

UDC 27-725(477)“1920/1930”  
DOI: 10.24919/2312-2595.8/50.240949

**Наталія ШКОДА**

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії та археології, Мелітопольський державний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, вул. Гетьманська, 20, м. Мелітополь, Україна, індекс 72312 ([igor.schckoda@yandex.ua](mailto:igor.schckoda@yandex.ua))

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9194-4303>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/V-4157-2017>

Scopus Author ID: 57211294065

**Алла КРИЛОВА**

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії та археології, Мелітопольський державний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, вул. Гетьманська, 20, м. Мелітополь, Україна, індекс 72312 ([allakr2014@gmail.com](mailto:allakr2014@gmail.com))

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9507-1818>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/V-3496-2017>

Scopus Author ID: 57211294259

**Бібліографічний опис статті: Shkoda, N., & Krylova, A. (2021).** The situation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s – 1930s: source review. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук: збірник наукових праць Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка. Серія Історія*, 8/50, 149–169. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.8/50.240949>.

## СТАНОВИЩЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО ТА РИМО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА В РАДЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ В 1920–30-ті рр.: ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧИЙ АСПЕКТ ПРОБЛЕМИ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати джерельну базу означеної проблеми, здійснити класифікацію джерел з проблеми, з'ясувати їх інформативну цінність. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-

© Natalia Shkoda, Alla Krylova, 2021

ISSN 2312-2595 (Print) ISSN 2664-3715 (Online)

типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** одержаних результатів визначається тим, що вперше здійснено узагальнювальний аналіз джерельної бази становища християнського духовенства (православного та римо-католицького) в Радянській Україні в 20–30-ті рр. ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Досліджено винятково писемні історичні джерела. Вони, зі свого боку, поділяються на опубліковані та неопубліковані (архівні) матеріали. Серед вивчених опублікованих джерел є офіційно-нормативні (актові) документи, справочинні, статистичні джерела, джерела особового походження, періодика. Чимало опублікованих документів уміщено у збірниках документів, наукових працях з різних проблем історії християнства та в інших археографічних виданнях. Репрезентативність джерельної бази з означеної проблеми забезпечує комплекс архівних документів двох центральних та кількох обласних державних архівів України. Цей комплекс матеріалів є різноманітним, строкатим, більшість з них становлять законодавчі, статистичні, справочинні матеріали та інші. Джерельна база даної проблеми є достатньо репрезентативною, всі групи джерел характеризуються високою фактографічною і науковою цінністю.

**Ключові слова:** православ'я; католицизм; церква; історичні джерела; репресії; духовенство; дискримінація.

#### **Natalia SHKODA**

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Bogdan Khmelnytsky Melitopol State Pedagogical University, 20, Getmanska Str., Melitopol, Ukraine, postal code 72312 ([igor.schckoda@yandex.ua](mailto:igor.schckoda@yandex.ua))

**ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9194-4303>

**ResearcherID:** <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/V-4157-2017>

**Scopus Author ID:** 57211294065

#### **Alla KRYLOVA**

PhD (History), Associate Professor, Department of History and Archeology, Bogdan Khmelnytsky Melitopol State Pedagogical University, 20, Getmanska Str., Melitopol, Ukraine, postal code 72312 ([allakr2014@gmail.com](mailto:allakr2014@gmail.com))

**ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9507-1818>

**ResearcherID:** <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/V-3496-2017>

**Scopus Author ID:** 57211294259

**To cite this article:** Shkoda, N., & Krylova, A. (2021). The situation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s – 1930s: source review. *Problemy humanitarnykh nauk: zbirnyk naukovykh prats Drohobyt'skoho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Franka. Serii Istorii – Problems of Humanities. History Series: a collection of scientific articles of the Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University*, 8/50, 149–169. doi: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2312-2595.8/50.240949>.

## THE SITUATION OF ORTHODOX AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE IN THE 1920s – 1930s: SOURCE REVIEW

**Summary.** *The purpose of the article is to analyze the source base of the problem, classify the sources of the problem, find out their informative value. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientificity, objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty the results obtained are determined by the fact that for the first time a generalized analysis of the source base of the situation of the Christian clergy (Orthodox and Roman Catholic) in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920–30's. Conclusions.* Only written historical sources have been studied. They in turn are divided into published and unpublished (archival) materials. Among the studied published sources are official and normative (act) documents, reference, statistical sources, sources of personal origin, periodicals. Many published documents are contained in collections of documents, in scientific works on various problems of the history of Christianity and in other archeographic publications. Representativeness of the source base on this problem is provided by a set of archival documents of two central and several regional state archives of Ukraine. This set of materials is diverse, colorful with most of them being legislative, statistical, reference materials and others. The source base of this problem is quite representative, all groups of sources are characterized by high factual and scientific value.

**Key words:** *orthodoxy; catholicism; church; historical sources; repressions; clergy; discrimination.*

**Problem statement.** The development of modern Ukrainian society has largely actualized the problem of integration into the all-Ukrainian context of its ethnic-confessional identities. The study of the position of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy as the most nu-

merous in the interwar period in Soviet Ukraine provides an opportunity to develop a more effective model of state-church relations. The topic chosen for research has a considerable scientific interest. Although the issue of socio-religious change in the 1920s and 1930s became the focus of many scholars, the level of elaboration of the topic remains insufficient. Many aspects of this problem remain poorly studied, including source studies. This publication is devoted to its analysis.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** There are many works devoted to the analysis of the situation of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s. But there are no generalized studies that would comprehensively characterize the source base of the history of the Christian clergy in Ukraine in the Soviet era in the interwar period.

