odessa, he was the deacon throughout the entire period of her existence. As a church deacon he lost his electoral rights. Stepanenko was in close relations with the choir participants ".³⁷⁴

It is interesting that in the case there are two blocks of protocols of interrogation of the accused. They vary in both the form of writing and their semantic load, opposite answers and almost half a year between the interrogations themselves.

Illogical and incorrect are the defendant's answers in the interrogation protocol of May 17, 1937. The questions and answers are written in a calligraphic handwriting without errors and blots, and the accused himself, on a short question about his anti-Soviet environment, answers extensively and under the exact numbering of paragraphs. At the same time, giving exact addresses, biographical information, etc., and from the very first answer, driving into a corner: "As the son of a former world judge, a personal nobleman, as a former cleric, as a popular participant in church choirs, I surrounded myself in Odessa a significant amount of an alien element. Although I personally did not have gravity for this environment, yet according to the conditions corresponding to the above, I got into this environment ".³⁷⁵

And completely different are the answers to the interrogation report of October 30, 1937:

³⁷¹ SAOR. R-8065, op. 2, d. 9526. L.d. 10

³⁷² Ibid L.d. 6

³⁷³ Ibid L.d. 8

³⁷⁴ Ibid L.d. 2

³⁷⁵ Ibid L.d. 11

"Question: Do you recognize your counter-revolutionary activity?

Answer: No

Q .: The investigation found that you conducted an active anti-Soviet activity. We suggest you to stop the fight and at the investigation to answer openly the question of your counter-revolutionary activity.

A: I did not conduct counter-revolutionary activity ".³⁷⁶

In the meantime, while in prison in Odessa prison, Stepanenko was expelled from the Pharmaceutical Institute, and the interrogated director himself showed: "Stepenko was expelled from the institute in September 1937 for concealing his social origin, his connection with the Trotskyites and the anti-Soviet element, service in the Greek church".³⁷⁷

According to the Indictment of October 31, 1937, Shtepenko Nikita Ivanovich "comes from the nobility, the Ukrainian pop, still working in the choir of the Greek church, is also a watchmaker in the nepredict institute, expelled from the pharmaceutical institute for anti-Soviet manifestations.

It is connected with the anti-Soviet element among former cult servants, Germans associated with foreign consulates.

Shtepenko conducted counter-revolutionary agitation against the VKP (b) and the Sovlast, trying to discredit the leaders of the party and government. Tried to disrupt the subscription to a defense loan at a pharmaceutical institute, conducted student treatment of anti-Soviet spirit.

Spread provocative rumors that he is an NKVD officer and no one has the right to expose him.

I recognized only my anti-Soviet ties. Evicted by the testimony of witnesses ".³⁷⁸

The investigative case was referred to the Judicial Troika of the NKVD for the Odessa region.

According to the extract from the protocol No. 71 of November 1, 1937, the Trial of UNKVD in the Odessa region rendered a decision to **Shtepenko Nikita Ivanovich - to shoot.**³⁷⁹

The verdict was carried out on November 14, 1937.³⁸⁰

Conclusion on the rehabilitation is from August 22, 1989.

³⁷⁶ Ibid L.d. 14

³⁷⁷ Ibid L.d. 3

³⁷⁸ Ibid L.d. 17

³⁷⁹ Ibid L.d. 18

³⁸⁰ Ibid L.d. 19

3.3.15 Priest Petr Reshetinskiy

Priest Peter Fedorovich Reshetinsky, was born on January 19, 1882 in Odessa. Has 3 classes of theological seminary. In the years 1918-1920. - Artist-singer, from 1920 to 1930 serves as deacon, in 1930-34. - a clergyman.

After the closure of the church in 1934, he worked as a simple worker, accountant and accountant of a plywood factory at ul. Bugaevskaya.

Wife - Anastasia Stepanovna Reshetinskaya, at the time of her husband's arrest works as a nurse in a nursery in Slobodka.³⁸¹

According to the decision to select a preventive measure on October 22, 1937, Reshetinsky "previously joined the counterrevolutionary organization" CPI, "but escaped from the attraction ... Grouping around himself a monarchical element, expressing a sharp anti-Soviet sentiment against the events of the Soviet government" and is charged under art. 54-10 part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.³⁸²

Order No. 2749 for search and arrest was issued on October 28, 1937³⁸³, On the same day, Father Peter Reshetinskiy, was arrested at the address: ul. Nerubayskaya 34.³⁸⁴

From the record of the interrogation of the accused on November 28, 1937 (only a month after the arrest), it became known that before the revolution the defendant Reshetinsky served in the rank of lieutenant in the tsarist army, after the revolution he became "a servant of the cult, was a member of a counterrevolutionary organization and was hostile to the Soviets. He was particularly active in agitating in 1931, using difficulties, agitating that Sovlast - "power without God."

The indictment of 4 December 1937 said that the above facts are confirmed by the testimony of witnesses and the accused himself.³⁸⁵

The case was sent to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

The next day, on December 5, 1937, the Trial Troika, by the protocol No. 101, ruled to shoot the priest Peter Reshetinsky.³⁸⁶

The sentence was carried out on December 8, 1937.

³⁸¹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 10 446-P. L.d. 12

³⁸² Ibid. L.d. 8

³⁸³ Ibid. L.d. 10

³⁸⁴ Ibid. L.d. 11

³⁸⁵ Ibid. L.d. 16

³⁸⁶ Ibid. L.d. 17

According to Decision No. 67 of the Presidium of the Odessa Regional Court of April 27, 1959, the case was dismissed for lack of prosecution, and the wife was issued a certificate of death of Reshetinsky P.F. in the ITL on April 20, 1942, from heart paralysis.

3.3.16 Archpriest Aleksey Popovich

Archpriest Aleksey Popovich was born on March 17, 1880, in with. Popoutsy of Bessarabian province (now Popowtsi, Rybnitsa district, Moldova - author), in the family of the psalmist.³⁸⁷

He graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy, candidate of theology. He was ordained a priest in 1905, the first place of service was the Greek St. Nicholas Church of Mykolaiv.³⁸⁸

Since May, 1909, he has served as rector of St. Nicholas Cathedral in Tiraspol. According to the interrogation protocol, he arrived in Odessa in 1914.

According to the decree on the election of a preventive measure of October 22, 1937, Popovich is charged under art. 54-10 part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and he is charged with the fact that "using the religious prejudices of believers, disseminated among them provocative rumors of hunger, as well as agitating among the believers a / s (anti-Soviet - auth.), Inculcating hatred towards the Soviets. Popovich is a participant of the kr. (counter-revolutionary - author) organization of the CPI"

The search and arrest was sanctioned by the prosecutor on October 25, 1937, conducted pursuant to Order No. 2909 of October 26, 1937, arrested on November 7, 1937.

During the search on October 29, 1937 at the apartment of Popovich at the address of Odessa, ul. Field 4, "7 different portraits and church documents" were found.

One of the witnesses-clergymen passing on business gives the following characteristic to Popovich: "Popovich among the believers and clergy enjoys a tremendous authority. His authority was used by Popovich for the conduct of the r. agitation among believers, as he himself is very hostile to the Soviet government, and he introduces his church to believers in his hostile moods. I, being a deacon until 1930, had to be ordained as a priest, and when in private conversation, I informed the priest about this, he told me that it was not necessary to do this, tk. priests are subjected to great persecution by the Soviet authorities, which has as its goal to strangle the Orthodox Church. Popovich told me that as a result of this policy, thousands of

³⁸⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 19 540-P. L.d. 12

³⁸⁸ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odesa, 1906. P. 150

people die without the advice of priests. According to him, the Soviet state, as in the time of Nero, destroys Christianity.

He is particularly popular among female fanatics. "³⁸⁹

Another witness, according to the protocol of November 27, 1937, says that "Popovich is among active believers among active believers." agitation, which is expressed in ridicule about certain difficulties. "Here you have freedom, here you are and it's fun, eat, eat, but there's nothing to eat".³⁹⁰

Proceeding from various documents in the file, the accused Popovich "worked as a storekeeper for the construction of the Odessa Medical Institute from August 13 to September 20, 1937", a certificate dated July 25, 1937 certifies that he "works as a receptionist for the construction of school No. 2 of the school trust construction "," from September 20 to October 8, 1937, a guard in the Odessa Stroitkont Chernoe Azov Stroypreda "," from September 5, 1936 to July 27, 1937, a material receptionist at the construction of a children's hospital and school number 2 ".³⁹¹

In this case there is another interesting point. It is completely incomprehensible when a person who calls himself religious and moreover, affirming that "this position is very firm" already literally changes the testimony in the next sentence. Is this evidence of torture on the accused? And maybe everything was much simpler ... The defendant simply did not know what he put his signature under. Provided that the signature itself was not forged ...

We quote the protocol of interrogation of the accused on November 28, 1937, in which some "discrepancies" seem absurd to us:

"A: According to my convictions, I am a religious person, and I stand very firmly in this position. When they began to despise religion and the church, I became embittered and was a member of such a church CR. organization, whose task was to restore the bourgeois system. This applies to approximately 24-25gg.

Q: Did you hold CR? agitation?

A: Our organization, including myself, used every opportunity to create discontent.

Q .: Why did you arrest the NKVD in 1923 from 18.10. to 12.02. in 1923?

A .: Arrested for assisting the wife of the priest of Nikolaev, Salagor, in the illegal crossing of the border to Romania.

³⁸⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case. L.d. 2

³⁹⁰ Ibid L.d. 4

³⁹¹ Ibid L.d. 11

A: I confess that I am to blame for the fact that among the believers I spent my time in the church. propaganda, predicted a war with fascism, and victory for fascism. "

The indictment of November 29, 1937 testifies that "Popovich Aleksey Nikolaevich in 1922 and 1923. was arrested by the bodies of the OGPU and brought to criminal liability under Art. 68 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.

In the years 1924-25. He was arrested for facilitating the transfer of two Romanian spies to Romania. In the past a member of the CPI.

Being hostile to the Council of State, using his authority among believers, he conducted a r. agitating, instilling in the latter hatred of the Soviets.

Carrying your own. campaigning Popovic directed slander to the Soviets, saying that the Soviets, allegedly oppressing the clergy and its task to strangle the Orthodox Church, as a result of this policy, thousands of people died without sacred farewells.

In 1937, he was spending his time working. activity among believers last spoke about the near death of the Soviet power, the arrival of the fascists. Concerning the slogan Comrade. Stalin "It's better to live, it's become more fun to live", ironically "Freedom, fun, but there's nothing to eat".³⁹²

The case was sent to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

The Trial Troika under UNKVD in the Odessa region, by its protocol No. 93 of November 30, 1937, ruled to shoot Aleksey Nikolayevich Popovich.

The sentence was carried out on December 4, 1937.

Conclusion on the rehabilitation is from July 22, 1989.³⁹³

3.3.17 Priest Evgeniy Maksimovich

Priest Evgeniy Viktorovich Maksimovich was born in 1863 in the village of Ternovo Kamyanets-Podilsky region in the family of peasants. He received secondary education, Ukrainian. Before the revolution of 1917 he worked as a teacher in the village of Slobodzeya of the Kodyma district, after 1917 and until 1929 he was engaged in agriculture. In 1929, he was ordained deacon and served in the village of Verkhovsk, the MASSR until 1932. In 1932, he was ordained a priest and until the closing of the church in 1935 he served as rector of the parish in the village. Vladimirovka of the Krasnokonyansky district of the MASSR, where he lived until

³⁹² Ibid L.d. 17

³⁹³ Ibid L.d. 20

he was detained on November 13, 1937 at the station Tiraspol. He lives on Capitolin Danilovna Maksimovich.

The reason for the detention, according to the decision to select a preventive measure from November 20, 1937, was the conduct of anti-Soviet agitation at the station, as well as near the prison, expressed in conversations about the difficult life of the people in prison.³⁹⁴ During the search of the detained Maximovich, a passport was found, a note with the address "Odessa, Near Mills, 32 Smirnovskaya Street, Tikhon Vladimirovich Rusinov." Also, the Decree on the appointment of the priest Maximovich to the priestly place of the parish was removed from Antonovka of the Krasnokonyansk district of the MASSR "in fulfillment of the petition of the faithful of the prayer house". Decree No. 1078 was signed on October 8, 1937 by Bishop Tikhon of Odessa and Kherson.³⁹⁵

During the interrogation of November 14, 1937, the interrogated Maksimovich explains his presence in Tiraspol as follows:

"Next to the village of Vladimirovka there is the village of Antonovka, in this village there is still a church where my good friend Strinda Mitrofan served as a priest, who at present is under arrest, allegedly for distributing church literature. And I decided to go to the prison and wanted to get advice on how to continue to be with the church, since the company of worshipers turned to me, so that I would serve their arrival. " Further, the priest confesses that he "really regretted the enemies of the people sitting in prison and said that at this time it's very hard, the people are suffering in prisons." As it turned out, in order to get to the arrested priest Strindko, Maksimovich spent three nights at the station, but he denied the conduct of counterrevolutionary activity and anti-Soviet agitation, but "only praised God and said that good people, but sit ... I confess guilt only that was located near the prison, as well as in the station of Tiraspol among the population "³⁹⁶

According to the indictment of November 25, 1937, Priest Maximovich was accused of anti-Soviet activities, in particular "was closely associated with Priest Strindauka, who is currently imprisoned for anti-Soviet agitation and for distributing religious literature," "accused the Soviets of closing churches and opening of clubs ". The investigation file was forwarded to the Troika meeting under the NKVD in the Odessa region with a recommendation for the expulsion of Maximovich for a period of 5 years.

³⁹⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3087-P. L.d. 2

³⁹⁵ Ibid. L.d. 3

³⁹⁶ Ibid. L.d. 5-6

Despite the Act of the medical examination of December 23, 1937 in Odessa city hospital and the diagnosis "obsessed with senility, atherosclerosis" and the conclusion "we can not be sent temporarily" Maksimovich was deported. They were sentenced to five years, according to the decision of Troika under the NKVD for the Odessa region of December 28, 1937, protocol No. 923.

We did not know where Maximovich was deported, but his name reappears in the resolution of the Operative Road Department of the Odessa Railway dated April 8, 1939. According to the attached report, Maksimovich is detained in the correctional labor colony No. 10 in Kherson. From the brief description in the resolution, we conclude that the Maximovich case was for some reason returned to the Road Department (which detained Maksimovich in 1937 at the Tiraspol station) for additional registration and referral on the jurisdiction.

The operative commissioner decides that "it is inadvisable to bring criminal charges again due to the elderly age of the latter and that he has been held in this case since November 20, 1937, i.e. more than 1 year 4 months, and therefore it follows from the institution of criminal proceedings to refuse. Previously, the chosen measure of restraint is lifted, released from custody. The case is archived ».³⁹⁷

3.3.18 Priest Georgiy Sadovskiy

Priest Georgiy Avraamovich Sadovskiy was born in 1877 in the m. Zakhar'evka MASSR³⁹⁸ (where at that time his father Abraham Sadovskiy lived and served as a priest). In 1895 Georgiy Sadovskiy was enrolled in the first year of the Odessa Theological Seminary. Since 1899 - a psalm-reader in the rank of deacon and until 1903 served at the church in honor of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary s. Shamovka Dmitrovskaya volost Alexandria uyezd of Kherson province (Mikhailovsky deanery district). Later he was transferred to the Novaya Odessa (Fedorovka) metro station of the Novo-Odesa Volost of the Kherson Uyezd (Novo-Odessky deanery district) and served as a psalm-reader at the church in honor of StMartyr Georgiy the Victorious, and in 1905 he was ordained deacon³⁹⁹ and left at the same church, while fulfilling the duties of the teacher of the parish school. In New Odessa, Father Georgiy served and lived until about 1908, which is confirmed by the birth certificate of his son Vladimir, issued July 28, 1907 in the m. Novaya Odessa. In the period 1908-1911 gg. Georgiy Sadovskiy served at the church in honor of the Transfiguration of the Lord with. The water Nechaevskoy volost

³⁹⁷ Ibid. L.d.18

³⁹⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 897-P (priest Sadovsky G.A.) l.d.6

³⁹⁹ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 175.

Elisavetgrad county (Bobrinetsky district), in 1912 (or at the end of 1911), the priest Georgiy was transferred to one of the churches in Elisavetgrad (now Kirovograd), according to our assumption in Petropavlovskaya cemetery in the Balk, or in the burial ground of the Cemetery church, that on Kovalevka. The date of transfer to the service in Elisavetgrad coincides with the date of issue of the birth certificate of one of the daughters of Father Georgiy - Zoe, which dates from February 26, 1912. In the temple or temples of the city of Elisavetgrad Georgiy Avramovich Sadovsky served until 1923-1924. and on his own petition was transferred to the church with. Yaski Belyaevskoy volost, this decision was affected by the death of his wife Capitolina during the epidemic of typhus and the heavy financial situation of the priest. Unfortunately, the further period of life, until 1937, remains unknown to us. We do not know when Father Georgiy became an archpriest when he was awarded a pectoral cross with ornaments⁴⁰⁰, as we do not know and much more ...

And only a certificate of reference issued by the Yaskovski Moldovan village council to Father Georgiy Sadovskiy "in the fact that he was engaged in agitation and walking around the village in 1932" gives us certain information about his life and pastoral ministry during this period. "In the years 1932-33. in the evenings the youth gathers near the gatehouse and, under the guise of singing with the youth, conducted work directed against the party and the Soviet authorities, especially against collectivization ... Despite the fact that the priest Sadovsky had no right to walk around the village, without permission, priest Sadovsky in 1937 engaged in active agitation against the closure of the church calling on the peasants through preaching, so that the peasants would give signatures about the non-closure of the church, which he organized without the permission of higher Soviet bodies, which is in violation of the law , as a result of which Sadovsky wrote the text of the statement with his own hand. The citizens' signatures collected by the priest Sadovsky were drawn up by two or three persons from the board members together with the priest Sadovsky. To which an act was drawn indicating that the lists were not certified by anyone, that Sadovsky himself did not deny and signed the act "⁴⁰¹. In that difficult year - 1937, this certificate-characteristic was just one more fact-plus - proof of guilt, crimes against the Soviet country and people committed by GA. Sadovsky.

December 7, 1937 a warrant was issued for the search and arrest of Sadovsky Georgiy Avraamovich⁴⁰² and literally the next day, December 8, priest Sadovsky was arrested on charges that "Sadovsky, in connection with the elections to the Supreme Soviet among the population,

⁴⁰⁰ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 897-P (priest Georgiy Sadovskiy) l.d.6

⁴⁰¹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 22517-P (priest Sendulskiy G.A.). l.d. 2

⁴⁰² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 897-P (priest Georgiy Sadovskiy) l.d.2

carried out counter-revolutionary agitation aimed at disrupting the elections and discrediting the nominated candidates for the Supreme Council. Some peasants were offered to disrupt the lists of voters to thereby disrupt the election day on December 12, while recommending when to receive ballots, then not to vote, but to tear them up "⁴⁰³. Noteworthy, but at the same time, the "mistake" of jurisprudence that was often repeated in those years was the case in the present case - the Decree on the selection of the measure of restraint and the Resolution on the authorization of the search and arrest were signed on December 9 and 10 respectively, although Sadovsky was arrested on December 8⁴⁰⁴.

During the interrogation, the accused Sadovsky himself denied conducting anti-Soviet agitation to disrupt the election and throughout the entire case pleaded guilty only to "writing down the Komsomol members and unbelievers to the church committee without their knowledge, justifying it with the desire to protect the church from closing." Investigators were not helped either by the confrontations between the accused and witnesses on the case, and the priest also denied participation in any anti-Soviet activity. Nevertheless, on December 19, 1937, the indictment in the Sadovsky case stated: "Sadovskiy Georgiy Avramovich being in the service of a priest in the Yaskovskaya church during the preparation of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, conducted counter-revolutionary agitation against the Soviets among the population and directed the work to disrupt the elections ... "⁴⁰⁵ and a decision was taken to refer the case to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

December 22, 1937, the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region made a decision to shoot the accused⁴⁰⁶.

On December 27, 1937, the priest Georgiy Sadovskiy was shot⁴⁰⁷. Rehabilitated on September 6, 1989.

According to the memoirs of the daughter of Father Georgiy, Claudia Georgiyevna, the priest rarely took off his cassock and cross, and even when he went out into the street and heard rude words about his priestly clothes and beard, he crossed himself telling his children "what will be, it will be, and the cross-shrine I will not take it off myself." When I walked down the street or went by tram, I always held the cross so that it would not be ripped off.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. L.d.3

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. L.d.6

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. L.d.22

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. L.d.23

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. L.d.24 (packet)

3.3.19 Priest Diodor Yakubovich

Priest Diodor Evgrafovich Yakubovich, was born on May 8, 1868, in the village. Tatarovka of the Kirov district of Mykolayiv region in the family of a sexton.⁴⁰⁸ He was ordained as a priest in 1890, awarded a legguard in 1895.⁴⁰⁹ At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Mechnikov 68.

In 1921 he was arrested by the GPU on charges of stealing church property, in 1926 he was also arrested by the GPU on charges of counterrevolutionary activity.

At the time of arrest - married. Spouse - Olympiad Yakovlevna, also has a daughter - Nadezhda, who worked as a doctor of the Tuberculosis Institute.

The decision to select a preventive measure is dated December 25, 1937. Priest Diodor Yakubovich is accused of "systematically carrying out counterrevolutionary agitation".⁴¹⁰ The prosecutor's decision to arrest was dated the same day, on December 25, 1937, and the criminal activity of priest Diodor Yakubovich in it is justified by the fact that "being an uninhabited priest visiting believers' apartments and spreading rumors about the death of the Soviet authorities, perverts in spirit of the Stalin Constitution".⁴¹¹

On the same day, a warrant was issued for the search and arrest of the cleric No. 5646 at the address: ul. Mechnikov 68/1.

On December 27, 1937, Father Diodor was arrested. During the search, antimins, banners, miter, items of deacon and priestly vestments, as well as a silver pendulum cross were seized.⁴¹²

One of the "well-wishers" of the accused Yakubovich, who was in the case as a witness, wrote such things about his father:

"I have known Yakubovich Diodor Evgrafovich, a metropolitan archpriest, for a long time. He is 70 years old. He served for a long time in Krivoy Rog as a priest. At the beginning of the revolution, he left his Krivoy Rog district and settled in Odessa.

Finding himself in Odessa in the church of the Odessa Diocesan House in the company of the repressed Odessa priests Genkel and Lysyak. With the closure of the diocesan house, he moved to the Meshchansky Church, where, together with Gennady Rebeza, Grigoiry Genkel and Vladimir Zdetovetsky, he created the most c.r. arrival in Odessa, the center of clergy, monks, nuns of different ranks, blessed and holy fools and other obscurantists. The activity of Yakubovich was appreciated by the church leader who led the church life. group Lobachevsky,

⁴⁰⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16707-P. L.d.12

⁴⁰⁹ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 207

⁴¹⁰ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16707-P. L.d. 9

⁴¹¹ Ibid. L.d. 10

⁴¹² Ibid. L.d. 26

Vvedensky and others repressed in the early 30-ies. When this group noticed that its activities attracted the attention of the authorities, she, sweeping the tracks, put forward the spiritual leader, who practically runs the entire diocese, for lack of a bishop - Yakubovich, as a cautious person, less active. Yakubovich managed the diocese before the arrival in 1928 of Metropolitan Anatoly.

In very good relations Yakubovich was with Lavr Skvortsov and Mitrofan Popov. Close to r. group Vvedensky, Lobachevsky, Florya, Platon Lukyanov.

He spoke very carefully. He always expressed the opinion that the Soviets make the mistake of pursuing the clergy. We need to bring the clergy to our side: "There are no examples in history when godless power could hold out for a long time and if the Bolsheviks keep, then the intimidation and passivity of believers help it." Believers should rally around the pastors of the church. And now in power cads, rapists, criminals, and well-intentioned Russians retreat and give their souls, their pastors, to the enemies of Christ. But there will be a thunder and on all godless pack and on everyone who was afraid and has gone behind it.

With the removal of the Intercession Church and the closing of the Meshchanskaya, Yakubovich agitated for opening the churches to the insistence of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

The testimony is written with my own hand, in which I sign ".⁴¹³

The remaining witnesses in the case are not so categorical, but somehow too suspiciously the same testimonies are given.

One of the witnesses in the record of December 23 says: "Yakubovich is a priest of Tikhonov's orientation. A strong adherent of the "CPI". He was a participant of the Cand. group of "Ionians" - which consisted exclusively of the reactionary clergy. Being hostile to the Soviets, Yakubovich among the believers is talking about the fact that the Soviets are strangling the people without giving them the opportunity to live freely.

... As the "ionovets" Yakubovich preached the struggle against the Soviet power and all ways and methods, the ultimate goal was the restoration of the monarchy and the one indivisible Russia. Yakubovich always spoke about this with enthusiasm, saying only when the tsar over Russia the red sun rises ".⁴¹⁴

Almost the same testimony is given by another witness on December 24, "Yakubovich was adjacent to the CPI being Tikhonov's orientation. In the past, Yakubovich was an admirer of Jonah Atamansky and even adjoined the "ions" of the most reactionary part of the clergy.

Yakubovich is considered an authority among the clergy.

⁴¹³ Ibid. L.d. 8

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. L.d. 2

In a conversation about the arrest of the Trotskyites Yakubovich in August this year told me that these arrests testify to the split in the party and, consequently, the nearness of the collapse of the Soviet government.

The hostility to the Javakovichi statehood is explained by the closure of churches in Odessa".⁴¹⁵

According to the protocol of interrogation of the accused on December 27, 1937, the latter speaks about material assistance to the "Union of the True Russian People", correspondence with the son who emigrated to France, and the veneration of Jonah Atamansky. The defendant admits that "bypassing the believers with prayer, I expressed my convictions among them", but does not consider this agitation.⁴¹⁶

The bodies worked promptly, the same day the Resolution was passed on the transfer of the case on Yakubovich's charge to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

According to the accusation, "Yakubovich DE in 1921 was arrested for stealing church property, in 1926 for a crib. activity.

Yakubovich pop of Tikhonov's orientation, a member of the kr. organization of the CPI. Adjoined the group of the reactionary clergy Ionovtsev.

Being hostile to the Soviets, he conducted cr. agitation on the oppression of believers and the need to organize believers in order to repel the authorities during the closing of churches. In preparation for the elections to the Supreme Soviet, Yakubovich was campaigning on the need to nominate candidates for the Supreme Soviet⁴¹⁷ from believers and to the same Russian.

Systematically conducts defeatist agitation in favor of fascist Germany, speaking for the restoration of the monarchy and the one indivisible Rossi. Yakubovich is connected by correspondence with his son b. a white officer who is in exile. "

Also, the Trial of Troops under UNKVD in the Odessa region also worked promptly. All on the same day, December 27, protocol No. 109 made a decision to shoot the accused priest Yakubovich.⁴¹⁸

Priest Diodor Yakubovich was shot on December 30, 1937.⁴¹⁹

The conclusion on the rehabilitation is fom 18 April 1989.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵ Ibid. L.d. 5

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁴¹⁷ Non-alternative elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were held on December 12, 1937, and were the first parliamentary elections in the USSR. They were held in connection with the establishment of the Constitution of the USSR in 1936, according to which the Congress of Soviets of the USSR was replaced by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. L.d. 25

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. L.d. 26

⁴²⁰ Ibid. L.d. 27

3.3.20 Archpriest Mitrofan Popov

Archpriest Mitrofan Ignatyevich Popov was born on March 11, 1870 in Odessa in the family of Ignatii Iaklevich Popov, a priest of the St. Michael Church in Moldavanka. Mitrofan, like his two brothers, Jacob and Peter decided to devote himself to the Church. God's providence has given each of them its own particular fate. Jacob served as a priest in Yalta and died in 1898, Peter served as a priest in the parish of Los Angeles and died on November 16, 1936.

Father Mitrofan graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary and the Moscow Theological Academy, becoming a candidate of Theology, after ordination to the priest in 1897, served almost his whole life from 1901 to the summer of 1936. in the St. Michael Church, and only after closing it was forced to go to the Cemetery Church. In different years he was chairman of the Audit Committee of the Kherson Diocesan Guardianship, a scribe and head of the parochial school of reading and writing, a teacher of public schools No. 9, 40 and No. 74.

In 1897, Mitrophan Popov, after graduating from the Academy, met with Darya Grigoryevna, an assistant to a classy lady at the Diocesan School, a native of the village of Khmelevoy in the Kirovograd region. He proposed to her and married her, living together until his death.

Arrested in 1927 on charges under art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, was detained for 5 months, was later released.

The father was arrested again on December 27, 1937, according to order No. 5645 at the address: Odessa, ul. Frunze, 92. The reason for his arrest was the accusation of "systematic counter-revolutionary agitation."

The decision to select a preventive measure determined the content in the Odessa prison. The decision to authorize the search and seizure is dated December 25, 1937.⁴²¹ During the search, "written off notebooks - 5 pcs., Written-off general notebooks - 5 pcs., Written correspondence - 86 pcs., Total correspondence - 37 pcs., Passport" were seized..⁴²²

An extract from the record of the interrogation of the accused on December 28, 1937 allows us to learn a little more about Father Mitrofan:

"Q: Does the investigation know that you were in 1908 a member of the" union of the true Russian people "?"

A: I was a member of the council of the "union of the true Russian people" since 1905.

A .: I was a spiritual investigator of Odessa from 1902 to 1906.

⁴²¹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 954-P. L.d.12

⁴²² Ibid. L.d.15

A: I'm a priest of Tikhonov's orientation.

A: I about the "CPI" current.

A: Yes, I recognize that this sermon (*in the "disrupting" issue - author*) was read by me from the ambo in 1908. This sermon was sent by Bishop Dmitry to all the churches.

A.: I among the believers talked about the need to initiate petitions for the opening of closed churches, based on the fact that according to the Constitution, religious freedom is allowed.

Q: Is it established that after the shooting of the Trotskyites, did you speak about the nearness of the death of the Soviet Government?

A: I expressed myself in a slightly different sense that they arrest the top and consequently there can be a change of power.

A: I had a correspondence with my brother Peter who was in America until 1935. In 1935 he died. I received help from him occasionally.

A: I told the believers that the census was canceled because a large percentage of believers were seen.

A: I plead guilty only that among the clergy I compared the situation of believers in fascist countries, better than in the Soviet Union.

Q: Did you say that the Soviets are terrorizing the clergy?

A: No, I deny it ». ⁴²³

Regarding the characteristics of priest Popov by unauthorized persons, one of the witnesses passing on the case of Popov on December 24, 1937, says: "With a kind Popov good-natured, humble, compliant, uncommunicative and taciturn, but actually not that, was born in Odessa in the house of St. Michael's Church, where his father was a priest. Thus, the whole parish was known by Popov from his diapers and up to the present and now in the parish there are many of his contemporaries who look at him as his own person and therefore look at much with his eyes and believe every word of it, even if he says something, something counter-revolutionary or anti-Soviet. "⁴²⁴

According to the second witness: "In the area of his parish and even among the believers in general, Popov enjoys authority and respect. Popov was closely associated with kr. a group of Odessa clergy Lobachevsky and Co., repressed in the early 30-ies. This group used Popov as a screen of loyalty towards the Soviets. When it was necessary to cover the tracks, tk. Popov deftly created the reputation of the most trustworthy and loyal minister of religious worship, which he

⁴²³ Ibid. L.d. 17-18

⁴²⁴ Ibid. L.d. 8

certainly never was. Under humility and ostentatious good-naturedness, a fraudulent counter-revolutionary was hiding, as the events that followed the closing of the St. Michael Church in the summer of 1936 showed. In anticipation of the possible closure of St. Michael's Church in the apartment Popov with the close participation Popov's wife, pop Dobrovolsky and board members convened a sort of headquarters that immediately after the closing of St. Michael's Church in the cemetery made a willfully provocative mass gathering of believers from all over the city to protest against the closure of St. Michael's Church, and in the calls to the meeting people were fooled by saying that the meeting would be with the knowledge of the authorities and that there would be a meeting at the meeting. Department of Cults, who allegedly promised that if the whole mass of believers attest to the desire to open the church of St. Michael, he would open it. When the provocation with the meeting did not yield the desired results, it began a massive collection of signatures under a petition to Moscow and Kiev about the opening of the St. Michael Church, which was led by Mr. Ritsin and Deacon Tikhon Rotar. At the same time, significant funds were collected and a walker was sent to these centers in the person of dentist Claudia Ivanova, the spiritual daughter of the repressed Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza. The troubles about the opening of the church lasted almost until the middle of this year, while the collection of money for Ivanova's trips continued. All this was directed by the above-mentioned headquarters, whose soul was Popova's wife Darya Grigorievna, and Popov himself, being aware of the matter, not only did not oppose all this venture, but on the contrary claimed this candidate. activity with his long pastoral authority.

To the Soviets, Popov is hostile, although he hides his hostility with ostentatious humility, submission and loyalty. He openly admits that the actions of local authorities are contrary to the Constitution and are a direct lawlessness ".⁴²⁵

In one more testimony we read: Popov Pop of Tikhonov's orientation. Before the revolution, he was a member of the union of the "true Russian people" in Odessa. Extremely hostile to the Soviet authorities. Their hostile moods often express themselves openly among believers, urging them to disobey power. After the publication of the Stalin Constitution, Popov his c.r. activity enlivened spreading among believers rumors that the time is coming which for the opening of inactive churches, tk. According to the Constitution, the believers are granted greater rights. As a result, among believers, a ferment began and a delegation was sent to send to the center, with a request for the opening of the St. Michael Church.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. L.d. 5

Following the newspaper reports, Popov shared his impressions of the readers around him. After reporting on the arrest of Zatonsky, he said: "See again the top, but it's nothing better, the more your people visit, the sooner they will end."

Learning about the population census, Popov said among believers: "You see the census canceled because we were all intimidated, who will write down to the believers will be a Trotskyite, and yet there were many believers. Before Europe, the Bolsheviks are ashamed that there are so many believers in the USSR that it is inconvenient for believers to vote for non-believers, and therefore they decided to cancel the census. "

In the autumn of 1937 Popov read about the suicide of Lyubchenko and in conversation with the believers in my presence declared: "The best Communists do not endure the torture of the Soviet government and commit suicide. It is evident from all that communism has in itself an embryo of corruption. " At the time of the preparations for the elections, Popov among his congregations was talking about what should be done to avoid electing the Communists from the elections. At the same time, he said that if parishioners were to be explained about the election of Communists, you would lose the confidence of the parishioners ".⁴²⁶

The above statements and charges were used as the basis of the indictment of December 29, 1937. So "Popov before the revolution member of the" Truly Russian people ", Tikhonov. Being hostile to the Soviet government, after the publication of the Stalin Constitution among the faithful, he spread provocative rumors about giving believers the rights to fight for existence and opening of closed churches, organized believers to protest against the closure of the St. Michael Church, and organized together with the picker Ritsinoy collection of signatures and funds for travel in the center with a protest and the demand for permission to open the St. Michael Church.

On the issue of Zatonsky's arrest, the believers declared that this was done for the better, all of them - the Communists would destroy themselves, and their existence would come to an end.

During the preparatory work for the elections to the Supreme Soviet, Popov among the faithful and the klikush conducted counterrevolutionary agitation against the nominated communist candidates and suggested that believers, when voting, cross them and expose their people from believers.

Popov among believers spoke about the near death of the Soviet government, the arrival of fascist Hitlerite power.

⁴²⁶ Ibid. L.d. 3

Popov has correspondence with his brother, who is in exile, informs him about the state of affairs in the USSR, and asks for material assistance from him.

The above is supported by the testimony of the accused himself".⁴²⁷

Investigative case on the charges of Mikhail Popov. was sent to the Trial of the UNKVD for the Odessa region.

According to the extract from protocol No. 111 of December 29, 1937, the Troika's meetings with the NKVD in the Odessa region adopted a resolution **on Archpriest Mitrophan Popov - to be shot.**⁴²⁸

The verdict was carried out on January 2, 1938.⁴²⁹

The story continues ... July 23, 1956, Dariya Popova (widow of archpriest Mitrofan Popova) filed a petition in the name of the Odessa regional prosecutor asking for a second "examination of the case of my husband, Archpriest Mitrophan Popov, who was repressed in 1937, when there was general repression of the clergy and inform me about his rehabilitation."⁴³⁰

In reviewing the case, my mother was questioned and during the interrogation on September 27, 1957 showed that Archpriest Mitrofan Popov "was a man of peace and never cursed anyone.

After the closure of the church, he advised laymen to initiate a petition for the opening of the church, many signatures were collected, someone traveled to Moscow on this issue, but the church was never opened."⁴³¹ On all other issues related to clarifying the relationship between Father Mitrofan and witnesses held on this case, my mother gave the most positive answers.

On December 10, 1957, according to this letter from Dariya Popova, the staff of the KGB under the Ukrainian SSR in Odessa region adopted the Conclusion "The decision of the Special Meeting of the NKVD for the Odessa region of December 29, 1937, with regard to Popov Mitrofan Ignatyevich, is left unchanged, and the complaint of Popov's wife Popova Darya Grigorievna is not satisfied."⁴³²

Probably, the only surviving witness from the case was also summoned.

To our great chagrin, in those 1930s and 1940s, as chairman of the church community of one of the Odessa temples, he was a witness almost in every case related to the Orthodox Church in the Odessa region. And even with their revision in the 60's, fully confirmed their testimony

⁴²⁷ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁴²⁸ Ibid. L.d. 20

⁴²⁹ Ibid. L.d. 21

⁴³⁰ Ibid. L.d. 23

⁴³¹ Ibid. L.d. 72

⁴³² Ibid. L.d. 94

about the counter-revolutionary activities of the clergy. So in this case, during the interrogation on December 4, 1957, he showed: "Popov all the time before his arrest was the rector of the St. Michael Church. In the year 37, I testified about Popov as an anti-Soviet person. Popov was closely associated with the counter-revolutionary group of priests Lobachevsky and others arrested as early as 1931.

When representatives of the bodies of the Soviet government came to the St. Michael Church to receive valuables and property, in which I also took part, the teenagers from the surrounding houses threw stones at us. I believe that these teenagers have prepared and directed the Headquarters from the church community under the leadership of Popov and his wife Darya.

After the arrest of the clergy, Popov was the head of the Odessa clergy, and priests often visited the apartment. "⁴³³ God is his judge ...

Rehabilitated Archpriest Mitrofan Popov was only November 4, 1989, his wife never waited for this day.

3.3.21 Archpriest Ivan Peschanskiy

Priest Ivan Ivanovich Peschanskiy (Peschansky), was born on June 24, 1883, in the village Bereznegovatoe of the Odessa region ⁴³⁴ in the family of the head of the local mail house⁴³⁵ He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary and in 1906 was appointed a priest in the Intercession Church of the Odessa Correctional Shelter.⁴³⁶ At the time of his arrest, he is married and has a son.

According to the protocol of the witness's interrogation of December 23, 1937, "Peshchansky for 25 years was a prison priest. After the revolution, he adhered to Tikhonov's orientation. A strong supporter of Jonah Atamansky, is his son-in-law. All the time adjoined the "Ionians", the most reactionary part of the clergy. Sharply hostile to the Soviet authorities and these moods are trying to instill in believers. Peshchansky all the time was associated with clergymen and nuns, through which he influenced the mass of believers.

In 1936, Peshchansky, after the execution of the leaders of the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang⁴³⁷ in my presence among believers on this occasion said that the blood of true Russian people is

⁴³³ Ibid. L.d. 75

⁴³⁴ Village of town type Bereznegovatoye of Nikolaev region with village Bereznegovatoye of Kompaneevsk district of the Kirovograd region were part of the Odessa region from 1932 to 1937.

⁴³⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 17 781- P. L.d. 12

⁴³⁶ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 725

⁴³⁷ It is known as the "Case of the Trotskyite-Zinoviev terrorist center", an indicative trial of a group of former party leaders, formerly active members of the opposition. The case was heard at the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR from 19 to 24 August 1936. The main defendants were GE Zinoviev and LB

pouring down the Soviet Union and the more they are destroyed, the more their ranks will grow. After all, this noise can be innocent victims".⁴³⁸

Another witness the next day - December 24, points out that "... he was first a priest in the church b. colony of juvenile criminals, where he created a church cr. an ion type nest. With the closure of this church, he moved to the Cemetery Church, where he continued to work in the same direction, multiplying cliquishness and patronizing all obscurantism. He entangled the entire adjacent area with the nets, made strong connections among the railwaymen, entered into close contact with the home environment and the family life of his parishioners.