**The purpose of the research.** In connection with the above, the purpose of this publication is to study the source aspect of the situation of the Christian clergy, namely Orthodox and Roman Catholic, in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, to classify the studied set of historical sources on this issue. Thus, the subject of this article is a set of published and unpublished sources. Chronological boundaries of the study – 1920–30s. The territorial boundaries of the study extend to the territory of the Soviet Ukraine.

**Statement of the basic material.** All researched sources on this problem are exclusively written. They, in turn, are divided into two groups – published and unpublished (archival materials).

Taking into account the methodology of historical research, first of all, the principles of Ukrainian source studies, we first pay attention to published sources, which can be divided into the following groups – official and normative (act) documents, reference, statistical sources, sources of personal origin, periodicals.

Particular attention is drawn to the act documents, a fairly large group, which includes decrees, regulations, resolutions contained in the Collection of Laws and Orders of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the USSR (1–7), in particular the Decree on the Separation of Church and State of January 22, 1919 (*Sobranie*, 1919), the Constitutions of the USSR of 1919, 1929 (*Zbirnyk zakoniv*, 1929; *Sobranie*, 1919), and the Constitution of the USSR of 1937 (*Zbirnyk zakoniv*, 1937), resolutions of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC on the suffrage of citizens and the procedure of elections of

September 10, 1924 (*Sobranie*, 1924) and November 18, 1925 (*Sobranie*, 1925), instructions on elections to councils and congresses of councils of the USSR of October 13, 1934 (*Zbirnyk zakoniv*, 1934), which contain information about the peculiarities of the legal status of the clergy, discrimination against the rights of the clergy during the period under study. For example, the Resolutions of the Central Executive Committee "On Consumer Cooperation" of April 13, 1921 (*Sobranie*, 1921) and the SNC "On the Procedure for Permitting Work to Religious Worship" of March 7, 1921 (*Sobranie*, 1921) allow us to determine the nature of clergy participation in state and public institutions.

Thus, the above group of documents characterizes the legal status of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy, the procedure for depriving these priests of voting rights, the nature of their oppression by the Soviet authorities, reproduces the process of curtailment of their activities.

An important role in the study of this problem is played by collections of documents on Soviet-Vatican relations, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR at various times. These documents reproduce the evolution of state-church relations, the repeated attempts of the Apostolic See to regain its jurisdiction over the territory of the USSR, including the territory of the Soviet Ukraine.

An employee of the Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine N. Rubleva prepared for publication some articles on the situation of the Catholic clergy in the studied period, which were published in different years in the scientific documentary "From the archives of VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB" (Rublova, 1998, 1999, 2000). The author researched a set of documentary materials that had not been published before. For example, for the first time some materials of the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine were included in the scientific circulation, which covers the policy of persecution, pressure from the Soviet authorities on the Catholic clergy, contains numerous facts about criminal cases and lawsuits against the Roman Catholic clergy.

One of the modern collections of documents "The First All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council of the UAOC in 1921" attracts attention (Mykhailichenko, Pyliavyts, & Prelovska, 1999).

The next group of published sources consists of reference materials from party and state bodies. Many such collections reveal this problem in the regional aspect. Among these published materials, the

collection published by researcher S. Zhyliuk "Red Terror against the Clergy and Believers in Eastern Volhynia (Zhytomyr oblast) in the 1920s and 1930s" is important (Zhyliuk, 2003). Information reports of DPU departments, reports of party committees of this collection were used. These documents are important for analyzing the attitude of the Christian clergy to the socio-political events of the interwar period, to determine the importance of the pastoral activity of the clergy, the attitude of the population, to identify the role of the clergy in public life.

The reference documents of the collection "Collectivization and Peasant Resistance in Ukraine (November 1929 – March 1930)", prepared by Vinnytsia researcher V. Vasiliev and Canadian scientist V. Viola (Vasiliev & Viola, 1997), has a high scientific value. Most documents directly cover the process of collectivization, the organized resistance of peasants against the government, but many documents testify to the mass demonstrations of peasants in defense of the Orthodox and Catholic clergy in Podolia. Among the documents of the summary of the authorized district committees of the CP(b)U, information letters of the secretaries of the district, district committees, and other materials that reveal the real role of the clergy in the public life of the population of the region.

It is worth focusing on the archeographic collection "Cherkasy Past", which was published by researcher Yu. Marynovsky (Marynovskiy, 2001). This collection also contains materials on the situation of the Christian clergy. For example, a circular dated August 27, 1921, of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR to all provincial departments of justice and land departments on monastic and other labor cooperatives and collectives makes it possible to determine changes in the legal and material position of the black Orthodox clergy.

Of particular value among the reference are the documents published in the publication "Martyrology of Ukrainian Churches. Ukrainian Orthodox Church" (Charnetskyi, 1987). The documents contained in this collection reveal various aspects of the activities of the Orthodox clergy during this period. For example, the minutes of the meetings of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (VOCR) placed in the collection characterize the relations between the clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the faithful.

Valuable publication about the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church in the USSR, including the Soviet Ukraine, contain documents

from a collection compiled by B. Chaplytsky and I. Osipova "Book of Memory. Martyrologist of the Catholic Church in the USSR" (Chaplytsky & Osipova, 2000).

The source base of this problem is supplemented by published statistical sources – data from the census conducted on December 17, 1926, which contain important and fairly accurate information about the number of Orthodox and Catholic clergy and clergy in different regions of the Soviet Ukraine (*Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya*, 1929; *Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya*, 1930). This information allows to find out the confessional composition of the population; to trace changes in the socio-demographic composition of the population, the dynamics of the number of Orthodox and Roman Catholics in different regions; determine the ratio of rural and urban clergy, compare the average number of members of different parishes in different regions of Ukraine and many other aspects of life and work of Christian clergy in the study period.

An important component of the array of published sources is sources of personal origin, which are represented by autobiographies and questionnaires of priests, diaries, memoirs, personal correspondence of eyewitnesses of those events, including the Bishop of Tiraspol Diocese J. Kessler (Kessler, 1930).

The work of Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church Vasyl Lypkivsky "Renaissance of the Church in Ukraine 1917–1930" attracts attention (*Komunist*, 1921–1940). In it, the Metropolitan considers the pastoral activity of the UAOC clergy, aimed at reviving church life.

V. Potienko, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, left memoirs, in which he described the work of establishing the training of the UAOC clergy and many other issues of church life (Charnetskyi, 1987). For example, the wife of the Kharkiv priest V. Kohn left memoirs, which were published in the collection "Martyrology of Ukrainian Churches. Ukrainian Orthodox Church" (Charnetskyi, 1987). They highlight the true attitude of believers to the clergy, characterize the role of the clergy in public life.

The book "Priest Alexander Glagolev. Kupina neopalimaya" contains memoirs of the granddaughter of the priest of one of the Kyiv churches Oleksandr Glagolev (Glagolev, 2002). The woman emphasizes the legal disenfranchisement of the clergy, the material exile of its representatives.

It is worth noting that the vast majority of sources of personal origin, covering the life of the Roman Catholic clergy, in contrast to similar sources on the history of the Orthodox faith, are unprocessed and difficult to study. Among the published sources it is worth noting the work of the Bishop of Tiraspol J. Kessler "Geschichte der Dioezese Tiraspol" (Kessler, 1930).

Of particular importance are memoirs, which highlight the attitude of ordinary citizens to Christian churches and priests, events in church life, memories of the destruction of Orthodox churches, repression against the clergy and believers, the situation of churches and parishioners during the Holodomor of 1921–1922 and 1932–1933 (Boiko & Plokhii, 2005). Memoirs of peasants help to determine the degree of influence of the clergy on the general life of the village in the 1920s (Boiko & Plokhii, 2005). These documents are contained in the collections of documents.

A specific group of published sources is the periodicals of the time. During the interwar period, many anti-religious publications contained columns in many newspapers and magazines at various levels. As a rule, the secular Soviet press of the period under study first of all makes it possible to assess the enormous scale of atheistic propaganda by the Soviet authorities, ideological and psychological pressure on Christian priests, their families and believers, outright discrimination against the clergy, and discrediting the church itself.

Articles of anti-church content were systematically published in the newspapers of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U – "Soviet Thought" (Kyiv) (*Radianska Dumka*, 1927), "Communist" (Kyiv) (*Kommunist*, 1921–1940). Systematic anti-religious propaganda was carried out by the newspaper of the highest authority of the USSR – "Visti VUTSVK" (*Visti VUTsVK*, 1921–1939). Special atheistic publications were published – the magazine "Bezvirnyk", the newspaper "Bezbozhnyk" (*Bezbozhnyk*, 1937–1940; *Bezvirnyk*, 1925–1935). These publications had openly anti-religious articles, as well as publications by theorists of scientific atheism.

Many anti-clerical articles were published on the pages of regional party and Soviet periodicals – "Red Zaporizhzhia" (*Chervone Zaporizhzhia*, 1923–1929), "Red Nikolaev" (*Chervonyi Mykolaiv*, 1921–1929), and others.



Thus, the Soviet government carried out the process of separation of church and state, and the state press of the interwar period, respectively, in the church issue instead of peaceful coexistence with church institutions, the position of a neutral observer of the state course pursued a policy of confrontation.

A valuable source is the church periodicals of the 1920s, in particular the UAOC's printed organ, *The Church and Life* (*Tserkva y zhyttia*, 1928). The publications cover the events of the current church life, the work of the VPTSR meeting, which allows determining the degree of influence of the autocephalous clergy in parish life, the content of cultural activities of the clergy, the level of national consciousness of the cult.

The printed organ of the Synodal Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Evangelist, attracts attention (*Ukrainskyi Pravoslavnyi Blahovisnyk*, 1925–1926). The publications of this publication provide an opportunity to analyze the educational level of the clergy, the cultural activities of the synodal clergy, and many other issues.

The representativeness of the source base on this problem is provided by a set of unpublished materials – archival documents of the central and regional state archives of Ukraine, in particular the Central State Archive of Supreme Authorities of Ukraine (TsDAVO Ukrainy), the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (TsDAHO Ukrainy) and state regional archives of Ukraine. Documents of the following regional archives (mainly of the southern region) – the State archive of the Kherson oblast (DAKhO), the State archive of the Zaporizhzhia oblast (DAZO), the State archive of the Mykolaiv oblast (DAMO), the State archive of the Odesa oblast (DAOO) and the State archive of the Kharkiv oblast were processed. It should be noted that many documents on this issue are stored in other state regional archives of Ukraine.