Peshchansky enjoyed great authority among believers. One word is enough for the worshipers, even in a crowded church, to obey his order unquestioningly. It is an insistent, energetic, intelligent and persistent person.

With personal loyalty and obedience, a stubborn enemy of Soviet power hides in it. To his colleagues, Peshchansky said that the activities of the Soviet authorities are aimed at stifling faith and clergy, but one must hope for the inevitable resurrection of religion and church life ".⁴³⁹ Being asked about the relatives of Protopriest Peshchansky, the same witness says that his wife's brother is Arkady Atamansky, the son of Jonah Atamansky.

The decision to select a measure of restraint is dated December 25, 1937, the accusation consists of "the systematic conduct of counter-revolutionary agitation", which falls under Art. 54-10 part 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.⁴⁴⁰

On the same day, the prosecutor sanctioned the search and arrest, adding to the relevant resolution the wording "conducts anti-Soviet work among believers, groups around itself a klikush, voices a defeatist mood in favor of fascism".⁴⁴¹

Arrested Protopriest Ivan Peschansky at the address of Odessa, st. Yurievskaya 7/3. During the search on December 27, "various references and letters" were found.

Indicative is the protocol of interrogation of the accused on December 27, 1937, when after the innocent phrase of the investigator seemed to be, the accused radically changed his answer ... Is this evidence of tortures and mockeries that were sacrificed and clergymen during the interrogation?

"Q: What orientation do you belong to?

Kamenev. The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced all the accused to the maximum penalty - execution, confiscation of all personally owned property. The petition of the convicted for pardon by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR was rejected. The sentence was executed on August 25, 1936. See Vyshinsky, A.Ya., Court speeches. Gosyurizdat, 1955 P. 382-424

⁴³⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 17 781- P. L.d. 2

⁴³⁹ Ibid. L.d. 5

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. L.d. 9

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. L.d. 10

A: To Tikhonovskaya

Q.: To which church current adjoins?

A: To "CPI"

Q .: Who is your father-in-law?

A .: Iona Atamansky

Q: Did you join the group of "Ionians"?

A: Yes, I am an admirer of Jonah Atamansky, I adjoined the group of "Ionians".

Q .: You led the CR. agitation, did you speak of the defeat of the Soviet Union in favor of fascist Germany?

A: No, there is no CR. and did not conduct defeatist agitation in favor of fascist Germany.

Q: You lie, I demand truthful testimony.

A: Yes, I admit it.⁴⁴²

A: I described the shooting of the Trotskyists as "perhaps, they are innocent victims"

Q: Do you admit that you spread rumors about the imminent death of the Soviet Government?

A .: No, I do not.

Q .: The investigation knows that you were a prison priest.

A: I was a priest at a correctional orphanage for juvenile offenders ".⁴⁴³

According to the accusatory decree "Peshchansky - the priest of Tikhonov's orientation, an ardent supporter of the kr. The "ionic" current of the problem is reduced to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Peshchansky has a close connection with the klikush, through which he spreads provocative rumors about the Stalin Constitution and calls on believers to a free demonstration, while distorting the Stalin Constitution.

In 1937, among the priests, discussing the international situation, Peshchansky puffed up preparations for the war of Germany and Japan, declaring the immediate death of the Soviet government.

Peshchansky expressed regret to the enemies of the people shot by the people of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others, and spoke of the innocent bloodshed of true Russian people.

Among the believers and clergy spread hostile views on the ongoing activities of the Soviet authorities, said that the activities of the Soviet authorities are aimed at strangling the faith and the clergy. "

⁴⁴² As can be seen from the protocol, it was at this "moment" that the accused unexpectedly "reviewed" his "participation" in counter-revolutionary activities, which most likely indicates the use of the tape during interrogation.

⁴⁴³ Ibid. L.d.15

The case was sent to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

The Trial Troika under the NKVD in the Odessa region decided to select the measure of restraint for Protopriest Peshchansky - execution, as evidenced by an extract from Protocol No. 110 of December 28, 1937.⁴⁴⁴

The sentence was carried out on December 29, 1937.⁴⁴⁵

Rehabilitated on May 30, 1989.⁴⁴⁶

3.3.22 Priest Andrey Grigoryev

Priest Andrey Fomich Grigoryev was born on October 6, 1886 in the town of Novogeorgiyevsk, Aleksandrovsky district of the Kherson province⁴⁴⁷ in the family of the psalmist. At the time of his arrest, he lived at the address of Usatovo, Odessa district.⁴⁴⁸

From 1910 to 1928 he served as a priest in the village of Cossa Birzulsky district, from 1929 to 1936 in the village. Nerubayskoe, from 1936 to the day of arrest in the village of Usatovo.

Family: son - Grigoryev Vadim Andreevich, 13 years old; daughter - Grigorieva Larisa Andreevna - 8 years old. Special external features: medium height, slightly gray, blue eyes.⁴⁴⁹

The decree on the commencement of the investigation and the selection of the preventive measure of February 27, 1938 determined the detention in Odessa prison.⁴⁵⁰

The arrest was authorized on February 28, 1938, in connection with the accusation put forward by Grigoriev "as a member of the counter-revolutionary organization".⁴⁵¹

According to Order No. 652 of February 28, 1938 at the address of the accused with. Usatove Str. Stalin March 1, 1938 carried out a search and arrest of the accused.⁴⁵²

The accusation in the decision on attraction as the accused is more extended, where it is stated "that Grigoryev A.F. was an active member of the counterrevolutionary insurgent organization and organized insurgent groups in the villages of the Odessa region, as well as on his assignments, wrecking work in the field of agriculture was practically carried out, where, under his instructions, subversive counterrevolutionary agitation aimed at disrupting the activities of the Soviet authorities."⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. L.d. 18

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. L.d. 20

⁴⁴⁷ in 1961 after the construction of the Kremenchug hydroelectric power station was flooded

⁴⁴⁸ today Usatovo village of Belyaevsk district, Odessa region

⁴⁴⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18 326-P. L.d. 4

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. L.d. 2

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. L.d. 1

⁴⁵² Ibid. L.d. 5

⁴⁵³ Ibid. L.d. 6

On the basis of the protocol of interrogation of March 10, 1938, the accused Grigoriev fully pleaded guilty, but whether it really was, we can only guess about it now:

"A: I plead guilty that I was an active member of the counter-revolutionary Rebel organization and was involved in this organization in 1928 in Odessa. In Odessa, lives along the Kuyalnytska road sacred. Okhlopovskiy Ivan Ignatyevich with whom I am in friendly relations. The latter knew that I was hostile to the events of the Soviet government and dedicated me to the existence in Odessa of a k. organizations that have the following objectives:

1) To instigate in the villages of the Odessa region insurgent cells from persons clearly opposed to the Soviet government.

2) Distribute provocative rumors about the war with the USSR.

3) In case of war, prepare proven cadres of insurgents capable of issuing weapons against the Soviets.

4) Day to day. agitation against the activities of the Soviet government, praising the bourgeois system abroad. Thus, I was involved by a member of the CR. insurgent organization. At the same time Okhlopovsky told me that an active member of this organization is also a priest. Slobodskoy church Grigoryev Ivan Ivanovich, who in turn plant cells on village councils in the Odessa region, to which I personally recalled Grigoriev in July 1937, that he knew that I was a member of the CR. organization.

In 1929 I in the village of. Nerubaysky being there a priest planted a rebel cell.

A total of 10 people are involved in two villages.

Q. Under whose instructions did they act. the insurgent organization participants Okhlopovsky and Grigoriev II?

A. Okhlopovsky acted on the orders of Archbishop Kyrill of Odessa, also on the orders of II Grigoriev. Okhlopovsky told me about this in December 1937. Okhlopovsky planted insurgent groups in the villages of Kr. Balka, Nerubayskoe and Usatovo. After my departure from Nerubaysky, the group headed by Goldstein remained. I instructed the medical assistant of the kolkhoz in Nelubay Sobolev Artem Matveyevich in 1935 to carry out wrecking work in the collective farm of the collective farm. Sobolevsky informed me that during the period 1935-36. he used the wrong types of treatment, spreading diseases to horses and cows. As a result, 25 horses were disabled. On the work of the rebel groups, I informed Okhlopovsky, as I was in Odessa on church matters. According to Okhlopovsky, I know that in Odessa Archbishop Kyrill Kvashenko was one of the leaders of the kr. insurgent organization.

Q. Did you have any meetings with Kvashenko?

A. Yes, I was invited on May 13, 1937 to Archbishop Kvashenko for his name-day, there were the former Metropolitan Konstantin Spassky, II Grigoriev, II Okhlopovsky, Blokhenko Nikifor, Alexander Prozorovsky, several deacons ".⁴⁵⁴

From the indictment on charges A. Grigoryev under Art. 54-10, 54-11 CC UKRAINE learn that "In 3 department of the UGB of the NKVD for the Odessa region. received information that Grigoryev A.F. is a participant of the. organization.

On the basis of these data, GAF. was arrested on March 1, 1938. In the course of the investigation it was established that GAF. According to the testimony of the white emigrant who arrived from behind the cordon and confessed in his c.r. organized activities of the same-name Grigoriev - is a participant of the Kr. The monarchical organization connected in Odessa with the German consulate. By the order of kr. monarchical insurgent organization of GAF. carried out counter-revolutionary work in active form, planted an insurgent group in Nerubaysk in 1929, for which he enlisted the help of Sobolevsky, Goldstein, Music, Krivenk, and Lutsenko as recruiters. In the village of Usatovo Grigoriev attracted former kulaks as recruiters. religious figures Ivashchenko, Fesenko, Voliansky, Trubchaninov, Loznenko. All the above-mentioned recruiters had tasks for further planting c.r. insurgent groups, conducting active wrecking acts on collective farms. In all of the above, he found himself guilty "⁴⁵⁵.

The case on charges of Grigoryev Andrey Fomich is directed to the consideration of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

Meeting Troika with UNKVD in the Odessa region of March 23, 1938 (Minutes No. 119) was adopted **Grigoryev Andrey Fomich's decision - to shoot.**⁴⁵⁶

The verdict was carried out on March 31, 1938.⁴⁵⁷

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from 17 July, 1989.⁴⁵⁸

3.3.23 Priest Stepan Stankevich

Priest Stepan Nikitovich Stankevich, was born on September 5, 1899, in the m. Krivoje Ozero.⁴⁵⁹ The decree on the election of a preventive measure of March 7, 1938, accused of

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. L.d. 9-16

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. L.d. 27

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. L.d. 29

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. L.d. 30

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. L.d. 33

⁴⁵⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 20 848-P. L.d. 13

"Stankevich systematically engaged in agitation, aimed at thwarting the activities of the Soviet authorities"⁴⁶⁰, entailing the punishment under Art. 54-10 CC of UkSSR.

Pre-trial detention was chosen for detention in the Balt prison.

Order No. 291 for a search and arrest of 8 March 1938, on the same day and arrested in the village of Pasiceli in the Baltic region.⁴⁶¹ At the time of his arrest, he is married and has his son Vsevolod and daughter Tamara.

All the witnesses questioned in the case were unequivocally shown "a man hostile to the Soviet government, engaged in the cr. agitation aimed at undermining collective farm construction and weakening of the Soviet power. " Some testify that "he tried to get out of the school when he left the school with sweets and at that moment, when he treated me to talk about God and Christian faith, he maintained close relations with the enemies of the people, now arrested."

The accused himself, proceeding from the interrogation protocol of April 9, 1938, answering the questions of the investigator, says that he knew about some of the previously listed persons about the counter-revolutionary activity. Counter-revolutionary sentiments shared, but did not show any active activity. Describes the existence of a counterrevolutionary nationalist organization, which arose from the counterrevolutionary group of the CPI religious fanatics, which was blocked by others. nationalistic formations. The ultimate goal of this c.r. Ukrainian nationalist organization was the overthrow of the Soviet authorities, the restoration of capitalism and the re-creation of the "national Ukrainian state" - Samostinoy Ukraine. In k.r. organizations were recruited from among the b. monks, sectarians, Petliurists, kulaks, members of the police, etc. configured.

From the record of interrogation:

Q .: As a member of the CR. organizations You were connected with the state security agencies and informed only about individual episodes without revealing the depths of the activity of the CR. organization.

A: To study the depth of the activity of CR. organization I could not and I was limited only to the superficial coverage of the activities of individuals.

Q .: In essence, did you misinform the authorities of the GB?

A: I informed the surface known to me, deliberately concealing the depth.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. L.d. 7

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. L.d. 9

⁴⁶² Ibid. L.d. 20

The indictment of April 13, 1938, is full of prepared clichés: "Stankevich SN. is a member of. Ukrainian nationalist organization. By the order of kr. organization carried out CR. agitation, using for this purpose the church.

It is displayed by indications of active members of CR. organization. I realized that I was a member of the CR. organization and attended its meetings on the day of arrest.

The investigation file was referred to the Special Troika under the NKVD of the MASSR.

According to the extract from the minutes of Protocol No. 48 of April 15, 1938, the Special Troika attached to the NKVD of the MASSR decided to shoot the priest Stankevich.⁴⁶³ The verdict was carried out on April 18, 1938.⁴⁶⁴

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from August 22, 1989.⁴⁶⁵

3.3.24 Priest Ksenofont Lipskiy

Priest Ksenofont Terentyevich Lipskiy, was born on January 1, 1875 in the village of Bitsilevka, Kurtovsky district of the Odessa region ⁴⁶⁶ in the family of the psalmist.⁴⁶⁷ He graduated from the Theological Seminary. The psalmist since 1897. Ordained priest in 1899.⁴⁶⁸

Was married to Fashevskaya Elena Gavrilovna, born in 1883, who lived with her son in the village. Kovnitsa Dubossary district. During the search and arrest, a passport was found, various religious books - 9 pieces, correspondence.

At the time of his arrest on March 11, 1938, he lived in the village of Tsekhanovka, Chernyansky district of the MASSR. The resolution (on the commencement of the investigation) of 11 March 1938 said: "... he is a priest with. Tsekhanovka, conducts among the collective farmers anti-Soviet agitation using religious prejudices for this, and also using this sent a religious funeral rite over a living person. Baptized a child in cold water, which was the cause of his death."⁴⁶⁹ Contained in the Balt prison.

In the certificate of the Ciechanowski village council: "... works as a priest of the Ciechanowski church since 1936. During his stay in the territory of Tsekhanovsky s / s violated the Soviet border, namely, in 1937, he suppressed in his apartment an unknown priest.

⁴⁶³ Ibid. L.d. 25

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. L.d. 26

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid. L.d. 28

⁴⁶⁶ now village Betsilovo Razdelna district of the Odessa region n

⁴⁶⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18 437- P. L.d. 26

⁴⁶⁸ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 273

⁴⁶⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18 437 - P. L.d. 3

In the same year 1937 Lipsky led agitation that there will be war. In 1938, when the chairman of the CICO of the cults in the church was ordered not to rule, Lipsky produced divine services in the apartment and christenings ".⁴⁷⁰

During the interrogation on April 20, 1938, he confessed that "he was indeed a member of the counterrevolutionary church organization existing in Moldova. In this organization, I was recruited by Maletsky Ignaty, a priest in 1936, who served in the Artyrovsky village of Chernyansky district.

... After the close relationship was established between us, Maletsky informed me that there is a counterrevolutionary church organization in Moldova, which operates under the leadership of the Bishop of Moldavia, Rogut Gavriil.

... On the instructions of Maletsky, and later Rogut, I began to conduct counter-revolutionary work among believers. " He named some members of the organization, among them: the priests Maletsky Ignaty, Svetlichenko Justin, Tsaruk Grigori, Stankevich, and others. Lipsky called the leader Ligsy Rogut Gabriel, who lived in the Baltic, but showed that he himself did not involve himself in a counter-revolutionary organization and did not have such an assignment ".⁴⁷¹

The indictment of April 20, 1938: "Lipsky Xenophon is a priest who is a member of the counterrevolutionary church organization that existed in Moldova, which was recruited in 1936 by the priest Maletsky Ignatius.

For a long time, Lipsky conducted an active counter-revolutionary work aimed at thwarting the activities of the Soviet government. At the same time, he spread counter-revolutionary provocative rumors about an imminent war and the forthcoming death of the Soviet government. Confessed. Evicted by the testimony of witnesses. "⁴⁷²

The case is directed to the consideration of the Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR.

The Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR, pursuant to an extract from Protocol No. 50 of April 22, 1938, decided to shoot Lipskiy.⁴⁷³

Shot on April 24, 1938.⁴⁷⁴

Rehabilitated in 1989.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. L.d. 1

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. L.d. 28-31

⁴⁷² Ibid. L.d. 32

⁴⁷³ Ibid. L.d. 33

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid. L.d. 34

3.3.25 Priest Iustin Svetlyachenko

Priest Iustin Trofimovich Svetlyachenko, was born on June 1, 1880 in the village of Koshnitsa Dubossarsky district of the MASSR in a peasant family.⁴⁷⁵

He was ordained a priest in 1932. Wife - Svetljachenko Elena Mikhailovna. Children: Sofia, born in 1916, born in 1918, born in 1921, born in 1921, Raisa in 1923, born in 1925, born in 1926, born in 1926, born in 1930. , Lyudmila, born in 1933, Constantine, born in 1937.

At the time of his arrest on March 12, 1938, he was a priest with. Artyn Chernyansky district of the MASSR.

According to the decree on the commencement of the investigation from the same date, he was accused of "being a minister of religious worship, conducting anti-Soviet agitation".

In the reference of the village council with. The artwork states: "Svetlyachenko Justin Trofimovich is a servant of a religious cult under the Artirovsky Church and created his anti-Soviet work in Artivka a whole monastery where people from the surrounding area flocked to 60 km. and baptized children before they were registered in the registry office of the village council ".⁴⁷⁶

According to the testimony of witnesses "he was engaged in treatment at home", "almost daily people from other villages come to him. They call at his apartment and treat him. " And from the "seditious" utterances of the clergyman they cite "We need to pray to God, and that you run after me, but close the church," "if you pray, you will live better."

From the record of interrogation of the accused: "In the month of August 1937, I arrived in. Akhtyrka of the Chernyansky district to the post of priest of the synodal church. ... and being a priest in with. Akhtyrka began to get acquainted with the local population and with the rule of the religious community.

... I was hostile to the Soviet government, and I entered the counter-revolutionary organization of the church community. I personally spread rumors about the imminent war between the Germans and the USSR.

... I personally contacted the bishop Rogut Gavriil prozh. in the mountains. Balte and was twice on his date. Rogut I personally know since 1934. Rogut advised me to study the moods of collective farmers and disseminate provocative rumors about the imminent change of the Soviet government. "

⁴⁷⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 20 345-P. L.d. 27

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. L.d. 2

On April 16, 1938, in the case of accused Svetlyachenko, a conclusion was reached that "Svetlyachenko Justin Trofimovich is a priest of the synodal orientation. In September, 1937, he was recruited into a counter-revolutionary organization - a member of the religious community of v. Akhtyrovka of Chernyansky district.

As a member of the counter-revolutionary organization, he conducted religious propaganda, and also spread provocative rumors about the change of the Soviet government and the arrival of the Germans in Ukraine.

I realized that I was a member of a counterrevolutionary organization. In charge of counter-revolutionary work. Evicted by the testimony of witnesses ".⁴⁷⁷

The case was referred to the Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR.

The decision of the Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR of April 17, 1938, accused Svetlyachenko IT. was sentenced to death.⁴⁷⁸

The verdict was carried out on April 21, 1938.⁴⁷⁹

Rehabilitated on September 8, 1989.⁴⁸⁰

3.3.26 Priest Feodosiy Nekrashevich

The priest Feodosiy Iosifovich Nekrashevich was born June 6, 1871 in the village of Plotnitsa, Minsk province, in a peasant family. He was tonsured monk in 1894, in 1925 he was ordained a priest. Education is inferior. Ukrainian, citizenship of the USSR. At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village of Festerovo, Belyaevsky district, Odessa region. Arrested in 1933, on charges of counterrevolutionary activity, after the end of the investigation in 1934, was released.⁴⁸¹

Arrested Belyaevsky RO NKVD March 17, 1938, during the search found and seized a passport, objects of church utensils and priestly vestments, money, savings book.⁴⁸²

According to the decree on the commencement of the preliminary investigation of March 10, 1938 and the decision to select the preventive measure of March 14, 1938 (they are practically identical in content), priest Nekrashevich is accused of "that Nekrashevich is a priest of the functioning church, conducts recruiting work among students with the purpose of attracting the latter to perform religious rites. Calls the laity not to succumb to the agitation of atheists and

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid. L.d. 32

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid. L.d. 33

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. L.d. 34

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. L.d. 36

⁴⁸¹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 17 823-P. L.d. 6

⁴⁸² Ibid. L.d. 5

intensify their visit to the church. It groups around itself an anti-Soviet element and spreads counter-revolutionary provocative rumors about the war and the leaders of the party and government. "⁴⁸³

The measure of restraint for Nekrashevich was the detention in the Odessa prison.

The Uvarov rural council, on whose territory Festerovo was located, gives the following reference to Nekrashevich: "Since 1936, a minister of religion, a former monk, was deprived of the right to vote on the day of the approval of the Stalin Constitution. Living in the territory of Uvarovsky s / s engaged in agitation against the collective farms and the Soviet government. He collected children in the church, paid them money to serve with him, and also made a funeral without registering a registry office. He collected disciples, forbade them to go to school and told them "come to me, and you will study for a priest", collect money between collective farmers and signatures on the right to be a religious community. "⁴⁸⁴

The accused Nekrashevich, during the interrogation on March 19, 1938, says of himself: "I have no relatives abroad. In 1894 I was in Turkey in a monastery on Athos, lived there for 10 years, after which I came to Odessa.

... In 1885 I studied at a private trader in the village of Plotnitsa of the former Minsk province, after three years of my studies, I went to study with a tutor, and at the same time I was in a monastery. While studying as a tutor, I studied for a teacher, after which I began teaching and teaching before the revolution of 1917.

From 1917 to 1925 I was in a monastery on Bolshoy Fontan in Odessa. There he worked.

In 1925 I became a priest in the villages in the village of Komissarovka of the Tiligulo-Berezansky district, in the village of Ponyatovka of the Razdelny district in 1936 in the village of Festerovo, where I stayed until the day of my arrest.

Q .: You lived in the village of Festerovo among the population engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation, for example, to undermine the power of the USSR, praised religion, called atheists and the entire population to recognize religion and strengthen church attendance. Do you recognize this?

A .: No, I do not recognize this. Approximately on the last Sunday, I opened a church where the residents of the village of Festerovo and other neighboring villages came together to pray, I read the gospel in Slavonic for them and found it necessary to explain the nature of the word read from the gospel, where it was written: "Set aside the dark, light come closer. " In explaining these words, I said: "Dark matters are all untruths, and light is truth, it is better to strive for the light of

⁴⁸³ Ibid. L.d. 1-2

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid. L.d. 7

truth - always tell the truth and never lie. Continuing the conversation, I said: "I am very glad that you have come together, I want to wait for Easter, and added that they say the church is always closed and it is visited very little. In connection with the need to repair the church, I offered to donate for the repair of the church. Then the man with the plate went and people began to throw the victim. Then they collected about 70 rubles, which are recorded in the book. "⁴⁸⁵

Concerning the accusation of involving students in performing religious rites, Father Feodosiy showed: "I, Nekrashevich have been working as a priest in the Fester Church since May 18, 1936, and during my service in Festerovo, people come to church with their children and except the fathers come boys -students. And in March came the boys Kozhushnyak Alexander and Pogrebnyak, who served for the church. During their service in the church, these boys gave me an offer to serve in the church. Their service is that they brought water for the governors and served the water of the confessor, for which they received a fee from them. As for the fact that I gave the boys money, this is not true. And on May 8, 1937, I had to spend seeing off at the invitation of people in the village of Otradovo. On the way, I was caught by a boy, a pupil of the third group, Alexander Kozhushnyak, and said that he would go with me to see off. I asked him, is he free? He replied that he was free and we went. Arriving in Otradovo I went to the police station and asked the chairman that I had come to see off, the chairman replied that he did not permit me to see me off in Otradovo village council. And he demanded from me documents, a passport. But I noticed from the chairman of the injustice that he did not follow the law and did not want to give him his passport so that he would not detain me. I told him that I'm local and I know everything. And he told the chairman and secretary that you are old-fashioned hooks. After that I went to the cemetery and told the women that I can not see off because they do not allow me. At the same time, the women went to the village council and demanded written permission from the chairman, but he did not give the paper. And I spent seeing-off without permission, but from the words of women returning from the village Soviet that they were supposedly verbally allowed to see off. And I had a goodbye and went home together with the boy Pogrebnyak. I have no more to add to this case. "⁴⁸⁶

Priest Feodosiy Nekrashevich, just two weeks of arrest, torture and abuse, after a few interviews, April 1, 1938 have to subscribe to the indications which are totally opposed to the previous one. interrogation protocol on this day incredibly stingy, but too "right" decorated pestreet cliches and patterns so necessary for the early closure of the investigation file and to eradicate another people's enemy. So, the question of the investigator of counterrevolutionary

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid. L.d. 12 (turnover)

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. L.d. 9

activity, the response was comprehensive and appropriate under Article 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. We give it in full: "I am working as a priest serving the church Festerovo village Uvarovskii with a / c in the population regularly engaged in counter-revolutionary propaganda aimed at the collapse of the collective farms and to undermine Soviet power, touted to his church uchischihsya-young and agitated her to stop going to school and clubs, to strengthen visiting the church. He called them and promised to teach them to the priests, to pay them a lot of money. Agitation among the population led to strengthened and a visit to the church and led a decisive struggle against the Soviet government that wants to close the church for what I specifically went to the surrounding settlements ".⁴⁸⁷

There are not enough investigators for this, they demand new details of counter-revolutionary activities and, most likely, fill the gaps themselves, the already inconclusive pop monk has bothered them: "Being sharply opposed to Soviet power I surrounded around myself active religious people and the counter-revolutionary kulak element of the village, collected them for and led counterrevolutionary agitation among them, so that they would not yield to the agitation of the atheists, would oppose the collective farms and the Soviet government, setting them up so that they intensified active anti-Soviet agitation of the media. "⁴⁸⁸

Witness Chumachenko, then the head of the Fester Club, tries to justify the failures in the cultural and mass work in the village by the intrigues of the priest Nekrashevich. During the interrogation, the witness showed: "Nekrashevich, as a priest by nature, is an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet government, and in order not to be unfounded, I will cite examples of this. From 1936 to 1938, he was engaged in the disintegration of young students; wherever Nekrashevich did not meet young people, told them not to go to clubs and theaters, but it is better to go to church and pray to God for the salvation of the soul and the remission of sins before God. It should be said that thanks to the support of his (then) remaining counterrevolutionary element, Nekrashevich succeeded in tearing most of the young people off from the cultural and mass work carried out by the Soviet government in the village. "⁴⁸⁹

According to the Indictment on the charge of Nekrashevich Feodosiy (Feodosiy) Iosifovich, "Nekrashevich being a priest of the acting church (in the past a monk) in his counter-revolutionary activities was closely associated with the repressed Shmalenko in 1932, with whom he conducted religious counter-revolutionary agitation among the collective farmers, spreading provocative rumors about THE USSR.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. L.d. 14

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. L.d. 15

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid. L.d. 26

Encouraged the students and students to leave school and club visits and come to him, promising them to pay large sums of money and learn from priests. Used by youth to clean the church, etc.

Nekrashevich for carrying out his own. work especially went around surrounding Festerevo settlements and carried out counterrevolutionary work against the collective farms, urging the collective farmers to wage a decisive struggle against the fact that the Soviet state wants to close the church, for which he demanded an intensification of church attendance and increased the introduction of money to the church.

In the charge brought against Nekrashevich himself guilty fully acknowledged ".⁴⁹⁰

Investigation on charges of Feodosiy Nekrashevich was sent to the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region.

According to the extract from protocol No. 131 of April 7, 1938, the sessions of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region, the resolution of Nekrashevich Feodosiy Iosifovich was sentenced to death.

The verdict was carried out on April 15, 1938.

The conclusion of the rehabilitation is from May 30, 1989.

3.3.27 Priest Ioann Vitalin

Priest Ivan Vasilyevich Vitalin, was born on January 24, 1863 in with. Selizenova Spassky district of Ryazan province in the family of a hereditary cleric. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary in the second class in 1892, appointed a psalmist, and one year later he was ordained a priest and appointed rector of the Intercession Church of Novomirgorod, Elisavetgrad Uyezd. In 1901 he was awarded the Legguard.⁴⁹¹ In different years he was a member of the deanery council and a school teacher.

In September, 1937, he was fined by the District Executive Committee for 1,000 rubles for "underground" baptism of children at home.⁴⁹²

Re-arrested on March 26, 1938 in the village of. Zherebkovo Ananyevsky district of the MASSR on charges of "systematically engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation aimed at undermining and weakening the power of the Soviets."

Vitalin I.V. detention in prison was determined. During the search it was found in the priest's apartment and a passport, some correspondence, a silver cross "with a clasp" were seized.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid. L.d. 34

⁴⁹¹ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906.

⁴⁹² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18497-P (priest Vitalin I.V.) l.d. 31

According to the questionnaire of the accused - lonely, but for 1906 the wife and daughter of 1895 of the river are listed.

From the witness's testimony during the interrogation of April 16, 1938: "Yes, I am indeed a member of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian nationalist insurgent organization. I was recruited Vitalin Ivan Vasilievich, a former priest living in the village of. Zherebkov.

... Vitalin told me that in Ukraine there is a counter-revolutionary organization that is preparing an uprising against the Soviet power in the event of war. That this organization seeks to liberate the people and the main Ukrainian people from the Bolsheviks, to create independent power, i.e. "Self-Ukraine" and invited me to be a party to this counter-revolutionary organization."

The priest himself during the only interrogation on April 17, 1938 categorically denies his participation in the work of the counterrevolutionary organization, and its existence in general.

On the same day, the case was forwarded to the Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR, according to the indictment, which says: "Vitalin IV. is the son of a priest, he himself was also a priest, he is a member of the counterrevolutionary Moldovan (*no longer Ukrainian - author*) nationalist organization, on whose instructions he conducted an active counter-revolutionary activity.

Spread counterrevolutionary provocative rumors that fascist states will soon be abolished by the combined forces of the Soviet Power, preparing insurgent personnel - for organizing armed uprisings at the time of the attack of capitalist states on the USSR. He personally recruited members of a counter-revolutionary organization. I did not confess. Evicted by the testimony of witnesses. "⁴⁹³

Resolution of the Special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR of April 17, 1938 Vitalin I.V. was sentenced to death.⁴⁹⁴

The verdict was carried out on April 21, 1938.⁴⁹⁵

Rehabilitated on July 21, 1989.⁴⁹⁶

3.3.28 Archbishop Gavriil (Rogut)

Rogut Gavriil Timofeevich was born in 1872 in with. Garmatskoe Dubossary district in a peasant family. Education is inferior. Moldovan, Soviet citizenship, lonely.

⁴⁹³ Ibid. L.d. 34

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid. L.d. 35

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. L.d. 36

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid. L.d. 37

Arrested on March 7, 1938 at the address of Balta, Sadovaya St., 2⁴⁹⁷ in connection with the charge of conducting systematic anti-Soviet agitation aimed at disrupting the activities of the Soviet government.

The decision to select a preventive measure on March 7, 1938, determined the content in the Balt prison.

According to the certificate of the Baltian City Council dated April 18, 1938 "Rogut Gavriil Timofeyevich, born in 1872, p. Garmatskogo Dubosari district, arrived in the city of Balta in 1926. From the moment of his arrival in Balta, Rogut Gabriel was a diocesan bishop - minister of religious worship. According to reports, after the closure of churches in the city of Balta, he held private gatherings and prayers in the cemetery. In addition, he conducted agitation against the activities of the Soviet authorities. Property Rogut in Balta did not own.⁴⁹⁸

From the record of interrogation of the accused Rogut on April 18, 1938, it becomes known that Gabriel Rogut is "the archbishop of the city of Balta and the archbishop of Moldova". He is extremely "honest" and "frankly" answers the questions of the investigator:

"A: I confess and really am a member of the CD. organization.

Q: Tell us about your practical cr. activities?

A.: My active counter-revolutionary activity began in 1938 from the moment when I was summoned to Kiev by Metropolitan Alexander Ivanovich Chekanovsky, who was the administrator of the Orthodox churches in Ukraine. In a conversation with Chekanovsky, who recruited me for counter-revolutionary activities among the clergy. In conversation with him, he asked me what kind of military units there are in Moldova, how many regiments, especially he was interested in the location of military units in the city of Balta, where I was. After this conversation, he gave me the task that now it is necessary to organize around myself a church asset with which to conduct cr. activity, from Chekanovsky I came and thus began on the path of struggle against the Soviet power. Having received this assignment, I arrived in the city of Balta, where I clustered around myself an active of churchmen from former inhabitants of B., like-minded people with whom I helped to spend cr. activity. Directing the latter to the fact that the Soviets, as such, will not exist for long; most of the peasants are not enough. And that our goal is to strengthen kr. agitation among collective farmers and like-minded people in order to provoke discontent among the peasants; to ensure that in the event of hostilities it was possible to provide assistance to the interventionists from within.

⁴⁹⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 17 878-P. L.d.8

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid. L.d.1

Q: Tell me, how many times have you been to a meeting with Chekanovsky, and what kind of assignments did you receive from him, in addition, as you indicated?

A: In 1936 I once went to Chekanovsky in the city of Kiev on his call, which I also asked, do I know how many military units are located in the city of Balta. In addition, he clearly gave the assignment to put all the forces to the fact that first of all to organize the fifty with whom to work on the non-closure of the church. I did not receive other assignments from Chekanovsky and I did not meet with him again twice. As for his task, as there are military units in the city of Balta and their location, I also did not answer him, because he himself could not know this.

A: In the CD. I have drawn the following organizations:

1. Svetlichenko Justin, priest;
2. Maletsky Ignatius, archimandrite;
- ... 6. Moldovan Andrey, the priest.

In addition to the persons I have indicated, no one in the cr. my organization was not recruited.

Confirmation of the counter-revolutionary activity of Gabriel Rogut and extract from the record of the interrogation of the accused Svetlichenko (Svetlyachenko) I.T. (we wrote about Justina Svetlyachenko in Part 12 of the Odessa Martirologist. He was arrested on March 12, 1938 and subsequently sentenced to be shot. - Author) on April 16, 1938:

"Q.: With whom did I support the organizational communication existing in the village of Akhtyrka a counter-revolutionary church organization?

A.: ... I personally contacted the bishop Rogut Gavriil who lives in the city of Bălța and was twice on his date. Rogut I personally know since 1934. Rogut advised me to study the mood of collective farmers and spread rumors about the imminent change in the Soviet government.

On the first date at Rogut at the end of August 1937, Rogut asked me about my life in detail and was cautiously interested in the mood of the collective farmers. This conversation took place in the garden near the apartment where he lived.

I told Rogut that I knew. Rogut advised me to study the mood of the collective farmers, but to do it very carefully, and if possible also spread provocative rumors about the imminent change of the Soviet government, which I did.

The second time Rogut also called me to him and we had the same conversation as the first time and after that Rogut and I did not have to meet. ⁴⁹⁹

The Baltic investigators acted cunningly and thoughtfully at the time, they did not look for witnesses. They in the simplest way forced to give the corresponding testimony of already

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. L.d. 13

arrested priests. Thus, the second extract of the case, which drives a nail into Rogut's case, was the testimony of the accused priest Xenophon Lipsky (*we wrote about Xenophon Lipsky in Part 9 of the Odessa martyrology, he was arrested on March 11, 1938 and subsequently sentenced to be shot*) During the interrogation on April 20, 1938, he says:

"On the instructions of Maletsky and in the investigation of the bishop of Moldavia - Rogut Gavriil, I began to conduct an active CD. work among believers.

Covering myself with the priest's priest, I conducted systematic agitation among the population. In my conversation with the collective farmers, I argued that the system was short-lived and that in the near future this system would perish.

At the same time, I campaigned for non-fulfillment of state obligations by collective farmers and argued to believers that the collective farm enslaved the peasants, that their work on the collective farm was useless for them, and that they worked for others.

About this work I regularly informed Maletsky and Rogut Gabriel. "

According to the Indictment of April 18, 1938, "Rogut G.T. is for several years a minister of religious worship.

In 1936 Rogut G. was enlisted in the counter-revolutionary organization by the metropolitan of the city of Kiev Chekanovsky for carrying out counter-revolutionary and espionage activity among the population.

As a member of the counter-revolutionary organization, he conducted an active campaign. agitation among the clergy, and also recruited members of the organization to enlist in the organization Svetlichenko Justin, Maletsky Ignat, Busuev Aleksey, Chegorin Leonty, Beliksey Yakov and Moldovan Andrey.

Confessed in the charge. Evicted in the conduct of counter-revolutionary work by the testimony of a witness. "

Investigation on charges of Rogut Gavriil Timofeevich was sent to the Special Troika of the NKVD MASSR.⁵⁰⁰

A special Troika of the NKVD of the MASSR, at its meeting on April 22, 1938 (Minutes No. 50), decided **Rogut Gavriil Timofeyevich to shoot.**⁵⁰¹

The sentence was carried out on April 24, 1938.⁵⁰²

The conclusion on rehabilitation is from April 28, 1989.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. L.d. 17

⁵⁰¹ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁵⁰² Ibid. L.d. 18

3.3.29 Priest Fedor Lastovetskiy

Priest Lastovetsky Fyodor Ivanovich, was born on February 8, 1884, in the village of Severinovka, Yanovskiy district, Odessa region, in the clergyman's family. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary.⁵⁰³

In 1922 in town Kirovo, a military tribunal was sentenced to 4 years in prison for organizing counterrevolutionary activities.

In the decree on the commencement of the preliminary investigation of 26.04.1938, Fyodor Lastovetsky is accused of "he, as a former minister of the cult, distributes religious kr to the collective farmers. propaganda and groups around them an anti-Soviet element ".⁵⁰⁴ Pre-trial detention was determined in Odessa prison.

Order No. 12 for search and arrest, issued on April 26, 1938.⁵⁰⁵ He was arrested the next day, April 27, 1938.

According to the certificate of Vreed. (temporary acting officer) of the Chief of Razdelniansky on April 26, 1938: "Lastovetsky is a former minister of the cult. Being a priest in the village of Eremeevka, he was engaged in anti-Soviet agitation among the population. Currently holds among the collective farmers, as well as among the schoolchildren of k.r. agitation. All these materials are confirmed by testimony. Lastovetsky is subject to arrest ".⁵⁰⁶

The certificate-characteristic of the chairman of the Eremeevsky village council is similar: "Lastovetsky F.I. arrived in Eremeevsky s / s in 1935, where during his residence he conducted agitation among the collective farmers against the Soviets. He had a close relationship with the families of dekulakized and repressed people, walked around the huts, baptized children and sacred a pasque. At the time when he refused to serve as a minister of worship. I walked around the huts of repressed people and persuaded them that there was no need to worry - soon there will be another government and everyone will be fine, etc. "⁵⁰⁷

From the record of interrogation of accused Lastovetsky from May 4, 1938 ⁵⁰⁸:

"Question: Does the investigation know that you are the son of a minister of religious worship?

Answer: Indeed, I am the son of a minister of religious worship.

Q: What did you do before the October Revolution?

⁵⁰³ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 19413-II (priest F.I. Lastowiecky). L.d. 6

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. L.d. 1

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. L.d. 4

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. L.d. 7

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. L.d. 8

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid. L.d. 10-13

A: Before the October Revolution, I was a minister of religious worship - a priest, to which in 1908 I graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary with a priest.

Q: What did you do after the October Revolution?

A: After the October Revolution, I was also a minister of religious worship - a priest until the day of my arrest.

Q.: The investigation knows that you were convicted in 1922. Who exactly and for what?

A: Indeed, in 1922 I am for arranging bagpipes among women, expressed in kr. speech against the actions of the Soviet authorities was tried in the city of Kirovo by a military tribunal to four years in prison, where I served this sentence in the prison of the city of Kirov.

Q: In what year did you come to Razdelnyansky District?

A.: I arrived in Razdelnyansky district in 1935 and, by the order of Anatoly, Metropolitan of Odesa, was appointed priest of the Eremeevskaya church.

Q.: The investigation found that you are a member of a religious CR. organization.

A: Indeed, I am a member of the religious CR. organization.

Q: When and by whom were you recruited into this organization?

A.: When Anatoly Metropolitan of Odessa visited Anatoly in 1934, when I arrived from Belarus to Ukraine, the latter suggested to me during a conversation that there is a religious counter-revolutionary organization in the Odessa region, to which I must also join, and I agreed to this.