The researched archival sources are mainly legislative and administrative documents of state and local authorities, religious associations, etc. Many such documents are stored in the funds of the Central Executive Committee of Ukraine: "All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 1), "Council of People's Commissars of the USSR" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 2), "People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 5), "People's Commissariat of Justice" USSR" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 8).

Materials of the fund "All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 1) are minutes of meetings, resolutions;

analytical articles and reports on the socio-political situation in the regions of Ukraine after the establishment of Soviet power; correspondence to clarify legal issues related to the separation of church and state; reports on the activities of local Soviet authorities; appeals by representatives of religious communities with complaints and requests regarding discrimination of their rights (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 1).

An important source on the history of Roman Catholic communities in Ukraine is the correspondence of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee with the administrative departments of district executive committees on registration, registration of religious communities, believers, closing of churches, and houses of worship, complaints of believers about local government actions. These documents reproduce the picture of state-church relations in the USSR, allow us to trace the process of interaction between central and local authorities in the implementation of anti-religious policy, to clarify the attitude of the Soviet government to the RCC and its believers compared to other denominations.

Materials of the fund "Council of People's Commissars of the USSR" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 2) provide an opportunity to clarify the legal status of ministers of worship, manifestations of restrictions on political, civil, and social rights of this category of the population (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 2).

Some important facts are contained in the cases of the fund of the "People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR" (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 5) for 1923–1930. The fund consists of act materials characterizing the course of anti-church policy of the authorities during the 1920s (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 5). The scientific value is represented by materials on the work of the liquidation department (since 1924 – the department of cults at the NKVD) and its vertical on the ground, reports on religious and anti-religious movements, the number and composition of the clergy and the faithful.

The documents of the fund of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 8), which contain materials on the organizational structure of Christian churches in the 1920s and 1930s, are of important informational value. and the reaction to these changes in government structures (TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 8). The documents reveal the role of the state during the mass closure of churches, characterize the

foreign policy levers that influenced the anti-religious campaign in the period under study.

Sources of public origin are of great informational value, in particular the documents of the Communist Party, concentrated in the funds of the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (TsDAHO Ukrainy) and state regional archives. These sources are crucial for understanding the scale, nature, and depth of the party's intervention in the church processes of Ukraine in the interwar period. For example, the documents of the fund of the "Central Committee of the CPU" (TsDAHO Ukrainy, F. 1) reveal the content, forms, and methods of the religious policy of the ruling party, confirm the existence of a consistent and dynamic anti-church line of higher authorities (TsDAHO Ukrainy, F. 1). At the same time, these documents highlight the internal contradictions of the government's religious policy, changes in its levers depending on the foreign policy situation in the period under study.

Materials of local authorities and administration, concentrated in the regional archives of Ukraine, are a significant addition to the group of state documentary sources. In particular, the following materials of the State Archives of Kherson oblast – "Kherson District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAKhO, F. R-2), "Administrative Department of the District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies of Kherson district" (DAKhO, F. R-455) and "Kherson department of the executive committee of county councils of workers', peasants' and Red Army deputies" (DAKhO, F. R-1887).

Factually valuable are the documents of the Odessa oblast, stored in the state archives of this region – "Odessa Provincial Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAOO, F. R-99), "Odessa District Department of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Council, peasant and Red Army deputies" (DAOO, F. R-3865).

Materials of the Mykolaiv oblast are noteworthy – "Administrative department of the Nikolaev district executive committee of Council of workers, peasant and Red Army deputies" (DAMO, F. R-118) and "Nikolaev district executive committee of Council of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies" (DAMO, F. R-161).

Documents of the regional archive of the Zaporizhzhia oblast were examined – "Administrative Department of the Zaporizhzhia Dis-

trict Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAZO, F. 316), "Luxembourg District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAZO, F. 1212), "Melitopol District State Bureau under the District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAZO, F. 3756), "Fund of Suspended Cases" (DAZO, F. 5747).

The documents of the Kharkiv oblast attract attention – "Kharkiv District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies" (DAKhrO, F. R-845).

Among the researched archival materials there is a lot of reference documentation of local party organizations. Among them are reported on the progress of anti-religious activities in some districts of Ukraine, which reveal the strength of the physical pressure of the authorities on priests. The materials involved help to clarify the role of the clergy in shaping public opinion, the attitude of the clergy to the Soviet government, and socio-economic campaigns.

A separate group of important archival materials consists of church sources that determine the socio-political position of Christian churches, the institutional status of church structures, the legal status of religious communities. Constituent and statutory documents, minutes of meetings, reporting documentation of parishes, business correspondence of clergy are representative. A significant array of these documents as part of the records of state and local administrative structures and is reflected in the archives of the above VUTSVK, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR, the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR and others.

These documents reproduce the structural organization of the church, the interaction between its central and local structural units, reveals the most important issues of development and life of Christian parishes, reflect the reaction of believers to the restriction of their religious rights; study the social activities of Christian churches.

The Soviet government closely monitored the activities of each religious community, so each community systematically reported on its activities. This group of documents (questionnaires of religious communities, reports and minutes of meetings, estimates, lists of parishioners, statements and complaints of communities to administrative depart-

ments, etc.) allows to study the socio-demographic composition of the clergy and worshippers, to clarify the role of priests in parish life to the Christian clergy.

The registration cards of clergymen trace the way of priests' life, their social and property status, level of education, etc. The materials of church origin include reports of parish priests, reports of bishops and spiritual boards, correspondence of clergy, which contain a lot of interesting and important information on this issue.

We draw your attention to the fact that in the conditions of the mass closure of churches and the cessation of religious institutions during the 1920s and 1930s, a huge number of church archives were lost; a lot of church materials were lost during the Second World War, during the nazi occupation regime.

Among the archival materials, there are many statistical sources on the researched issues, which are presented by information and tables compiled by the church and secular authorities, which contain information about the number of religious communities, church buildings, clergy, and believers of the RCC. These materials allow us to trace the dynamics of the number of religious communities in the study period, to analyze the property and social composition of their members.

The factual value is represented by the materials of the provincial and district statistical bureaus, which add an idea of the confessional situation in the districts (DAZO, F. 316, op. 3). Local commissions for national minorities also periodically researched the ethnic-confessional composition of their regions (DAZO, F. 316, op. 3). These documents are important primarily for clarifying the number of Christian communities in certain regions of the Soviet Ukraine.

Archival and investigative cases of repressed clergy and believers significantly supplement the source base of this problem. Search reports, arrest warrants, questionnaires, interrogation reports, convictions, and extracts cover the fate of many Roman Catholic and Orthodox priests and ordinary believers who suffered from persecution by the Soviets. These documents provide an opportunity to study the ethnic composition, social origin, professional affiliation, age, educational level of those arrested, which is important to determine the social composition of the Christian clergy in the study period.

Of great scientific value are the court cases of the 1930s against the Roman Catholic clergy and believers, fabricated for crimes against

the collective farm system, receiving foreign aid during the famine of 1932–1933, espionage in favour of foreign states, and anti-Soviet agitation, as their materials reveal the real the causes of repression against the clergy and the faithful. The value of these materials is that they help to understand the consequences of the anti-religious policy of the Soviet government, to understand the scale of human, material, and spiritual losses suffered by the Roman Catholic Church.

Noteworthy are theses, directives, reviews, reports of local party bodies on the situation of religious organizations and anti-church propaganda among ethnic groups, materials on the activities of the administrative bodies of the USSR to conduct religious policy on the ground.

Secret correspondence of district party committees allows reconstructing the directions of work of state and party bodies on anti-religious propaganda, the introduction of forms of ideological dictate in social, cultural-educational, the economic life of the population in the southern Ukraine and, especially, to reveal the whole arsenal of discriminatory methods, including economic terror and political clergy and believers.

The materials of the former party archives stored in the state regional archives significantly expand the idea of the implementation of anti-religious policy and methods of gradual ousting of Christian churches from the public life of the population of Ukraine. For example, the documents of the P-3 Fund "Odesa Provincial Committee of the CP(b)U" of the State Archives of the Odesa region (DAOO, F. P-3), the P-1 Fund "Mykolayiv District Committee of the CP(b)U" of the State Archives of the Mykolaiv oblast were studied (DAMO, F. P-1).

**Conclusions.** Thus, it should be noted that there are significant types of written (published and unpublished) sources of printed and handwritten nature, generally sufficient to determine the position of the Christian clergy in Soviet Ukraine during the 1920s and 1930s. These are normative (act) documents, references, statistical sources, sources of personal origin, periodicals. Many of these materials are contained in collections of documents, scientific papers or stored in the state archives of Ukraine. Documentary complexes of library institutions, archives of museum institutions require careful research.

## Джерела та література

- Безбожник: орган Центральної Ради Спілки воєвничих безбожників України.* (1937–1940). Київ.
- Безвірник: антирелігійний місячник ЦК КП(б)У та Головоплітпросвіти УРСР.* (1925–1935). Харків.
- Бойко, А., & Плохій, С.** (Упоряд.). (2005). *Мемуари та щоденники. Ч. 1: Джерела з історії України* (Т. 5 (1), с. 245). Запоріжжя.
- Васильєв, В., & Віола, Л.** (1997). *Колективізація і селянський опір на Україні (листопад 1929 – березень 1930 рр.)*. Вінниця: ЛОГОС.
- Вісті ВУЦВК: орган Ради депутатів трудящих УРСР.* (1921–1939). Харків; Київ.
- Всесоюзная перепись населения 1926 г.* (1929). (Т. XIII). Москва: ЦСУ СССР.
- Всесоюзная перепись населения 1926 г. УССР. Степной подрайон. Днепронетровский подрайон. Горнопромышленный подрайон. Занятия.* (1930). (Т. XXX). Москва: Издательство ЦСУ Союза ССР.
- Глаголев, А., священник.** *Кутина неопалимая.* (2002). А. Тригуб (Ред.). Київ: Дух і літера.
- ДАЗО – Державний архів Запорізької області. Ф. 316. Адміністративний відділ Запорізького окружного виконавчого комітету Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. 1212. Люксембурзький районний виконавчий комітет Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. 3756. Мелітопольське Окрстатбюро при окружному виконавчому комітеті Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. 5747. Фонд припинених справ.
- ДАМО – Державний архів Миколаївської області. Ф. Р-118. Адміністративний відділ Миколаївського окружного виконавчого комітету Ради робітничих, селянських і червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. Р-161. Миколаївський окружний виконавчий комітет Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. П-1. Миколаївський окружний комітет КП(б)У.
- ДАОО – Державний архів Одеської області. Ф. Р-99. Одеський губернський виконавчий комітет Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів»; Ф. Р-3865. Одеський окружний відділ виконавчого комітету Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. П-3. Одеський губернський комітет КП(б)У.
- ДАХрО – Державний архів Харківської області. Ф. Р-845. Харківський окружний виконавчий комітет Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів.