Q: What assignments did you receive from Metropolitan Anatoly?

A.: Metropolitan Anatoly from 1934 to the day of his arrest, I visited about ten times. He gave me assignments to conduct religious kr. the aforementioned propaganda among the collective farmers against the collective farm system, to reveal the moods of the collective-farm masses, to attract religiously convinced people to this work.

Q: How did you comply with these instructions of Metropolitan Anatoly?

A: Until the day of my arrest, I spent among the kolkhozniki kr. agitation that Soviet power is a temporary phenomenon, that the power will soon change, that Hitler will take power, and then he will live better than now under the rule of the Soviets.

Q.: Who was apart from you in the religious CR? organization?

A: I know that from the Razdelniansky district in this organization there were priests Shvachko and Ventsel. Both in 1937 the NKVD organs were arrested, with whom I had close contact on a joint CR. activities.

Q.: Who personally enlisted you in the religious cr. organization?

A: Me personally in the religious k.r. the organization was recruited the former fist Ponamorenko Zakhary Semenovich ... ". And so on...

From the record of interrogation of the witness-local teacher: "On Easter days, both for the vigil and for confession, a significant number of children visited the church. Shemetova, and also with. Ereemeevka. A visit to the church by the children is a direct result of the influence of Pastovetsky's priest. Makarenko Fedor - brigadier of the collective farm. "P.Kommuny" on the feast of religious Easter forced his daughter Marusya, a fourth-grade student, to go to church to celebrate Easter. Pop tells the children to go to school, but they do not forget the church. Pop said that science denies the origin of man from God, and religion proves that everything that happened on earth has come from God, and therefore it is necessary, they say, to praise God, to fear him, and to walk, along with the school, also to church. Characteristically, when I explained in detail to the whole class the contradictions of science with religion, and that the church is stupid with the priest and religion, then the student said: "So, the father lies?".⁵⁰⁹

Another witness-accountant of the local collective farm advocates for labor productivity: "Lastovetsky arrived in 1935 and served in the church for 37 years. And in 1937 for the river. activities were arrested by the NKVD bodies Betsylovsky and Petroevdokievsky priests. And Lastovetsky refused the rank of priest, but nevertheless he continued to pursue c.r. work among the collective farmers. He had a close relationship with the priests Shvachko and Ventsel, he also spoke and urged the illiterate and religious collective farmers, so that they did not go to the collective farm on Sunday to work, that God would punish them for this. Now the collective farmers are very happy that they took him and there is no one to agitate for God and they began to work better on the collective farm. "⁵¹⁰

According to the indictment "Lastovetsky by soc. the son of a priest and soc. position - pop. In 1934, Lastovetsky was recruited into a religious kr. the organization of the Odessa Metropolitan Anatoly and the latter was sent to the priest's service in the village of Ereemeevka. Lastovetsky, being a priest, in the village of Ereemeevka, established a connection with the priests Shvachko and Wenczel (convicted in 1937) together with whom he spent among the collective farmers. agitation against the collective farm system that the Soviets will soon change, because Hitler will soon come to Ukraine, and then it will be better to live the people. In the above I confessed. In carrying out the CR. is exposed by the testimony of witnesses ".⁵¹¹

The case is directed to the consideration of the Trial of the NKVD for the Odessa region.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. L.d. 14

⁵¹⁰ Ibid. L.d. 17

⁵¹¹ Ibid. L.d. 21

Trial of the NKVD in the Odessa region at its meeting of May 6, 1938. Protocol No. 179 decided to shoot the priest Fyodor Lastovetsky.

The verdict was carried out on May 29, 1938.

Conclusion on the rehabilitation of July 22, 1989.

3.3.30 Priest Vladimir Zdetovetskiy

Priest Vladimir Zdetovetsky was born in 1875 in the village of. Signaevka of the Kiev province in the family of a clergyman. Education - secondary, graduated from the Kiev Theological Seminary. According to the data for 1906, he is a priest of the church in the name of the Mother of God "Joy of All Who Sorrow" at the shelter of the Mykolayiv Charitable Society, a teacher of law at the Ministerial School and the Mykolayiv Musical College. Since 1898 - a psalmist, since 1901 - in a sacred rank. He performs spiritual services in the Mykolayiv city hospital.⁵¹² Previously, I was not on trial. At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Ostrovidova 26/2. Family: wife - Olga Illarionovna, 61 years old; son - Sergei, 27 years old; daughter - Tamara, 27 years old.⁵¹³

According to the decree on the commencement of the preliminary investigation and on the preventive measure of May 21, 1938, priest Zdetovetsky is accused of "being a minister of the cult, conducting anti-Soviet agitation using the prejudices of backward groups of the population." As a measure of restraint, detention in the Special Corps of Odessa Prison was determined.⁵¹⁴

Arrested on May 22, 1938, during the search, nothing was found.⁵¹⁵

Priest Vladimir Zdetovetsky was interrogated many times by investigators, in particular, we know the protocols of interrogations of May 22 and June 2, 1938. During the interrogation on May 22, the accused Zdetovetsky showed:

"Q: Are you accused of conducting anti-Soviet agitation using the religious prejudices of believers?

A .: As an old priest, I have kept and remained with my old pre-revolutionary beliefs. However, I did not engage in anti-Soviet activities. I'm naturally a talkative person, I like jokes, jokes and I admit that some statements of an anti-Soviet nature among believers and clergy took place on my side ".⁵¹⁶

⁵¹² Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 157.

⁵¹³ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 4012-P. L.d. 7

⁵¹⁴ Ibid. L.d.2

⁵¹⁵ Ibid. L.d.6

⁵¹⁶ Ibid. L.d. 10

Questions on the interrogation on June 2 concerned the acquaintance and connections of the accused with Metropolitan Anthony (Grisyuk) and Archimandrite Gennady (Rebeza), currently ranked among the holy martyrs:

"A .: I was on good terms with the former Odessa Metropolitan Anatoly Grisyuk. I was in that part of the local clergy, which was in a special position in Anatolia and to which he treated favorably. I visited Anatoliy on his name day, then was at a dinner with Bishop Feodosiy of Kirishi.

Q: In what relations with Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza, now arrested?

A: I was in close relationship with Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza. This man was also very close to the former Metropolitan Anatoly. Since Rebeza does not have a spiritual education, I helped him to learn the necessary theological knowledge while dealing with him.

Rebeza was a very popular priest, guarded monasticism in Odessa and had a large circle of lay admirers.

Q .: It is established that you are grouping around yourself a monastic hostile element from the "true Orthodox", who, according to your instruction, conduct anti-Soviet agitation. Give a truthful testimony about this.

A .: Among my admirers there are several nuns of John Babenko, who lives on the street. Frunze, 34, Flavian, Elena, who lives with Babenko, Varvara, Eustathius, Pasha, but I do not know anything about their anti-Soviet agitation.

Q .: It is established that you, being an unprincipled priest, engaged in clandestine religious rites on the homes of believers, while conducting anti-Soviet agitation.

A .: Occasionally he visited his parishioners with prayer, however he did not conduct any anti-Soviet agitation ".⁵¹⁷

According to the testimony of the witnesses, the priest Zdetovetsky "the personality is undoubtedly reactionary and is a pillar, or rather an influential person among the monarchical, old regime part of the clergy"⁵¹⁸, "... was very close to the former archbishop of the Odessa diocese, now deported to Anatoly Grisyuk. He is always unfriendly to civil authority ".⁵¹⁹

Another witness, a clergyman from August 8, 1937, showed that "I have known Zdetovetsky since 1930, I got acquainted with him through the psalmist of Khital (now deceased). I have not met Zdetovetsky since we are of different orientations. Zdetovetsky is

⁵¹⁷ Ibid. L.d. 12-13

⁵¹⁸ Ibid. L.d. 15

⁵¹⁹ Ibid. L.d. 21

closely connected with the now condemned Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza, lived with him in the same apartment. I know nothing about anti-Soviet manifestations of Zdetovetsky. "⁵²⁰

According to the indictment of September 19, 1937, it became known that "the Regional Department of the NKVD began to receive information that the priest Zdetovetsky Vladimir had organized an illegal chapel, where he performed religious rites, in particular, the baptism of children. According to the same information, Zdetovetsky, visiting believers at home, conducts anti-Soviet agitation.

The investigation in this case found that Zdetovetsky being the representative of the most reactionary monarchical part of the local clergy and occupying extremely hostile positions towards the Soviet Government, conducts anti-Soviet agitation, spreading among the laity counter-revolutionary slanderous anecdotes and other provocative rumors.

While grouping around himself a hostile ecclesiastical and monarchical element, Zdetovetsky organized an illegal chapel at the monk Nefedova (Cathedral Square, 1), where he conducted religious rites and the baptism of children.

Zdetovetsky sought to incline the anti-Soviet positions of local clergy and churchmen and led in this direction negotiations with the newly arrived bishop (instead of repressed) Rusinov.

It is also established that Zdetovetsky was associated with the repressed for active counter-revolutionary activity by Metropolitan Anatoly Grisjuk and Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza.

Accused guilty admitted himself partially. "

The investigation file was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD for the Odessa region.

According to the extract from protocol No. 42 of the September 20, 1937 session of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region, **Zdetovetsky Vladimir Ksenofontovich's decree was sentenced to imprisonment in the labor camp** for a period of 10 years, with a pre-trial determination due from May 22, 1937.

In the case there is a decision of the assistant of the Odessa regional prosecutor from March 10, 1941 with the resolution "In the complaint to refuse. Zdetovetsky's complaint does not deserve attention ".⁵²¹

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from December 15, 1992.⁵²²

3.3.31 Archpriest Aleksandr Ulikovskiy

Archpriest Alexander Ulikovskiy was born on November 27, 1876 in the village of Arbuzinka in the Odessa region in the family of a clergyman-clerk. Education is a two-year city

⁵²⁰ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁵²¹ Ibid. L.d. 27

⁵²² Ibid. L.d. 34

school. The psalmist and teacher of the parish school since 1894, ordained deacon in 1904. For 1906 he serves as deacon in the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Novogeorgiyevsk (Krylov) of the Novogeorgiyevsky district of Alexandria Uyezd.⁵²³ Later, he was ordained a priest and until 1931 served as a priest. At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, Proletarsky boulevard, 12/40 and worked as an assistant to the accountant of Detskorka them. The Comintern. Ukrainian, citizenship of the USSR. Was under investigation in 1927. Family: his wife - Anna Kondratyevna; son - Nikolay; daughter-Lydia; son - Valentine.⁵²⁴

Arrested on October 28, 1937 at the address of residence, according to the arrest warrant, search No. 2802 on October 26 of the same year. During the search, it was found and seized: "Passport, crosses pectoral silver - 2 pcs., Silver tabby - 1 pc., Copper cross - 1 pc."⁵²⁵

Proceeding from the decree on the election and the preventive measure of October 23, 1937, Ulikovskiy, as a former world judge and unmarried priest, was accused of "being in the counter-revolutionary organization" CPI, he was not repressed because of old age.

... using the religious feelings of believers, spreads defeatist attitudes among them, foments national discord, and also spreads verses of counterrevolutionary content. Supports communication with a monarchic element".⁵²⁶

Ulikovskiy himself during the interrogation on December 2, 1937 admits the accusations that "being a priest I belonged to the Tikhonov orientation. In private conversations with believers and clergy, I sometimes expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet authorities. I sometimes expressed my opinion about the precariousness of the existing system, in particular, I was based on arrests in the city".⁵²⁷ Ulykovski pleads guilty to inciting ethnic hatred, because he said that "the government is predominantly Jewish". When asked about Metropolitan Anatoly, he replied that he "visited him only in church affairs"⁵²⁸.

From the testimony of witnesses it becomes known that Archpriest Ulikovskiy "... is anti-Soviet. Expressed his anti-Soviet views. He said that "while I serve, and there they will throw out, because they dismiss all former clerics. I remember in 1935, Ulikovskiy explained to Metropolitan Anatoly the reasons for his departure from the spiritual service by the fact that being in the service threatens troubles to the sons who are Soviet workers. Ulikovskiy then said that

⁵²³ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 371.

⁵²⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 3693-P. L.d. 7

⁵²⁵ Ibid. L.d. 4

⁵²⁶ Ibid. L.d. 1

⁵²⁷ Ibid. L.d. 8

⁵²⁸ Ibid. L.d. 10

"while" the government must be subordinated. What do you mean "until" did not explain ".⁵²⁹
From other testimonies: "Ulikovskiy - the priest -"Tikhonov", adjoined to their counterrevolutionary current. He said that the Soviet government would not last long. In general, he was surrounded by monarchical elements. Spread the verses of a counter-revolutionary character somewhere in Krivoy Rog and in Odessa, it's - they told me, but I do not know".⁵³⁰

In the Final Decree of December 4, 1937, it is indicated and the investigation found that "Ulikovskiy in 1927 was under investigation. In the past, he adjoined the counter-revolutionary Tikhonov Current.

Ulikovskiy , being hostile to the Soviet government, was engaged among believers with statements about the near death of the Soviet government, and also spread slander against the Soviets in relation to religion and the clergy.

Spread the provocative rumors about the alleged persecution by the Czarist authorities.

Ulikovskiy , being hostile to the Soviet Government, kept in his own poetry counter-revolutionary character compromising the Soviet power, which Ulikovskiy gave to his acquaintances to make copies".⁵³¹

The investigation file was referred to the Trial of the UNKVD for the Odessa region.

According to the extract from protocol No. 100 of December 5, 1937, the session of the Trial of the UNKVD in the Odessa region, a resolution was adopted by **Ulikovskiy Alexander Mikhailovich to sentence to imprisonment in the labor camp for a period of 10 years, counting the term from October 28, 1937.**⁵³²

Conclusion on rehabilitation is from 10 February, 1992.⁵³³

Conclusions to chapter 3

The religious policy of the Soviet government had a pronounced anti-churchliness and intransigence towards religion. In this section, we wanted to draw attention to the specific methods of work and the implementation of the political course towards the church. Politics in the cult sphere in this period is represented as a movement from the use of violence in solving private problems to turning it into the main method of anti-religious struggle. The judicial power of the Soviet government did not know mercy in the service of totalitarianism and terror. In the

⁵²⁹ Ibid. L.d. 12

⁵³⁰ Ibid. L.d. 14

⁵³¹ Ibid. L.d. 15

⁵³² Ibid. L.d. 16

⁵³³ Ibid. L.d. 23

published note of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* of June 8, 1918, F. E. Dzerzhinsky said the following about the court and the trial: "We judge quickly. In most cases, from the capture of a criminal to the resolution is a day or a few days, but this, however, does not mean that our verdicts are not substantiated. Of course, we can make mistakes, but so far there have been no mistakes. Almost in all cases, criminals, pinned to the wall with evidence, confess to the crime, and what argument has more weight than the defendant's own confession"⁵³⁴.

Only according to our research, priests Stefan Bibikov (3 years in a concentration camp), Iosif Karpenko, Pavel Kapitonov, Aleksey Veliky, Antony Grinevich, Kalabin Petr Yakovlevich, Vassian Malinsky, Sergei Shevazutskiy (10 years of concentration camps) were arrested and convicted in this way in the Odessa region for the years of Soviet power.), Grigoriy Genkin (expulsion for 3 years), Aleksey Sidorov (3 years in a concentration camp), Vladimir Shavorsky, Grigoriy Lebedev, layman Nikolai Burimovich (3 years in a concentration camp), priests Dimitriy Pankeyev, Fedor Shatunov, Nikolai Slobodyanikov, Konstantin Volosh ovsky (5 years imprisonment). And this is by no means all priests subjected to persecution by the Soviets. For many of them, this was not the first and not the last arrest, almost all clergymen who were arrested in the 1920s could not be saved and were arrested during the Great Terror, later shot or killed in concentration camps.

Only for 1937-1938 priests Nikolai Kurbet (execution), Afinogen Sagaidakovsky (execution), Stepan Ivanitsky (10 years of forced labor camps), Panteleimon Shvachko (10 years of forced labor camps), Aleksey Skoun (8 years of forced labor camps), Andrey Lyubchenko (execution), Kuzma Voynitskiy (execution), Lyubomir Todorov (execution), Georgiy Sendulskiy (execution), Vladimir Ventsel (execution), Dmitry Ignatyev (execution), Andrey Okhrimovich (10 years of forced labor camps), Matvey Rudnitsky correctional labor camps), di akon. Nikita Shtepenko (execution), priests Peter Reshetinskiy (execution), Aleksey Popovich (execution), Yevgeny Maksimovich (5 years of expulsion), Georgiy Sadovskiy (execution), Diodor Yakubovich (execution), Mitrofan Popov (execution), Ivan Peschanskiy (execution) , Andrey Grigoryev (execution), Stepan Stankevich (execution), Ksenofont Lipskiy (execution), Justin Svetlyachenko (execution), Feodosiy Nekrashevich (execution), Ioann Vitalin (execution), Archbishop Gavriil (Rogut) (execution), priests Fedor Lastovetskiy (shooting), Vladimir Zdetovetskiy (10 years of correctional labor Gery) Ulikovskiy Alexander (10 years of corrective labor camps).

The Stalinist mechanism of repression worked without fail, if the order was given to destroy the "enemy" - it had to be carried out. It was important quantity, not quality. Thus, almost

⁵³⁴ Melgunov S.P. *The Red Terror in Russia. 1918—1923. M. : PUICO P. S., 1990. p. 109*

all the clergy of the South of Ukraine, which had long been under the control of the relevant bodies, were shot or sent to forced labor camps, many of them could not stand there for several years ... Many, already there, in concentration camps, were again brought to trial and sentenced to execution.

4. GROUP CASES OF THE REPRESSED CLERGY OF ODESSA REGION (1929-1937)

4.1 Hieromartyr Pavel Gayday and those who suffered with him for the faith. Odessa period of life

Archives and Investigations Case No. 8 133-P, stored in the NASU Archive in the Odessa Region, tells about the Odessa period of life, arrest and exile of the PriestMartyr Pavel Gayday, who was shot in 1937 and placed on the saints 'list at the Jubilee Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church on August 13-16 2000 year.

In addition to the martyr Pavel Gayday, the same cases are being held and arrested, the wife of Father Pavel - Kapitolina Gayday, the church elder - Alexander Kapakli and the nun Vera Savchenko.

4.1.1 Priest Pavel Gayday

Priest Pavel Ignatyevich Gayday was born in 1876 in the city of Izmail, Bessarabia province. Education – secondary. Nationality Russian. Citizenship – Ukrainian SSR. Occupation is a cleric. According to some witnesses, Father Pavel before his ordination worked as a conductor of the Odessa horse, then was a brother in the diocesan missionary Kalnove, later was ordained a deacon and presbyter.⁵³⁵

The family is the wife of Gayday Kapitolina Dmitrievna, lives with her husband's money; his wife's sister - Makhrova Evdokia Dmitrievna, lives with the means of a brother-in-law.

According to the Decree on the involvement as an accused of May 13, 1929: "Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich, b. 1876 in Izmail, the priest of the village of Kapaklievka, Taras-Shevchenkovskogo area, together with his wife, Captain, the church elder Kapakli, Alexander Elifterovich, committed fraudulent actions with a view to instigating superstition for personal gain and maintenance of the cr. activities ».⁵³⁶

A measure of restraint of the methods of evasion from investigation and trial in respect of the accused Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich, "engaged in the priesthood in the village. Kapakliivka,

⁵³⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 8 133-P. L.d. 29

⁵³⁶ Ibid. L.d. 85

by profession - a priest ", was elected detention in prison at the Odessa district department of the GPU.⁵³⁷

He was arrested on April 30, 1929.

4.1.2 Kapitolina Gayday

Gayday Kapitalina (Kapitolina) Dimitriyevna (nee Makhrova) was born in 1877 in the village of. Krytovo M. Arkhangelsk Uezd Uspensky volost Orel province in the family of peasants. On property status - the property of the poor. Russian nationality. Citizenship - the USSR. Education is inferior. Marital status: Married. Occupation - housewife. I did not sue.⁵³⁸

According to the Decree on the involvement of the accused May 13, 1929, "Gayday Kapitalina Dmitriyevna together with her husband and others, the commission of fraudulent activities with the aim of extracting benefits from the believing masses and inciting religious prejudices dissolved kr. Gossip"⁵³⁹

Taking into account the fact that "finding her at liberty will be used to stir up believers" by the measure of restraint for Capitolina Gayday was elected under guard at the Odessa district department of the GPU.⁵⁴⁰

4.1.3 Aleksandr Kapakli

Kapakli Alexander Eliffterovich (Liffterovich) was born in 1873 in the village of. Kapakliivka. Member of the board of the religious community, Greek, Ukrainian SSR.

Family - wife of Capakli Stepanida Yakovlevna, 54 years old, housewife; brother - Capakli Ivan Liffterovich, 71 years old; brother - Capakli Michael Liffterovich, 66 years old; Chalenko Ekaterina Filippovna, 62 years old, patient.⁵⁴¹

According to the Decree on Involvement as an Accused of May 13, 1929: "Kapakli Alexander Eliffterovich, the head of the Kapaklia Church, promoted the ass to Gayday to commit deceptive actions for the purpose of extracting personal benefits and used the religious prejudices of the masses for the KGB. goals ".⁵⁴²

⁵³⁷ Ibid. L.d. 86

⁵³⁸ Ibid. L.d. 82

⁵³⁹ Ibid. L.d. 87

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. L.d. 88

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. L.d. 4

⁵⁴² Ibid. L.d. 91

A preventive measure on the same day was the detention in custody of the Odessa district department of the GPU.⁵⁴³

He was arrested on April 30, 1929.

4.1.4 Vera Savchenko

Savchenko Vera Antonovna was born in 1897 in the village of. Katarzhino Odessa district in the family of peasants. On the social status - the indigent. Education - is illiterate. Marital status is a girl. She was not on trial.

According to the Decree on Involvement as Accused of May 13, 1929: "Vavra Antonovna Savchenko, pretending to be a nun, committed fraudulent actions and encouraged the priest Gayday P. to perform them for profit by using the religious prejudices of the masses, dismissed the k. gossip".⁵⁴⁴

By a decree on the election of a preventive measure of May 13, 1929, it was determined that "VA Savchenko, passing on the case on accusation of her in facilitating the commission of deceptive actions and the use of religious prejudices of the masses for the CR, agitation and taking into account that finding it at liberty makes it possible to continue the harmful activity: by a measure of restraint of the methods of evasion from the investigation and the court in respect of the accused Savchenko VA to select detention in jail in the Odessa district."⁵⁴⁵

At the time of the arrest on April 30, 1929, all four resided in the village. Kapakliivka Petroevdokievsky village council Taras-Shevchenko district of the Odessa region. Already on May 1, 1929, all four were enrolled for maintenance in the Odessa prison.

On May 11, 1929, by order of the Commissioner of the Second Division of the Odessa District Department of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, the case against Gr. Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich, Gayday Kapitalina Dmitrievna, Savchenko Vera Antonovna, Kapakli Alexander Elifterovich.

In particular, the criminal activities of the above-mentioned citizens were expressed "in the commission of fraudulent actions to derive benefits from the religious masses and used religious prejudices of the masses for the cr. goals ".⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴³ Ibid. L.d. 92

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid. L.d. 89

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid. L.d. 90

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. L.d. 1

Thus, according to Art. 88 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, a preliminary investigation was begun on the grounds for the crimes envisaged in Art. Art. 54-10 part 2 and 110 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

This decision was preceded by the arrest of Father Pavel Gayday, Mother Capitolina, church elder Alexander Kapakli and the nun Vera Savchenko.

4.1.5 Arrest and testimony of priest Pavel Gayday

On April 30, 1929, at the place of his residence, priest Pavel Gayday was arrested in the village of Kapaklievka and taken to the District Department of the GPU of Odessa. During the "thorough search it was seized: 1) personal correspondence - letters, photos; 2) 4 boxes with copper crosses of which two are large and two are small. No more was found during the search."⁵⁴⁷

On April 16, 1929, the District Administrative Department sent inquiry No. 040446 on the activities of the "priest Gayday" to the head of the Shevchenkovsky district militia. Answer No. 634 is dated May 6:

"On the question regarding the activities of pop G. I report the following information:

1) The latter deals with the treatment of citizens, in which case in broad circles of believers has the idea that he is a cult.

2) The consequence of his religious propaganda in the village. Kapakliyev church dug believers well and these believers built a house for two visiting believers.

3) There is a rumor among the believers that the end of the world will soon be the result of religious propaganda.

4) Many of the peasants come to the clergymen of the village from the village. They bring with them money, bread, clothes, etc., which he gives away to the needy believers in order to gain authority.

5) Around the ass gather nuns - the women who support his work."⁵⁴⁸

On May 24, 1929, Father Pavel was interrogated by investigators. Most of the questions related to the liturgical life of the PriestMartyr Pavel, therefore, we consider it necessary to include in this publication some excerpts from his answers during the interrogation:

"... I performed church services, as my health allowed me, 5-3 times a week, once a week.
... Arriving pilgrims brought me food, paid money for prayer, etc.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid. L.d. 78

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. L.d. 79

... I performed the divine services in full monastic terms. To patients who addressed me for healing I served as a waterborne moleben and then sprinkled them with water.

... The demoniacs were let down and I poured them a jar of consecrated water. I poured water as required, I determined the weak in the face - more, the healthier - less.

... Cases of healing after the prayers were many, knows about this (the name is illegible - author), the pilot, Alexander Kapakli, to whom the apartment was brought sick. One patient broke his glass, and after that she left healthy, there were no cases of deterioration.

... There were death cases for those who came for healing, but I am not guilty of this, so death came.

... I received income from prosfors in my content, mother-in-law baked prosphora along with Vera Savchenko and Paraskovie. We sacrificed flour for prosphora and we bought.

... No one has spread rumors that I heal the sick, but the words are such power.

... I did not trade in candles. The parishioners bought candles in the church at the counter at 10-15-25 to give me candles instead of money. They bought candles and burned the images for this money.

... For prayers, akathists, funeral services were paid to the cashier of the community, and then she settled with me.

... I took a piece of marble from my grave, took flowers from the grave of John of Kronstadt for a long time - since 1908 I respect John of Kronstadt as a good shepherd, trying to imitate him.

„549

During one and subsequent interrogations, namely on May 12, 1929, Father Pavel responding to questions of the investigator about the criminal record indicates that "he was tried three times under investigation, but was acquitted". And his "Father, mother, brother and three sisters lived in Bessarabia in Ismail, my father had a vineyard in what quantity I do not know. What they are doing now, I do not know for sure. I, like others, sprinkled water to heal the sick, but I did not dismiss rumors about it. From the cross, like the rest, I poured water into my mouth.

„550

Later, Father Pavel refuses to give any evidence.

4.1.6 Testimony of witnesses

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. L.d. 96-97

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. L.d. 81

Particularly interesting are the interrogation protocols for witnesses, because, to a large extent, we learn about the lives of the accused, scrupulously afterwards weeding out the truth from the inventions.

After all, it is quite obvious that the investigator's goal was to denigrate the cleric, his family members and his closest assistants. Therefore, these witnesses were deliberately looked for, and exactly what could be used in the charge was recorded. And in most cases, the protocols of interrogations and simply falsified.

Thus, the majority of witnesses were questioned in January 1929 and, as can be seen from the minutes, the accusation was gradually built on two main positions, which is very often encountered in investigative cases of that time: violations in the financial activities of the parish and harm to believers, or rather, the unconscious element of the young Soviet society.

One of the residents with. Separate, involved in the case as a witness and interrogated on January 17, 1929, says: "I heard a lot from Gayday's priest that he heals the sick, he went to him through Razdelnaya and I went to Peter and Pavel with Belokopytov.

There were many people in the church. In the fence there was one abnormal woman who screamed. I did not wait until the end of the service and went home. Belokopytov approached the cross and his priest watered the sacred water. In the fence, some women who serve the church said that their father treats the sick, so that the sick are taken to him. They say that their father and cripples and madmen cured ".⁵⁵¹

From the record of interrogation of the priest art. Separate on the same day: "I heard rumors that, allegedly, GP heals the sick and that people go to him in crowds. About this I told the bishop I know the case of such a Mikhail Voloshchenko from Slobodzey Taras-Shevchenko district took his sick daughter Dominic in September 28 to Gayday healed, where she died. After that, I was invited to bury her. I heard rumors that the nuns serving him were unhappy with him, since he took all the sacrifice himself, saying that they should endure as monks ".⁵⁵²

Another testimony from January 17, 1929: "I heard that Gayday heals the sick, revives the dead and saw that the masses of the people are coming to him, that he will know who is coming who is sick, who is healthy. He pours water into the mouth two or three times, sick only once. I decided to check all this and went to Kapakylivka ...

⁵⁵¹ Ibid. L.d. 7

⁵⁵² Ibid. L.d. 11

There were different patients in the church: cripples, crazy, epileptic, one of them crazy with a child of a year and a half, screaming and walking around the church. I went up to the cross, too, and poured water twice, after that, I left - making sure it was quackery. "⁵⁵³

Priest of st. Razdelnaya mentioned the sick Dominica, who died afterwards. The investigator could not miss such a chance to prove the priest's guilt at her death and on April 18, 1929, her mother was questioned. The indications are inconsistent, but some of the facts described in the protocol clarify the general picture of this case:

"Domna's daughter was sick with heart disease, for help we turned to different doctors, but they said that it was impossible to save her, then she asked us to take her to Kapakleyvka, maybe the father can help. She was very ill, she was swollen, her throat was bloody, she could not move. This was in October 28g. she was put in a cart, and I was taken to Kapakylivka. We arrived there on Thursday evening spent the night in a new room. There were many people about forty people. We slept on the floor laying straw, row and pillow.

In the same room, there was a girl of about 10 years old. On Friday she went to a church where she was massaged, her father sprinkled holy water and watered her. There next to her, three more maslorovalis. One of them, an old woman, a young eighteen, who coughed and how her mother spoke, caught a cold. She sat down at the luncheon and went back to the room where we spent the night. When we left the church, she said that it was hard for her and coughed with blood. On Saturday, when the daughter was sitting on the doorstep near the hut, her mother saw her and said "why did you bring her again, because she is very ill", but the father said "let them lead anywhere they want."

On Saturday her saint communed. On Sunday, he again went into the room and told his daughter that later he would go back to communion again, but the daughter was already very ill, she turned blue, coughed all the time, and her blood ran down her throat. She told the priest that I would wait for the second communion. To this her father said: "You will wait for nothing, and there God will give you strength to recover, later the priest came and communicated it. In the evening she died in the yard, as we waited for the cart, we buried her in the village ".⁵⁵⁴

Interrogated priest with. Bitsilevka says: "I mostly know about Gayday Pavel from the words of others. I know that he does everything differently than the rest of the clergy. In particular, he crosses the cross so as to seize the entire human complexion, does not sprinkle with holy water. For example, Maxim Garuk told me that he had witnessed the case when Gayday

⁵⁵³ Ibid. L.d. 6

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid. L.d. 70

was pouring water until a person was choking, talk about it, etc. Maxim Garuk from p. Konstantinovka.

Those who visited Gayday were told that many people gathered there, so they did not fit in the existing lodge due to what they slept (in the summer) in the church and in neighboring huts. There were so many people in the apartments that the stench rose in the rooms. The unsanitary condition was completely on the face.

It was said that not only doss-houses, but also meals were arranged in the church. Many came from my ward, such as Belousova Feodosiya - Bitsilevka, Lisovenko Ivan - x. Shchegletov, he especially visits Gayday, especially Gnatenko Gavriil is interested in him - in Konstantinovka, Ilyin Andrey - said that he does not bother with Gayday for a whole day - he moved to Odessa. Gnatenko Gabriel said that Gayday made him feel so much that he "roared like a bug".

Gayday arranges universal, repentant confessions in the church, where the people go into a frenzy, which is recognized in sins and did not exist. All the above listed about these confessions are well known.

To Gayday brought from different villages food, jam and money collected from the people in their measures. They told us that they brought to 50 rubles for Gayday, one told me that she was carrying 90 rubles, the other 150 rubles. The arrivals stopped at Belousova Feodosia, Atrakovoy Irina, Viktor Studenov. The parties came on foot with carts, food, etc. They came from the Sirotinki, from under Berezovka.

Anna Ankfrieвна Shkolnikova, the village of Konstantinovka, told that she was sent to her in the fall of 1928 to collect money and food for Gayday, who told me not known.

It was said that Gayday brought the products immediately to the people who arrived. Whether I gave everything out or left to myself I do not know, but probably I did not offend myself either.

Gayday of the former Ch. revcom commissions Buduris Stepan Khristoforovich, a former resident of Kapakliivka. Now he lives in Odessa and trades at the station. Separated by iron-iron goods, he told me that my mother Gayday was in charge of expenditure matters, and Gayday became candle. In Buduris there were some clashes on the basis of some irregularities, but Gayday laid siege to him.

Gayday had a whole staff of assistants in the person of nuns. Kurtovsky's postman told me that Gayday had extensive correspondence and was receiving two newspapers - Pravda and Odessa News.⁵⁵⁵

From the record of the witness's interrogation of February 22, 1929:

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid. L.d. 37

"In Kapaklyevo, at Pavel Gayday I visited very often, almost every Sunday.

The resident of our village Evdokha Droben advised us to go to Gayday. She said that there was a good father there, they prayed well there.

Many people gathered in Kapaklyevo. Gathered from a distance, they stayed to sleep in the lodge of an old and newly built house. When there was no new house, we spent the night in the church.

On the eve of the great holidays, Pavel Gayday's service was delayed until dawn. Then when the service ended earlier, we went into the house and sang psalms, sometimes Father Pavel also sang with us. We often sang psalms before dawn. The psalmist took part in this.

It used to happen that we left Kapaklyevo home with the singing of psalms. Patients were sent to Gayday for healing. It used to happen that several patients were going to. Then Gayday in the church of the faithful read the appropriate places from the Bible and the Gospel about the sick, then he sanctified the water and sprinkled the water and all those present. The believers poured this water in bottles.

In the church, the guests were left with kalachi and money. Kalachi was sometimes distributed to all present, and the money went to the church cashier. I saw once, as the coming mole-lover gave a bunch of sheep's horns to my mother Pavel, but she handed all the presents to everyone present.

In church often go with plates and collect money, money is going to much. Where this money goes - I do not know.

Help Gaida four nuns. Of these, I know one by the name of Vera, she sells in the church prosphora⁵⁵⁶.

This Verochka said to me and to all who came: "Go to our church to pray, t. prayers of our father help and heal the sick." Verochka helps with housework at the apartment of Pavel Gayday. Gaida was helped often by a poor old man with rosary beads, who walks in the parishes and collects alms.

Dug a well in 1928 before Christmas, but I also do not know anything about it.

Coming to Kapaklyevo, Gayday went in the past, went to Ivan Tsibulsky this year and served as a prayer. From our village there does not happen to Gayday Christ Semenovna Ivanova. She said that she knows from the words of her friends in Odessa that P. Gayday used to trade in a shop. Old woman Elizabeth Oleinichenko, 80 years old, in order to pray more often in Kapaklyevo, settled nearby in the village, and from there she went to pray, she lived with her sister Mary. For the new year she returned to Kapaklyevo to her sons.

⁵⁵⁶ It is about Vera Savchenko, also arrested in the case of Fr. Pavel Gayday

Those passing through our village told us that they heard from one woman in Kapaklyevo that Pavel Gayday was going up to heaven. My husband's son suffered from seizures. He went to the Palm Sunday to talk to Gayday. On Holy Saturday, we all went to Vespers at Capakleevo. My son's son, Vasil, went there too. That very night he died in the lodge. Ivan Tsibulsky saw him in the church. In Kapaklyevo I saw Varvara Tkachenko. She brought her sick son to be healed. In addition, I can show that women gather in Avdotya in those days when they do not go to Kapaklyevo, talk about their affairs, then sing church psalms. Sometimes there Evdokia, Isidorika, little girls. He directs singing Avdotya. Avdotya is a developed, literate woman. He shuns me and secrets me. When my husband's son died, pop Gayday, that the deceased - pleasing to God, happy that he died on such a solemn day ».⁵⁵⁷

From the testimony of the priest with. Eremeevka:

"I know the priest G. since 1925 when he settled in with. Elisavetka, the parish with. Festerovka of the Odessa region, met him after he invaded the confines of my parish and became interested in him when the peasants started talking about him as an "extraordinary" person, I explained his "holiness" to all spectators, I try to avoid talking all kinds of things, asserting one thing, that G. is an ordinary man like all mortals, and that his "holiness" and "healing" do not believe. He is a man I know is not literate, but unfortunately the peasants can not understand the last circumstance or do not want to understand it. As for my arrival, back in 1924, his supporters spread various stories about me, which undoubtedly helped them. But since most of the parishioners were my supporters, G. would not be able to settle in Eremeevka. Since then and to the present time personally I have not had to speak with G., as for the joint service with him, I never had one. On my questions to the neighbors who took part in the divine service with him, what is the "holiness" of G., received a negative response, as for the public, the latter is going to large numbers in the village. Kapaklievke, attracted to many of his supporters from the peasantry, from the peasants of various parishes spreading rumors that the priest heals predicts the future time, but as far as possible I try to dismiss such talk about him, telling everyone that he can not foresee the future. October 14, 1938 I had to be a witness of his service (I was in the church among the prayers) and came to the conclusion that he was not only an illiterate person, but also proud. When I am the abbot of the church with. Marinovka suggested to take part in the divine service together, then I rejected the proposal, not wanting to arouse the conversation that I also bowed before G. and the last one in most cases liked to excel, and I do not doubt that money, too, I do not doubt. he has many assistants to collect illegally for various needs, in most cases very doubtful. I repeat that to G. most of the priests are negative and the attitude is caused by his

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid. L.d. 41-42

actions not corresponding to the priest's dignity, which he wears. About the same circumstance, priest G. received a deceitful fraud to me from the archpriests Krupsky and Lukyanov, the first one told me that G. presented the ordained bishop to the ordained archpriest Prot. Ion Atamansky, which G. forged by himself or someone else, but the fact of a falsehood is beyond doubt.