- ДАХО – Державний архів Херсонської області. Ф. Р-2. Херсонський окружний виконавчий комітет Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів; Ф. Р-455. Адміністративний відділ окружного виконавчого комітету Ради робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів Херсонського округу; Ф. Р-1887. Херсонський відділ виконавчого комітету повітових рад робітничих, селянських та червоноармійських депутатів.
- Жилюк, С.І.** (Упоряд.). (2003). *Червоний терор проти духовенства і віруючих на Східній Волині (Житомирщина) у 20–30-х роках ХХ ст.: архівні документи та матеріали*. Рівне: Волинські обереги.
- Збірник законів і розпоряджень робітничо-селянського уряду УРСР*. (1937). (№ 30).
- Збірник законів і розпоряджень робітничо-селянського уряду УСРР*. (1929). (№ 14).
- Збірник законів і розпоряджень робітничо-селянського уряду УСРР*. (1934). (№ 30).
- Комуніст: орган ЦК КП(б)У*. (1921–1940). Харків, Київ.
- Липківський, В.** (1959). *Відродження церкви в Україні 1917–1930*. Торонто: Українське видавництво «Добра книжка».
- Маринівський, Ю.Ю.** (2001). *Черкаська минушина: документи і матеріали з історії Черкащини*. Черкаси: Відлуння-Плюс.
- Михайліченко, Г., Пилявиць, Л., Преловська, І.** (Упоряд.). (1999). *Перший Всеукраїнський Православний Церковний Собор УАПЦ 14–30 жовтня 1921 року: документи і матеріали*. Київ–Львів: Жовква.
- Радянська Думка: орган Шевченківського окружного виконавчого комітету, окружного комітету КП(б)У*. (1927).
- Рубльова, Н.** (1998). Невідома ділянка «Антирелігійного фронту»: Боротьба владних структур УСРР проти Римсько-католицької церкви, 1920-ті роки. *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*, 1/2, 228–243.
- Рубльова, Н.** (1999). Антикостьольна кампанія в УСРР: причини, інструментарій, перебіг (кінець 20-х – 30-ті рр.). *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*, 1, 388–404.
- Рубльова, Н.** (2000). Ліквідація в Україні Римо-католицької церкви (кінець 1917–1937 рр.). *З архівів ВУЧК-ГПУ-НКВД-КГБ*, 2/4, 311–330.
- Собрание узаконений и распоряжений рабоче-крестьянского правительства Украины*. (1919). (№ 3).
- Собрание узаконений и распоряжений рабоче-крестьянского правительства Украины*. (1921). (№ 6).
- Собрание узаконений и распоряжений рабоче-крестьянского правительства Украины*. (1924). (№ 34).



- Собрание узаконений и распоряжений рабоче-крестьянского правительства Украины.* (1925). (№ 97).
- Український Православний Благовісник.* (1925–1926).
- ЦДАВО України – Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади і управління України. Ф. 1. Всеукраїнський Центральний Виконавчий комітет; Ф. 2. Рада народних комісарів УСРР; Ф. 5. Народний комісаріат внутрішніх справ УСРР; Ф. 8. Народний комісаріат юстиції УСРР.
- ЦДАГО України – Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України. Ф. 1. Центральний комітет КПУ.
- Церква й життя: орган УАПЦ.* (1928). (Ч. 1 (6); Ч. 2 (7)).
- Чаплицкий, Б., & Осипова, И.** (Ред.). (2000). *Книга Памяти. Мученики Католической церкви в СССР.* Москва: Серебряные нити.
- Чарнецький, С.** (Упоряд.). (1987). *Мартирологія Українських церков. Т. 1: Українська православна церква: документи, матеріали, християнський самвидав України.* Торонто; Балтимор: Українське Видавництво «Смолоסקип» ім. В. Симоненка.
- Червоне Запоріжжя: орган Запорізького окружного виконавчого комітету та окружного комітету КП(б)У.* (1923–1929). Запоріжжя.
- Червоний Миколаїв: орган окружного комітету КП(б)У, окружного виконавчого комітету та окружного профбюро.* (1921–1929). Миколаїв.
- Kessler, J.A.** (1930). *Geschichte der Diözese Tiraspol.* North Dakota.

### References

- Bezbozhnyk: orhan Tsentralnoi Rady Spilky voiovnychkh bezbozhnykiv Ukrainy* [Body of the Central Council of the Union of Militant Atheists of Ukraine]. (1937–1940). Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Bezvirnyk: antyrelihiyni misiachnyk TsK KP(b)U ta Holovpolitprosvity URSSR* [Anti-religious monthly of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and the Main Political Education of the USSR]. (1925–1935). Kharkiv [in Ukrainian].
- Boiko, A., & Plokhii, S.** (Comps.). (2005). *Memuary ta shchodennyky. Ch. 1. Dzherela z istorii Ukrainy* [Memoirs and diaries. Part 1. Sources on the history of Ukraine]. (Vol. 5 (1), p. 245). Zaporizhzhia [in Ukrainian].
- Vasiliev, V., & Viola, L.** (1997). *Kolektyvizatsiia i selianskyi opir na Ukraini (lystopad 1929 – berezen 1930 rr.)* [Collectivization and peasant resistance in Ukraine (November 1929 – March 1930)]. Vinnytsia: LOHOS [in Ukrainian].