Gayday's active supporters are Akilin Udovenko - incompetent, Khristina Efremenko - middle peasant, Vasily and Timofei Nechipurenko - middle peasants, but similar activists can be found in other parishes. The first of them left her house and moved to Gayday, where she is now, the latter live in Kapakylivka for 2-3 days. When asked by my Khrystyna Efremenko why Akilina will not return home and will not get back to her answer "her such ways". From the parishioners I heard that Akilina Udovenko informs many that soon a terrible trial will come, and Khristina Efremenko knows "what the priest thinks". January 30, 1928 I had to bury one of the parishioners, some Anna Kosovskaya, whose husband told me that the death of his wife is the consequence of the "healing" of Father Gayday. According to him, Kosovskaya, she was sick, at the insistence of her brother Isidore Efremenko went on the eve of Epiphany to Kapakylivka, where G. sprinkled her with water so that the blouse froze on her and when Anna came home, she went to bed, I believe that Kosovskaya The patient with tuberculosis complicated the disease with pneumonia from long-term penetration and died of it. From priest Rotmirov I heard how G. explained one parishioner in Kurtovka that the latter would not rest until he repents of having buried a living child and from him Rothmirov also heard that G. with his supporters wanted to break into Kurtovskaya church for service but because Rothmirov did not give written consent, then G. had to retire. Priest Gayday is well acquainted with Hieromonk Mitrofan from the village. Marinovka, who told me how he taught G. correctly to read, then more accurate information about his actions and worship can be given by priest Konstantin Stadnitsky from p. Severinovka and Hieromonk Jehudiel, who also told me that G. among the public disseminates information that he G. is the heir of John of Kronstadt. Then one of the parishioners with. Marinovka resident with. I do not remember the name of the Magdalenka, but I know him in person, he told me how he turned to G. to pray for the latter to stop the headache from this parishioner, which G. demanded to buy a candle for 6 rubles. with copecks and prosphora about this amount, and when G. learned that this person does not have enough money for this need, that he only has 70 cops, then G. nervously throwing away the pencil has departed from him ".⁵⁵⁸

Throughout the case, a large number of witnesses were interrogated, the repressive machine did not yet fully work in those years, and investigators, probably, still tried to prove guilt. So, another witness during the interrogation on January 6, 1929 showed:

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid. L.d. 34

"The population of Squirrels, as well as the hamlets that are near it, are divided into 2 groups with respect to the reverence of the newly born father PG that is in Kapakliivka of Taras-Shevchenkivskiy district. One group, the largest and most numerous, speaks for the fact that this is simply fraud and mockery of the people by G., on the other hand, another group insignificantly defends him fiercely and, in all likelihood, through his influence spreads a wide variety of absurdities. Somehow the ascension to heaven, the fast end of the universe, the healing of the sick, the digging of a well with living water and so on. Concerning the ascension to heaven, I know that G. accompanied a group of his admirers and took advantage of unquestioning obedience and blindness left from them towards Karpovo or Eremeevka station without saying goodbye even to them, and those in turn in religious intoxication without noticing this dissolved the rumor about the accession to heaven G. This rumor flew around the Squirrel through the diligence of G.'s admirers and about this occasion I heard a conversation in the Belchansk cooperation in the queue when they laughed and criticized the actions of G. This fable is known for a long time in Belka, but I can not to regret to specify not a single surname that circulated these rumors. To this fable is added a rumor that soon the end of the world will be, and hence the necessity of realizing any reserves. The admirers of course do not notice that this is in the hands of G. who brings a fair amount of all kinds of food, which would not be enough for one hundred hungry children. Healing of patients is a conversation that can always be reached if you just listen to the balochki visitors to the Belchansk cooperation any day. In Belka, there is gr-nin Khomko Isidor Savelievich at the age of 20 to 30 years. This gr-nin fell ill with an unknown disease to this day, as a result, lost the ability to move and turned into a living corpse. The mother of the patient Grinina Yevgenia Feodorovna Khomko, an ardent admirer of G. completely ignorant, according to my information, I can not say, instead of going to the doctor and asking for help, he takes him to Kapakelyevo to the "holy father" and only months later when it was impossible to render to help him and when the disease was definitely rooted and turned into a permanent one - chronic it takes him to Odessa where, of course, he was not accepted and she again brought him home. It is rumored that G. asked once that the named paralysis of Isidor Khomko should be cushioned and laid "sitting" on a wagon forcing him to rule the oxen and in this form to drive through the Belka to Kapaklievo. It is clear that only a fool could believe this quick recovery of the patient, but still such a rumor is talking. In conclusion, I must say that the main mass of his admirers are illiterate, dark and old people, mostly women. From these ardent admirers of the village of Belki I can name Odary Phillip Nikolayevich, Karpenko Matryona Iosifovna, Bykovskaya Anna Semenovna, Khomko Anisiya Mikhailovna ".⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid. L.d. 5

Well ... You never know where and how you'll fall. So the investigators, trying to find a criminal character in the actions of Father Pavel, found "not those" witnesses. It is thanks to such records, we can learn the truth not only about the most repressed cleric, but also his life, the lives of people close to him. Interrogated as a witness on April 22, 1929, says:

"In 1928 I was in Kapakleyevskaya church two times, one time on the spade, and another time before Christmas. At that time there were a lot of people in the church, especially older women. There were more people on the spade than on other days of Mass. Women go to Kapakylivka only because the priest G. treats the poor very well, he earnestly prays. It helps the poor, serves a funeral service free of charge and gives a free viewing service, that he is happy with what he gives. And so, despite the fact that Kapakylivka goes further, all the worshipers go to G. Prayer is better than other priests and he does not have such deception as in other churches. Altogether in Kapakliivka there is pop G. for two years and during these years he managed to attract all the worshipers to his parish.

Especially G. attracts to himself by the fact that he collects everything in mass, gives to other worshipers and in general shares the last piece of bread.

I saw how to bring sick children to G. to pray for their recovery. When he prayed, he addressed all those in the church to pray for the recovery of the sick. In addition to children, adults and men and women came for healing. After the prayer, the priest G. blew all the sick with sacred water. About the death of a boy from Poniatovka in the lodge I do not know. With me there was no mortality. The rumors were that a boy from Kurtovka, brought to Kapakleyvka, had died. Talk about the fact that G. ascended to heaven did not hear. It could be invented by other people who are unhappy with the fact that all people go to Kapakylivka.

As for the well, I can say the following. Visitors to the church were asked by the priest to allow and bless, so that a well was dug near the church, which G. agreed and blessed. I do not know who first addressed the priest, since when I was in church, the well was already finished and I poured water from the well. All people who dug a well, then for free, all worked out at will. On account of the building of the lodge, I know the following. All those who pray and visit the church and want to spend the night, but in the absence of a place they went to the village, but some did not let them sleep, which was not convenient. I do not know who initiated the construction of the watchdog, but people all agreed to work (Marinovtsi, Belchintsy, etc.). All those who carried clay, water and stone did not receive any payment except for the Odessa workers. Father said that there is no money in the parish, he who wants to work let him work. The elder of the church also took an active part. He lives in the village of Fabrovo. As for the collection of money for the villages, I do not know anything. But all the prayers that brought the

food with them were given to a common pot and ate all together. Through our village women often go to Kapakleyevskaya church and carry small baskets (bread, etc.) with them. No one from these people has spent the night, but I can not say for others. The monk Vera is still in Kapakliivka. I saw her last time, when I was in Kapakliivka (Christmas 28g.). Where did she I do not know. I even once asked her where she came from, but the latter did not answer. Once again I confirm that no matter how soon the end of the world will be and G. rose, rumors I was unheard. I have not heard any rumors from Zalewska Maria, the latter often happens with me. When I do not have someone else, women will gather, they talk about the difficult situation and say that all this is from God and if they do not pray to God, people will be worse off. This year I did not go to Kapakylivka ".⁵⁶⁰

In the course of the investigation, the dean of the Katarzhinsky district was interrogated:

"I had to deal with G. when I was my Katarzhinsk Dean in the years 27-28. Around G. there is an agency that travels around the parishes and agitates to go to G. In Katarzyno two supporters were known to me - one former assistant medical assistant - Vera, who subsequently moved to Kapakylivka and traded candles there in the church, the second nun Vyacheslav go there a lot but all I do not know.

In the work of G. accepts no less if not more than the participation of his mother. G. Priest Ya. Saenko of the Zakharyevsky Deanery is well aware, formerly. A priest in Nerubaysky, where there was some incident with G., almost leading him to hell. A certain blind Faith with a paralyzed daughter addressed Katarzyno for healing, but to no avail. "

January 17, 1929, inspector of the District Administrative Department, head. Razdelniansky medical site, head. 3rd medical unit, in the presence of an employee of the Odessa district department of the GPU, on the basis of the order of the Odessa Regional Executive Committee, a survey was carried out of the buildings located in the church fence at the church. Kapakliivka Petroevdokievsky village council, Taras-Shevchenko district, Odessa district.

According to the completed act, "the following was found: 1) In the church fence there are two buildings, one of which is the size of 7x4 sazhen under the iron roof. Inside the room, apart from the table in the entire length of the room and the benches on either side of it there was nothing, so at the request of those present the room was used for the "refectory", the second room of two rooms the size of the first to 6 fathoms, the second about 2.5 fathoms . The height of both rooms is about two and a half arshins, in both rooms there are two small windows. This premise is handed over to the community for the church watchman, now in the first room there is a specially fitted plate with two large cast-iron boilers designed for cooking food; on the

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid. L.d. 71

explanation of the present Volkova Maria Ivanovna, who serves this room, cooks are prepared for those who arrive in these boilers. The second room on the explanation of all the same Volkova, is used for the overnight stay of visiting worshipers and patients. At the time of the examination, patients were found in the second room: Grigoriy Mikhailovich Tkachenko, 24 years old. Resident with. Alexandrovka Taras-Shevchenkovskogo area, located there since August 15, 1928, according to his own tuberculosis of the legs, contracture of the knee and hand joints, and fingers of the right hand, is sick from the age of 14, according to the patient is treated with "holy" water that he drinks on an empty stomach. Sidorenko Fyotonya Phillipovna, resident of the village of. Slobodzey, moaning at the entrance of the commission to the room, Sidorenko moaned, complaining about some pain, Maria Dyachenko, who was standing next to her, took her to the room saying that Sidorenko was suffering from a black illness, on her return Sidorenko stated that she had a toothache and a headache. But now the pain has passed and in general before she was sick, and during her time in Kapakliivka she felt better, Strana Feodora Parfenyevna, a resident of. Nezavertaylovka of the Tiraspol region, suffers from a severe form of hysteria, laryngitis and bronchitis, responds to an impression of a degenerative type. According to Volkova and examined patients there were still patients who were at the time of the examination at the church service. All the patients praying to stay overnight, according to Tkachenko and Volkova, are asleep on the earthen floor, covered with a thin layer of hay in the tavern, excluding Tkachenko, who was lying on the wall on a trestle covered with a peasant carpeted carpet. According to Tkachenko, Volkova and the rest of those present at night from 16 to 17 January in this room spent over ten people sick, praying and children.

Outside the fence in the street in the fathoms of five is a well, recently dug, next to which is a water tank for the needs of the church. When asked by the commission to Volkova, an answer was received that this water helps those who believe.

The first room "refectory" in a sanitary sense can be considered satisfactory. With regard to the state of the dishes, the order of using it, nothing could be established, since the dishes according to Volkova are at the priest's apartment at the "mother" Gayday.

The second room presents a sharp contrast in comparison with the first room. Both rooms are dirty, not white, low, with a small area of illumination, so that in them, when crowded, an obvious unsanitary condition is created, contributing to the spread of all kinds of diseases and infecting healthy patients, especially as there is cooking food for general food. In the first room there is a bucket for drinking water that is uncovered from which is immediately drunk with two tin and one copper with traces of oxide of a circle - suspicious purity. Lying on the earthen floor

also can not be recognized as normal, especially when there are patients with tuberculosis and bronchitis ".⁵⁶¹

From the testimony of another witness-priest from March 23, 1929, it becomes known that shortly before his arrest, Father Pavel was transferred to Odessa:

"Approximately at the end of February, I received an order from Archbishop Anatoly about my servicing the Kapakliiv parish. In connection with the bad guys in Kapakliivka, I do not have the opportunity to leave. About three weeks ago I had a chairman of the religious community of the village of Kapaklievka to whom I announced that, in connection with the transfer to Odessa of the priest Gayday, I had to manage the parish, and I asked to send for me a cart for departure. There were no carts, nobody came to me from the members of the Capaklia parish and I did not leave. From the conversation of the local parishioners I do not remember whom I heard that the Capakliites are going to petition for Gayday's return to Kapakliivka, that if the petition is not satisfied, even the church will be closed. March 19, passing through the station. Separate was the priest Gayday in the village. Split from someone I do not know. Being on business in the apartment of Ms. Bogosova in the village. Separate, I heard that Mr. Gayday was in the village of Kapaklievka, where Gayday told his parishioners that they did not spare money and petitioned him to move back to Kapakleyvka and that when he returned to them he would find an opportunity to cover all the expenses incurred by them. March 18 at the station. Separate were representatives of the Capaklia parish, sent to Odessa with a request for the transfer of gr. Gayday. Among them was the chairman of the church elder's community and several other people from the peasants. The results of their petition are not known to me. The surrounding clergy announced the transfer of the city of Gayday to Odessa to the public, I believe, "gr. Gayday will not be returned - they will close the church "the conversation comes from some parishioners of the Kapakliiv parish

Who from Gayday's family stayed in Kapakliivka, I do not know, I do not even know where the singing nuns are now "⁵⁶².

Another witness during the interrogation of the interrogation of April 4, 1929 showed that:

"At Father Gayday, I was only in Kapakleyvka two times, on Grigoriy and Spas in the summer, before that I also went to see my father when he was in Elizavetovka in the prayer house several times, from people I heard foreign Bulgarians with Katarzhino who walked through Belka in Elizavetovka and went to the krynica to drink water, I was just behind the water from the crinica and told that in Elizavetovka a good father is serving, he is well in charge of the service,

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. L.d. 14-16

⁵⁶² Ibid. L.d. 46

he vows that this priest was earlier on the Peresyp in Odessa and now in Elizavetovka and they are going to then we became interested in him and I went to Elizavetovka and I liked that he was serving well and began to walk and people there, then the priest went to Kapakleyvka, tk. there was no church in Elizavetovka, but there was a prayer house that was located at a private widow, who she I do not know, her son married and needed a hut, the society did not want to build a new house, and in his time there was a church in Kapakliivka, but there was not father. Kapakleyevsky invited him and he passed, and people began to go to Kapaklyivka. In the spring of 28 I was in Kapakliivka in the church brought some old man from a strange settlement I do not know, my father read the Gospel above him, then he sprinkled water, blessed, gave me a kiss and he recovered. The old man was sick with seizures and when he was brought to church he cried, but after the priest's prayer, blessings and sprinkling of water stopped screaming. In addition, according to Ternova Paraskeva from. Squirrels she said that she was baking something under her breasts and in her heart and was spinning in her head and baiting how she screamed at home from pains and I helped her treat her with turpentine stretching from her breasts, then she felt that Father Gayday was healing and someone she advised her to go to the priest, and she went to see her father, she said, read the disease, sprinkled water gave her to drink the holy water that is in the bottle in the church and she felt lighter and recovered before that she was treated in Odessa by doctors and no one but her father did not help. In addition, I know that like that once with x. Marinovka brought the young woman, she also was ill in the middle and dizzy and she came with her husband to the church. And the father began to read over her and she began to swear at the obscene and her husband began to scold the priest for what he had done to his wife, swearing it seemed worse to her, then the priest fell in front of them on his knees with a cross in his hands and began to ask him forgiveness and that seeing that the priest asked him forgiveness, forgave him kissing with the priest and became his wife easier and they now live with his wife well. Rumors about the healing of the priest go from one to another. Earlier yakas alien zhinka was sick, then came by car and my father healed it. "⁵⁶³

The wife of Father Pavel, Mother Capitolina, was interrogated on May 12, 1929, questions posed to her, concerned Pavel's father, the household and mainly the trip of the spouses to Pervomaisk. From the record of interrogation:

"... Pavel Gayday is one year younger than me for 38 years.

... Prospors I baked. Sometimes flour was donated to prospora. Money from sales prosfore came to her husband P. Gayday.

... I have a sick heart, liver and other parts of the body. Doctor Grigoriev treated me.

⁵⁶³ Ibid. L.d. 61

... In Pervomaisk, I went with my husband and A.E. Kapakli to visit a friend - I forgot the name, having received a telegram from my sister, we left for Odessa. "⁵⁶⁴

Evdokia Makhrova, the sister of Mother Capitolina, during the interrogation on May 13, 1929, tells a little more in detail: "Capitolina, Gayday's wife is my sister. This year I came to her, because she was sick with erysipelas. In Odessa she was treated by Dr. Grigoryev and did her surgery. "

The story of the telegram sent, so often mentioned during interrogation, becomes more confusing than before. Were written by Vera Savchenko, Ivan Kapakli sent, and she was addressed to Father Pavel, who is at this time together with the church elder Alexander Kapakli in Pervomaisk. The reason for the dispatch was the call of the priest Gayday by the diocesan bishop. Eudoxia tells about the family of Gayday: "Gayday has a fiancé from Katarzyno. He generally loves children, he has a boy and one of the city, the boy's name is Shura. "⁵⁶⁵

The entire course of the investigation is based on the search for evidence of the guilt of the priest, Pavel Gayday. Most likely, it was enough to prove his guilt and all those arrested in his case will be found guilty for aiding and abetting. Therefore, the investigators are practically not interested in other people arrested in this case. And the accused Vera Savchenko is asked already nothing decisive questions, the testimony of witnesses is enough. During the interrogation, the nun Vera said that she had known her father for more than three years. Since the time when he was a priest still in the village of Elizavetovka. Prosperas she sold for six months already, and she gave money to either a clergyman or a community board. Prospors were baked with my mother, and flour was bought or sacrificed for prosphora. Well ... and this can be considered an admission of guilt ...

According to the Decree of the Odessa District Department of the GPU of May 26, 1929, on the charges of **citizens Gayday P.I, Gayday K.D., Kapakli A.E., Savchenko V.A. "in the commission of fraudulent actions under the guise of miracles and healings for extraction personally benefit and use of religious prejudices of the masses for the kr. agitation, i.e., the crime provided for in articles 54-10 of Parts 2 and 110 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR**, and bearing in mind that in the course of the investigation only the alleged case was confirmed in the part concerning fraudulent acts for personal gain, that is, in a crime , provided by art. 110 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and therefore it is not advisable to initiate proceedings against the above-mentioned criminal prosecution, ordered Investigative Case No. 4495 on citizens Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D. and Savchenko V.A, Kapakli A.E. in the

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid. L.d. 82

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. L.d. 93

order of clause 10 The provisions on extraordinary sessions shall be referred to the Odessa District Prosecutor with a view to terminating the case in a criminal procedure ".⁵⁶⁶

At the same time, a petition was filed to the Special Meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the conclusion of citizens Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D. and Savchenko V.A., Kapakli A.E. in the concentration camp for a period of 5 years with the prohibition of stay on serving the conclusion in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

In his Opinion of May 27, 1929, the Senior Assistant of the Odessa District Prosecutor Yaroshevsky, having examined the investigation file under No. 4495, agreed with the arguments of the Odessa District Department of the GPU and on May 27, 1929 approved the decision to terminate the criminal prosecution against Gr. gr. Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D., Kapakli A.E. and Savchenko V.A., stopping the investigation file No. 4495, and also decided "to return this case together with this conclusion to the Odessa Ok oktdel of the GPU for sending to the Special Meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for expulsion (it is noteworthy that initially it was said about the conclusion of the above to the concentration camp on the Solovetsky Islands for a period of 5 years each, with the prohibition of residence in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR on the completion of detention).⁵⁶⁷

On the same day, on May 27, 1929, a commission of doctors, according to the proposal of the District Department of the GPU, carried out medical examination of the accused citizens Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D., Kapakli A.E. To determine the possibilities for their health status of expulsion to the North.

Despite complaints for health reasons and diagnosis of anemia in Father Pavel, tachycardia in Mother Capitolina and myocarditis in the elder Alexander Capakli, according to medical opinion - this is not an obstacle to deportation to the North.

The final decision of May 28, 1929 on citizens' charges: Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D., Kapakli A.E., Savchenko V.A. in committing fraudulent acts under the guise of miracles and healing patients, with the aim of extracting personal benefits for profit, i. in the crime provided for in Art. 110 CC of the Ukrainian SSR was compiled carefully and scrupulously. Here also comes up another interesting detail. It became known that Father Pavel had previously been convicted of church activities and sentenced to 1 year of imprisonment with a further ban on his stay in Ukraine for 5 years after serving his sentence. This verdict was abolished by the Supreme Court.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid. L.d. 113

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid. L.d. 119

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid. L.d. 114

According to the extract from the Final Decree, "Gayday P.I., being a fan of John of Kronstadt since 1922, as can be seen from the materials of the agency, was trying to get the priest's priesthood in every possible way and having achieved it since 1924 began to perform prayer services, akathists and requiems at his home. Having received an appointment in the village of Elisavetovka, the priest Gayday widely deployed his activities posing as a holy healer in every possible way to extort money from the population to build a church and personal needs. Glory Gayday, as miracle-worker grew. Gayday's harmful activity was stopped by the arrest of the GPU, but his release intensified the glory of him as a miracle worker and his transfer from Elisavetovka to Kapakliivka was accompanied by religious processions, singing and worship to him. In Kapakliivka, Gayday populated his activities on a broad scale, at his initiative, a new house was built near the church under an iron roof, and patients were placed who came to him for healing.

In this activity Gayday's wife Kapitalina Gayday, Savchenko Vera, who pretended to be a nun, and other undiscovered nuns actively assisted Gayday, who spread the glories that Gayday healed the sick, the blind and the crippled, and that sick people were brought to him. This agitation was a success and began to flock to Gayday from all sides, even outside of Ukraine for healing. Sometimes the number of those who were thirsting for healing reached such a level that they could not fit in a newly built house from an old lodge where they slept on a wet land with infectious patients. The visitors brought with them food and money, and some of them went to Gayday to collect food and money and again returned to it. Pop Gayday performed lengthy divine services, after which women gathered in the newly built lodge and sang church psalms. It was not uncommon for women to leave Kapakliivka in neighboring villages, singing church songs.

Pop Gayday healed the sick, collecting them in the church, serving a water-service moleben, then the patients were sprinkled with this water, and two or three jugs poured water into the mouth from the jug from the jug.

Recognizing the famous Balta Innocent, pop Gayday ordered a donkey near the church to dig a well, as he spent a lot of water for his miracles. A rumor was spread about this well that water heals the sick.

Imitating Innocent, the priest Gayday, for increasing his authority, frightened his clichés by the fact that he would ascend to heaven and only their entreaties made him stay on the earth.

Of those who came to Gayday for healing, there were deaths. In the person of the church council and his active figure Kapakli, pop Gayday met an active assistant in all his tricks. With the active assistance of Kapakli, the above-mentioned new house was built, Kapakli took an

active part in digging a well. Kapakli helped Gayday, as the elder, to appropriate the income from the prosphora that Mother Gayday baked from the flour sacrificed by the incoming clerks.

The income from prosphora was large enough, as worship services were performed frequently and the sick people ate prosphoras and water from the well.

Thanks to the assistance of Capakli, Pop Gayday, in order to be considered as a bezrebrinnik, he took money for the coming candles, bought from the headman Kapakli in the church, where later Gayday exchanged these candles for money.

When Gayday was summoned by the bishop to the city, for some reason he instead of appearing for a week disappeared together with Kapakli in Pervomaisk. When the bishop transferred Gayday from Kapakylivka to Odessa, Kapakli took all measures to return Gayday to Kapakliivka.

Arriving patients who did not fit in the lodge and the new house, lived in an apartment near Kapakli apparently not for free, but that is not exactly established.

The witnesses interviewed in this case Kolomiytsev I.P., Serbov E.S., Belokopytov T.F., Obertinskaya N.P, Tkachenko V.P, Tsybulsky I.P., Machulka V.I., and others showed, that the priest Gayday was engaged in the healing of patients by infusion into the mouth and sprinkling of sacred water.

Some of these witnesses, like Kolomiytsev and the witness Buduris, show that the priest Gayday poured two or three jugs of water into the mouth of the sick, patients resisted the sick holding hands several men.

Witness Nemirskaya M.M., Korchagina M.A. showed that when they brought the sick child to Gayday for a cure, the patient was diagnosed with pertussis, then a day later died there, and according to Nemirskaya's testimony, some nun did not want to return the child's corpse to him, as the priest Gayday did not read over him prayer.

Witness Statkevich Alexander Fedorovich, Voloshchenko M.A., Voloshchenko A.A. showed that Voloshchenko A.A. had taken her tubercular daughter to Kapakylivka, who was in the same place where the remaining patients died bleeding.

Witness Vasilkioti V.Kh. and Kosovsky O.V. showed that the wife of Kosovski A.F. at the insistence of her brother, being a tubercular patient, she went to Gayday for baptism for healing and Gayday soaked her with water, so that when she returned home she caught a cold, because her jacket was frozen. Soon Kosovskaya A.F. has died.

Witness Zelenev N.I. showed that the priest Gayday poured water into his mouth until the person choked. Further, he showed that those who passed through the village of Bitsilievka to Gayday were carrying a lot of products to Gayday and money collected for 100-150 rubles.

Ivanitsky S.G. showed that the closest assistant to the mother of Gayday is Savchenko Vera, who sells prosphora, which Mother Gayday bakes.

Witness Buduris S.Kh. showed that the priest Gayday in all his tricks was actively assisted by the church council headed by Kapakli. The latter helped ensure that the income from Prosper arrived to the priest Gayday. Prospors were baked by my mother. Voloshchenko A. sacrificed the flour arrived. Mother Gayday coming to Razdelnaya spent a lot of money.

Witness Akimenko I.N. showed that Gayday's greed came to the point that he took all the money from the nuns, which they sacrificed to them.

Accused Kapakli A.E., Gayday K.D. and Savchenko V.A. in their testimony they denied the crime that they underwent.

Gayday showed that the sick people who came for healing lived with Kapakli A. that the income from the prospere baked by the mother came to him and that he performed candle operations, receiving from candles instead of money candles, which he passed to the Council, receiving money in return. Confirmed Gayday the fact of pouring water into his mouth, and pointed out that the amount of water poured in at his discretion - the weak more, the healthier less.

Gayday confirmed that he was a supporter of John of Kronstadt, that coming pilgrims brought him food and money.

The certificate compiled by the Medical Commission, attached to the case on January 17, 1929 - found that the patients found in Gayday in the lodge were in an extremely unsanitary condition and represented a hotbed of infection ".⁵⁶⁹

4.1.7 Accusations and sentence

The charges brought against Gr. Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D, Kapakli A.E. and Savchenko V.A. in the commission of fraudulent actions under the guise of miracles and healing of patients, with the aim of extracting personal benefits, have been proved in the same way.

And on the basis of the Decree of the VUTSIK of September 6, 1922, the CEC of the USSR of November 18, 1923, and the Regulations of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of March 22, 1924 on administrative admissions, the investigation file for No. 4495 was sent to the Special Meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the conclusion of the above-mentioned citizens in a concentration camp on the Solovetsky Islands for a period of 5 years

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid. L.d. 114-117

each, with a prohibition of residence on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR on the completion of detention.

The accused were transferred to the Odessa Dopro and transferred to the Special Meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

On June 29, 1929, a special meeting of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR (an extract from the protocol No. 51/297) examined the petition of the Odessa Ocotdel of the GPU for No. 4495 on the administration of the post: Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich, Gayday Kapitalina Dmitrievna, Kapakli Alexander Elifterovich, Savchenko Vera Antonovna.

A special meeting adopted a resolution to initiate a petition to the Special Meeting at the OGPU to review the prisoners' case Gayday P.I., Gayday K.D. and Savchenko V.A. with sentencing the conclusion in a concentration camp for a period of 3 years. Also, a decision was made to release Alexander Kapakli from custody.

According to the extract from the **protocol of August 30, 1929, the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU** was sentenced:

- 1. Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich;**
- 2. Kapakli Alexander Elifterovich - to send through the PPO GPU to Siberia for three years, counting the term from May 1, 1929.**
- 3. Gayday Kapitalina Dmitrievna;**
- 4. Savchenko Vera Antonovna - to sentence to imprisonment for a period of six months, counting the term from May 1, 1929.⁵⁷⁰**

The case was put in the archive.

In the case there is also a letter gr. Gayday Kapitalina Dimitriyevna, who lives in Turkansk, Melnichnaya mill in the name of the Prosecutor of the Moscow Provincial Political Department. Katanjanu. The letter was dated May 17, 1932: "Three years ago, on April 30, 1929, my husband, priest Pavel (Ignatovich, Gayday) was arrested by order of the GPU, and then (after 6 months) he was subjected to administrative deportation to the city of Krasnoyarsk for a period of for three years, with the prohibition of stay in the border districts and six cities of the Ukrainian SSR, and then was forwarded to the city of Eniseysk and from Yeniseisk to Turkan, where it is still located.

On April 30, 1932, the above-mentioned three-year expulsion period, appointed to my husband, was completely expired.

The harsh and harsh climate of Siberia, which is harmful to the health of the unused South, slowly but surely undermines the already feebly morbid organism of both mine and my husband.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. L.d. 129

In view of all of the foregoing and on the basis of clause "F" of article 4 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Ukrainian SSR, also in view of the expiration of the term of exile, I ask for full pardon for my husband and permission to reside within the RSFSR, i.e. in the former Central Russia, or in some other locality of the Union of Republics more or less favorable in the climate.

On the results of this application, please notify me at the place of my residence: the city of Turkansk, the mill of Melnichnaya. ⁵⁷¹

An urgent and top secret document of August 13, 1932, No. 61 415 sent to Novo-Sibirsk with the signature pom. The head of the OGPU SPO said: "Gayday Pavel Ignatyevich and Kapakli Alexander Elifterovich will be allowed to reside free of charge in the period of expulsion (in the city of Turkansk)."

The life of Father Pavel Gayday became a feat, and his memory is committed on September 5, according to a new style, the day of his martyrdom.

4.2 Shooting down case 18 618-P for the protest against closing the church and converting it into a grain warehouse

The small village of Pereshory, Kotovsky district, Odessa region is known in Ukraine and other countries in that in 1861 it was in him that the famous public figure, philanthropist and philanthropist, publicist and publisher Eugene Kharalpievich Chikalenko was born and lived. Here, in 1888, his son Levko Chikalenko was born, a well-known public figure and archeologist, doctor of philosophy, member and secretary of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

Since its inception, the village has experienced many times the heyday and decline. According to statistics, in 1897 it was home to 637 people, now there are less than 100 residents. Today's publication is connected with three residents of this village in the 30s of the last century, years are stormy and cruel.

The priest Feodor Piletskiy, the psalmist Feofan Bondarenko and the church head of the Nikolsky church of Pereshory Trofim Martynyuk were arrested and, according to the decision of the Judicial Troika session at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, were shot. They were shot for caring for the believers and the church, fighting against the fact that the temple was converted to a grain warehouse or a club. Despite fear, knowing what awaits them, more than

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. L.d. 126

300 people gathered in the small village who protested against the closing of the St. Nicholas Church ...

4.2.1 Priest Feodor Piletskiy

Priest Feodor Ivanovich Piletskiy was born in the Novo-Starodub metropolitan area of the Aleksandrovsy district of the Kherson province. He graduated from the Aleksandrovscoe Uyezd School. Family: wife - Piletskaya Larisa Matveyevna, 52 years old; son - Oleg is 17 years old; son Yaropolk, 12 years old; daughter - Emilia, 24 years old; son - Igor, 26 years old.

Arrested on November 11, 1929. The decision (on the choice of a preventive measure) determined the detention under the Ananyevsky district police department before being sent to the Tiraspol Dopr.

At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village. Pereshory Mardarovsky s / s Ananievsky district.⁵⁷²

According to the Decree (on bringing in as an accused) on November 13, 1929, "... the priest of the village of Pereshory Mardarovsky from / from the Ananyevsky district, Peleckiy Feodor Ivanovich, in June of this year, among the believers of his parish, agitated for resisting the closing of the church, provocative rumors that the church is closing. His agitation had such an effect on believers that in the middle of June in the church with. Pereshory gathered crowd, mostly women up to 300 people, to resist the supposedly closed church.

In view of the public decision to backfill the church with. Pereshory grain, Peletsky November 10 this year after the church service conducted agitation, preaching, agitating the faithful, to resist and prevent the filling of the grain of the church.

Among the believers, he led agitation aimed at undermining the power of the Soviet power, by inducing the peasants to plunder the Soviets. "⁵⁷³

From the record of the interrogation of the accused priest Pilecki on November 12, 1929, it becomes known that "On Sunday, 10 November this year, in the church with. Pereshory, where I serve as a priest, the people were more than usual, since there were marriages. At the end of the service, when the people wanted to disperse, I addressed the audience with a speech. The essence of my speech was that believers should visit the temple willingly and keep it clean.

I said that if the church will visit as this time, then they will see that this church is needed and not used for other needs. I did not mention the removal of the church for filling grain. "⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 18 618-P. L.d. 20

⁵⁷³ Ibid. L.d. 22

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid. L.d. 20

Arrested in the same case, Bondarenko November 11, 1929 gave the following testimony about the priest Pileck: "... the priest of the local church was Fedor Ivanovich Piletskiy, he is 50 years old. He has served here since the pre-revolutionary era. In his mood he is an opponent of the existing Soviet system. He leads systematic agitation aimed at enraging us against the Soviets.

In June, he learned that the s / s decided to raise the issue of closing the church, he, together with the headman of the church Martynyuk, tried to convene a clique with forks and shovels on a certain day, because the authorities seeing the mood of believers will not dare to close the church.

On June 19, up to 300 people from the district villages actually gathered ... Piletskiy said "it is not enough that they rob us, they also want to deprive us of our faith."

Piletskiy used to say that "once believing people gave their lives for the church, and now they are afraid of it." Is it now impossible to defend the church, do not just be afraid of anyone and nothing. In other places, believers defend the church even with pitchforks. "⁵⁷⁵

Between the priest Piletskiy and the investigator accused Martynyuk the confrontation was arranged on November 15, 1929. Here is an excerpt from the face-to-face protocol:

"Martyniuk: Priest Piletskiy on November 10 of this year, in his sermon, urged the people to attend the church and said that if the church were visited by the people it would be unnecessary to be afraid that it was taken away or used for filling grain.

Piletskiy: I only urged the people to attend the church, but I did not say a word about the fact that the church can be taken away or used under a police station.

M .: In June, the priest Piletskiy told me that I would advise believers if they would select the church so that they would by no means be allowed to.

P: I said it, and I can not deny it.

M .: Priest Piletskiy said: "Once upon a time Christians defended the church of Christ, they sacrificed their lives. Why can not we now? "

P: This conversation was in the form of private conversation, but not agitation ".⁵⁷⁶

4.2.2 Feofan Bondarenko

Bondarenko Feofan Ivanovich was born in 1884 in the village of Bokovo Lyubashevsky district of Pervomaisky district in the family of peasants. Education - secondary.

Family: wife - Bondarenko Maria Vasilyevna, 49 years old, housewife.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid. L.d. 18

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid. L.d. 36

Arrested on November 11, 1929. The decision (on the choice of a preventive measure) determined the detention under the Ananyevsky district police department before being sent to the Tiraspol Dopr.

At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village. Pereshory Mardarovsky s / s Ananievsky district.⁵⁷⁷

According to the Decree (on bringing in as a defendant) on November 13, 1929: "... the deacon from Pereshory among the believers of the mentioned parish church dismissed the provocative rumors that the church is closing down, conducting simultaneous agitation for providing active resistance when it was closed.

During the re-election companies of the Mardarov Cooperation in April, he campaigned for electing certain desirable persons to the board of cooperation, which he recommended, trying to discredit the candidates recommended by the party organization. He agitated the peasants to take their shares out of the cooperative, if they did not select the persons whom they desired, which he recommended. "⁵⁷⁸

From the record of interrogation of the accused Bondarenko from November 11, 1929:

"From 1906 to 1916 inclusive, I taught free of charge in the village of Pereshory. In 1916, I was mobilized for an imperialist war, where I served first as a private in a company in Mayaki. After serving in the army for 8 months, I was sent to the Odessa Military School, which he graduated from. At the end of this school, I was promoted to lieutenant, in this rank I was demobilized in October 1917. I have not served in any armies to this day. During Denikivschina, I lived in the territory occupied by the Whites, for this reason, I was subsequently taken under special authority under the authority of the Soviets, and was taken off this record in August 1926.

Upon my return from military service, having lost my teaching position, I began to serve as a deacon in the local church in search of earnings. At this time, he is deprived of his right to vote as a deacon. "⁵⁷⁹

4.2.3 Trofim Martynyuk

Martyniuk Trofim Markovich was born in 1883 in the village of Mardarovka, Ananyevsky district, in a peasant family. Education - literate. He is married. The head of the Nikolayev church in Pereshora village.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid. L.d. 24

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid. L.d. 25

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid. L.d. 17

Family: wife - Martyniuk Martha Nikanorovna, 36 years old.⁵⁸⁰

Arrested on November 11, 1929. The decision (on the choice of a preventive measure) determined the detention under the Ananyevsky district police department before being sent to the Tiraspol Dopr.

At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village. Pereshory Mardarovsky s / s Ananievsky district.⁵⁸¹

According to the Decree (on bringing in as a defendant) on November 13, 1929 "... the church elder of the village of Pereshory among the believers dissolves provocative rumors that the church is allegedly being closed. At the same time, he was campaigning for providing active resistance when it was closed. Among the population of the village of Pereshory, he led agitation against the ongoing campaign for grain procurements, etc. "⁵⁸²

From the record of the interrogation of the accused Martyniuk on November 11, 1929: "In connection with the decision of the poor of our village on petitioning the village to return the local church for filling it with grain, on November 10, the priest Piletskiy Fedor, during the morning service, before her graduation, to the audience. The essence of his speech was that he urged those present to attend the church and defend it, because The Soviet state is trying to destroy religion and for this, it takes the churches, and also tries to take the local church under a barn for bread. He urged not to follow the example of those who voted for backfilling with grain.

Piletskiy told me that you need to persuade believers not to give the church saying "you do not have to be afraid and defend the church of Christ with pitchforks."⁵⁸³

The general picture of what is happening is described in the Indictment of November 20, 1929: "... In June this year, among the population with. Pereshory and other villages were spreading a rumor that the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas in the village mentioned above, by the decision of the respective higher bodies, is being closed. The population was thus called upon to prevent it from closing. Among the population were distributed notes, calling for a certain day in the village of Pereshory to the church of believers to prevent the closure of the church.

The agitation had such an effect that in the middle of the same month in June of the district sowing in the village of Pereshory, about 300 people, mostly women, gathered in the church and among the assembled were given various anti-Soviet cries. The assembled mass that was provoked by the church did not disperse during the whole day and subsequently dispersed only after the exhortations of the authorities.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid. L.d. 27

⁵⁸¹ Ibid. L.d. 19

⁵⁸² Ibid. L.d. 28

⁵⁸³ Ibid. L.d. 19

In the first days of November of this year, after the decision of the society of Pereshory decided to petition the District Executive Committee to permit them to use temporarily the Nicholas Church in the village of Pereshory to fill the bread, obviously anti-Soviet agitation on this soil began to be conducted among the population.

According to the available intelligence data, the above facts of a / c activity came from Pilecki FI, the priest of Tikhonov's orientation, Bondarenka FI. - an officer of the tsarist army, Martynyuka TM. - the elders of the Nikolayev church, the former gendarme.

The interrogated Bondarenko showed that Piletskiy, together with Martyniuk, having learned about the desire of some citizens to achieve the decision of the society of Pereshory about the use of the Nikolaevskaya church of the mentioned village for cultural institutions, began to spread the increased rumors among believers that the church was forcibly closed. At the same time, they convoked believers for a certain day in the church to prevent its closure, wishing to collect a large number of people before the attempt to close the church in order to prevent the decision of the relevant government bodies to close it. As a result of agitation in the middle of the month, over 300 people gathered to the church.

According to the testimony of the same Bondarenka, Piletskiy and Martynyuk, after the decision of the society of Pereshory about the filling of the church with grain, developed on this ground intensified anti-Soviet agitation. Both one and the other, according to his testimony, called for not allowing before, that there is nobody and nothing to fear, for China is advancing on Soviet Russia. Martyniuk and Piletskiy, leading such agitation, said: "It is not enough that they rob, they also want to take away the faith."

Bondarenko FI at the same interrogation he personally denied any anti-Soviet agitation.

The interrogated Martyniuk denied the conduct of anti-Soviet agitation. With regard to the same Piletskiy showed that the last November 10, after the church morning service, preached to prevent the church from falling asleep with grain. In addition, Piletskiy advised him to agitate among believers during the period of spreading rumors about the closure of the church in Pereshora, not to close the church. At the same time he said: "We do not need to be afraid, even if we have to defend Christ with pitchforks." According to his testimony, Piletskiy especially recently among the peasants intensified agitation, that they robbed the Soviets, not even leaving the bread necessary for food, that due to the fact that the peasants were ruined by the Soviets, they were deprived of the possibility even to support the priest materially.

About Bondarenko Martynyuk showed that during the re-elections of the Mardarov Cooperation, he campaigned against the nominations of the village council and Party leaders, agitating for the election of certain anti-Soviet people to the Board, and advised, if the latter were

not elected to the Board, to withdraw from the members of the co-operation. These data are confirmed by testimony.

Piletskiy F.I. at the initial interrogation categorically denied the conduct of any anti-Soviet agitation, but on the confrontation with Piletskiy with Martyniuk and Bondarenko, the first confirmed the testimony received from Martyniuk and Bondarenko, and he confessed to conducting systematic anti-Soviet agitation.

Interrogated for a second time, Bondarenko confirmed the testimony of witnesses about the conduct of anti-Soviet agitation during the re-elections of Mardarov's co-operation.

Active anti-Soviet activities Pilecky FI, Bondarenka FI and Martyniuk T.M. is confirmed by a number of testimonies of other witnesses about their manifestations during the kurtosis in Pereshory. "

Thus, on the basis of the above facts, the alleged accusation under art. 54-10 CC was fully proved, but taking into account that the collected materials are not sufficient to ensure the long-term isolation of the accused during the hearing of the case in court, but recognizing the accused is certainly a socially dangerous element, guided by Article 97, paragraph 2 and Article 98 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Ukrainian SSR according to the decree, the present case was sent to the Prosecutor of the AMIS for termination of the case in criminal procedure, while simultaneously filing an application for sending this case to the Special Meeting of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, for application to the prosecution of citizens: Piletskiy F.I., Bondarenk F.I., Martyniuku T.M. **Conclusion in the concentration camp for a period of 5 years.**⁵⁸⁴

The case was examined by the prosecutor of the AMSSR, the incriminated allegations were confirmed and later transferred to the Trial of the Judiciary under the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR with an application to apply to all three accused the highest measure of social protection - execution.⁵⁸⁵

Extract from the protocol No. 41 of February 19, 1930 session of the Judicial Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR issued a resolution: **Pilecky Feodor Ivanovich, Bondarenko Feofan Ivanovich, Martyniuk Trofim Markovich - sentence to execution.**⁵⁸⁶

The conclusion of the rehabilitation is from July 31, 1989.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid. L.d. 39-40

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. L.d. 43

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid. L.d. 44

4.3 Odessa counter-revolutionary churchmen organization of 1931

Investigation case number 16327-H (or number 6948), held in the archives of the Office of Security Service of Ukraine in the Odessa region, not only surprises with its artificiality, mass, but was for many Odessa clergy and faithful, a real "beginning of the end" of earthly life and , perhaps a step to the Calvary of the Savior.

June 15, 1931, according to the Decision on the investigation started, restraint and arraignment measures, a group of persons, namely: **Lyubimskiy Alexander Ivanovich Vvedensky, Alexander Petrovich, Chemena Viktor Fedorovich, Hyrcania Philip F. Alexandrov Georgiy, Dubievich (Dubnevich) Vadim Polikarpovich Lobachevsky Stephen V., Nikolai Matveevich, Muret Michael A. Stoyanov Nikolay Georgiyevich Shiryaev Vasilii Fedorovich, Florea Fedor Filaretovich, Kryzhanovsky Ivan Stepanovich, Matveenko Carp Grigor HIV Lutsenko Alexander Lukyanov Platon Mikhailovich, Brill (Brill) Ignatius Antonovich Korystin Mikhail Petrovich, Krystalev Vasily, Basil Mikhail Petrovsky Sergey, Krigsman Eugene F., Krinov Alexander F.** were accused of criminal acts "expressed in the formation of the counter-revolutionary the organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

A preventive measure for all was the detention in Odessa Dobra.⁵⁸⁷

As early as June 28, three more were added to this group: **Nikolai Nikolayevich Mochulsky, Georgiy Nikolayevich Fedorov, Budilovsky Makarii Makarovich.** Their investigative files Nos. 6683, 6684 and 128 were joined and united into one, on the basis of "connectedness with counter-revolutionary activity with a group of accused persons passing through special services. Case No. 6948".⁵⁸⁸

At the same time, according to the investigator's decision of August 10, 1931, **Petrovsky S.V., Matveenko K.G. and Shavorsky V.Ya.** were released in connection with "inadvisability for reasons of operational order to bring them to criminal liability."⁵⁸⁹

It can be seen from the materials of the case that Lobachevsky, Muretov, Stoyanov, Brill, Dubievich (Dubnevich), Aleksandrov, Budilovsky and Krinov categorically rejected the accusation and stated that the members of the counterrevolutionary organization did not exist and had not heard anything about it.

Several times he changed his testimony Krigsman, and ultimately stated that they were obtained under the influence of illegal methods of investigation. Already in many years, in a

⁵⁸⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-II. V. 1. L.d.1

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 3

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 971

letter of the former Krigsman priest addressed to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR of April 2, 1957, we read: "I, as an Orthodox priest of Odessa, was arrested in 1931. ... As to the investigation, I did not plead guilty, and so far, after serving my punishment for a long time, I consider myself unjustly accused and unjustly convicted by the bodies of the OGPU in Odessa.

The charges against me were based on data obtained from some priests through physical repression (they did not allow me to sleep), as it became known from the authors already in the camp. "⁵⁹⁰

Another convict, priest Mikhail Muretov, on interrogation as a witness on June 20, 1958, showed: "During the interrogation in 1931, after the arrest, the investigator Glebov charged me with counter-revolutionary activities. However, I could not agree that I was supposedly a counter-revolutionary and demanded proof from him. Glebov advised me to confess and promised "freedom" for this. On this proposal Glebov I replied that I do not want to buy freedom. Such interrogations were repeated several times. "

It is not surprising that some of the accused under torture and threats had to admit their participation in a counter-revolutionary organization.

We will try to give as full biographical information about each accused in this case, using questionnaires, interrogation protocols, etc.

4.3.1 Priest Aleksandr Lyubimskiy

Was born in 1876 in with. Bogorodskoe of Nizhny Novgorod province. Russian, citizenship of the USSR. Higher education. Priest, rector of the St. Nicholas (Botanical) Church of Odessa.⁵⁹¹

Family: wife - Lyubimskaya Sofya Vasilyevna, 47 years old, housewife; daughter - Eugene, 23 years old.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Sverdlov 118.

Arrested February 13, 1931 on charges of "the formation of a counter-revolutionary organization of churchmen, who aimed at overthrowing Soviet power."⁵⁹²

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁵⁹³

According to the testimony of one of the witnesses of 10 February 1931, the priest Alexander Lyubimskiy belonged to the "Tikhonov" church.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid. V.5. L.d. 1024

⁵⁹¹ St. Nicholas (Botanical) Church of Odessa was located on the street. The cable car was built not later than 1887. Completely demolished in 1960.

⁵⁹² Ibid. V. 1 L.d.4

⁵⁹³ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 950

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 46

During interrogation on February 17, 1931, when asked by the investigator about the counterrevolutionary activity of Archbishop Anatoly (Grisyuk), he showed: "... Archbishop Anatoly did not know about this organization and did not take part in it, always negative to any intervention, that I from him several once heard personally."⁵⁹⁵

At the same time, he acknowledged his participation in this organization and the involvement in it in 1928 of the priests Florya and Lobachevsky.

July 11, 1931, was questioned the daughter of his father Alexander - Eugene. As it turned out during the interrogation, she "passed the notes to Dopra 4-5 times, sewed them into a basket in different places. I got it back, and after reading it burned right away. This was done because the investigator Comrade. Glebov was refused a date. " On the question of the investigator: "Who is Gennady, with whom you had a talk about your father, Stefan and Flore?". Eugenia replied that "I can not extradite him, since he can then be arrested."⁵⁹⁶

The decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931 sentenced him to a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.2 Priest Aleksandr Vvedenskiy

Born in 1884 in the Glukhov district. Ukrainian, USSR citizenship. Higher education. At the time of his arrest, he served as a priest at the Alekseevskaya Church in Odessa.⁵⁹⁷

Family: wife - Vvedenskaya Sofya Maksimovna, 42 years old, housewife.⁵⁹⁸

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. 2nd Transversal, 3.

He was arrested on March 21, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 9

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 81

⁵⁹⁷ The St. Alekseevsky temple of Odessa was built in 1887-1888. The temple was designed in a classical style and painted in an old Byzantine style. At the temple there was a school, in 1905 180 pupils were studying there. It was closed by the Soviet authorities on March 20, 1932 and demolished in 1936.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 90

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 951

From the record of the interrogation of March 4, 1931: "Upon the arrival of volunteers, a small church-public newspaper" Native Land "(500 copies), published by Kerensky, was resumed in Odessa, half was distributed to the clergy, the second was distributed for agitation purposes or sold. In my articles, I tried in every possible way to inculcate in my readers a bacillus of hatred for the new government ...

It can be safely said that my mosquito bites in the full sense of the word, did not reach their goal and were not even felt by Soviet figures. "⁶⁰⁰

From the testimony of the Holy. Vvedensky on Archimandrite Gennady (Rebeze) of March 4, 1931: "Archimandrite Gennady is a man of the utmost secrecy, cautious and not tongue-tied. We were sure that by his silence he kept silent about poverty and misery. I always talked about matters of politics only with trusted persons ... I remember from one foreign conversation the phrase: "Getting rid of is not far off. I immediately after the coup in the Kitskanovskii monastery on a pilgrimage. " At times he is in correspondence with Archbishop Anastassy, that in Jerusalem - Litvinenko spoke of this correspondence and now on December 5, 1930. His favorite deacon is Father Artemy Litvinenko. Another of his is still Fedor Stepanovich Pospelov, b. secretary of the archbishop. According to the exact data, Father Gennady, Lyubimskiy and Pospelov gather together on the apartment ... ".⁶⁰¹

Again, priest Vvedensky was summoned for questioning on August 6, 1931, in connection with the "transfer of notes to the will." As it turned out, the priest twice sent notes from Dobra to his wife. For the first time, "writing in small handwriting on a wooden bag for transmissions," and in the second he used a stopper from a bottle of milk, putting a small note into it.⁶⁰²

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 10 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.3 Priest Viktor Chemena

He was born in 1877 in Odessa to a clergyman's family. Nationality of the USSR. He graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary and the Kiev Theological Academy.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 108

⁶⁰¹ Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 27

⁶⁰² Ibid. V. 1. L.d. 190

The author of the brochure "Three Centuries of Russia's Glory Under the Scepter of the House of the Romanovs", published in 1913. At various times he served as a teacher, director of the gymnasium, ordained priest on April 17, 1922.

Arrested in 1919 and in 1927., but was not convicted. About himself says: "... from the spiritual rank, the father was a priest. I personally taught at various places after the end of the theological academy until 1922. From 1903 to 1917, my pedagogical activity was woven in Odessa. In 1913, during the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the reign of the Romanov dynasty, in a meeting of students of the upper classes of the city, I delivered a speech at a celebration organized by the educational district. Subsequently, my speech was published as a separate small brochure entitled "Three Centuries of Russia's Glory Under the Scepter of the House of the Romanovs". Her circulation was not large. Has been in the teachers' union since 1905. From 1917 to 1919 years. served in the city of Ananyev, the director of the local gymnasium. On April 17, 1922, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Alexy, now Metropolitan of Kazan.⁶⁰³

Family: wife - Chemena Ekaterina Vasilyevna, 46 years old, dentist.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Mechnikov, 68.

He was arrested on February 18, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁰⁴

Priest A. Vvedensky during the interrogation on March 4, 1931, calls Father Victor "the most cautious of the Odessa clergy."⁶⁰⁵

From the record of the interrogation of March 31, 1931: "During the Civil War, the Odessa clergy distinguished itself by its open struggle with the Soviets, which it by all sorts of measures, from preaching in the church, placing a number of articles in the press and organizing sacred armed detachments by its own forces, who fight with the Red troops."⁶⁰⁶ The existence of the counter-revolutionary organization of Chemen confirms and refers in this case to the conversation that took place in December 1925, with Bishop Alexander Raevsky.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰³ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 405

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 955

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid. V. 2 L.d. 376

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 382

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 431

The subject of "sacred" armed detachments will repeatedly be raised during interrogations, as it turned out it is a question of the remnants of the White Guard troops who continued to fight during the civil war.

During the interrogation, the names of the rights are mentioned Ion Atamansky⁶⁰⁸ и archimartyr Pavel Gayday⁶⁰⁹: «It should be directly emphasized that the unquenchable counter-revolutionary fire and the charge of enormous energy burned in the famous port church of Odessa, headed by the famous reactionary Ion Atamansky, and later transferred to the village and led by no less popular priest Pavel Gayday ".⁶¹⁰

About the priest Pavel Gayday, the investigator asks the question to the accused Platon Lukyanov during the interrogation of the latter on May 31, 1931: "... I knew quite well Gayday, who declared himself the only successor to Jonah Atamansky's activities and accused us of being soft and indecisive towards the Soviet state. He even went to another church organization. "⁶¹¹

From the protocol of interrogation of April 15, 1931: "The official part at the temple festivals sometimes ended with very lengthy speeches of the famous" leader "of the illegal organization of Bulatovich, toasts for the most part, vulgar continuous singing" many summers".

At the temple feast at the Botanical Church, I remember Aleksandr Lyubimskiy's toast for exiled Bishop Procopius with the extreme praise of the firmness of the bishop who is so desirable here in Odessa. It was in 1928 in the month of May. "⁶¹²

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 3, 1931, he was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.

The center of the operational reference card file of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR for the prosecutor's demand for verification from November 4, 1958, gives information that the priest Viktor F. Chemen was released ahead of schedule on July 22, 1933.

⁶⁰⁸ St. Iona Atamansky (1855-1924), was the rector of the port St. Nicholas Church in Odessa. In 1995 he was canonized by the Holy Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

⁶⁰⁹ The StMartyr Pavel Gayday (1876-1937), canonized at the Jubilee Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church on August 13-16, 2000

⁶¹⁰ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 408

⁶¹¹ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 450

⁶¹² Ibid. V.2. L.d. 42

4.3.4 Priest Filipp Girkanov

He was born on November 27, 1865 in the city of Kishinev in the family of the clerk of grocery trade. Bulgarin, a citizen of the USSR, graduated from the 4th grade of the Spiritual School, deacon from 1891, served in the Holy Transfiguration Cathedral in Odessa.⁶¹³ He was ordained priest by Archbishop Nazarius (later Metropolitan) in 1916, after 25 years of service in the rank of deacon. Priest of the Nikolaev Botanical Church.

He was arrested in 1922. for resisting the seizure of valuables in the church, in 1928 and 1931 he was arrested for belonging to the kr. organization.

Family: wife - Girkanova Maria Ivanovna, 59 years old, housewife.

At the time of his arrest he lived in Odessa, Srednefontanskaya road, Signalny per., 6.

He was arrested on March 2, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of 10 March 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization".⁶¹⁴

During the interrogation of April 12, 1931 Girkanov gives such a characterization: "I am honest by nature, everybody knows about it. The interests of our country, although we betrayed them, can and should be dear to me. "⁶¹⁵

The decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, **sentenced to imprisonment** in a concentration camp for 3 years on probation and released from custody. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting at the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 3, 1931, **the verdict was left unchanged.**

4.3.5 Priest Georgiy Aleksandrov

He was born in 1872 in St. Petersburg. Russian, citizenship of the USSR, graduated from the military school of soldiers' children of the Life Guards Pavlovsky Regiment, from January 25, 1896, the psalmist in the village. Lyubashevka, since 1904, performs the duties of the psalmist Nikolsky church with. Mihalchevka (Oboznovka) of the Gruzscan volost, Elisavetgrad county.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹³ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P.7

⁶¹⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.4. L.d. 959

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 564

⁶¹⁶ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 411

He was ordained a priest in 1922 and began to serve in the Panteleimon temple in Kuyalnik estuary, where he served until his arrest in 1931.

Arrested in 1927, but was released.

Family: wife - Agrippina Konstantinovna, 54 years old; daughter - Olya, 17 years old; daughter - Nina, 16 years old.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. The Limna, 200.

He was arrested on March 2, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of March 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶¹⁷

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion** to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.

4.3.6 Priest Vadim Dubnevich

Born April 9, 1880 in the village. Mitrofanovka of the Alexandria district of the Kherson province in the family of a priest. Nationality of the USSR, Ukrainian. Education - secondary: in 1890 was given to the Elisavetgrad spiritual school, after which he entered in 1894 in the Odessa Theological Seminary. After graduating from the seminary in 1900, he was appointed as a supervisor for students in the Elisavetgrad spiritual school. In this post he stayed from September 1, 1900 to June 9, 1901.

In 1910 he married the daughter of the priest Lubavskaya Lydia Ivanovna. He was ordained priest in September 1910 and was appointed in the village. Annovka (Homeless) b. Elisavetgrad uyezd and served there for 7 years. In July of 1917, the Congress of the clergy and laity of the Kherson eparchy (taking place in Odessa) was elected a member of the Spiritual Consistory. On February 1, 1918, he became a member of the Spiritual Consistory. In 1921, the Spiritual Consistory was transformed into a diocesan council, priest. Dubnevich was appointed a member of the Diocesan Council. In early 1922, the Diocesan Council ceased to exist in accordance with

⁶¹⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.4. L.d. 963

the decision of the civil authorities. Svyatosh. Dubnevich was appointed the 3rd priest of St. Michael's Church, where he served until the time of arrest.⁶¹⁸

He was arrested in 1928 and was sentenced to 1.5 years imprisonment "for the commission of a church act without the knowledge of the registry office", but was released after a month and a half, also arrested from October 17 to December 17, 1930, was released.⁶¹⁹

Family: divorced, son - Valerian.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Grape, 11.

He was arrested on March 2, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization".⁶²⁰

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 3, 1931, **he was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.7 Priest Stefan Lobachevskiy

Born October 28, 1873 in the village of Olshanka Olshansky district b. Elisavetgrad district in the family of a priest. Ukrainian, USSR citizenship. Education - higher: graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary, and in 1898 the Kiev Theological Academy with a degree of candidate of theology, ordained priest in 1900. For some time he was an assistant to the inspector of the Tula Theological Seminary. Since 1900 - the teacher of the Ekaterinoslav real school and ordained priest, in 1903 he was awarded the Legguard. From 1901 to 1906 years. - Teacher of the Odessa Second Gymnasium, at the same time he taught the Law of God at the Rishelyevskaya Gymnasium and at the Real School of St. Paul, serves as a priest at the St. Nicholas Church in Odessa 2nd male gymnasium.⁶²¹ From 1906 to 1920 he was a teacher of the Mariinsky Gymnasium. In 1906, he was transferred to the Odessa Cathedral, where he served until 1923.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 524

⁶¹⁹ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 520

⁶²⁰ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 958

⁶²¹ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 49

In February 1923 he moved to the Odessa Intercession Church. In 1924, when the Church of the Intercession moved to the Ukrainians, he moved to Uspensky. In 1925, after the departure of the Ukrainians from the Intercession Church, he returned again. In 1927, the Intercession Church again moved to the Ukrainians, and I moved to Uspenskaya, where it was until now, and from 1928 - the priest-abbot."⁶²²

Family: wife-Anastasia Ivanovna; daughter - Olga, 13.5 years old; daughter - Nona, 19.5 years old, works in a workshop of scientific aids; daughter - Vera, 26 years old, married to singer Sergei Zhelobinsky; daughter - Sofia, 30 years old, left with her husband in 1922 in Africa, in Tunisia.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. South, 13.

He was arrested on February 18, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶²³

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting at the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR from November 3, 1931, **to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.8 Priest Nikolay Matveyevich

Was born in 1865 in with. Lyubashevka of the Pervomaisky district, from the clergy. Ukrainian, USSR citizenship. Education - secondary: graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary, the national teacher since 1890, ordained priest in 1893, in 1894-1896. - priest with. Kalagolei of the Odessa district. In 1896 he was transferred to Odessa and was appointed priest of the St. Gregory theological Church (Portofrankovskaya 18) at the former 2nd female gymnasium. In the years 1896-1902. - a scribe in the city 6-class school, in 1902-1920. - Teacher of the 2nd female gymnasium. In 1903 he was awarded a booze.⁶²⁴ In the years 1903-1920. was also a teacher at the Odessa Conservatory. In 1918 under Gregory the Theological Church the

⁶²² Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.1. L.d. 275

⁶²³ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 953

⁶²⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case, 1906. P. 49

parish was formed, where it continued to serve until April 24, 1928.⁶²⁵ Arrested in 1928 under art. 70, but was acquitted.

Family: his wife - Nionela Petrovna Matveyevich.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, Benatova st., 16.⁶²⁶

He was arrested on February 13, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization".⁶²⁷

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting at the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 3, 1931, sentenced to deportation to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.

4.3.9 Priest Mikhail Muretov

He was born in 1875 in the city of Ovidiopol in the family of a deacon. Russian, citizenship of the USSR. Education - secondary: graduated from the Odessa Theological School and in 1897 graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary, the psalmist from 1898, ordained deacon and priest in 1900. In the same year he was appointed a priest in the town of Bobrynets, where he served until 1907. In 1907, at the suggestion of Bishop Demetrius (Kovalnitsky), he was transferred to the old-cloistered St. Demetrius Church in Odessa, where he served until his arrest.

From 1908 to 1918 years. He was the duty of the Treasurer of the Diocesan Guardianship for poor clergy and taught the Law of God in the "Efrussie" school.⁶²⁸

Family: widow, daughter - Nina, married to Maschenko worker; son - a sailor in Vladivostok.

At the time of his arrest, he lived in Odessa, ul. Lazarev, 5.

He was arrested on February 19, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

⁶²⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.3. L.d. 727

⁶²⁶ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 723

⁶²⁷ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 965

⁶²⁸ Ibid. V.2. L.d. 479

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶²⁹

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.10 Priest Nikolay Stoyanov

Born in 1879 in the m. Vorontsovo hillfort of the Tauride province. Russian, citizenship of the USSR. Education - secondary: graduated from the Simferopol Ecclesiastical School, later studied in Kutaisi and graduated from the Tiflis Theological Seminary, in 1901 he was ordained deacon (in the reference book of the Kherson diocese for 1906 the year of rukopodeniya in the deacon - 1900) and in 1902 the priest. In 1904 he was awarded the Legguard. Since the same year he serves as a priest of the church of St. mch. Apollo in the village. Krinichnoe (Makkaveevo), Elanetskaya volost, Elisavetgrad uyezd.⁶³⁰

From 1919 to 1926 - rector of the St. Ilyinsky Church of Odessa, since 1927 at the time of his arrest serves in the St. Nicholas (Botanical) Church.

Arrested in 1926, released on November 2, 1927.

Family: wife - Alexandra Petrovna, 49 years old, housewife; daughter - Ariadne, 16 years old, working woman.

At the time of his arrest, he lived in Odessa, ul. Sverdlov Str. 101.

He was arrested on February 18, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶³¹

During the interrogation on April 2, 1931, Father Nicholas says: "Childhood passed in Bulgarian with. Preslav former Tauride province, where I began to study at the people's school. After the admission of my father to the service of a master, he studied at the Zemsky craft school in Nogaysk, then was transferred to the Nogai two-year city school. From here I was put in

⁶²⁹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 956

⁶³⁰ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P. 543

⁶³¹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.4. L.d. 960

Simferopol spiritual school for outstanding singing, which I possessed, with the obligation to sing with the bishop. With the death of the bishop who arranged me, I moved to the Kutaisi Theological Seminary, where I studied for singing and the management of the choir free of charge; the next year I settled on the same grounds in the Tiflis Theological Seminary, where I studied until the 4th grade and then passed the exams externally. After graduating from the seminary, he sang in opera. In 1901 he was ordained deacons to 2 Tiflis male gymnasium. In December 1902 he became a priest of the village of Svechino near the tract "Royal wells". There he fell ill with malaria, tuberculosis and anemia. My doctors forbade me to live in the Caucasus and I moved to Elisavetgrad county. In 1911 he was appointed priest in the village of Ponomarevo, Tiraspol district. In 1919 he moved to Odessa ".⁶³²

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.

The center of the operational reference card file of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR for the prosecutor's demand for verification from November 4, 1958, gives information that the priest Nikolay Stoyanov was convicted on May 9, 1935 and sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. Released from Sibltag⁶³³ on April 13, 1940.

4.3.11 Priest Vasiliy Shirayev

He was born in 1864 in Osipovka village of Frunzovsky district of the USSR in the family of a petty bourgeois. Russian, citizen of the USSR, graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary, ordained priest in 1889. Awarded with booze in 1901. Since 1904 he serves as a priest at the Mikhailovsky house church at the Mikhailo-Semyonovsk orphanage in Odessa.⁶³⁴ Later he serves as rector of the Sloboda church in Odessa.

Family: wife - Shiryaeva Anna Fedorovna.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Christmas, 12.

⁶³² Ibid. V.2. L.d. 593

⁶³³ Sibltag is a forced labor camp or the management of special purpose camps in the West Siberian region with a center alternating in the cities of Mariinsk or Novosibirsk.

⁶³⁴ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P.45

He was arrested on January 25, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of March 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary ⁶³⁵

During the interrogation, the priest Vasily Shiryaev said: "I was born in 1864. My father was from Orel and fled to Novorossiia to freedom, he was the administrator of the princes Dolgoruky and ran Osipovka, Vasilievka and Zakhariyevka. He was married to the daughter of the archpriest of Bobrinets. His father died on the 42nd year of his life and left behind 9 children. I was 5 years old. The elder brother had already studied at the Theological Seminary. The mother was assisted by the priest from Vasilevka Gavriil Telyatnikov. The elder brother graduated from the seminary and served as a priest at the Cross Exaltation Church on Peresypy. And I was sent to the Odessa Hierarchal House as a singer, there I was assigned to a religious school and for 5 years I was alive in a bishop's house. In 1881 he entered the seminary. From the second class, I wanted to enter the cadet school, where some of my comrades did, but my origins prevented me. Willy-nilly, I had to continue to learn the Latin and Greek languages, which I hated with all my strength, like their teachers.

Being in the 4th class of the seminary I was invited to the choir of the church of the school on Preobrazhenskaya street, but the heads of the seminary were against it. But I so cleverly always eluded the inspector's vigilance, that he sang there until the 6th grade. On March 24, 1885, I met a warden of the seminary in Strelbitsky Street. He informed the inspector and I was about to be fired from the seminary, but left to finish training, having warned that in the certificate of conduct there would be "3". This meant unreliability and with such a certificate one could not go anywhere in the civil service. But I did not lose heart and I had a voice - a tenor. And this is the voice that took me out. In April 1887, Nikanor, the diocesan bishop, was summoned to the Holy Synod to St. Petersburg. During his residence, he was given at his disposal a courtyard with two temples. To sing in their service, the choristers were also recruited. I was invited to the number of singers for going to Petersburg, than I immediately took advantage of as disgraced. Arriving in St. Petersburg as a singer, in two weeks I was appointed assistant secretary to the bishop, I was to keep a register of all incoming and outgoing letters. In St. Petersburg, I stayed until May 26, 1889.

The Bishop in May 1889 appointed me a priest in Elisavetgrad to the Znamenskaya Church in Bykovo. As I did not refuse, nothing helped.

⁶³⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.4. L.d. 964

I became a priest on August 13, 1889, and by September 1 I was on duty. A year later I was sent to the city of Nikolaev. In 1894 he moved to Sychevka (Aleksandrovka). In 1903 he was transferred to Odessa.

From 1889 to 1903, I had 4 sons and 3 daughters. The eldest daughter of Natalia, I gave to the Diocesan School in Odessa ... ".⁶³⁶

The decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for 3 years on probation and released from custody. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR of November 3, 1931, **the verdict was left unchanged.**

4.3.12 Priest Fedor Florya

He was born in 1881 in the village of Albinec, Belitsky district of Besarabia. Moldavian, USSR citizenship, higher education, priest.

Family: wife - Florya Lydia Dionisovna, 42 years old, housewife.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, 33, Rizovskaya Str., Apt. 7.

He was arrested on February 20, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "⁶³⁷

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶³⁸

From the interrogation report of February 23, 1931 it becomes known that "in June of 1927, during the stay of many priests arrested at that time in Dobra, I was then involved in the priesthood." A. Lyubimskiy in a counter-revolutionary organization of the same kind. At that time, we, the Old Orthodox priests were not in place of their diocesan bishop, he lived in Kharkov, and we had in place in Odessa his illegal church administration of the diocese ... ".⁶³⁹

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

⁶³⁶ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 668

⁶³⁷ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 335

⁶³⁸ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 954

⁶³⁹ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 24

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

The center of the operational reference card file of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR for the prosecutor's demand for verification from November 4, 1958, gives information that the priest Fyodor Filaretovich Florya was convicted on Sept. 7, 1937, by a meeting of the Troika of the NKVD of the Mykolayiv region to be imprisoned in a concentration camp for 10 years.

The Supreme Court of Moldova was sentenced on March 2, 1945 to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 10 years.⁶⁴⁰

4.3.13 Priest Ivan Kryzhanovskiy

He was born on January 6, 1891 in Chernigov. Ukrainian, USSR citizenship.

Upon graduation from the Chernigov Theological Seminary in 1912, he was in charge of the head and teacher of the 2nd grade in Petrushino and Komarovka of the Ministry of Public Education of the Chernihiv Oblast.

Since 1915 he was in a sacred place. In the years 1915-1916. rector of the church in the village of Berezanka in the Nezhinsky District. In the years 1916-1919. - Law teacher of Odessa gymnasiums. In the years 1919-1931. - priest of the churches of Odessa.

At the time of his arrest, he is a priest of the church in the 3rd city cemetery in Odessa.

Family: wife - Kryzhanovskaya Nina Nikolaevna, 38 years old, dressmaker; daughter - Vera, 15 years old; daughter - Angelina.⁶⁴¹ At the time of his arrest, he lived at the address: 14b, Artillery Lane, Odessa.

He was arrested on March 3, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁴²

By a decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, he was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for five years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid. V.5. L.d. 1038

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 632

⁶⁴² Ibid. V.4. L.d. 962

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

How to become known from the letter of the priest Kryzhanovskiy with a request for a review of the case and rehabilitation dated February 12, 1958 and sent to the Odessa Military District, Father John "was released early in 1933 for his active participation in the construction of the Stalin channel with the renewal of the rights of a Soviet citizen .

From September 1933 to 1941 - was on the civil service for the trade union line of the Medical Sanatorium Shostka.

In 1941-1943 years. - rector of the St. Dimitry Church of Chernigov (*this is confirmed by an extract from the Chernigov Oblast State Archives, where the St. Demetrius Church was also named b. Eletska Monastery*⁶⁴³ – author).

In the years 1943-1944. - Rector of the Cathedral of Yampol Vinnytsia region.

In 1944-1947 years. - Rector of the Cathedral and dean of the city of Balkrad, Izmail region.

In 1947-1951gg. - Rector of the Cathedral and dean of the city of Beltsy, Kishinev region.

In the years 1951-1952. - Rector of the Cathedral of Uman and Khristinovka

In the years 1952-1954. - Rector of the Cathedral in Ivanovo.

From 1954 to September 24, 1954 - rector of the Cathedral and deanery of the White Church.

September 24, 1954 to this time (at the time of writing the letter - author) - Archpriest of the Cathedral of Kirovograd.

September 24, 1954 on July 1, 1956 - Secretary of the Diocesan Bishop ⁶⁴⁴.

In the case there is also a Characteristic of July 22, 1948, given to Archpriest John Kryzhanovsky, the Most Reverend Bishop of Chisinau and Moldovan Venedikt. It says: "The rector of the Holy-Constantine-Yeleninsky Cathedral of Bălți and the dean of the Beltsy deanery district of the Chisinau and Moldovan dioceses showed himself as a tireless, honest and unselfish worker on the Cape of Christ in a short time of his stay at the above-mentioned posts. By his magnificent service in the temple, the incessant and inspired preaching of the Word of God and an example of his personal life, he deserved the universal love of his flock. ⁶⁴⁵ Also in the characteristic it is indicated that for his works Archpriest John was awarded a pectoral cross with ornaments.

⁶⁴³ Chernihiv Regional State Archive. F.R-3164, D.17. L.d.47.

⁶⁴⁴ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.5. L.d. 1027

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid. V.5. L.d. 1032

Another bishop, Bishop Izhmalsky Iov (Kresovich) gives such a characteristic: "Being the rector of the Holy Transfiguration Cathedral of the City of Bolgda fulfilled his pastoral duties honestly and conscientiously and as a pastor irreproachable, was always full of energy for fruitful work, both for the benefit of the church and for for the good of the Motherland, as evidenced by his exemplary work of patriotic activities in the Izmail Diocese. "⁶⁴⁶

4.3.14 Priest Aleksandr Lutsenko

Born March 16, 1869 in the village of Kalnibolot Zinovievsky district. Ukrainian, USSR citizenship, secondary education - graduated from the Odessa Theological Seminary in 1891, the psalmist from the same year, appointed a teacher in the parish school m. Novopetrovsk, Tiraspol county.

He was ordained a priest in 1893 and sent to the Peter and Paul Church in the village of Vasilevka in the Odessa district. He was awarded the Legguard in 1902. Since 1896, the rector of the Marie-Magdalene Church of the orphanage of. The Empress Maria Feodorovna in Odessa (in the "Reference book of the Kherson diocese for 1906" the year 1899 of the transition to the Mary Magdalene church is indicated)⁶⁴⁷, where he served for 14 years and in recent years was an employee of the director of the shelter. In 1912 he was awarded a pectoral cross.

In 1913, at his own request, he was moved to the temple of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God. Since 1898 he was a teacher in the gymnasium of A.V. Kashinskaya, where at various times he acted as chairman of the pedagogical council, also was a legislator at the Commercial College named after T.F. Faina and in the parish school at the Odessa Church of Kazan. In addition, he was in Odessa a teacher of the Real School of the Apostle Paul and other educational institutions. At various times he was a member of the Deanery Board, a member of the Audit Committee of the Diocesan Women's College, a member of the Trusteeship of the poor spiritual rank, a member of the Treasury of the Odessa Diocesan Candle Factory, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Red Cross, etc. He has a breastplate from the institutions of the Empress Maria.⁶⁴⁸

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Khutorskaya, 10.

He was arrested on May 27, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid. V.5. L.d. 1033

⁶⁴⁷ Reference book of the Kherson diocese. Odessa, 1906. P.47

⁶⁴⁸ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.2. L.d. 516

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of June 20, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁴⁹

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.15 Priest Platon Lukianov

He was born in 1869 in the village of Vladimir in the Don region. Higher education.

Family: wife-Lukyanova Alexandra Yakovlevna.⁶⁵⁰

At the time of his arrest he lived in Bulyak village.

He was arrested on May 4, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Resolution on the election of a preventive measure of March 26, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁵¹

From the testimony of May 5, 1931: "According to my recollections, the organization in its original form of a friendly branch from the renovation was formed during the summer of the year when the Gregorian calendar was introduced in the church. Then refused to renew it seems 23 or 27 people who naturally needed some center for internal discipline and for communication with the episcopate governor from Kharkov Odessa Church.

The official representative of the Odessa church was put bishop. Onufriy Lobachevsky Stephen, and to help him Sharovsky, Lyubimskiy and me as advisers. Therefore, to communicate with the bishop, I went to Kharkov and Moscow for orders and reports. "⁶⁵²

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 957

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 195

⁶⁵¹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 952

⁶⁵² Ibid. V.1. L.d. 59

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

The center of the operational reference card file of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR for the prosecutor's demand for verification from November 4, 1958, gives information that the priest Platon Lukyanov died on March 2, 1933, at a transit point in Kazakhstan.

4.3.16 Priest Ignatij Bryl (Brylya)

He was born in the village of Zagorje in the Minsk region. in a peasant family, and later serving as a railway. Nationality is Belarusian. Priest from Vizirka of the Kominternovsky district.⁶⁵³ In 1923 he was tried by the people's court in Sychavka, but later acquitted by the Provincial Court. In 1926, we are tried for a marriage before registering with the registry office, fined 50 rubles.

Family: wife - Vera Romanovna; son - Alexander.⁶⁵⁴

At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village. Vizirka, the Kominternovsky district.

Arrested in February 1931 on charges of "education k.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 25, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁵⁵

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.17 Priest Mikhail Korystin

Born in 1878 in the village. Uglens, Oryol district, b. Voronezh Province. In the family of a village priest. Nationality of the USSR, Ukrainian. He graduated from the Voronezh

⁶⁵³ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 801

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 787

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 968

Theological Seminary in the first category. At the end of the seminary, he was ordained a deacon and served in the Voronezh diocese from 1898 to 1903. Military priest of the Kerch fortress - 1903-1909. Priest of the 60th Infantry Regiment in Odessa - 1909-1914gg. In the imperialist war, from 1914 to 1916, he served as a hospital priest in the 180th field emergency hospital. From 1916 to February 1, 1917, in the 382nd field hospital in Galicia. From 1917 to September 1918 he served as a priest in the Brest-Litovsk military hospital, based in Odessa, was dismissed in connection with the transfer of the hospital in Ekaterinoslav. From December 1918, the priest at the 2nd city girls' school (Vneshnaya Str. 32), the Bishop's House (Korolenka Street, 7), at the time of arrest, the rector of the Ilyinsky Church in Odessa (Pushkinskaya, 79).⁶⁵⁶

It is known that the priest Michael Korystin in 1922 "joined the church group" Living Church "and was elected secretary, and from February 1923 the Chairman of the Provincial (Diocesan) Committee of the" Living Church ". He was elected a delegate and took part in the Moscow All-Russian Church Council in 1923 and to this day is a member of the Synodal Clergy.
"657

Family: wife - Serafima Alekseevna, 50 years; daughter - Hope, 27 years old.⁶⁵⁸

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: 15, Raskidaylovskaya Str., Odessa.

He was arrested on February 13, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 20, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁵⁹

It can be seen from the interrogation records that the religious situation in Odessa was complex, as "... August 19, 1923" Ionians "(Atamansky) appeared in my Bishops church with the intention of killing a" heretic "and only interference Comrade. NN Sokalsky (secretary Liquidkoma) headed the police squad, was prevented murder or violence in general.

... Holy. N.Dobrovolsky sent in 1923 his crowd of parishioners will deal with me for revealing the identity of the Holy. Ion Atamansky."⁶⁶⁰

During the interrogation on July 31, 1931, priest Korystin tells of his transition to the Living Church organization: "... the environment in which fate has set me in the pre-revolutionary years, had a huge, can be said decisive. Service and material dependence on the tsarist government, at least in the person of the Synod, the military and pedagogical authorities, from the church-

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 814

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 813

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 811

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 969

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 816

communal councils and personally from every believer who is serving in your outstretched hand, maybe more or less, looking at sympathy, are not important factors to from them I could free myself. Being burdened by a greater fate or not knowing any craft, could I be ordained beyond material dependence on parishioners? No! And so, it was bifurcated: first elect the church current from the outside (renovationism with its loyalty) and, secondly, look into the eyes of both the new church authorities and parishioners from whom the material blessings come with their eyes (opinion, views) on the modern reality, so as not to lose the possibility of existence ".⁶⁶¹ Circumstances are different and not having been in someone else's shoes, it is difficult to judge...

The case also contains Order No. 42 of May 9, 1909, on the Kerch Fortress, signed by the commandant of the fortress, Lieutenant-General Prasolov, in connection with the departure of the priest to a new place of service. Father Mikhail was given a flattering characteristic: "O. Mikhail Korystin served in the fortress for about 6 years. During this time, Father Michael invariably treated his pastoral duties with a high degree of zeal. He always strove to lead his spiritual flock along the path of spiritual and moral perfection, making every effort and all his attention to it.

The exemplary order in the church and the wonderful service in him of Mikhail's father, his eloquence and highly instructive sermons delivered from the pulpit, always deeply fell into the soul of the prayers. Now, parting with Fr. Mikhail, I consider it my pleasure to express to him on behalf of the service and his former parishioners sincere and cordial gratitude for such a zealous attitude to their pastoral duties and wish him a happy life and good success in his further High Spiritual Service in a new place ".⁶⁶²

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

⁶⁶¹ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 842

⁶⁶² Ibid. V.3. L.d. 846

4.3.18 Priest Vasiliy Krystalev

He was born in 1876 in the city of Novo-Georgiyevskoye of Kherson district. Nationality of the USSR, Ukrainian. On November 1, 1919, is a garrison dean of Odessa.⁶⁶³ During his stay in Odessa hetman Skoropadsky performs the duties of a priest of the 15th Odessa Infantry Regiment.⁶⁶⁴

At the time of his arrest, he serves as a priest at the Sretenskaya church on the New Bazaar.

Family: divorced.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Pishonovskaya, 13.⁶⁶⁵

He was arrested on March 3, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of March 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁶⁶

From the record of interrogation of the accused Korystin of July 29, 1931: "I have known Krystanov in Odessa since the beginning of the revolution. When the church separation took place (1922-23gg.) Did not go to the "living church" and until 1931 it is not considered in our group as a revivalist.

... Krastalyov only listed in the synodal group of Odessa, so as not to break his connection with the parishioners of the Sretenskaya church. "⁶⁶⁷

Apparently, such a move had a positive result, during the interrogation on June 29, 1931, Grigoriev II. showed that "Krastalev had about 800 families, where he was" his "and very close person."⁶⁶⁸

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

⁶⁶³ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-II. T.5. L.d. 1058. Extract from the CGAOH reference, Orders, d.87, l.d. 180 (ob.). Based on the documents of white armies (Denikin).

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid. V.6. L.d. 1167. Extract from the CGAR, f. 135p, d.1, l.211. Order from 11.10.1918.

⁶⁶⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 16 327-P. V.3. L.d. 904

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 972

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid. V. 3. L.d. 838

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 907

4.3.19 Priest Mikhail Pokrovskiy

Was born in 1874 in with. Liptsi b.Tulskaya province. Citizen of the USSR, Russian. Education - secondary. Priest.

Family: wife - Anna Pokrovskaya, 49, housewife.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Black Sea, 20.

Arrested in February 1931 on charges of "education k.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of March 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁶⁹

According to the testimony of the witness on February 7, 1931, Pokrovsky "was dean of the 14th Infantry Division, the last priest of the temple of the 4th Infantry Brigade, and recently served in the Mikhailovsky Monastery."⁶⁷⁰

From the testimony during the interrogation on June 2, 1931: "During the last few years I was a participant in the Odessa renewal counter-revolutionary group formed among our renewed clergy".⁶⁷¹

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.