- Visti VUTsVK: orhan Rady deputativ trudiashchyykh URSR [Body of the Council of Workers' Deputies of the USSR].* (1921–1939). Kharkiv; Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
- Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1926 g. [All-Union Census of 1926].* (1929). (Vol. XIII). Moscow: TsSU SSSR [in Russian].
- Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1926 g. USSR. Stepnoy podrayon. Dnepropetrovskiy podrayon. Gornopromyshlennyy podrayon. Zanyatiya [All-Union Census of 1926. USSR. Steppe subdistrict. Dnepropetrovsk subdistrict. Mining subregion. Classes].* (1930). (Vol. XXX). Moscow: Izdatelstvo TSSU Soyuza SSR [in Russian].
- Glagolev, A., svyashchennik.** (2002). *Kupina neopalimaya [Burning bush].* A. Trigub (Ed.). Kyiv: Dukh i litera [in Russian].
- DAZO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zaporizkoi oblasti. F. 316. Administratyvnyi viddil Zaporizkoho okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. 1212. Liukseburzkyi raionnyi vykonavchyi komitet Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. 3756. Melitopolske Okrstatbiuro pry okruzhnomu vykonavchomu komiteti Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. 846. Fond pryypnyenykh sprav [State Archives of Zaporozhye region. F. 316. Administrative Department of the Zaporizhia District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. 1212. Luxembourg District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. 3756. Melitopol Regional Bureau under the District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. 846. Terminated Cases Fund] [in Ukrainian].
- DAMO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mykolaivskoi oblasti. F. R-118. Administratyvnyi viddil Mykolaivskoho okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh i chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. R-161. Mykolaivskiy okruzhnyi vykonavchyi komitet Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. P-1. Nikolaivskiy okruzhnyi komitet KP(b)U [State archive of the Nikolaev region; F. R-118. Administrative department of the Nikolaev district executive committee of Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army deputies; F. R-161. Mykolayiv District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. P-1. The Nikolaev district committee of KP(b)U] [in Ukrainian].
- DAOO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti. F. R-99. Odeskyi hubernskiy vykonavchyi komitet Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh deputativ; F. R-3865. Odeskyi okruzhnyi viddil vykonavchoho komitetu Rady robitnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskykh depu-

- tativ; F. P-3. Odeskyi hubernskyi komitet KP(b)U [State Archives of Odessa region. F. R-99. Odessa Provincial Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. R-3865. Odessa District Department of the Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. P-3. Odessa Provincial Committee of the CP(b)] [in Ukrainian].
- DAKhrO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kharkivskoi oblasti. F. R-845. Kharkivskyi okruzhnyi vykonavchyi komitet Rady robotnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskyykh deputativ [State Archives of Kharkiv region. F. R-845. Kharkiv District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies] [in Ukrainian].
- DAKhO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khersonskoi oblasti. F. R-2. Khersonskyi okruzhnyi vykonavchyi komitet Rady robotnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskyykh deputativ; F. R-455. Administratyvnyi viddil okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu Rady robotnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskyykh deputativ Khersonskoho okruhu; F. R-1887. Khersonskyi viddil vykonavchoho komitetu povitovykh rad robotnychykh, selianskykh ta chervonoarmiiskyykh deputativ [State Archives of Kherson region. F. R-2. Kherson District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies; F. R-455. Administrative Department of the District Executive Committee of the Council of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies of the Kherson District; F. R-1887. Kherson branch of the executive committee of county councils of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army deputies] [in Ukrainian].
- Zhyliuk, S.I.** (Comp.). (2003). *Chervonyi teror proty dukhovenstva i viruiichykh na Skhidnii Volyni (Zhytomyrshchyna) u 20–30-kh rokakh XX st.: arkhivni dokumenty ta materialy [Red terror against the clergy and believers in Eastern Volhynia (Zhytomyr region) in the 1920s and 1930s: archival documents and materials]*. Rivne: Volynski oberehy [in Ukrainian].
- Zbirnyk zakoniv i rozporiadzhen robotnycho-selianskoho uriadu USRR [Collection of laws and orders of the workers' and peasants' government of the USSR]. (1937). (№ 30) [in Ukrainian].*
- Zbirnyk zakoniv i rozporiadzhen robotnycho-selianskoho uriadu USRR [Collection of laws and orders of the workers' and peasants' government of the USSR]. (1929). (№ 14) [in Ukrainian].*
- Zbirnyk zakoniv i rozporiadzhen robotnycho-selianskoho uriadu USRR [Collection of laws and orders of the workers' and peasants' government of the USSR]. (1934). (№ 30) [in Ukrainian].*
- Komunist: orhan TsK KP(b)U [Body of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U]. (1921–1940). Kharkiv, Kyiv [in Ukrainian].*