4.3.20 Priest Evgeniy Krigsman

He was born in 1897 in Odessa. Citizen of the USSR, Latvian. Higher education. Priest. Family: wife - Krigsman Vera Fedorovna, 30 years old; son - Alexander, 5 years old. At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, Mechnykova st., 30.⁶⁷²

He was arrested on June 5, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. " During the search, June 6, 1931, were found

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 973

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 934

⁶⁷¹ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 856

⁶⁷² Ibid. V.3. L.d. 849

and seized, as material evidence: correspondence, photographs and the icon of the Mother of God.⁶⁷³

The resolution on the election of a preventive measure of June 4, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization".⁶⁷⁴

According to the testimony of the priest Petrovsky on June 2, 1931, the priest Krigsman "in 1930 was under arrest and investigation, later released under a written undertaking not to leave the place. Former ensign and priest. "⁶⁷⁵

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, sentenced to imprisonment in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.

It is known that the priest Yevgeny Krigsman from the Odessa prison was first sent to the Temnikovsky camps, then to Belbaltag and, in Dmitlag, he was released in 1933 "for good work" and no longer served as a priest.⁶⁷⁶

4.3.21 Aleksandr Krinov

Born in 1869 in the Leningrad region in the family of the former city elder. Citizen of the USSR, Russian. A former collegiate adviser (served in the police, as a police officer), at the time of his arrest - an authorized representative of the newspaper department of the Odessa post office and chairman of the religious community.⁶⁷⁷ Arrested GPU in 1920, after 12 days of arrest was released.

At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Zinoviev, 18.

He was arrested on March 3, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

The decision on the election of a preventive measure on April 16, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷³ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 848

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid. V.4. L.d. Л.д. 970

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid. V.3. L.d. Л.д. 868

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid. V.5. L.d. Л.д. 1024

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 875

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid. V.4. l.d. 971

The decision of the Troika meeting at the Collegium of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.22 Priest Nikolay Mochulskiy

He was born in 1896. Priest 2 Nikolaevka Andr-Ivanovo region, dean of the "Tikhonov" church. Family: wife - Vera Ivanovna, 34 years old; daughter - Larissa, 12 years old; son - Nikolay, 6 years old.⁶⁷⁹

He was arrested on February 24, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 20, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁸⁰

From the testimony of April 21, 1931: "... If there were no such independent objective conditions from me, I personally would not have been an active enemy of the Soviet Government.

Being good since 1923, I was bound by my administrative and church position with the priests from Ananiev, Pervomaisk, and then with the Odessa diocesan authorities. Since 1928, I have established a regular permanent relationship with the Odessa Tikhonov Diocesan Presbyterian Council, in particular with the priest Lyubimskiy Alexander, who until recently was Archbishop Anatoly's secretary.

Knowing my counter-revolutionary sentiments, Lyubimskiy in one of my conversations with me, made me an offer to show courage and be firm in faith and faithful to the church son.

In 1929 I began to ask to be released from the title of Dean, and then in 1930 I expressed a desire to leave church service altogether. This is my desire to break with the church, based on the circumstances that I increasingly began to make sure that the church in its organization and teaching is a big brake on many living life activities of the Soviet government, especially in the later era of building socialism. "⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 754

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 967

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. V.1. L.d. 55

The decision of the meeting of the Troika at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931, was sentenced to deportation to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

The center of the operative reference card file of the Special Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR for the prosecutor's demand for verification from November 4, 1958, gives information that the priest Nikolai Mochulsky was arrested again on December 14, 1937, convicted by the meeting of the Troika of the NKVD of the Chita region on December 31, 1937, to be shot. The verdict was carried out on March 15, 1938.

4.3.23 Priest Georgiy Fedorov

Born October 28, 1875 in the city of Nikolaev in the family of a sailor of the Black Sea Fleet from the cantonists Fedorov Nikolai Fedorovich and the daughter of a sailor Nikolayev crew Elizaveta Kondratievna. Russian, citizenship of the USSR. Priest. The family consisted of 18 souls and Georgiy was the penultimate child.

In five years he was sent to the parish school and then moved on, and then to the spiritual school. In view of the difficult material circumstances of his father, moved to live with his cousin in Kherson and on her dependent he studied at a real school. Later he entered the Odessa Infantry School, which he graduated in 2nd grade. Being promoted to the first officer rank, he was appointed to the 27th Infantry Regiment of Vitebsk, where he stayed until March 1905, when he was sent to the officer reserve of the Manzhur Army. In the Russian-Japanese war, after the evacuation In anticipation of the queue for the evacuation of our 14th Infantry Division, we were brought to Chisinau. For the period of service he held the position of junior company officer, junior officer of the training team, head. and the treasurer. Before the war, I married Kapitolina Maksimovna Gakomini - the daughter of the captain of a towboat. He was sent to the engineering troops of Odessa in 1907 and after 5 months he graduated from the Engineering War Art courses with honors. At this time, I had children and wanting to alleviate my financial situation, I decided to intercede for transferring me to one of the Odessa regiments. After much trouble, he was transferred to the Izmail infantry regiment in 1908, but in 1910 he was transferred to the 59th Infantry Regiment of Lublin, located in Odessa, where he served until 1914.

By the beginning of the war, he had reached the rank of captain, and in August 1914, with the division, was sent to the German front. I took part in battles. September 23, 1914, he was seriously wounded. The commission was found unfit for military service and appointed as commander of 36 workers' battalion of prisoners of war to serve the Odessa port and railway junction. After dismissal from the service, she works at the Odessa Women's Gymnasium Kaminskaya as the chairman of the parent committee and organizes assistance to poor students.

With the arrival of the Soviet power in Odessa, he was appointed a clerk of the personnel of the military engineering department of the Odessa district. With the arrival of "whites" in Odessa, he is the administrator of the 1 st Odessa group of teachers who bought a gymnasium from the founder of Kaminskaya. During this period, he prepares for priestly examinations.

In April 1922 he was ordained a priest and was appointed to the village of Roksoljani in the Odessa district. Several times he was subjected to searches and then in 1924, he left the parish to Odessa. He acted as a collector, receiver and sender to the technical office of Technodelo, where he was dismissed in early 1925. He works as a worker at Neftesindikat, was fired because he was a priest. Works on cleaning the cellars from silt and sewage in the barracks under construction for the troops of the protection of the Black Sea coast. In April, I was arrested by the OGPU and brought to trial by the Extraordinary Session of the Gubzud under art. 67 and acquitted in August 1926. Works as a painter in the district hospital, a watchman. From March 1927 to December 4, 1928 on the construction of the sanatorium. Comrade. Kaganovich (Kuyalnitsky estuary) as a storekeeper-accountant, after finishing construction went to work in the main office and very soon dismissed as a minister of the cult. Together with his wife he works as a hired worker for whitewashing, pasting and painting apartments. In 1930, the priest of the Nikolayev church, Mikhail Sinitsky, fell ill, commits instead services on weekends, continuing to work on weekdays. Becomes the second priest in the St. Nicholas Church.

As the accused shows during the interrogation: "Regarding my participation in any organization, I confirm with my honest word that I never belonged to such organizations and do not belong to them. Persons who are members of any organization do not know, and among the people of the parish, whom I have to deal with on duty, I do not know. Thanks to my present social position, I do not attend a priest of my colleagues, since they like me like a priest, on the one hand, and on the other, I have no means for the most modest reception. I can not show anything more on this matter. "

At the time of his arrest he lived in Odessa, the Baltic road, the Grain Market, 9.

He was arrested on January 25, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 15, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁸²

The decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931 sentenced to expulsion to the Northern Territory for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, **sentenced to expulsion to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years.**

4.3.24 Makariy Budilovskiy

He was born in 1887 in the village. Bekum of the Ochakovo district. Russian, citizenship of the USSR, gardener. During the stay of Hetman Skoropadsky in Tiraspol serves as the commandant of the Tiraspol station.

Deprived of his electoral rights in 1928, as having hired labor, was convicted in 1929 according to Art. 129 to 6 months of imprisonment.

Family: wife - Ekaterina Mikhailovna, 49 years old; daughter - Xenia, 18 years old.⁶⁸³

At the time of his arrest he lived in Odessa, Grushevsky per., 10, sq. M. 2.

He was dekulakized and arrested on January 15, 1931, on charges of "forming a c.r. organization of churchmen, whose aim was the overthrow of Soviet power. "

Decision on the election of a preventive measure of April 25, 1931, in connection with the accusation that "... was a member of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization."⁶⁸⁴

The decision of the Troika meeting at the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of September 14, 1931 sentenced him to a concentration camp for a period of 5 years. The case was sent for approval in the OGPU USSR. The verdict was revised and relaxed.

According to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR on November 3, 1931, he **was sentenced to a concentration camp for a period of 3 years.**

⁶⁸² Ibid. V.4. L.d. 961

⁶⁸³ Ibid. V.3. L.d. 741

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid. V.4. L.d. 966

4.4 Odessa group of 'True Orthodox Church'. Martyr Leonid Salkov and others (1935)

This is not the first case, and not the first trial in 1934-1935. followers of the "True Orthodox Church" in Odessa. Previously, the investigative authorities "exposed" the counterrevolutionary organization under the leadership of the priest Georgiy Tribratsky. Today we will talk about the group case of the Odessa Group of the CPI, whose leader, the investigation believed, was the martyr Leonid Salkov, already canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church. In addition to Leonid Salkov, priests Vladimir Ivanov and Georgiy Balukhatin, Semyon Kokh and Fedor Pospelov were sentenced to various terms of punishment in this case.

4.4.1 Salkov L.V.

Salkov Leonid Vasilievich was born in 1886, in the village of. Taganash Perekopsky district of the Taurida province in a merchant family. Permanent Place of Residence: Mezhdurechensky District, Vologda Region. Since 1927 in exile. Profession - physicochemical, graduated from Moscow State University. Higher education. Information on previous convictions - three years on Solovki and three in exile.⁶⁸⁵ Decision on the election of a preventive measure of January 5, 1935⁶⁸⁶, the decision to call as an accused on January 27, 1937. According to the request of the Odessa regional department of the NKVD, January 15, 1935 was escorted to Odessa from the Vologda sector of the NKVD.⁶⁸⁷

4.4.2 Priest Vladimir Ivanov

Priest Vladimir Ignatyevich Ivanov was born in 1905 in Odessa in the family of employees. At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Bugaevskaya, 56. Priest of the 3rd Christian cemetery. Education - secondary. Family: mother - Natalia Onufrievna, 50 years old; wife - Vera Ignatyevna, 30 years old; brother Alexander, 28 years old; brother - Michael, 26 years old.⁶⁸⁸ The decision on the election of a preventive measure of 19 January 1935, the decision to call as an accused on February 2, 1935.⁶⁸⁹ The warrant for arrest and search No. 31 of January 21, 1935.

⁶⁸⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 21 541-P. L.d. 16

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid. l.d. 2

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid. l.d. 25

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid. l.d. 17

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid. l.d. 14

4.4.3 Kokh S.Ya

Kokh Semen Yakovlevich was born in 1869 in the city of Nikopol in the family of employees. At the time of his arrest he lived at the address: Odessa, ul. Khmel'nitsky 6/2. Accountant-accountant of the 1-st Soviet Hospital in Odessa. Family: sister - Rosalia Yakovlevna, 68 years old, lives in Germany. She married a former Odessa citizen.⁶⁹⁰ Decision on the election of a preventive measure of 19 January 1935, the decision to bring in as an accused from April 14, 1935. The warrant for arrest and search No. 36 of January 21, 1935. Released under a written undertaking not to leave the city on January 29, 1935.⁶⁹¹

4.4.4 Pospelov F.S

Pospelov Fedor Stepanovich was born in 1880 in the Lukoyanovsky district of the Nizhny Novgorod province in the family of a clergyman. At the time of his arrest he lived in Odessa, ul. Ostrovidova 57/29. Former secretary of the Odessa diocesan administration. Clerk of Pieysterest.⁶⁹² Decision on the election of a preventive measure of 19 January 1935, the decision to bring in as an accused on 4 February 1935. The warrant for arrest and search No. 32 of January 21, 1935.

4.4.5 Priest Georgiy Balukhatin

Priest Georgiy Ivanovich Balukhatin was born in 1886 in the town of Balta in a peasant family. At the time of his arrest, he lived in the village of Anastasievka in the Grosulov district. He was arrested in 1925. Education - secondary. Family: mother - Varvara Andreevna, 74 years; niece - Anastasiya Stepanovna Balukhatina. Decision on the election of a preventive measure of 19 January 1935, the decision to bring in as an accused on 4 February 1935.⁶⁹³ Arrested on January 23, 1935 and taken to the disposal of the Odessa Regional Administration of the NKVD.⁶⁹⁴

According to the decree on the commencement of the investigation of the Odessa regional department of the NKVD of January 20, 1935, Salkov Leonid Vasilievich, Pospelov Fedor

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid. l.d. 18

⁶⁹¹ Ibid. L.d. 35

⁶⁹² Ibid. L.d. 19

⁶⁹³ Ibid. L.d. 12

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid. L.d. 24

Stepanovich, Ivanov Vladimir Ignatyevich, Zdetovetsky were convicted of counterrevolutionary activity and anti-Soviet agitation (Articles 54-10 and articles 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR) Vladimir Ksenofontovich, Kokh Semen Yakovlevich, Kravtsov Feodosiy Stepanovich, Balukhaty Georgiy Ivanovich.⁶⁹⁵ In particular, Leonid Salkov was named the organizer of the counter-revolutionary group to fight the Soviet regime.

Later, the investigation materials, in relation to Zdetovetsky and Kravtsov, were singled out as separate records.

Leonid Salkov, already twice convicted and in 1927 sentenced to 3 years of exile, in 1930 to 3 years of expulsion, was escorted to Odessa and interrogated on January 18, 1935.

From the record of the accused Salkov: "Until 1912 I lived in my father's family, my father was a merchant. He had 40 acres of his own land with a garden and a garden of about 5 acres, besides, he had salt crafts and his own house in Simferopol until 1911, I studied, after I graduated from the gymnasium in Simferopol, I studied in Moscow at the University in Physics and Mathematics Faculty, graduated from the University in 1911.

In 1911, I conscripted into the old army for 1 year. Demobilized in 1912 as the ensign of the reserve. Until 1914 he lived in Simferopol. My father and mother died in 1913.

I had brothers and sisters. There is no one alive now. One of the brothers Mikhail died in the imperialist war. Two brothers Nikolai and Vladimir served in the old army as officers, where they do not know now.

In 1914, as an ensign of the reserve, I was called up again as an ensign of the reserve, I served all the time in 13 artillery brigades at first as an ensign, then as a lieutenant, and in 1917 was promoted to lieutenant. The February Revolution of 1917 found me on the Romanian front in the part shown above. I stayed there until July of 1917, and then resigned and was transferred to Odessa in reserve, where I stayed until May.

After that he left military service and returned to the city of Simferopol. During this time I got acquainted with the priest Iona Atamansky, from whom he was blessed to go to the Annunciation Monastery. I went to the monastery in February of 1918. In the same month, red units came to the monastery and I was arrested by house arrest. In April of 1918 the monastery was captured by German troops and I was released from arrest. Under arrest, I was in a hotel in a monastery. After that I returned to Odessa and after spending two weeks at the priest Iona Atamansky left for Simferopol.

When I arrived in Simferopol, I distributed my property, part of the church, part of the almshouse, and a part of my relatives went to Sukhumi in the same year. There I visited the

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid. L.d. 1

monasteries of Mokvinsky, New Athos, the Georgian monasteries of Drando, the Bediysky Monastery. In the latter, I lived most of all. In the fall of 1919 I decided to go to Jerusalem and in December 1919 I came to Constantinople. In Constantinople, I learned that Jerusalem is under the rule of the English and that they do not allow Russians to go there. After living in the city of Constantinople on Mount Athos about two months and steamboat (English), which was going to Novorossiysk, I drove back to the Caucasus. In view of the fact that Novorossiysk turned out to be occupied by the Red troops, the ship went to Sevastopol. Arrived in Sevastopol in the month of March 1920.

Sevastopol was then occupied by white troops. When checking documents, they wanted to mobilize me as an officer in the white army, but I refused to serve and was arrested and sent to the city of Dzhankoy to the headquarters. They let me go from there. After that I went to the Chersonesus Monastery where I lived until 1923. In the same period of time, I periodically lived in the St. Georgiy Monastery near the city of Sevastopol.

With the arrival of Wrangel I was again mobilized in the white army, but also refused to serve.

In May 1923 I from Crimea again went to the Caucasus to Keti monastery. In the monastery, I stayed until 1925, and then after the death of the abbot of the monastery Alexia, I left the monastery and lived in an apartment near Constantine in 3 km. from the city of Sukhumi, helped him on the farm, and he kept me for it.

I stayed with him until 1927. In 1927, I was arrested with a group of others by the Abkhazian GPU and deported to Solovki for 3 years. I do not remember the names of those arrested with me. On Solovki I stayed in September of the month and after that I was sent for expulsion for a period of 3 years in the Mezhdurechensky district of the Vologda region. I stayed there until September of 1933. In September of 1933, after the expiration of the expulsion, I left for Sukhumi. On the way I went to Odessa to meet with the priest Dimitry Lavrov. In Odessa, Lavrov was not. I do not remember who I visited on an apartment in Odessa and went to Lavrov in Tiraspol. There I stayed for several days and returned to Odessa. To whom I came this time also do not remember.

From Odessa I went to Sukhumi. In Sukhumi, the police did not register me and I stopped to live in the village of Sukhumi. Drandy (located 23 km from the city of Sukhumi - aut.) Near Paraskeva - a patronymic and a surname I do not know. I stayed there for two weeks and went to Sevastopol. In Sevastopol, I did not live and immediately after coming to Sevastopol I went to Simferopol. In Simferopol, I stayed two days and went to Odessa. In Odessa, I stayed one day and left for Tiraspol to see Lavrov Dimitriy. At Lavrov I stayed for three days and through Odessa

I again went to Sukhumi. In Sukhumi he stayed for 2-3 months at the dacha of Avksentiy Lakaria. After that I went to Odessa, lived there for one night, spent the night on the boulevard and went to Tiraspol to Lavrov Dimitriy, stayed with him for three days and went to Mezhdurechensk in the Vologda region. Having stayed there for 2 and a half months and through the city of Odessa went again to Tiraspol to Lavrov Dimitry. After living with him for 2-3 days he came to Odessa. In Odessa, I spent 2-3 days. I did not stop at anyone.

At the end of October 1934 from Odessa I went to Mezhdurechensk, stayed there from 1934 and lived there until January 12, 1935 - was arrested and sent to Odessa."⁶⁹⁶

The accused was interrogated several times, in particular on 28 and 29 January 1935:

"Q: Who did you stay at the apartment when you visited Odessa?

A .: I once spent the night with the priest Vladimir Ivanov, spent the night with Koch Semyon Yakovlevich, with Ivan Ivanovich Ostoslavsky.

Q: Of a friend, other than these persons, do you have from among your like-minded people and admirers?

A .: There are a number of persons in Odessa who are CPI investigators. In the circle of these persons I was the elder brother, to whom I gave instructions of a spiritual order, one of them named Sergius called me a teacher. My conversations were of an individual nature, and there were also cases when several people gathered who read spiritual literature, explained it, or simply conducted conversations about the CPI. Among my listeners, I remember from these persons: Fedor Stepanovich, sister of the Meshchansky church Elizaveta Ivanovna, sister Antonia, Sychevskaya Ekaterina Pavlovna.

Q: Who do you know from the clergy of the followers of the CPI?

A .: I remember talking with Vladimir Ivanov, who was agreed to invite Metropolitan Anatoly to talk about the CPI, but on the appointed day Metropolitan Anatoly did not come, and then I left and met with Metropolitan Anatoly did not take place.

Q: What kind of conversations did you have among the followers of the CPI?

A .: They held talks on the issues of maintaining the foundations of the CPI. In my conversations, I urged them to preserve the purity of true Orthodoxy. He said that Christians, like the whole of humanity, can not believe in the authority of the Soviets, that they should not follow it either. all its activities as a product of the human mind will collapse. He explained that the Soviet power destroying God creates the will of Satan.

Q: Who did you contact with after your release from the expulsion?

A .: I corresponded with Lavrov Dimitriy, Koch Semyon and his wife.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid. L.d. 37-42

Q: Do you know Lavrov Tatyana?

A: Tatyana Lavrov, I have known since the time when she was a cleaner in the Port Church in Odessa, when there were deacons Demetrius and Grigoriy Balukhatin.

Q.: Who else visited in Odessa?

A.: A couple of times was at the professor Vladimir Petrovich Filatov. He invited me as a person with a higher education for conversation. He asked me about the essence of some things. Meaning to receive from me an explanation, as a religious person, tk. Monks who do not have an education can not give it to him. I told him on this issue that Christians can not engage in spiritualism, since this is a manifestation of evil power.

Filatov gave me a hat, which served as a turn to the fact that he stopped taking me, because someone told him that someone in Odessa saw me in his hat and he can have trouble with me.

Q: Tell me the reasons for your visits to Vologda and the Caucasus?

A.: In Vologda, I traveled to live there for some time in the city of Shuisk. In Shuisk I, for lack of an apartment, could not stay and stopped at an apartment in Vinskoye near Пыя Ivanovich Dubov. На Кавказ я выезжал только в Сухуми, где также имел ввиду где-нибудь пристроиться. Выезжал в Сухуми в ноябре месяце 1933 года и в начале января 1934 года. В последний раз я там пробыл до марта 1934 года.

Q: What is the circle of your acquaintances in Odessa and Tiraspol?

A: I was introduced to him by Dimitriy Lavrov, with whom I conducted conversations of a religious nature.

Q: What is your main occupation?

A: As a follower of the CPI, I assumed the feat of wanderlust. On the pilgrimage, I received a blessing from the priest Jonah Atamansky. Means of subsistence, I had donations from believers and occasionally private work for believers in the household. Work and service in Soviet enterprises is repugnant to my conscience.

Q: What issues did you intend to consider at the meeting with Vladimir Ivanov with the participation of Metropolitan Anatoly?

A: About May of 1934, at the suggestion of Dimitry Lavrov, he and Ivanov Vladimir and I had to meet with Ivanov and invite Metropolitan Anatoly. We there had in mind to discuss the situation of the CPI and to find out from Metropolitan Anatoly what reasons prompted him to subscribe to him under the declaration of Metropolitan Sergius and what sense he had in this act.

Immediately they were supposed to discuss the question of how to treat Metropolitan Anthony as the ruling hierarch. Other issues were not outlined, since this was the first step to discussing these issues with the participation of the metropolitan.

Q: Are you familiar with the priest Vladimir Zdetovetsky?

A.: Zdetovetsky I met at the apartment of Koch Semyon. I did not have to talk with Zdetovetsky.

Q: What was your ultimate goal in your conversations?

A: I conducted the conversations in the spirit of the Holy Scripture, tk. I read it in order to explain to his listeners, or rather the ultimate goal, I had to introduce my convictions of the CPI follower.

The interrogation of the accused was continued on January 31, 1935:

"Q: At the time when you were in Odessa in 1918 - in the reserve of ranks was the White Army in Odessa?

A.: Then there was a white army in Odessa, although I was in the reserve of ranks in Odessa, but practically did not participate in battles, lived in a private apartment.

Q: Which of your close friends do you have in Tiraspol?

A.: My relatives in Tiraspol are close friends - Dmitry Lavrov, a priest who is my follower - a follower of the true Orthodox Church, and his admirers - Elizaveta Stepanovna Skolnitskaya, the hostess of the apartment where Lavrov lived. In addition to these I know by name also: Elena, Lena - Lavrov's niece. Masha who are spiritual sisters. A deacon of the cathedral comes to Lavrov. I do not know his last name, he is small. These are the persons who come to Lavrov during my visits to him. At these visits sometimes Lavrov serves a requiem, sometimes he reads the akathists or simply conducted conversations of a spiritual order.

Q: Which of your close acquaintances do you have in Odessa?

A.: I visited Odessa in those days, which pointed to previous interrogations. When visiting the city of Odessa, I visited a number of people living in Odessa. These individuals are among the followers of the true Orthodox Church. I will not personally name these individuals, I do not want to betray anyone, but when I will be confirmed by someone else on the case, I will not refuse.

Q.: What did you do with the followers of the CPI when you visited Odessa?

A.: I had to conduct religious conversations in the context of the CPI exercises.

Q: Do you know the priest Georgiy?

A: Priest Georgiy Balukhatina I know. He serves in the village Anastasievka. He is a supporter of the CPI. I visited him only in May or June of 1934. I met him in Odessa, but when I do not remember.

Q: Do you know the priest Vladimir?

A: Priest Vladimir Ivanov, I know. He was a supporter of the CPI. Visited him at his visits to Odessa in the church at his home. The contents of the conversations with Balukhanin and Ivanov I do not remember now.

Q: What is your attitude to the unity?

A: According to my conviction, the Council was sent by God to punish humanity, therefore, like every Christian, I should not rejoice at the existence of the Soviet power, but on the contrary it is a sorrow. Soviet power will not exist.

Q: Which of the relatives and acquaintances do you have in Moscow?

A.: My aunt Elizaveta Alekseevna, her son Vladimir Alexandrovich, who works as a professor at the Conservatoire in piano class, lives in Moscow. Familiar for Moscow, I will not call.

Q.: According to your testimony, you do not work anywhere. What are your means of livelihood?

A: When I was in exile, my acquaintances sent me money, in particular sent by the priest Dimitry Lavrov. After liberation from exile, my acquaintances in Sukhumi, Odessa and Tiraspol supply me with money. On these funds, I traveled to the places indicated by me at previous interrogations "⁶⁹⁷.

At an interrogation on February 28 of the same year, answering the question about the pursued goals in his anti-Soviet agitation, Salkov replies: "I pursued the preservation of the purity of faith in myself and help others by appropriate beliefs. Disagreeing with the policy of the Soviet government, based on my religious beliefs, I also conducted a struggle against the activities of the Soviet authorities.

I believe that socialist construction leads to a violation of the purity of true Orthodoxy, so I myself was not only unable to take part in it, but I am also against it, in particular, for these reasons, as I have shown and even consider it contrary to my conscience to work in Soviet enterprises and institutions. To this I also urged others through appropriate conversations with believers. "⁶⁹⁸

From the record of interrogation of accused Koch to become known, that Semen Yakovlevich Koch since 1880 lives in Odessa. At various times he served in various institutions and private firms. He served as a clerk in an agricultural partnership, an accountant, an accountant. At the time of his arrest he worked as an accountant in the First Soviet Hospital.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid. L.d. 43-46

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid. L.d. 57 (turnover)

From the apartments that placed him, he named the priest of the philistine church of Vladimir, once Metropolitan Anatoly, priest Vladimir Ivanov and Leonid Salkov.

Here is an extract from the interrogation report:

"Q: Who is Salkov?

A: I've known him for 10 years. I met him at the church where Jonah Atamansky served. According to Salkov, he has a younger brother in Moscow or in Taganrog, a cousin in the Crimea. Visiting Odessa Salkov repeatedly traveled to the Crimea, to Simferopol, Sevastopol, to the Caucasus in Sukhumi, to Moscow and Vologda.

... friends in Odessa Salkova family Sychevsky, Markushevskaya Pelageya Mikhaylovna, Magdebura Ekaterina Geragievna and Magdebora Aleksey Antonovich, Sergei Bershatsky. I know that Salkov went to live on the street. Preobrazhenskaya Ivan Ivanovich and his wife - I do not know the surname.

... Salkov in his sermons talked about the near end of the world, about the fact that Soviet power was sent to believers in punishment, that on the part of the Soviets there are now harassment and persecution of the church, that soon there will be such a situation that all churches will be closed, after which there will be a change of statehood, and then the church will triumph. I remember that when I was visited by Leonid Salkov, Pospelov Fedor Stepanovich came to see me.

... All the persons I spoke about are church acquaintances and in this case they were all united by the common interests of the CPI. Leonid Salkov was the leader and educator of this group. As far as I know, Salkov does not have a clergyman's dignity, but he is revered as a spiritual father and some people believe that Sergei Bershatsky is simply a teacher. Leonid Salkov about the example of priests blessed his admirers and to him with the blessing of his admirers kissed their hands.

... The organizer of the CPI is L. Salkov who recruited himself personally from various individuals in this group. In the organization of this group and the recruitment, I did not take part and only provided my apartment for carrying out Salkov's conversations to arrange illegal meetings. Salkov said that the church retreated from Orthodoxy and accused Metropolitan Sergius of this. He said that Metropolitan Sergius had issued an incorrect declaration. He said that having said at the conference that there was no oppression of religion in the USSR, Metropolitan Sergius betrayed both us believers and the church. ⁶⁹⁹

On January 25, 1934, the accused Balukhatin was interrogated:

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid. L.d. 59-66

"Until the age of 22, I lived in my father's family. My father was engaged in agriculture. My father died in 1922 and my mother lives with me. I have one brother - Stepan Balukhatin, who is dispossessed and deported to the Murmansk region. From the age of 22, I left my father in Odessa, where I took care of a guard at the port church where Ion Atamansky was a priest. The watchman was about two years old. After that he was a paid chorister in the choir of this church for about 5 years. Then he was appointed as a staff writer.

In 1924 he was appointed deacon, and in 1929 he was ordained a priest. At first he was a priest in the village of Gorna. In 1931 he was transferred to the village of Anastasievka by a priest, where he was until now.

... The correspondence was with Pavel Gayday, who is in exile.

... Leonid Salkov is a like-minded follower of the CPI. I came to him to come from him as an educated person to receive instructions and listen to his conversations in relation to the CPI. I aspired to preserve the purity of Orthodoxy in modern conditions.

... Yes, I shared Salkov's opinion.

Q .: Salkov does not have a clergyman and a monk. Who is he to you?

A .: A good spiritual mentor.

V .: The metropolitan is also your mentor. Why are you turning to Salkov?

A: I am familiar with Leonid Salkov for 8-10 years and when in Odessa there was no metropolitan, Salkov was for us a direct mentor and leader. After the Metropolitan appeared and we became his subordinate, just like Salkov taught us, we did not go out of the metropolitanate's subordination, in this case Metropolitan Anatoly, and at the same time, they instructed Salkov Leonid to instruct the CPI ".⁷⁰⁰

Accused Ivanov during interrogations on January 23, 25 and January 31, 1935 showed:

"Until 1924, I lived with my relatives. My father served as a clerk in a shop in pre-revolutionary times. In 1919 he died.

In 1926 I entered the service of the Annunciation Church as regent. In 1927 he took the priesthood and served in the church in Belyaevka. From Belyaevka was transferred to Odessa in 1931 by the priest of the cemetery church, where he was until now. In Odessa, I have relatives: mother - Natalia Ivanovna and two brothers - Alexander and Mikhail, workers of the opera house. From close acquaintances I have a priest, Mitkovsky, Pavel Vladimirovich. With him, I broke up the connection in 1929.

Q: What can you say about Salkov?

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid. L.d. 71-79

A: I was introduced to him by Lavrov. With Salkov I talked about the height of life and the stamina of the first Christians. He told me also about the CPI.

... I met with Lavrov in 1926 in the last days of December. In 1934 Tatyana Lavrova informed me that he was arrested in Tiraspol. I know Koch, he had a moleben at his apartment. Ignatyev Dimitriy I know, he met him in 1927, he was in exile, he visited me in church in December 1934 and January of this year. Now he got an appointment as a psalm-reader. Balukhatin was last met in November 1934. He then brought his mother to Professor Filatov for treatment.

Q: Why did you hide your arrest in 1931?

A: I thought that I was not under investigation. I was arrested in 1931 in November by the Troitsk District Department of the GPU. Then I was a priest in with. Kochanovka. I was under arrest for 3 months. I was accused under art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. I was not subjected to a trial and was released from custody.

... I met Pospelov Fedor accidentally in June of 1934, when I served a requiem at his request on the grave of his brother Archimandrite Gerontius. After that, Pospelov three times came to church and sang in the choir.

... I asked Salkov whether he thought of me and Lavrov as Orthodox or without grace. To this he replied that he does not consider us as the graceless.

... In 1933, I personally also believed that Metropolitan Sergius violated the canonical rules and on this issue I had a conversation with Metropolitan Anatoly, who told me that there are no violations of the canonical rules. When performing a divine service in the form of commemoration, I remember Metropolitan Peter Krutitsky.

Q: On what issues did you and Salkov decide to invite Metropolitan Anatoly?

A.: At Lavrov's suggestion, I decided with him and with Salkov to invite Metropolitan Anatoly to discuss the preservation of the purity of the CPI. In connection with the violation of canonical rules by Metropolitan Sergius. In addition, I had a number of personal questions, because from some priests to my address there were remarks that I enter into worship some of the innovations, following the example of Jonah Atamansky in the form of a length of service and some innovations in the performance of worship in comparison with others churches. Lavrov wanted to ask Metropolitan Anatoly whether it was possible to be a truly Orthodox Orthodox priest, as ordained to the priest by Metropolitan Anatoly - a member of the synod under Metropolitan Sergius, whom he considered a non-canonical rule that came to the church authority. Metropolitan Anatoly did not come to this meeting ".⁷⁰¹

⁷⁰¹ Ibid. L.d. 80-85

Accused Fyodor Pospelov during the interrogation on January 25, 1935 showed:

"Up to 16 years of age, I lived in the family of my father, who served as a sexton in the village of Soldatskoye. In 1896 I entered a factory where I stayed as a carpenter for five years. In 1900, he left there and entered the Nizhny Novgorod spiritual consistory with a rosace. I stayed there for two years. After that, he was drafted into the old army. He served four years as a clerk, first in the Lukyanov military administration, and then the Moscow military administration. After serving the military service in 1907, I again entered the service in the Odessa diocesan administration secretary. Then I worked until 1924. After the disbandment of the diocesan administration, I worked in the statistical bureau in the management of the fruit and vegetable confectionery union, the resort of Kuyalnik, the medical institute and the pitcherest. From petechrest I left on sickness on January 7, 1935.

Of relatives I have no one.

When I visited Koch's apartment, I met Salkov and the priest Vladimir Zdetovetsky. I remember that Leonid Vasilievich condemned the renovation.

Q .: Was Salkov a clergyman?

A .: I do not know. Personally, I do not recognize him as a clergyman. His admirers consider him a spiritual person, in particular he blesses them as a clergyman with a kiss to his hand.

Q: Who do you think is Salkov?

A .: Missionary. ⁷⁰²

According to the Final Decision on the accusation of Leonid Sankov, Ivanov Vladimir, Balukhatin Georgiy, Pospelov Fedor and Kokh Semyon, on March 29, 1935, it was decided to send the case to the Special Meeting of the NKVD of the USSR with a petition for concluding in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years: LV Salkova ., Ivanova V.I. and Balukhatin GI.

Accused Pospelov FS. and Kokha S.Ya. to send to the Northern Territory, for a period of 3 years. All the accused, except for Koch, at the time of the decision to transfer the case to the Special Meeting were in the 4th Special Corps of the Promkolonii.

We give the full text of this Final Prosecution:

"In the years 1934-35. The Odesa Obkpravlenie of the NKVD liquidated in Odessa two groups of cr. the "CPI" (Tribratsky, Pirek, Khodanovich and others).

In addition to these groups, according to information received in Odessa, there is a group of the same counterrevolutionary organization created by the arrivals in 1934 from a concentration camp formerly. The landlord and former. White officer Salkov. This group

⁷⁰² Ibid. L.d. 86-89

belonged to the priests Ivanov Vladimir, Balukhatin Georgiy, formerly. the secretary of the Tikhonov Metropolitan Pospelov Fedor and the employee of the hospital Kokh Semen.

This group, met regularly at the apartment of Koch and others and held a kr. activity in kr. agitation for opposing the activities of the Soviet government and recruiting new members of the group.

On January 21, the members of this group were arrested.

Accused Kokh at the interrogation showed that he belongs to the a / c group "CPI", organized in 1934 by Salkov, being recruited as such by Salkov in 1934.

Koch named, as members of the group, Salkov, Ivanov Vladimir, Balukhatin, Pospelov and others. He showed that the members of the group met regularly in his apartment and other apartments, mainly during the arrival of Salkov.

During the meetings under the leadership of Salkov, counter-revolutionary agitation was conducted, boiling down to the fact that Sovlast was the authority of the Antichrist sent to the people in punishment and that believers needed to fight it.

Salkov propagated the idea of the "Crusade" by the capitalist states against the USSR and stated that when believers join the "CPI" groups such a campaign will be carried out.

Accused pop Baluhatin who served in Anastasievka village, Grosulov district came to the group meeting. Balukhatina informed of every visit of Salkov to Odessa, the priest Lavrov, who lives in Tiraspol and is now arrested as the head of the local group "CPI".

Balukhatin showed that he belongs to the Odessa group "CPI", participated in illegal meetings of such, being recruited in 1934 by Lavrov. The head of the group Balukhatin named Salkova, from the group pointed Ivanov Vladimir and others.

Accused Salkov showed that he is the organizer and leader of the Odessa group, which he created in 1934, after being released from the concentration camp. From the composition of the group Salkov named Koch, Pospelov, Ivanov, Balukhatin and others. He showed about illegal meetings.

Salkov showed that he, as a member of the "CPI" group, was an opponent of the Soviet state and was trying to counteract the measures by all means.

According to Salkov's testimony, "True Orthodox" should not recognize the Soviet government and its bodies, nor should it work in the Soviet institutions. Salkov urged members of his group to explain to believers this attitude, convincing that the Soviast was sent to punishment and that the activities of the Soviet authorities are directed towards the death of the world.

Salkov, on release from the concentration camp, where he served a sentence, as one of the leaders of the CR. the organization "CPI" lived illegally without a passport, razojazhal to different cities of Odessa, Tiraspol, Moscow, Vologda, visited the Crimea and the Caucasus, stopping with their like-minded people.

Salkov refused to give evidence about his out-of-town connections.

Accused pop Ivanov Vladimir showed that he is a participant of the "CPI", took part in meetings arranged by Salkov and together with him suggested to Tikhonov's Metropolitan Anatoly in 1934 to arrange a meeting where he was supposed to persuade him to transfer to the "CPI".

Accused Pospelov does not recognize his belonging to the illegal group "CPI", but showed that he visited Koch when Salkov held his conversations there and met with these persons.

A witness ... a priest from Belyaevka, showed that the priest Ivan Ivanovich had served in Belyayevka, organized there a kr. group "CPI", which involved the dispossessed Mikhailov, Yarovenko, Dovzhenko, Semenchenko, and others, and held illegal meetings with them. (Interestingly, the testimony of this witness is printed on a typewriter, not a manuscript.) There is no signature of the witness, investigator - author).

These meetings speak of the imminent death of the Soviet government, which, in their words, must perish in a year. Ivanov conducted a large recruiting work and organized a secret monastic group.

Under the guidance of Ivanov, the members of this group conduct a sharp a / c and a / kolkhoz agitation, saying that the collective farms put the seal of antichrist and that the overthrow of the Soviet power was predicted by the holy scripture.

After the departure of Ivanov from Belyaevka to Odessa in 1933, the members of the Belyaev group retained close contact with the priests Ivanov and Balukhatin, through personal visits.

The case of the Belyaev group is allocated to special production. ⁷⁰³

April 10, 1935, the prosecutor of Odessa with the indictment fully agreed, but proposes to reduce the penalty and "apply deportation to remote areas of the USSR for a period of three (3) years each."

The case was sent to Kiev and on April 28, 1935, the Ombudsman of the 4th Department of the NKVD NKVD SPO of the Ukrainian SSR found that:

"A) the materials of the investigation are the criminal activity of the accused, expressed in the participation in the illegal crime. the organization of the "CPI" organized and directed by the

⁷⁰³ Ibid. L.d. 95

accused Salkov, conducting a / s agitation and using for this purpose religious prejudices of the masses - is proved;

b) the indictment corresponds to the materials available in the case;

c) on the basis of the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of July 10, 1934, the case is, by its nature, subject to review at the Special Meeting of the NKVD of the USSR. " Kiev solicits the conclusion of a five-year detention camp - LV Sal'kova, about entering into a concentration camp for a period of 3 years - Balukhatina GI. and Ivanov VI, as well as on deportation to remote areas for a period of 3 years - Pospelova F.I. and Kokha S.Ya.