- Lypkivskiy, V.** (1959). *Vidrodzhennia tserkvy v Ukraini 1917–1930 [Revival of the church in Ukraine 1917–1930]*. Toronto: Ukrainske vydavnytstvo «Dobra knyzhka» [in Ukrainian].
- Marynovskiy, Yu.Yu.** (2001). *Cherkaska mynuvshyna: dokumenty i materialy z istorii Cherkashchyny [Cherkasy past. Documents and materials on the history of Cherkasy region]*. Cherkasy: Vidlunnia-Plus [in Ukrainian].
- Mykhailichenko, H., Pyliavys, L., & Prelovska, I.** (Comps.). (1999). *Pershyy Vseukrainskyi Pravoslavnyi Tserkovnyi Sobor UAPTs 14–30 zhovtnia 1921 roku: dokumenty i materialy [The First All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church October 14–30, 1921: documents and materials]*. Kyiv–Lviv [in Ukrainian].
- Radianska Dumka: orhan Shevchenkivskoho okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu, okruzhnoho komitetu KP(b)U [Body of the Shevchenkivsky District Executive Committee, District Committee of the CP(B)U]*. (1927). [in Ukrainian].
- Rublova, N.** (1998). Nevidoma dilianka «Antyrelihiinoho frontu»: Borotba vladnykh struktur USRR proty Rymsko-katolytskoi tserkvy, 1920-ti roky [Unknown section of the Anti-Religious Front: The Struggle of the USSR's Power Structures against the Roman Catholic Church, 1920s]. *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB – From the archives of VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1/2, 228–243 [in Ukrainian].
- Rublova, N.** (1999). Antykostolna kampaniia v USRR: prychny, instrumentarii, perebih (kinets 20-kh – 30-ti rr.) [Anti-church campaign in the USSR: causes, tools, course (late 20's – 30's)]. *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB – From the archives of VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1, 388–404 [in Ukrainian].
- Rublova, N.** (2000). Likvidatsiia v Ukraini Rymo-katolytskoi tserkvy (kinets 1917–1937 rr.) [Liquidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine (end of 1917–1937)]. *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB – From the archives of VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 2/4, 311–330 [in Ukrainian].
- Sobranie zakonenyi i rasporyazheniy roboche-krestyanskogo pravitelstva Ukrainy [Collection of legalizations and orders of the robo-peasant government of Ukraine]*. (1919). (№ 3) [in Russian].
- Sobranie zakonenyi i rasporyazheniy roboche-krestyanskogo pravitelstva Ukrainy [Collection of legalizations and orders of the robo-peasant government of Ukraine]*. (1921). (№ 6) [in Russian].
- Sobranie zakonenyi i rasporyazheniy roboche-krestyanskogo pravitelstva Ukrainy [Collection of legalizations and orders of the robo-peasant government of Ukraine]*. (1924). (№ 34) [in Russian].

- Sobranie uzakoneniy i rasporyazheniy roboche-krestyanskogo pravitelstva Ukrainy [Collection of legalizations and orders of the robo-peasant government of Ukraine].* (1925). (№ 97) [in Russian].
- Ukrainskyi Pravoslavnyi Blahovisnyk [Ukrainian Orthodox Evangelist].* (1925–1926). [in Ukrainian].
- TsDAVO Ukrainy – Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady i upravlinnia Ukrainy. F. 1. Vseukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Vykonavchyi komitet; F. 2. Rada narodnykh komisariv USRR; F. 5. Narodnyi komisariat vnutrishnikh sprav USRR; F. 8. Narodnyi komisariat yustytzii USRR [Central State Archive of the highest authorities and administration of Ukraine. F. 1. All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee; F. 2. Council of People's Commissars of the USSR; F. 5. People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR; F. 8. People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR] [in Ukrainian].
- TsDAHO Ukrainy – Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh obiednan Ukrainy. F. 1. Tsentralnyi komitet KPU [Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine. F. 1. Central Committee of the CPU] [in Ukrainian].
- Tserkva y zhyttia: orhan UAPTs [Church and life: UAOC branch].* (1928). (Issue 1 (6); Issue 2 (7)) [in Ukrainian].
- Chaplitskiy, B., & Osipova, I.** (Eds.). (2000). *Kniga Pamyati. Martirolog Katolicheskoy tserkvi v SSSR [Book of Memory. Martyrologist of the Catholic Church in the USSR].* Moscow: Serebryanye niti [in Russian].
- Charnetskyi, S.** (Comp.). (1987). *Martyrolohiia Ukrainskykh tserkov. T. 1: Ukrainska pravoslavna tserkva: dokumenty, materialy, khrystyianskyi samvydav Ukrainy [Martyrology of Ukrainian churches. Vol. 1: Ukrainian Orthodox Church: Documents, materials, Christian samizdat of Ukraine].* Toronto; Baltymor: Ukrainske Vydavnytstvo «Smoloskyp» im. V. Symonenka [in Ukrainian].
- Chervone Zaporizhzhia: orhan Zaporizkoho okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu ta okruzhnoho komitetu KP(b)U [Body of the Zaporizhia District Executive Committee and the District Committee of the CP(B)U].* (1923–1929). Zaporizhzhia [in Ukrainian].
- Chervonyi Mykolaiv: orhan okruzhnoho komitetu KP(b)U, okruzhnoho vykonavchoho komitetu ta okruzhnoho profbiuro [Body of the district committee of the CP(b)U, the district executive committee and the district trade union bureau].* (1921–1929). Mykolaiv [in Ukrainian].
- Kessler, J.A.** (1930). *Geschichte der Diezese Tiraspol.* North Dakota.

Стаття надійшла до редакції 03.09.2021 р.  
Стаття рекомендована до друку 14.10.2021 р.