According to the extract from the protocol of the Special Meeting of the NKVD of the USSR on September 13, 1935, for the participation in the counter-revolutionary group, the defendants in this case were sentenced:

1. Salkov L.V. - to be detained in a concentration camp for a period of 5 years, counting the term from January 5, 1935;

2. Ivanov VI - to imprisonment in a correctional labor camp for a period of 3 years, counting the term from January 21, 1935;

3. Balukhatin GI - to be sentenced to a forced labor camp for a period of 3 years, counting the term from January 19, 1935;

4. F.S. Pospelov. - to the link to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years, counting the term from January 21, 1935;

5. Koch S.Ya. - to the link to Kazakhstan for a period of 3 years, counting the time from the date of the issuance of this resolution.⁷⁰⁴

Priest Fedor Pospelov and Semyon Yakovlevich Kokh were sent to Almaty by the stage of the NKVD of the KASSR.

Priest Vladimir Ivanov was sent to the town of Medvezhye Gora at the disposal of the head of Belag.

Leonid Salkov and Georgiy Balukhatin were sent to Karaganda, at the disposal of the head of the Karlag.

4.5 Case of the Ananyev church counter-revolutionary organization of 1934-1935

At the end of 1934, the Department of State Security of the Moldavian Regional Administration of the NKVD received information that the priest Leonid Platonovich Krotkov,

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid. L.d. 105

dean of the Ananyevsky district; priest Verbin Serafim Georgiyevich; priest Pankeyev Pavel Alexandrovich, dean of the village of. Shiryaevo, Oktyabrsky district, Odessa region; Member of the Board of the Church Council of the Ananyevsky Cathedral Ivan Semen Romanovich; Deacon of the Tiraspol Cathedral Yakov Moiseevich Telyatnikov - being closely connected with one another using religious fanaticism of believers, - carry out counterrevolutionary work on the collapse of the collective farms, conduct anti-Soviet agitation, disseminate provocative rumors, etc., which led to the adoption of the Resolution on the commencement of the investigation of October 1, 1934 against the citizens of Krotkov, Ivanov, Verbin and Telyatnikov.⁷⁰⁵

On the same day, everyone was searched and all of them were arrested, despite the fact that the decision to select the measure of restraint to the above-mentioned persons in the form of arrest was issued the same day only to Telyatnikov⁷⁰⁶ and only on October 3 (two days later) - Krotkov⁷⁰⁷, Verbin⁷⁰⁸, Ivanov⁷⁰⁹.

During the arrest and search of the above-mentioned persons at different addresses (Telyatnikov - Tiraspol, Vosstaniya street, 154, Krotkov - Ananiev, Torgovaya street, 29; Verbin - Valegutsulovo village, Ananyevsky district; Ivanov - Ananyev, ul. Aposova), also a search was carried out in the Ananyevsky Cathedral, where two documents were found: "a call for unity of the Russian Orthodox Church" and a religious leaflet with an appeal to the rule of the religious community - which the operative authorities considered to be anti-Soviet.

4.5.1 Priest Leonid Krotkov

Archpriest Leonid Platonovich Krotkov was born in 1882 in the village of. Shokhna of Nerekhtsky district of Kostroma province. Higher education. Dean of Ananievsky district. At the time of his arrest, he lived at the address: Ananyev, ul. Trade 29 (the house is written in the name of his wife). Has 6 hives of bees, pigs. He has a stomach ulcer. Under the investigation was not and did not sue. Above average height, brunette with a long black beard and graying.

Family: wife - Krotkova Maria Pavlovna; son - Igor, born in 1911; son - Vladimir, born in 1913; son - Oleg, born in 1915.⁷¹⁰

From the protocol of interrogation of April 4, 1934, Archpriest Leonid tells of himself:

⁷⁰⁵ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 27 600-P. L.d. 1

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid. L.d. 2

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid. L.d. 6

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid. L.d. 11

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid. L.d. 15

⁷¹⁰ Ibid. L.d. 9

"He was born in the village of Shokhna, the former Nereakha district of the Kostroma province in the family of a priest. The father did not own his land, but used the church. In our family, apart from me, there were four sisters, two of whom died. Agnia and Sofia - both were married to priests, there is also a brother - Alexander Krotkov, who graduated from the St. Petersburg Archeological Institute.

I have higher education. I first studied at Kineshma in a religious school, then at the Kostroma Theological Seminary, which I graduated in 1904. Then he studied at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, which he graduated in 1907. After graduating from the Academy, I entered the Razumovsky Agricultural Academy in Moscow, where I stayed for a short time, dropped out there and went into the service of the Department of Naval Accounting in St. Petersburg as an official, I did not like it there, and I switched to teaching work . For the first time I was appointed to the Odessa Theological Seminary as an assistant inspector and simultaneously taught an ancient history⁷¹¹. In this position he stayed until 1911, then moved to the Odessa Theological School as a teacher of Russian, algebra and geometry. Here I served until 1921. While in Odessa, I married the daughter of a local official - Podolskaya Maria Pavlovna. In 1921, in November or December, I asked the Metropolitan of Odessa to appoint me a psalm-reader and, having got it, left for Valegutsulovo, Ananyevsky district. After serving for a year and a half, after which the Ananyevsky Bishop of Bryansk⁷¹² was appointed to the village of Stavrovo as a priest, where he stayed for one year and moved again to Valeggutsulovo, but already as a priest. He served here until 1926. In 1926 he moved to Ananiev, the abbot of the cathedral, where he still served".⁷¹³

Rereading the numerous protocols of interrogations of Archpriest Leonid Kratkov, which were committed almost for two months and at any time of day ⁷¹⁴, it becomes clear that it was Krotkov's decision to "appoint" the leader of this counter-revolutionary organization. Links and correspondence with the bishop of Parthenius Bryanskikh, this is what primarily interests the investigator. The attitude of Bryansk to the Soviet and religious authorities. And here it becomes known about the Bryansk letters sent to Ananyev from the expulsion, "in which the idea was quoted" in order to avoid a split in the church, it is necessary to recognize legally the head of the

⁷¹¹ This is also confirmed by the record of the interrogation taking place in this case, the priest Pavel Pankeev: I know Krotkov since 1908, when I studied at the Odessa Theological Seminary. Then Krotkov was our assistant inspector and I studied under him from 1908 to 1912 ". L.d. 312

⁷¹² Archpriest Leonid Krotkov, according to his own words, was ordained a priest from the interrogation record in 1922 by bishop Parfenii Bryanskikh.

⁷¹³ l.d. 66

⁷¹⁴ For example, the first interrogation was recorded on October 4, 1934, and the interrogation on November 20, 1934 (started at 21:20 and finished at 24h 00 min)

Russian church Metropolitan Sergius, but in reality remain true to true Orthodoxy. "⁷¹⁵ There is a natural question to whom and for whom these letters were sent. Krotkov says that Bryanskikh's correspondence was conducted with many people, including from Baibuzenko, leading Bryansk correspondents even of an encrypted character. The words "grandfather sick" meant that "the patriarch was arrested", "the doctor" - the investigator ".⁷¹⁶

Under the pressure and moral pressure of the investigator, possibly under torture, Krotkov talks about the "group of devoted people" of the Bryanskys, which he himself included. Describes the meetings in Kiev of the Bishop of Bryansk and the former professor of the Kiev Theological Academy Glagolev.⁷¹⁷ He says that the Bryanskys repeatedly asserted "the power not to be held by Metropolitan Sergius, but from the OGPU" and was indignant at the fact that Metropolitan Sergius introduced the commemoration of Soviet power and said: "can we pray for heretics, servants of the devil, who destroy the church of Christ?"⁷¹⁸

As a witness in the case were questioned: the priests of Gandrabura Aleksey Yakovlevich Kovalenko and Sergei Lukyanovich Yakushko, the priests of Ananiev Ivan Simeonovich Sikorsky and Yevgeny Petrovich Dyakonov.

Later testimony of Krotkov and witnesses formed the basis of the indictment of January 27, 1935. Here is the extract:

"In 1919, he had contact with the former Metropolitan of Odessa, Platon, who was one of the prominent counter-revolutionary figures who later emigrated with the Denikinets abroad.

In the same year 1919 Krotkov took part in the protest against the issued decree of the Workers 'and Peasants' Government "On the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church."

Due to his political convictions, Krotkov, unwilling to remain in the service of the Soviet school as a teacher, in 1920 became a minister of religious worship, first a psalm-reader, and then a priest and dean, and from that time began his church and political counter-revolutionary activity.

In 1922, being associated with the bishop of Parthenius Bryanskikh, is part of the group organized by the latter and at that time, under the influence of the Bryansk, spread dissatisfaction with the Soviet power among the faithful.

After the expulsion of the Bishop of Bryansk in 1922 in the town of Burn, Komi region, continuing to maintain close contact with him.

⁷¹⁵ l.d. 82 (turnover)

⁷¹⁶ l.d. 79

⁷¹⁷ L.d. 79 (turnover)

⁷¹⁸ L.d. 83

In 1927, while in Kharkov, on the occasion of his consecration to the rank of the dean of the Ananyevsky district, Krotkov met there with the priest Seletskiy Georgiy, who, as is known from the materials of the indictment on the case of the political and administrative centers of the all-union counterrevolutionary monarchical organization of the churchmen, "The True Orthodox Church" , was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian branch of this organization.

At the meeting with Seletsky, Krotkov received from the latter information that among the clergy a group of people were created who were dissatisfied with Metropolitan Sergius, who in their opinion was leading a compromise policy towards the Soviets and at the same time handed to Krotkov one copy of the appeal written by Metropolitan Joseph Petrovykh , also one of the leaders of the all-Union counter-revolutionary center "CPI".

This appeal Krotkov distributed among the clergy of Ananyevsky district.

Without losing contact with the bishop of Bryansk, Krotkov, starting from 1929, activates his anti-Soviet activities and from that same time the most reactionary clergy begins to group around him and, by the beginning of 1934, in the Ananyevsky district, is formed into an anti-Soviet grouping of priests: Verbin Serafim , Varchuk Ignat, Balaban Nikolay, Kovalenko Alexey, Yakushko Sergey, Sakharov Nikolay, Grigorashenko Peter and Dyakonov Evgeny and churchmen - Ivanov Semyon, Dimension Vasily and Rusakovich Anna.

Krotkov at his own apartment convened meetings of this group, where various political issues are discussed in such a way that everyone present came to a definite conclusion about the need to fight the Soviet authorities and after such meetings, the group members conduct anti-Soviet agitation against the collective farms, spread provocative rumors, pronounce in the church sermons of anti-Soviet content and so on.

Himself Krotkov was under the ideological influence and leadership of Bishop Parfeniya Bryanskikh, who, by his arrival from exile in the spring of 1934 in Ananyev, made a noticeable revival in the work of Ananievsky churchmen.

As established by the investigation, obv. Krotkovym held the following meetings:

In 1931, in the summer of the Ob. Krotkov in his apartment called a meeting of the priests of the Ananyevsky district, to which the representative of the Odessa Metropolitan in Moldova, Marcishevsky Ivan, was invited.

Among the participants of the group were there: Balaban Nikolay, Varchuk Ignat, Kovalenko Alexey and Dyakonov Eugene. In all, there were 12 people present.

The participants discussed the taxation of the clergy and decided to file a collective complaint about the alleged taxation of the clergy by the clergy, which was subsequently carried out. In addition to the collective complaint, every priest had to file another complaint.

Thus, the filing of numerous and collective complaints, took the form of a mass protest against the tax policy of the Soviet government.

In the summer of 1933 in an apartment near the embankment. Krotkova again had a meeting at which the participants of the group were present: Varchuk Ignat, Yakushko Sergei and Grigorashenko Peter, and also not part of this group - the priest from Valegutsulovo, Merchansky Pavel. The participants discussed the internal situation of the Soviet Union, with the Ob. Krotkov, informing those present about the alleged peasant uprisings against the Soviet power, developed the idea that the people can get rid of the power hated by it only by means of an organized active performance. At the same time exchanging views on the Far Eastern events, obv. Krotkov expounded everything in such a light that the participants in the grouping had an impression of the allegedly unstable position of Soviet power, the hope was for the interventionists and the speedy end of power.

In the month of December 1933, the Ob. Krotkov held a meeting at which the participants of the group were present: Balaban Nikolay, Kovalenko Alexey, Yakushev Sergey and Dyakonov Eugene. Informing those present about the release of the Bishop of Bryansk from exile, Krotkov instructed the members of religious communities to collect money for the Bryanskys.

In the same February last year, obv. Krotkov held a meeting with such participants of the group, with whom the question of the 18th Party Congress was discussed. Expressing dissatisfaction with the decisions passed, obv. Krotkov pointed out that only religion can interfere with the implementation of all the planned activities, thereby letting the presenters know about the need to combat these events.

In the month of April 1934, Krotkov together with the group members: Yakushko Sergei, Kovalenko Aleksey, Sakharov Nikolay and Dyakonov Eugene, discussed the issue of the plight of the clergy in connection with the taxation of the latter.

At the meeting of the grouping, which took place in the month of May 1934, Krotkov, in the presence of Varchuk Ignat, Yakushko Sergei, Dyakonov Eugene and Grigorashenko Peter, sorted out issues such as the organization of the Birobidzhan Republic and the visit of Japanese officers to Turkey and Germany.

On the first question, Krotkov expressed clearly anti-Soviet views saying that "Nothing will come of this, since the Jews will not be able to manage themselves independently."

Visit to the Japanese officers of Germany and Turkey obv. Krotkov attached great importance and regarded as a prerequisite for war and the proximity of the fall of the Soviet government.

In the month of June 1934, Krotkov was held a meeting with the group members.

At this meeting, Krotkov warned those present that the church was on the brink of destruction, gave an installation to fight for the preservation of the church, which had to be understood as an indication in terms of intensifying anti-Soviet activities.

At the beginning of August, a group meeting was convoked by Krotkov, attended by: Verbin Serafim, Kovalenko Aleksey, Yakushko Sergei, Dyakonov Eugene and Grigorashenko Peter, with whom the question of the lifting of the bells was discussed, Krotkov present gave a direct installation to prevent this exercise of power.

Not limited to the above meetings, Krotkov conducted a counter-revolutionary work among believers.

During the period of dekulakization of the 1930s. Krotkov in confession, hinting gr. Serbin Akulina that her son takes away kulak property, told her that this can not be done.

The contents of the sermons spoken. Krotkov was anti-Soviet in character and, from his own words, was directed against the events of the Soviet government. During the harvesting campaign of 1932, Krotkov uttered sermons in which he encouraged the collective farmers not to go to work. In the new year of 1934, in his sermon, he pointed out that man's happiness was not in material support, from which it follows that one should not believe what the Soviet government interprets, that is, the prosperous life of collective farmers and so on.

September 12, 1934 at the temple celebration obv. Krotkov was uttered a sermon so that the listeners gave the impression that going to collective farm work was a deviation from God.

Along with this Krotkov conducted systematic agitation aimed at thwarting government activities and circulated among believers provocative rumors about the war, allegedly about the imminent fall of the Soviet government and so on.

In the month of May 1933, the Ob. Krotkov agitated Mr. Filimonov to Foma, telling the latter that the food problems were caused by the alleged collective farms and if they were not, people would have lived well.

In the summer of 1933, Krotkov in the presence of a member of the church council Ivanov SR. and the priests Savitsky and Sikorsky, led anti-Soviet agitation, saying that Bolshevism must perish and that the main role in this will play German fascism.

In the summer of 1933, at meetings with a member of the board of the religious community, Ivanov SR, Krotkov agitated the latter, proving to him about the harm of collectivization, which, according to Krotkov, brought people to hunger. Under the influence of such agitation, Ivanov in turn agitated the middle peasants-middleman Samsonov Nicholas, so that the latter did not

join the collective farm, and Samsonov agitated among the collective farmers against the collective farms.

In the spring of 1934, Krotkov, in the presence of Filimonov and Ivanov, conducting agitation against Soviet power, argued that the fascists would soon come and relieve people of the Bolsheviks.

In the summer of 1934, Krotkov, agitating citizens Kozhushko L. And Gigoshenko H., pointed out to them that nothing would come out of the construction of socialism and that "socialism will collapse like a tower of Babel". A little later, to the same citizens, Krotkov argued that the Jews are in power, who are now living well, and Russian - bad.

At the same time, in the presence of citizens Filimonov Thomas, Galagus Luke and others, obv. Krotkov agitated against the collective farms, pointing out that there was no prosperous life for the collective farmers, that they were hungry and that soon all the collective farms would disintegrate. At the height of the harvesting campaign of 1934, the accused instructed three collective farmers in the village of Kondratovka in the Ananyevsky district to collect money to open the church that had been inactive for a long time, knowing that this would negatively affect the harvesting campaign.

According to the investigator, Krotkov confessed to committed crimes, but he only denies that he gave counter-revolutionary assignments to the teller of Tkachenko. It is worth mentioning that at the confrontation Tkachenko confessed this.

Protopriest Leonid Krotkov was convicted on April 16, 1935 by the Special Collegium of the Chief Court of the Moldavian ASSR and sentenced to 10 years of forced labor camps in remote NKVD camps with confiscation of personal property and 5 years' loss of rights.

4.5.2 Deacon Yakov Telyatnikov

From the questionnaire of the accused ⁷¹⁹ the following information about **Telyatnikov Yakov Moiseyevich**, who was born in 1900 in the village, Kalkar Balka of the Tiraspol region, "is deacon of the Tiraspol Cathedral, former monk, Russian, education - inferior", was convicted in 1930 by the Special Meeting of the GPU under Art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for the years of the concentration camp. In the description it is stated that the father of Yakov was of short stature, a brown-haired man, wears a beard with a wedge and is slightly deaf.

Mother - Telyatnikova Evdokia Grigoryevna, 55 years old, lives on the Kalkarova Balka.

⁷¹⁹ L.d. 5

From the record of the interrogation of October 3: I was born in 1900 in the family of a philistine Tiraspol. Father was a tiled master, he worked in the workshops of Tiraspol. He died in 1919. I studied at the Tiraspol parish school, which he graduated in 1917. After that, I acted as a sexton in the Tiraspol Cathedral, where I served until 1920. In 1920, I became a monk in the Pasitsel Monastery of the Balt District, where I stayed until 1923, i.e. before the disbandment of this monastery. After that I returned to Tiraspol, where I again acted as a watchman and a sexton in the Tiraspol Cathedral and served continuously until the 1930s. On January 10, 1930, I was arrested by the GPU authorities on charges of counter-revolutionary agitation and by order of the GPU Special Council I was sentenced to three years in a concentration camp. I served my sentence first in the camps near Novosibirsk, and then in Karelia. During my stay in exile, I was on the construction of the Murmansk railway. In October 1932, I was released from concentration camp after serving my sentence and at the end of October 1932 I arrived in Tiraspol, or rather in Kalkarovo Balka, where my mother lives on the Novaya Zhizn collective farm. Then I lived until March 1934. With his mother live four sisters: Agripina - 25 years; Inna is 22 years old; Anna is 18 years old; Evdokia is 15 years old.⁷²⁰

During the interrogations, Telyatnikov showed the following: In March of 1934 the local priest Grigoriy Gastev invited me to the cathedral to serve as a sexton. I agreed, especially since he initiated a petition to Metropolitan Anatoly to ordain me as a deacon. Then in March I went to the city of Odessa to Metropolitan Anatoly, who took me there and elevated me to the rank of deacon. I went to Odessa myself. I lived with the guard of the Meshchanskaya church named Theophanes, who lived in the basement under the church. They ordained me also in the Meshchansky church.⁷²¹

Answering questions of the investigator about the relationship with Dmitry Lavrov, Telyatnikov said that he knows Lavrov well and that he provided him with material support. At the same time, he tells that a close friend of Lavrov is the priest Pavel Ruban, who lives in the village of Grebenniki in the Tiraspol region. Continuing to answer the questions of the investigator, Telyatnikov says: A month and a half ago, Lavrov met me in the church, told me to go with him to Anastasievka for the oil-dressing of the mother of his priest-friend Grigoriy Baluhaty.

Question: What were you talking about at Baluhatogo?

Answer: Lavrov and Balukhatov discussed the resolution of the patriarchal synod about the erection of Metropolitan Sergius to the rank of "Most Blessed", in connection with which it

⁷²⁰ L.d. 58

⁷²¹ L.d. 59

was necessary to commemorate him during the divine service. They were both unhappy with this decision. They are unhappy with Metropolitan Sergius and despise him for the declaration issued in 1927 "Your joy is our joy." They say that power destroys churches, oppresses religion, makes believers suffer. They are unhappy that in a conversation in 1930 with foreign journalists, Metropolitan Sergius incorrectly informed them, did not indicate the oppression of religion.⁷²²

The decree of November 4, 1934 on the termination of the investigative case due to the lack of extracted data, exposing the accused deacon Yakov Telyatnikov was released from custody under warrant number 3071.⁷²³ At the same time, a letter was sent to the head of the city militia of Tiraspol, concerning gr. Telyatnikov, which pointed to the "fictitious documents" of the latter and the need to apply the passport regime of the border zone with a view to the speedy departure of Telyatnikov from the territory of Moldova.⁷²⁴

4.5.3 Priest Serafim Verbin

Verbin Serafim Georgiyevich was born in 1877 in the village of Souchkovo in the Rylsky district of the former Kursk province, a clergyman, a priest from Valegutsulovo, a Russian, a low education, under investigation was not alone, tall, with a long gray beard and a long nose.⁷²⁵

From the record of the interrogation of October 5, 1934: "He was born into a family of a poor peasant. Until 1906 he lived with his father, he worked as a hired local peasants. In 1906 he joined the Glinsky Monastery, where he stayed until 1912. In 1912 he went to Tiflis, where he found a novice in the bishop's house, stayed there for 3 months, then again returned to the Glinsky monastery and stayed there until 1913. In 1913 my compatriot - Archimandrite Anfim, who at the time served in Chisinau under the bishop invited me to serve there, I went and settled at the bishop's house as a hierodeacon. I stayed here until 1916 and in 1916 I again came to serve in Tiraspol in the bishop's house, where I was the economist until 1919. And in 1919 he was in Bizyukovo Monastery in the Kherson region. In 1920 he was appointed Odessa bishop in Osipovka village of Frunzovsky district, where he was until 1924. In 1924 he moved to the village of Petrovka in the Balt district. In 1927 he moved to the village of Samoilovka in the Frunzovsky district, where he stayed until 1933. In 1933 he moved to the village of Borshchevskoye in the Troitsky district, and from there he moved to the village of Valegtsulovo, Ananyevsky district, in September, where I am a priest to the present day.⁷²⁶

⁷²² L.d. 61

⁷²³ L.d. 64

⁷²⁴ L.d. 65

⁷²⁵ L.d. 14

⁷²⁶ L.d. 227

Among friends, Father Seraphim calls Archimandrite Gennady Rebezu, who lives in Odessa; deacon Anatoly Dobrovan, who lives in Tiraspol; the priest of the Tiraspol Cathedral, Dimitry Lavrov; Dean of the Tiraspol district Grigoriy Gastev; Bishop of Parthenia of Bryansk; Ignacy Varchuk ...

During the interrogation, the closest to himself calls Archimandrite Gennady Rebezu, whom he has known since 1906 while staying with him in the Glinsky Monastery. Later they will cross again in Chisinau in the bishop's house, in 1919 they will both be monks of Bizyukov Monastery in the Kherson region. Father Seraphim did not deny his correspondence and visits to Odessa to Archimandrite Gennady, in particular, in 1933 he visited him twice in Odessa.

Regarding the question of acquaintance with Bishop Parfenii Bryanskikh, Father Seraphim Verbin answers: I met him in 1919, when I was in Bizyukov Monastery. Last time I saw him in 1920 in Odessa, where I came for the appointment to Osipovka village, we met with him in the bishop's house.⁷²⁷ And although the accused says that he saw Bishop Parfeni in 1920, on the investigator's subsequent question about the meetings in 1934, he also answered in the affirmative: It seemed to be in the month of May. On his arrival in Ananyev, Grigorashenko informed me. When I found out about this, I wanted to meet with him. Grigorashenko and I asked the Bryanskys whether he had been released from exile. He told us that the punishment had already left, that he was worried about issuing a passport to him, after which he thinks he will be settled by the bishop of Ananievsky, where he was before his first exile in 1923 or 1924. In his further conversation, the bishop spoke about his attitude to Metropolitan Sergius: "I recognize Metropolitan Sergiy as the head of the church, but I do not agree with some of his opinions".⁷²⁸

... At first Bryanskikh spoke about the difficulties of the trip, then gradually switched to the topic of the purpose of his arrival in Ananyev. He said that he generally considers incorrect the decree of Metropolitan Sergius about the closing of the episcopal chair in Ananiev. He put it this way: "I consider the Anan'evsk cathedra to be my own, and therefore I came here because I think again to be a bishop if the civil authorities issue me a passport. Bryanskikh immediately indignantly told us that on the day of the tenth anniversary of Soviet power, Sergius proposed to commemorate the Soviet government for divine services, which, according to the Bryanskys, caused great discontent not only among the clergy, but also among the believers."⁷²⁹

Answering the questions, the accused confesses that he transferred the request of Bishop Parfenia to Archimandrite Gennady Rebeze, with whom the bishop kept in constant

⁷²⁷ L.d. 19

⁷²⁸ L.d. 230

⁷²⁹ L.d. 232

correspondence. Later it will be a separate point of the indictment, as well as the fact that Father Seraphim "attended three meetings in 1934, where issues of fundraising for Bryansk, about the struggle for the preservation of the church and opposition to the removal of bells were discussed."

The investigator showed special pressure even when he asked questions concerning the sermon on September 21. In particular, as defendant Verbin answers: "In the sermon I touched on the issue of Christian education of children in the way the church requires. ... In his sermon did not conduct any counter-revolutionary work ... ".⁷³⁰ A little later this point will nevertheless be incriminated to the priest as counter-revolutionary agitation with an emphasis, with emphasis on the fact that the priest "called for paying attention to the upbringing of children in the Christian spirit and immediately suggested that children should not be allowed into godless organizations, : pioneer, Komsomol organizations, a union of militant atheists, etc. "

All the accusations and suspicions of the interrogating interrogator, Father Seraphim Verbin categorically rejected and confessed only that "having met with Bishop Parthenius of Bryansk, fulfilled the assignment received from him regarding the restoration of his connection with Archimandrite Gennady Rebeza, but I did not know for what purposes it was done. And also I plead guilty in carrying out agitation against the grain bakery, tk. now I remember that I really pointed out to Buchinsky citizens, Samoylyuk, that this year the peasants will be taken away from the hds and the collective farmers will not get bread for the workday. "⁷³¹ Despite this, the prosecution considered that the anti-Soviet activity of the prosecution was fully proved by the investigative data.

4.5.4 Priest Ignatiy Varchuk

On October 31, 1934, there was arrested also **Varchuk (Varchuk)**⁷³² **Ignat Kondratovich**, and again only after 2 days, a resolution was signed on the election of a preventive measure in the form of arrest and arrest was authorized.⁷³³ But it is even more interesting that the first record of the interrogation of the "accused Varchuk" is dated October 29, 1934, i.e. 2 earlier than the arrest and 4 days earlier, the arrest warrant.⁷³⁴

⁷³⁰ L.d. 235 (turnover). It is worth noting that during all interrogations, the accused Serafim Verbin on all questions about carrying out counter-revolutionary work and anti-Soviet agitation, categorically denies his fate and answers "I did not accept, I do not know, I did not receive assignments."

⁷³¹ L.d. 238

⁷³² Vorchuk - in some cases this is the name of the clergyman, for example, in some places of the indictment in the case.

⁷³³ L.d. 21-23

⁷³⁴ L.d. 197

Priest Ignat Kondratevich Varchuk was born in 1879 in the m. Shiryaevo of Zhovtiansky district in the family of a zemstvo medical assistant, Ukrainian, education - secondary, was involved in the investigation for the storage of moonshine.

Wife - Varchuk Maria Nikolaevna, 54 years old. Daughter - Olga, 24 years old.

From the interrogation protocol we have already mentioned on October 29, 1934, we learn that the accused Varchuk was born in the family of a zemstvo paramedic and owned 60 tithes of land, and consequently, in the eyes of the Soviet authorities, was already a kulak element. In 1897, entered the Tiraspol county town school, but in which he studied for only a year and enrolled in the Kherson feldsher school.⁷³⁵ He worked as a paramedic. In 1914, he petitioned the Turkestan bishop with the request of the place of the psalmist, to which the bishop agreed. Moving to Turkestan. In 1915 he was ordained deacon, in 1916 he was ordained a priest. He served in the city of Novaya Bukhara as a priest until 1922 and then returned to Ukraine. In Anan'ev appeals to the local bishop, Bishop of Parfenia Bryanskikh about the acceptance of the diocese in the state, to which the latter gives consent and appoints a priest in the village. Borshchevsky Troitsky area. In 1923, the priest Ignat Varchuk was transferred to the village. Kondratyevka Ananyevsky district, from 1924 to 1930 years. serves in the village of Gandrabury. In 1930 He was transferred to the village of Mayново, and in 1932 - a priest in the village of Valegutsulovo.

During the interrogation, Father Ignatius bluntly stated his intransigence to the situation. Perhaps he signed the letter written by the investigator, no longer able to read the text, and sometimes even blank sheets of paper were signed.

In particular, his answer was recorded: "I am an opponent of the existing system, in which I confess. And I consider the most acceptable state system monarchical, since I was born with him and lived well with him, and under Soviet conditions it is bad. Personally, I conducted anti-Soviet agitation, there was a group. The ideological inspirer of this group was the bishop of Parthenius Bryansky, whose role even for the whole Ananyev clergy served as a unifying center."⁷³⁶

Witness testimony, the priest's conversations about "the proximity of war, intervention, fascism", "The Soviet power will soon collapse", "collectivization and a swift change of power" were recorded by the investigation and played a tragic role. Anti-Soviet sermons, allegedly conducted by the priest, and in which he never confessed, but were proven by witness testimony

⁷³⁵ The year 1898 is indicated, but the date may be incorrect.

⁷³⁶ L.d. 206

were in the words "people are not allowed to rest on a holiday, but are forced to work on collective farms. One yoke was dropped, and another was put on. "

Interrogating already arrested persons involved in the case, the investigation develops a scheme for a "group" counter-revolutionary organization and, in order to carry out its intention, arrest Razmeritsa Vasiliy Ivanovich's⁷³⁷, Pankeyev Pavel Alexandrovich ⁷³⁸, Podolskiy Nikolay Vladimirovich ⁷³⁹, Rusakovich Anna Savvichna ⁷⁴⁰.

4.5.5 Ivanov S.R.

Ivanov Semen Romanovich was born in with. Khotin in Bessarabia, a mechanic, a member of the board of the religious community, a former "socialist revolutionary" and a former member of the Union of the Russian People, Russian, do not judge, the owner of the manor is of medium height, gray-haired, his face is small, his beard shaves.

His wife is Ivanov Fekla. Sons - Vasily, 22 years old; Nikolay, 20 years old. Daughter - Elena, 17 years old.⁷⁴¹

During the interrogation on October 5, 1934, shows about himself: "My father served as an engineer at the landowner Starzhinsky. From the age of 13 I went to work to help my father until 1896, working with the landowner as my father's apprentice. In 1896 I switched to an independent job as an assistant to the machinist and moved to work in the village of Getmanovka in the former Baltic district. In 1899 I moved to the village. Isaevo of the former Kherson province, where he entered the economy of Kuris as a mechanic. In 1900 he was drafted for military service. I went to the Podolskiy regiment and I did not serve for a long time, since I was not supposed to serve in active service in my lot, I was fired from the regiment. So in 1901 I returned home to the family. In 1901, I and my family moved to Isayevo, where my father was given in the economy of Kuris the work of a machinist of a mill and steam threshing machines. In 1904, I went to work as a machinist of a steam thresher and a mill to a landowner Kondratsky in the village. Major, former Ananyevsky uyezd which served until October 1904. I quit my job and returned to my parents in Isaevo. In 1905, I took part in a peasant uprising, after which the repressions began, but the letter was warned and advised to hide. I went to Ananiev to my

⁷³⁷ Arrested on December 18, 1934, according to warrant number 68 of the same number. Decision on the election of a preventive measure of December 21, 1934.

⁷³⁸ Arrested on December 18, 1934, according to Order No. 69 of the same date. Decision on the election of a preventive measure of December 21, 1934.

⁷³⁹ L.d. 42

⁷⁴⁰ Arrested on December 27, 1934, according to the arrest warrant number 63 of the same date. Decree on the election of a preventive measure of December 3, 1934, the resolution authorizing the arrest of December 4, 1934.

⁷⁴¹ L.d.19

younger brother, where I worked at a state winery before 1913 as a mechanic. The Revolution of 1917 found me in Ananyev in the service of the zemstvo council. ... Since 1923, I began to actively participate in the life of the Anan'evsk cathedral, which at various times is a chairman or a member of the church council. At the moment I am the church elder of the cathedral. I was arrested in 1927, I was suspected that I participated in church bagpipes⁷⁴², which we had at that time occurred for the reason that our cathedral wanted to occupy the Renovationists». ⁷⁴³

Among the charges brought forward, besides the classical phrases for such cases, "kept close ties", "spread provocative rumors about the outbreak of war in the Far East", "an early change in Soviet power", the most important accusation point for us is "took part in collecting money for illegal fund to assist those expelled for counterrevolutionary help to the priests. "

He fully pleaded guilty to all the charges.

4.5.6 Monk Vasiliy Razmeritsa

Razmeritsa Vasily Ivanovich was born in Ananiev in the family of a carpenter. Until 1900 he worked as an employee. In 1900 he was drafted into the army, but was not accepted for military service. He was enlisted as a warrior of the militia of the 1st rank, after which he began to work on farms. In 1911 he went to Kiev and entered the novice in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, where he stayed until April 1915. In the same year he was mobilized in the army⁷⁴⁴, first 543 Kazan squad in Kiev, and then sent to Odessa in the 50th Infantry Regiment. In January 1916, together with a part transferred to Chisinau. In March of the same year he was transferred to the guard company of the village of Mikulintsy near Ternopil and in December 1917 he was released home. He left for his sister in Ananiev and from 1921 until his arrest worked as a church watchman.⁷⁴⁵ During all the interrogations, he did not admit himself and categorically denied all charges.

4.5.7 Priest Pavel Pankeyev

Pankeyev Pavel Alexandrovich during the interrogation on December 21, 1934 tells of himself: I was born in the family of a priest in 1893. In 1903 he enrolled in the Kherson

⁷⁴² Most likely, "church bagpipes" should be understood as a special kind of strike by believers when the believers on the collective farm did not refuse to fulfill it and did not stop their work, but delayed it, delayed its implementation, which ultimately did not bring the expected result to the employer.

⁷⁴³ L.d. 251

⁷⁴⁴ At that time, Razmeitsa was still a novice and was not tonsured as a monk.

⁷⁴⁵ L.d. 282

theological school, at the end of which in 1908 he moved to the Odessa Theological Seminary, which he graduated in 1915⁷⁴⁶. After that I was a psalm-reader in the village. Bugsky Voznesensky district and at the same time was a missionary in Ananyevsky district. In these positions, I stayed until the February Revolution of 1917, and then entered the service in the village of Shishkovo in the Zemstvo school of the Troitsky district, where he stayed for one year. In 1919 I left this service and began to live with my father in the village of Kakhovka in the same district where my father was a priest at that time. In 1919 my father died and my family moved to Ananiev, I went to the bishop in Odessa Aleksei Bazhenov⁷⁴⁷, who appointed me a psalm-reader in the village of Vasilvka, Mannheim district. Here I stayed one year and in 1921 I was ordained a priest and received a parish in the village of Ilyinka near Odessa.⁷⁴⁸

Later, Father Pavel goes to serve in the village of Troitskoe near Ananiev and serves there for 9 months. In September 1922 he was transferred by a priest in the village of Shiryaevo in the Oktyabrsky district of the Odessa region, where he serves until his arrest. Probably, in order to additionally indicate the luxury of the priestly life, in the questionnaire in the section on the property appear the house with the estate, 5 beehive hives, 10 chickens, 3 goose.⁷⁴⁹

From close relatives the priest calls his brother Bishop Anthony Pankeyev, who lives in Belgorod, Kursk region ⁷⁵⁰; brothers Mikhail and Dmitry ⁷⁵¹; sisters Parabin Maria⁷⁵² and Ruban Nadezhda⁷⁵³. From close acquaintances the accused mentions: the priest Ignatius Varchuk, the priest Stepan Apostolov and the priest Theodore Lastovetsky⁷⁵⁴. About his brother, Bishop Antony co-informs only the following: brother Anton Pankeyev was arrested in 1927 and then sent to the Northern Territory for 6 years. For what he was repressed, I do not know.⁷⁵⁵

From the record of interrogation it becomes known that Father Pavel was a member of the pre-revolutionary Andreevsky Brotherhood, whose center was in Odessa. From 1921 to 1927 he

⁷⁴⁶ According to other sources in 1912. L.d. 312

⁷⁴⁷ Aleksey (secularly – Dimitry Vladimirovich Bazhenov, 1872 - 1938) - a figure of Renovationism, a graduate of the Tauride Theological Seminary and the Moscow Theological Academy; until 1922 - Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, Bishop of Tiraspol. He moved to the renovation split immediately after his appearance, after which the Higher Church Administration of the Renovationists elevated him to the rank of archbishop and sent him to Odessa. On April 16, 1924, the Sacred Synod was renewed to the rank of Metropolitan. February 8, 1938 was arrested. On February 9, 1938, according to the petition, he was dismissed for rest. On February 15, 1938, by the decree of the Troika of the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR, he was sentenced to the highest penalty. He was shot on April 8, 1938. Rehabilitated in 1965.

⁷⁴⁸ L.d. 307

⁷⁴⁹ L.d. 37

⁷⁵⁰ Bishop Anthony (in the world Vasily Aleksandrovich Pankeev, 1892 - 1938) - Bishop of the Orthodox Russian Church, Bishop of Belgorod. February 25, 1935 was arrested. September 11, 1935 was convicted and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Sent to the concentration camp for sent to the Far East. In February 1938, a new business was launched in his respect. He was accused of organizing an anti-revolutionary group. On March 17, 1938, the NKVD Troika was sentenced to be shot. He was shot on June 1, 1938. Canonized and ranked among the saints of the Russian Orthodox Church in 2000.

⁷⁵¹ Priest Dimitriy Pankeev already mentioned in our work. Arrested in 1933.

⁷⁵² Wife of the priest Leonid Parabin

⁷⁵³ Wife of the priest Vasily Ruban, arrested and shot in December 1937.

⁷⁵⁴ Arrested and shot in May 1938

⁷⁵⁵ L.d. 309 (turnover)

was among the so-called "patriarchal" clergy, and from the time of the publication of the declaration of Metropolitan Sergius joined the current "Sergievites." He categorically denies his acquaintance with Bishop Bryansky and correspondence with him. On subsequent interrogations, I have to admit that Bryanskikh summoned him to me as a bishop to discuss his return to the episcopal chair. The rare case when the investigator instead of direct pressure tries to catch the interrogated: After all, Bryanskikh is not a bishop, since back in 1926 the exarch of Ukraine Mikhail liquidated the episcopal chair in Ananiev and since Bryanskikh was not listed as bishop of Ananievsky?⁷⁵⁶ Father Pavel categorically denies giving any assignments related to counter-revolutionary activity on the part of Bishop Parfeniya Bryanskikh. Many times during interrogations, he denies his participation in counter-revolutionary groups and moreover, he does not know about such. Denies the accusations that "under the pretext of playing preference, he collected priests and discussed political issues in an anti-Soviet spirit." That collectivization destroys agriculture, that people are already starving again in the parishes; that the clergy are now experiencing persecution."⁷⁵⁷

According to the accused, going to the game of preference in his house, the priests discussed the church life, the position of the clergy, taxes, their participation in building a classless socialist society. In the interrogation, the question of "Podilsky's encrypted correspondence with Bishop Parfeni Bryansky" also appears. And the answer is that "Podolskiy was a close friend of Bryansk. On the arrest of the patriarch in 1924, Bryanskikh wrote "daddy in the hospital." He called Krotkova "Lecro", Korodchuk Venedikt wrote off the phrase "a copy of the Nile", and Baybuzenko "Theodosich."⁷⁵⁸

At the confrontation held on January 22, 1935 with accused Varchuk, he also denied all charges of anti-Soviet activity.

According to the indictment, Father Pavel is accused of harsh criticism of the Soviet authorities, agitation against collective farms, an attempt to "conduct a procession in the village. Mikhailovka of the Oktyabrsky district, using the arid period then ". Again, there is a reference to the fund for helping repressed priests, who, as it turns out, acted in 1925-1932. and it was created precisely by the priest Pankeyev and Nikolai Podolskiy. In connection with the fund, they also recall the helpers of the priest, the kulaks Goncharenko and Deomashko, the former nun Mogilskaya, who helped to raise funds.

⁷⁵⁶ L.d. 311 (turnover)

⁷⁵⁷ L.d. 324

⁷⁵⁸ L.d. 320

According to some sources ⁷⁵⁹ Father Pavel died in Tiraspol prison in 1934, which does not correspond to reality.

4.5.8 Priest Nikolay Podolskiy

Podolskiy Nikolay Vladimirovich was born in 1882 in the city of Zhitomir in the family of an official of the Control Chamber. In 1885, his father died and Nikolay was taken to education for his elder brother Semyon Podolskiy, who served as an official of the Radzivilovo customs. In 1894, he entered the Kremenetskoe Spiritual College in the Volyn province, after which he entered the Kremenets Ecclesiastical Seminary and was later transferred to Zhitomir in connection with the transfer of the seminary in 1902. In 1903 he graduated from the Zhitomir Theological Seminary and entered the Kiev Theological Academy, which he successfully graduated in 1907. At the end of the academy he took the place of a teacher at the Odessa Theological Seminary, - he taught history, literature and singing. At the same time he was a teacher in the women's gymnasium. He lived in Odessa until December 1920, and at the end of 1920 he left for the village. Brazhevanovka of the Cebrikovsky district, where he entered the service of a psalm-reader. In 1922 he moved to the village of Ganraby of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and also served as a psalmist there until the end of August 1923. As a psalmist, he moved to the parish in the village of Shiryaevo, where he stayed until January 19, 1930 and received an invitation to the collective farm "12th anniversary of the Oetzia" to manage the apiary, which he does until the time of arrest.

During the interrogation, the accused Podolskiy does confirm that "he is not only well acquainted with Bishop Bryansky of Parfeniya, but also with his family." He completely denies his participation in the counterrevolutionary organization and says that "I never created such organizations of Bryansk and I did not enter there".

Answering the question about correspondence, he says that the correspondence consisted mainly of news about personal life, internal church struggle. And it was not encrypted, although it recognizes that some events and names were used allegorically. Thus, "Bryanskikh informing me in 1925-1926 about the arrest of the patriarch, wrote" our father in a private clinic, our doctors recognized overworked and demanded a change in the way of life. " The word "doctors" meant

⁷⁵⁹ ARCHIMANDRITE SERAPHIM (VERBIN). *On the death of prot.Leonid Krotkov on the White Sea canal and the priest of Father Pavl Pankeev in the Tiraspol prison* // Orthodox life. Georgjanville, 1961. N 8. P. 19-22; ARCHIMANDRITE SERAPHIM (VERBIN). *On the death of prot.Leonid Krotkov on the White Sea canal and the priest of Father Pavl Pankeev in the Tiraspol prison* // Orthodox life. Georgianville, 1961. N 10. P.22-24; ARCHIMANDRITE SERAPHIM (VERBIN). *On the death of prot.Leonid Krotkov on the White Sea canal and the priest of Father Pavl Pankeev in the Tiraspol prison* // Orthodox life. Georgjanville, 1961. N 12.

investigative authorities. Notifying me of the ongoing internal church struggle against the "living church" - he wrote "the alived settled."⁷⁶⁰

He pleaded guilty only to "maintaining contact with Bryansk." Participation in the counter-revolutionary organization, as well as anti-Soviet agitation categorically denies throughout the investigation.

4.5.9 Rusakovich A.S.

Rusakovich Anna Savvichna was born in 1906 in a family of middle peasants. Anna's parents died in 1909 and Aunt Pelagia Chubenko took the girl to her home. From the age of 8 to study at the Ananyevskaya Women's Gymnasium, where she studied for 5 years and after reforming the gymnasium into a school with 7 years of education, she continued her studies and finished school in 1921. She lived with a relative, helping with housework. In 1926, Mr .. married an employee of the post Rusakovich Alexander, who at that time worked as a postman. After graduation she also worked in self-production (she made flowers from paper) and gave her work to the church, and later began to take part in cleaning and decorating the church.⁷⁶¹ Throughout the whole investigation, he denies his counter-revolutionary activities, while at the same time confirms the fact that "among the believers there were rumors about the possibility of closing the Ananyev cathedral. I, wanting to encourage the government of the community, wrote a leaflet urging me to unite and not allow me to fulfill the intention of the authorities to close the cathedral. ... I wrote the leaflet myself and edited it myself."⁷⁶²

She pleaded guilty to herself only that she "wrote a leaflet and maintained contact with Bryansk, sent money received from the church elder to me, who gave them to me from the Bryansk Foundation."⁷⁶³ Sending "the last money from the illegal fund" Bryanskikh and writing the leaflets became the main points of the prosecution's charges.

4.5.10 Indictment in the case

The main conclusion of the investigation was the so-called "disclosure" of the church counter-revolutionary organization hostile to the Soviet system. We consider it necessary to quote the extract from the indictment with some comments. So in the course of the investigation

⁷⁶⁰ L.d. 341 (turnover)

⁷⁶¹ L.d. 299

⁷⁶² L.d. 301

⁷⁶³ L.d. 305 (turnover)

it was established that "back in 1920-22. who lived in Ananiev, Bishop Parfenii Bryanskikh carried out anti-Soviet activities, uniting around him counterrevolutionary monarchical elements not only from the clergy, but also "laymen", mostly former people-former officials, officers, traders, etc., for which at the end of 1922 Bryanskikh was arrested and deported to the Burn, Komi Region. Being in exile, he did not lose contact with his adherents - Krotkov Leonid, Korolchuk Venedikt, Baibuzenkom Konstantin and Podolskiy Nikolai Vladimirovich (priests of Ananyevsky district)⁷⁶⁴ with whom he conducted encrypted correspondence.

After the expulsion of the Bryanskys, the priest of Galich (now deceased) in 1923 organized an illegal fund at the Ananyevsky Cathedral to help the expelled Bryansk, who later, until the day of his arrest, was in charge of Krotkov, and from this fund, from the period from 1928 to 1934, assistance not only to Bryansk Parfia, but also to other priests who were deported for counterrevolutionary activity - Shevazutskiy, Feokhari.

The funds of this fund were made up of sums collected from believers in a specially marked circle and a certain portion of the sums that the clergy handed over to the maintenance of the Odessa Metropolitan.⁷⁶⁵

A similar fund-raising was also conducted in the village. Shiryaevo, Oktyabrsky district, Odessa region, where the approximate Parfeniya Bryansky lived - the accused - Podolskiy Nikolay Vladimirovich and Pankeyev Pavel, and the last work was carried out through the church elder - Dromashko Nikolai, the fist Goncharenko Kondrat and the nun - Mogilskaya Angelina (daughter of a dekulakized fist).

On his return from exile in 1926, Bryansk lived in Moscow, began to restore his ties with Ananyevsky district, and this connection was supported not only in writing and through certain persons who went to him.

In 1927, with the publication of the declaration of Metropolitan Sergius about the legalization of the church, the Bryanskys under the guise of fighting for the preservation of "true Orthodoxy", he raised the issue before his approximate priests - Krotkov Leonid and others, residing in Ananyevsky district, about the need to fight the Soviet authorities.

This accused Krotkov shows this:

⁷⁶⁴ As shown during the interrogation of Krotkov, with the bishop of Parthenius Bryanskikh, he was introduced by Nikolai Vladimirovich Podolsky, while still studying at the Odessa Theological Seminary in 1908-1909. Bryanskikh and Podolsky studied together at the Kiev Theological Academy and from that time were very well acquainted.

⁷⁶⁵ The existence of such a fund is confirmed during interrogation by almost all the accused, including Archpriest Leonid Krotkov, who shows that "the fund was created by means of money in a specially allocated for this circle in the church. This Bryansky assistance fund was created at the time of his first expulsion ". L.d. 72

"... In 1927, with the publication of the well-known declaration of Metropolitan Sergius, when the question arose of what kind of policy the church would take towards the State Council, Parthenius Bryanskikh did not recognize it for purely political reasons ... He could not reconcile himself with himself the fact of the existence of the Soviet Power ... He believed that only religion, in particular, Christianity, can prevent the implementation of the program planned by the Communist Party and the Soviet government. "

At the liquidation of the political administrative centers of the all-union counterrevolutionary monarchical organization of the churchmen, the "True Orthodox Church" -Parfeny Bryanskikh, as representative of the Ukrainian branch of this organization, was arrested and again deported.

Almost simultaneously with his deportation, in 1931 priests Baybuzenko and Korolchuk were repressed.

After that, from among the persons close to Bryansk, in Ananyev remained priest Krotkov Leonid, whose political credo is characterized by his testimony of November 14, 1934, in which he says:

"... I adhered to monarchical beliefs, was a zealous worker of the monarchical system ... By the October Revolution, I was hostile ... By that time, the clergy, including myself, realized that Bolshevism was our deadly enemy" (Id 99).

In 1919, after the decree "on the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church", Krotkov L. took part in the protests on this issue by the diocesan congress in Odessa, whose delegate he was.

Focusing on the political program that Krotkov considered most acceptable for himself, he said in his statement of November 17, 1934:

"... the most acceptable program was one that was re-embodied under monarchism, but, as an extreme, one can agree with the existence of a bourgeois republic" (p. 106).

Thus, after his appointment as dean of the Ananyevsky district, being the spokesman of the extreme right political convictions, Krotkov was the center of gravity for the whole counterrevolutionary monarchical, ecclesiastical element, and beginning in 1929 he began to group around himself the most reactionary circles of the Tikhonov clergy of the Ananyevsky district.

The obv. Krotkov on this in his testimony of December 17, 1934, declares:

"... the most reactionary-minded priests saw in me a devoted adherent, began to group around me" (p. 125).

This group of priests from the Ananyevsky district included Balaban Nikolay Parfentyevich, Varchuk Ignat Kondratovich, Verbin Serafim Georgiyevich, Grigorashenko Peter, Dyakonov Eugene, Sakharov Nikolay, Yakushko Sergei and Kovalenko Alexey.

In close connection with Krotkov there were also members of the church council of Ananyevsky Cathedral: Ivanov Semyon Romanovich, Dimension Vasily Ivanovich and churchman Anna Rusavikovich Savvichna, who, although they did not attend meetings of the group led by Krotkov, but their counterrevolutionary activities were influenced and also participants in the counter-revolutionary grouping of churchmen.

He headed the grouping obv. Krotkov.

The ideological inspirer was bishop Parfenii Bryanskikh, who on his arrival in Ananiev in the spring of 1934 activated the activities of the counter-revolutionary group.

This anti-Soviet group set itself the task of conducting counterrevolutionary agitation and spreading provocative rumors in order to disrupt the Government's measures, in particular, collectivization and weakening of the Soviet power.

In addition, some participants of this group delivered sermons because of the ecclesiastical content of which the political party was clearly speaking. These sermons diverted the attention of believers from collective farm work, resisted the upbringing of youth, and so on.

The identified anti-Soviet group of churchmen fully used for their counter-revolutionary purposes the church as an instrument of struggle against the Soviet power, which the accused Krotkov himself in his testimony of November 2-4, 1934 states:

"... I believed that the church will always stand on the road to communism, since it denies in its main and basic points the theoretical and practical implementation of communism. Therefore, I understood that in order to combat the existing system, the church can be fully and completely used, especially in the conditions of Moldova, where the religiosity of the population is greater than anywhere else "(p. 89).

Describing his counter-revolutionary activity and other spirit of the parish, Krotkov shows:

Provocative rumors about hunger, insurrection, a possible war, etc., spread by the clergy, disorganized the mood of the people, gave birth to people in the idea that it was still necessary to wait with a record in the collective farm, undermining the confidence in the firmness and strength of Soviet power. Thus, quietly and unobtrusively for the eyes, but the foundations of the young Soviet state were undermined »(p. 106,107).

To establish mutual information and exchange of opinions, the members of the group met periodically in Krotkov's apartment, using for this purpose market days in Ananiev.

About these meetings obv. Krotkov shows:

"... at these meetings we discussed issues of a political nature, such as: the international situation of the Soviet Union, about fascism, about possible intervention. Fascism in Germany was seen as a force that should help overthrow the Soviet regime. All these conversations should have inconspicuously encouraged everyone present to prepare a favorable ground in case the interventionists really appeared, so that the mood of the mass of believers also could easily join them "(p.119,120).

One of the characteristics of the meetings was held in the summer of 1933 in the apartment of the Ob. Krotkova, where the participants of the group were present: Varchuk Ignat, Yakushko Sergei and Grigorashenko Peter.

At this meeting, obv. Krotkov pointed to one of the real methods of fighting the Soviets - the insurgency. At the same time, the question of the possibility of intervention from Japan was considered, which of itself aroused the hope of those present for an imminent change of power.

In 1934, such meetings in the apartment of the Ob. Krotkova conducted 6, on which political issues were discussed: a) On the decisions of the 18th Party Congress, b) On the Far Eastern events and fascism in Germany, c) On taxes, d) On the removal of bells.

At one such meeting in February last year, where the decisions of the 18th Party Congress were discussed, Krotkov present to the group members - Balabanu, Yakushko and Dyakonov, bluntly stated that "Only religion, in particular Christianity, can prevent the implementation of the planned activities."

Thus, from his side, a direct line was given-to fight the Soviets.

With regard to the removal of the bells, circled in the autumn of 1934, Krotkov gave instructions to the priests present at his meeting in August 1934, to oppose this measure of the Soviet government.

On other issues, although certain decisions were not made at the meetings, but each of those present came to the conclusion that it was necessary to fight against the Soviets.

About this self обв. Krotkov shows this:

"... discussing at my meetings certain political issues, the matter was put in such a plane that everyone present had to draw for himself the appropriate conclusion about the need to fight the Soviets. How he will do this, depended on how each of them can navigate in this or that situation "(p.125).

These investigations establish that the members of the group, receiving anti-Soviet attitudes of Krotkov at meetings, carried them out into life, conducting wide agitation among believers, aimed at thwarting Governmental measures.

So, obv. Varchuk in the fall of 1933, at the temple festival in Valegutsulovo, Ananyevsky district, among the faithful conducted anti-Soviet agitation against the collective farms, proving that the reason for the existing difficulties was only the collective farms and that if there were none, it would be all in all.

He also among his friends, at different times in 1934, spread rumors of hunger, expressing the hope for the early fall of the Soviet government.

Obv. Verbin in the summer of 1934 among the faithful spread rumors that this year the Soviet authorities will take all the grain from the collective farmers and the latter will starve, so he advised collective farmer Motynge - to leave the collective farm.

At the meetings with the faithful, Krotkov himself argued to them that people would live well if there were no collective farms, arguing that nothing would come out of the construction of socialism, and that "socialism will collapse like a tower of Babel".

In addition, among the faithful, he spread provocative rumors about the upcoming war and the fall of power.

Working properly for members of the board of the religious community of the Anan'evsk cathedral, Ivanov Semyon Romanovich and Razmeritsa Vasily Ivanovich, Krotkov pushed them onto the path of counterrevolutionary activity, as a result of which the latter also conducted anti-Soviet agitation and circulated among the believers provocative counter-revolutionary rumors.

Supported by a close relationship with the Parthenius of Bryansk, obv. Pavel Pankeyev, being dean of the Oktyabrsky District, Odessa Region, gathered priests - Varchuk, Apostolov and others - in his apartment on the pretext of playing preference, with whom he discussed political issues in a clearly anti-Soviet spirit. And obv. Pankeev expressed the view that the existing system was allegedly unacceptable not only for the clergy, but also for the "people", hence the question of the need to fight the Soviets.

Being connected with the participants by the counter-revolutionary groupings Varchuk and Grigorashenko, the Ob. Pankeyev strengthened them for a swift change in the Soviet government, which contributed to the intensification of their anti-Soviet activities.

The indictment regarding other members of the counter-revolutionary organization practically repeats the above charges or differs little from them. According to the indictment of January 27, 1935, investigative case No. 5978 was sent to the special prosecutor of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the Ukrainian SSR for further trial on the accused of the Special Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

The judgment of April 13, 1935 of the Special Collegium of the Main Court of the Moldavian ASSR over the accused citizens under art. 54-10 UK UkrSSR Krotkov, Verbin, Ivanov, Varchuk, Dimensioner, Pankeyev, Podolskiy, Rusakevich was this:

1. Krotkov Leonid Platonovich sentenced to 10 years ITL in remote camps of the NKVD with confiscation of personal property, with the defeat in rights for 5 years;
2. Rasmeritsa Vasily Ivanovich sentenced to 7 years imprisonment in remote camps of the NKVD, with confiscation of personal property, with a defeat in the rights for 5 years;
3. Pankeyev Pavel Alexandrovich sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in remote camps of the NKVD with confiscation of personal property, with a defeat in the rights for 5 years;
4. Varchuk Ignat Kondratievich was sentenced to 5 years of ITL in remote camps of the NKVD with confiscation of property with a 5-year loss of rights.⁷⁶⁶

Everyone who passed the case was given different terms of imprisonment in concentration camps (from 3 to 10 years). Rehabilitated on December 29, 1995.

4.6 Church counter-revolutionary group of village Sverdlovo

Case number 22 081-P, stored in the Archive of the SBU in the Odessa region is interesting from the very first pages. Perfectly understanding that behind each line and signature is the fate of a person, empathizing, looking for the necessary words in order to as accurately as possible to convey the time and circumstances to which the people presented in this section have fallen.

The village of Sverdlovo of the Blagoevsky district of the Odessa region (now the Kominternovskiy district of the Odessa region, and until 1920 - the village of Maly Buyalyk) apparently had two priests - in 1937 - Fedor Antonyuk and Alexander Pavlovsky and the functioning church. It is possible that the priest Alexander Pavlovskiy arrived in the village to replace Fyodor Antonyuk, because according to Pavlovsky's testimony, Antonyuk had been banned for some time in the priesthood, and Pavlovskiy himself was still a priest in the village of Mikhailovka in the Skadovskiy district at the end of 1936. It is possible that both of these priests belonged to different trends - revivalist and "Tikhonov", after the priest Antonyuk during the interrogation points to his manager as the renewal metropolitan Konstantin Spassky. And yet, considering the fact that Pavlovsky lived in the house of the Antonyuk family after transferring to a new parish, the first version seems more plausible.

In addition to the two clergymen, "church activists" - Alexandra Zakrzhevskaya, Elena Zhekova (possibly a relative of the former sailor Zhekov, who in 1905-1907 raised unrest among

⁷⁶⁶ Later convicted on new charges of anti-Soviet activities and shot on November 26, 1937.

the poor village of Maly Buyalyk and in 1918 headed the first Peasants' Council deputies) and Maria Dudnik. By the way, women really in those years and the horse could stop at a gallop, or like Maria Dudnik - riding a horse to collect people for an uprising, which was reflected both in the records of the interrogation and in the indictment.

After the verdict, the fate of these people is unknown to us, but it is unlikely that the "church counterrevolutionary group of Sverdlovo" ended the purges in this village and among the faithful parishioners ...

4.6.1 Priest Fedor Antonyuk

Priest Feodor Semyonovich Antoniuk was born in 1877 in the village of Spitsytsy Kiev region, by nationality - Ukrainian, citizenship of the USSR, married, priest of the Sverdlovsk church, until revolutionary times from 1908 to 1917 served in Odessa as a sergeant and was a deacon. Education is inferior. During the uprising in Acarje in 1919, he was hiding from the head of the uprising - a German named Johann. In 1932 he was arrested by bodies of the GPU (Birzulsky RG GPU) for the co-op. activity. In 1935, Narsudom was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for failure to fulfill state obligations.

Family: wife - Zakrzhevskaya Alexandra Petrovna, born in 1890; son - Nikolai Fedorovich, born in 1915.

4.6.2 Priest Aleksandr Pavlovskiy

Priest Alexander Ivanovich Pavlovskiy was born in 1871 in the village of Sphere of the Kiev region, by nationality - Ukrainian, citizenship of the USSR, recently worked as a priest at the Sverdlovsk church in the village of Sverdlovo in the Blagoevsky district of the Odessa region. Education - secondary, a graduate of the Odessa Theological Seminary. By origin - from the clergy. In 1934, the Bashtan Narcud was sentenced to four years in prison for stealing church values, but he was hiding from serving his sentence in court.

4.6.3 Zakrzhevskaya A.P.

Zakrzhevskaya Alexandra Petrovna was born in 1890 in Odessa (*according to the questionnaire in the village of Dalnyk, Odessa region*), by nationality - Russian, dependent on her husband - (priest Antonyuk), lived in the village Sverdlovo of Blagoevsky district.

4.6.4 Zhekova E.V.

Zhekova Elena Vasilievna was born in 1881 in the village of Sverdlovo in the Blagoevo district, by nationality - Greco-Bulgarian, widow, social. property status - the average, a member of the collective farm. Budyonny (although in 1937 he does not have a single workday), an active participant in the uprising against collectivization in 1930 in the village of Sverdlovo. Member of the Religious Council since 1930. Family: daughter - Catherine, born in 1905.

4.6.5 Dudnik M.I.

Dudnik Maria Ivanovna was born in 1874, in with. Yukhny of the Kiev region, by nationality - Ukrainian, illiterate, married, lives in Sverdlovo, Blagoevsky district, Odessa region, citizenship of the USSR. In 1930, she took an active part in the uprising in the village of Sverdlovo against collectivization, personally rode on horseback, forcing people to revolt. The initiator of the analysis of collective-farm property in the same year 30. Not tried before. Family: husband - Georgiy Semenovich, 74 years old, works on the collective farm.⁷⁶⁷

According to the decree on the commencement of the preliminary investigation of September 4, 1937, **A.M. Pavlovsky, F. Antonyuk, M. Dudnik, A. Zakrzhevskaya. and Zhekova E.V.** "This group of people among the population of the village of Sverdlovo and the neighborhood, under the guise of creating a religious community, conducted systematic counterrevolutionary agitation aimed against the activities of the Sovpower".⁷⁶⁸

The decree on the election of a preventive measure on September 10 of the same year, the **priest Fyodor Antoniuk** was determined to keep in custody at the KPZ Blagoevsky RCM, with subsequent transfer to Odessa prison.⁷⁶⁹ The same date, and the decision to engage as an accused with the phrase "Antonyuk FS. being a priest of the Sverdlovsk church, organized around himself counter-revolutionary minds from the activists of the church community and, by his suggestion, called on the latter to visit the population, with the goal of creating a religious community, while conducting a counter-revolutionary organization.

Antonyuk regularly visited the population of Blagoevsky, Kominternovskiy and Odessa districts imposing religious demands on the latter.

Antonyuk conducted illegal registration of the Acts of Civil Status. "⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁷ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 22 081-P. L.d. 108

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid. L.d. 1

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid. L.d. 2

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid. L.d. 3

He was arrested on September 4, 1937 in Sverdlovo, during the search, "passport, civil status book, various books - 12 pcs., Letters, notes, epitrachel, cap, crosses - 2 pcs., Spoon".⁷⁷¹

According to the record of the interrogation of the accused Antonyuk (questioned immediately on the day of his arrest), the latter showed: "... being a priest of the Sverlov Church, he instilled a religious visit to the population of these areas and impudently inculcated religious feelings for the people whose atrophy was committed by doing illegal religious rites. I did not have a religious inspector in these areas from the regional inspector of cults, which aggravates my criminal activity even more. In the above, I fully plead guilty." ⁷⁷²

Further, the accused confesses to joint counterrevolutionary activity with other arrested persons, confirms that "for counter-revolutionary purposes, these people repeatedly roamed the villages in order to collect signatures confirming the number of believers of the population, systematically conducted counterrevolutionary agitation."⁷⁷³ The defendant also confirmed that for several years he "was engaged in illegal registration of the population, which I did at the command of my spiritual boss - Metropolitan Spassky."⁷⁷⁴

Folklorist historians, perhaps, would be particularly interested in the questions of the investigator and the defendant's answers, in particular those connected with the spread of counterrevolutionary verses by the wife of the priest, Fyodor, who also takes part in this case. As it turned out, the wife and other women distributed to the public a "fictional" counter-revolutionary verse of this content:

Glory be to God - have lived

No dog nor pig

Only Lenin on the wall.

He shows with his hand

*Where to go for flour!*⁷⁷⁵

In addition, Antonyuk also misinterpreted the Constitution of the USSR. Thus, "in places where he was detained by local authorities - as illegally performing religious rites, Antonyuk referred to 124 st. The Constitution of the USSR on the free movement of religious cults of the church in the presence of collective farmers, so the Saami conducted a counter-revolutionary interpretation of the Constitution."⁷⁷⁶ Conducted recruitment to the religious community and

⁷⁷¹ Ibid. L.d. 5

⁷⁷² Ibid. L.d. 27

⁷⁷³ Ibid. L.d. 29

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid. L.d. 31

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid. L.d. 30

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid. L.d. 42

baptized children of collective farmers, which was also a component of counter-revolutionary work.⁷⁷⁷

Priest Alexander Pavlovskiy was also arrested in this case, the reasons for the arrest, the incriminated actions to him in the decision to select a preventive measure on August 17, 1937, and in the decision to call as the accused on September 10, 1937, are almost identical with similar decrees concerning the priest Antoniuk.⁷⁷⁸

The protocol of interrogation of the accused priest Pavlovsky on August 15, 1937, gives a certain picture of what is happening and proves the absurdity of the accusations. Pavlovsky fully agrees with the investigator's questions, and this consent sounds like a mockery of his already accusing indictment in the air. It is doubtful that the accused Pavlovsky believed that he, as a minister of religious worship and convicted in 1934 for the theft of church values, would be released "without a term", and possibly even a firing sentence. Therefore, according to his own testimony, he is convinced that the investigation possesses sufficient data confirming all of its counter-revolutionary activity, and therefore it is decided to frankly admit it. In particular, "during the period of my stay in the village of Mikhailovka of the Skadovsky District as a priest, at the end of 1936 I committed an illegal baptism.

... One of the extremely large and heavy of my crimes, which I call my greatest counter-revolutionary activity, is that I systematically committed an illegal recording of acts of civil status and the population accounting movement."⁷⁷⁹ As it turned out, the information about the number of baptisms, burials and weddings was collected by the priest Pavlovsky on the official order of the deanery district, Protopresbyter Gradoselsky. Accused Pavlovsky confirms the performance of religious rites and the conduct of counter-revolutionary agitation, according to him, banned in the priesthood of Fedor Antonyuk, as well as his wife - Alexandra Zakrzhevskaya. He also "spoke for the near fall of the Soviet government and the consequence of this need to strengthen the religious community, as a future shot in the fight against the Soviets."⁷⁸⁰

Zakrzhevskaya Alexandra Petrovna was arrested on September 14, 1937 in Kotovsk, ul. Profintern, 45.⁷⁸¹ During the search, she found 3 cards and certificates in the name of Antonyuk FS. According to the decrees on the election of a measure of restraint and involvement as an accused on September 10, 1937, is "a member of the counterrevolutionary group headed by the priests Antoniuk and Pavlovsky. On the instructions of the latter, she went about the village to

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid. L.d. 27

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid. L.d. 44-45

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid. L.d. 58-59

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid. L.d. 115

⁷⁸¹ Ibid. L.d. 72

create a religious community, while she was engaged in counter-revolutionary agitation. She expressed fictional anecdotes to the leaders of the Party and the Government of the USSR. ⁷⁸²

Alexandra Zakrzhevskaya during the interrogation on September 15, 1937, recall conversations about the change of power can not, and one of its main counterrevolutionary actions considers "systematic visits to our home by members of the religious community."⁷⁸³

Zhekova Elena Vasilievna was arrested on September 14, 1937 at the place of residence in the village of Sverdlovo. During the search, a "passport and 5 divine books" were found and seized.⁷⁸⁴ The charges brought against him at the time of the arrest completely coincide with the accusations against Zakrzhevskaya.

At the face-to-face on September 15 between priest Antonyuk and Elena Zhekova, Antonyuk showed that Zhekova calls him a thief, a bandit and a Komsomol priest. He explained such non-woody expressions by walking around villages and performing religious rituals, and called him a Komsomol member because Zykovoy, who had been tonsured, all in the village began to call him - a priest by the Komsomol member.

Zhekova denies that she called him a Komsomol, although she admits that she was at odds with Antonyuk. The reason for such a relationship was the frequent drinking of the clergyman and this caused the parishioner to experience that this fact could turn people away from the church.

Dudnik Maria Ivanovna was arrested on September 14, 1937 at the place of residence in the village of Sverdlovo. Accusations are similar to the charges brought against Zakrzhevskaya and Zhekova. She showed that she really participated in the uprising in Sverdlovo and visited Antoniuk's apartment, collected signatures for the organization of the church community - these testimonies formed the basis for the conviction in counter-revolutionary activity.

According to the Indictment, the investigative case on charges of these individuals was sent to the Troika of the NKVD of the Odessa region for consideration.⁷⁸⁵

Protocol No. 42 of the Meeting of the Troika of the NKVD in the Odessa region of September 26, 1937, passed a verdict on the verdict:

- 1. Pavlovsky Alexander Ivanovich - to 10 years of labor camps;**
- 2. Zakrzhevskaya Alexandra Petrovna - to 8 years of labor camps;**
- 3. Zhekov Elena Vasilievna - to 8 years of labor camps;**
- 4. Dudnik Maria Ivanovna - to 8 years of labor camps;**

⁷⁸² Ibid. L.d. 71

⁷⁸³ Ibid. L.d. 82

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid. L.d. 85

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid. L.d. 116

5. Antonyuk Fyodor Semyonovich - to be shot.⁷⁸⁶

The verdict against the priest Fyodor Antoniuk was enacted on October 3, 1937.⁷⁸⁷

In the case there is a Decision of the Acting President. Assistant of the Odessa Oblast Prosecutor on special cases dated September 26, 1940 assessing the complaints of Dudnik, Zakrzhevskaya, Zhekova, as not deserving of attention.

All the convicts in this case were rehabilitated subsequently.

The conclusion on rehabilitation of November 20, 1989.⁷⁸⁸

Conclusions to chapter 4

Many priests were shot without trial and investigation during the Great Terror. At the same time, representatives of all religions were declared equally "dangerous": Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Buddhists. In 1923-1924, about 1.5 thousand priests were arrested, and in 1931-1932 - about 20 thousand. Indicative group processes were periodically conducted. It is to such group processes that the fourth chapter of our study is devoted.

For example in 1929 for the group case Pavel Gayday father once the priest had been arrested and his wife, two other companions, members of the church community, a nun faith Savchenko and Alexander Capaclia churchwarden. The standard charge of committing fraudulent actions to extract benefits from the religious masses and use the religious prejudices of the masses for counter-revolutionary purposes. It is worth noting that it was 1929 and the sentences can be considered quite soft, men were given three years of expulsion to Siberia, women for six months in prison. Evidence that the prisons that once visited the prisons became forever "enemies of the people" is evidenced by the fact that Saints. Pavel Gayday, like many others, was shot in 1937.

Case 18 618-P for protest against the closure of the church and its conversion into a grain warehouse became a firing squad. Passed on it in 1929-1930. saint. Theodore Pilecki, psalomshik Theophane Bondarenko, churchwarden Trofim Martyniuk were charged and sentenced to death for the collection of signatures against the closure of the church, and after revealing that after ten years of harassment and persecution of the church, a priest and a church asset could collect signatures from more than 300 people, the inhabitants of a small village.

A huge resonance among the church circles of the South of Ukraine caused the cause of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization of churchmen in 1931. On it passed 24 persons

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid. L.d. 118-122

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid. L.d. 123

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid. L.d. 125

from which 22 were priests. This priest Alexander Lyubimskiy, Alexander Vvedensky, Victor Chemena Philip Hyrcania, Georgiy Alexandrov Vadim Dubnevich Stefan Lobachevsky, Nikolay Matveyevich, Michael Muret, Nikolay Stoyanov, Vasily Shiryaev Fyodor Florya, Ivan Kryzhanovsky, Alexander Lutsenko, Plato Lukyanov, Ignatius Bryl (Bryl), Michael Korystin Basil Krystalev, Mikhail Pokrovsky, Eugene Krigsman Nicholas Mochulsky Georgiy Fedorov and Alexander lay Krinov, Macarius Budilovsky. All of them were charged with the criminal actions of the ecclesiastical counterrevolutionary organization, which had expressed itself in the formation, aimed at overthrowing Soviet power. Only the priests Philip Girkanov and Vasily Shiryaev were sentenced to 3 years of the concentration camp conditional, all the rest received real terms of the concentration camp and expulsion to Kazakhstan. Both of the above-mentioned priest, Hyrcan and Shiryaev in early 1938, and held the case of the Odessa counter-revolutionary organization of churchmen in 1938 ⁷⁸⁹, At the same time, more than 28 clergymen and laity were shot together.

It is instructive to trace the course of the investigation in the case of the Odessa group of the "True Orthodox Church", which took place in 1935. Probably one of the few cases where the main role was given in such cases, not to the priests, but to layman Leonid Salkov. In addition to him, the case was attended by priests Vladimir Ivanov and Georgiy Balukhatin, laymen Koch S.Ya., Pospelov FS. Salkov was sentenced to 5 years in a concentration camp, priests to 3 years of forced labor camps, Koch and Pospelov to 3 years of expulsion to Kazakhstan.

The case of the "ecclesiastical counterrevolutionary group" of village Sverdlovo "in 1937, when, besides the two priests of Fyodor Antonyuk and Alexander Pavlovsky, church activists were arrested - Alexandra Zakrzhevskaya, Elena Zhekova, Maria Dudnik, clearly indicates that in this ideological struggle there were neither priests nor lay people nor men women, no old people or children, just an enemy that needed to be destroyed and give those quantitative testimonies that would satisfy the higher-ups in the center. The accusation was standard, in systematic counterrevolutionary agitation directed against the activities of the Soblast. Priest Fedor Antoniuk was sentenced to be shot, priest Pavlovsky to 10 years of forced labor camps, Zakrzhevskaya, Zhekova, Dudnik to 8 years of forced labor camps.

This mournful list can be continued indefinitely, but the conclusion is one - the anti-church internal policy of the Soviet state was aimed not only to destroy the church as an organization, economically ruin the church, but also to eliminate all who were in it and believed in God. And such group demonstration processes on the clergymen should have intimidated the others, making them stop thinking about religion and the church ...

⁷⁸⁹ Archive of SSU in the Odessa region. Case 10 978-P.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion of our dissertation paper, I would like to note that, despite possible shortcomings, the research work is relevant and the goals set before us at the beginning of writing the work have been achieved. The thesis is a theoretical generalization and solution of the scientific problem, which consists of the analysis and characterization of the process of formation and development of the right to freedom of conscience, the functioning of this institution in the conditions of the anti-church policy of the Soviet government and clarifying the specific features of the religious policy of the Soviet state in 1917-1939 and its impact on civil society and individuals (in particular, priests and clergymen, believers, members of their families), through repressive methods of control and coercion.

Having investigated the stages of formation and development of the institutions of freedom of conscience and religion (tolerance in certain historical stages of world history), the genesis of views on freedom of conscience and its legislative consolidation in the religious policy of Soviet power in 1917-1939, as well as the influence of state atheistic policy (in this case, repressive policies) on the fate of individual personalities or groups, in particular clergy, activists and members of religious communities, members of their families, we came to certain theses, which is a response to these challenges in our research:

1) by defining the structure and generalizing various scientific approaches to understanding the principle of freedom of conscience, we come to a conclusion that the history of the development of the legal institution of freedom of conscience is inextricably linked with the process of secularization of civil society. They systematized the approaches and defined the term 'secularization', defined the common and different in the concepts of 'religion' and 'religiosity', taking into account the different evaluation criteria. During the writing of the paper, the author comes to the conclusion that contributing to the establishment in the society of tolerance, embodying the essence of the considered freedom of conscience, in which only the maximum self-realization of everyone is possible. It is conditioned by the fact that freedom of conscience is not only the basis of individual freedom, but also the basis of a democratic society as a whole in its modern understanding;

2) highlighted the main historical stages of the development of the institution of freedom of conscience and carried out a chronological survey, exploring models of the relationship between society and religion, moving from a limited legal institution of religious freedom in Ancient Greece to tolerance, recognizing the right to the existence of another's religion, tolerance to its free confession in the Ancient Rome; from the persecution of Christians 1-3 centuries AD

before the recognition of Christianity as the dominant religion of the Roman Empire; from the assertion of Christianity as a state religion to persecution of the Gentiles; from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, from the New to the Modern Times, we identified the principled positions of the principle, essence and structure of the right to freedom of conscience and religion;

3) established the most influential theological concepts and revealed the characteristic features and views of Christian doctrines (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy) on the principle of freedom of conscience;

4) illustrated the specifics of the functioning of religious organizations in the period after 1917, by disclosing the features of legislation and historical realities of the time; analyzed and characterized a number of legislative acts and regulations that infringe on the rights of churches and religious organizations: Decree on Land adopted on October 26 / November 8, 1917: The Decree without any ransom passed monastic, church lands with all implements and buildings to the rural district committees and counties; The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia of November 2, 1917: the church is completely excluded from the sphere of civil and state life; Decisions of the Council of People's Commissars "On the transfer of the cause of upbringing and education from the spiritual department to the People's Commissariat for Education" on December 11, 1917: the church educational institutions were nationalized. The Decree On the Dissolution of Marriage (December 16, 1917) and On Civil Marriage, Children and the Conduct of Books of State Acts (December 18, 1917) also contributed to the eradication of religion in the state.

5) the main reason for the conflict between the Soviet state and religious organizations was the vision of the young Soviet state in the church of its ardent adversary, and not just an enemy, but an ideological one. It was more difficult to break it. The Bolsheviks who came to power did not hide that their goal was not just a social reorganization of society, but a complete change in the consciousness of a person, the education of a new man, a man "free" from some "religious prejudices", as they were said at that time. The author concludes that at the base of the relations between the state and the church, during the early period of Soviet power, not the norms of law were laid, but the "new socialist society", in which there was no place for religion;

6) traced the evolution of the legal status of the clergy in the Soviet Union, the genesis of repression in relation to the church and the methods of fighting it; the state everywhere struggled with the church through various campaigns such as the Anti-Church campaign to uncover the relics of 1919-1920 and the Campaign for the Expropriation of Church Values of 1921-1922, practically creates and actively supports the renewal split within the church. Gradually, the state consolidates anti-church norms in the legislative acts of the USSR, the RSFSR, the Ukrainian

SSR and other union republics. Legislative acts of the Soviet state deliberately narrowed the concept of the church, reducing it only to a religious community, therefore churches as religious associations were not recognized as subjects of legal relations and did not have the status of a legal entity (this situation is still observed in most countries of the post-Soviet space). Later the state passes to mass reprisals against the clergy, the peak of which occurred in 1937-1938;

7) we tried to highlight the problem of the repressive policy of the state, which had a pronounced anti-churchliness and intransigence towards religion, towards believers and its regional characteristics, particularly in the south of Ukraine, where they were arrested, convicted and sentenced to capital punishment, – labor camps, deportation to Siberia or Kazakhstan hundreds of priests and clergymen, members of their families.

8) also one of the tasks set was to trace the impact of changes in the legislation on freedom of conscience on individuals and describe their fate as a memory of godless state policy and Christian new discipleship, as a phenomenon taking place in the twentieth century. In the paper, the author carefully examines the archives and investigation cases of the arrested clergy of Odessa, Mykolayiv, Kherson regions. Analysis of data collected from the investigative case of the accused in counter-revolutionary activities or anti-Soviet agitation (search / arrest warrant and list of seized property, the questionnaire of the arrested person, interrogation records, witness interrogation records, indictment) and restores, step by step, the fate of people or at least one from its periods. Not all can be restored, not all believe ... The use of physical exertion, torture, forced the accused to sign fabricated by investigators slanderous statements that expose both the interrogated themselves and others in the worst counter-revolutionary crimes. But definitely, one thing, that the totalitarian system of that time, divided all into two parts – the executioners and the victims, and the victims were much more ...

It is obvious that in the period under investigation, 1917-1939 the principles of freedom of conscience were violated in every possible way, and although the provisions of Soviet legislation prescribed on paper spoke about the equality of believers and unbelievers of the citizens of the Soviet Union, these provisions were not fulfilled. At the same time, the policy of state atheism, contributes to the fact that religion is from the private affairs of citizens, that faith, as well as private experience of turning to God, turns into an object of state interest, but with the aim of promoting and developing civil society, development and improvement of the person's personality, but in the matter of the principle destruction of God at least in the Soviet state ...

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