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Ethnic and cultural life, spirituality and worldview peasantry

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CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE VILLAGES OF ZOLOTONOSHA DISTRICT, POLTAVA REGION IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Abstract. *The purpose of the article: on the basis of archival sources and old prints, to analyze the main features of church-religious relations in the villages of Zolotonosha district, represented by the Orthodox denomination.*

Scientific novelty consists in the introduction into scientific circulation of hitherto unknown archival sources, generalizing statistical calculations, personification of events and the presence of author's interpretive constructions.

Conclusions. *It was established that the ecclesiastical and religious life of the Zolotonosha District in the 19th century began. 20th century was marked by great versatility. At this time, there was an increase in the number of church parishes, as well as significant temple construction. The church in the village remained the leading center of social, spiritual and public life, accompanying almost all significant events of the life of the peasantry, taking care of their moral upbringing and education. The central figure of the church clergy were clergymen who had different levels of wealth and merit before the church and were distinguished by status isolation.*

Despite the predominance of typical features of church and religious life inherent in the settlements of the Russian Empire, certain regional specificity of this important sphere of social life can be traced in the county, which is confirmed by the convincing facts presented in the article. The proposed exploration is far from exhausting the epistemological potential of this topical and at the same time controversial topic.

Key words: church-religious relations, Orthodoxy, church, clergy, priest, village, peasant, church-parish school, school of literacy, monastery.

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ЦЕРКОВНО-РЕЛІГІЙНЕ ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ СЕЛЯН ЗОЛОТОНІСЬКОГО ПОВІТУ ПОЛТАВСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.

Анотація. Мета статті: на основі архівних джерел та стародруків проаналізувати основні риси церковно-релігійного повсякдення у селах Золотоніського повіту, репрезентованих православною конфесією.

Наукова новизна полягає в введенні до наукового обігу досі невідомих архівних джерел, проведенні узагальнювальних статистичних підрахунків, персоніфікації подій та наявності авторських інтерпретаційних побудов.

Висновки. Встановлено, що церковно-релігійне життя Золотоніського повіту ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст. відзначалося великою багатогранністю. На цей час припадає як збільшення кількості церковних парафій, так і значне храмове будівництво. Церква на селі залишалася провідним центром суспільного, духовного й громадського життя, супроводжуючи практично всі знакові події життя селянства, опікуючись питаннями їхнього морального виховання та освіти. Центральною постаттю церковного кліру були священнослужителі, які мали різний рівень достатку та заслуг перед церквою й відзначалися становою замкнутістю. Попри переважання типових рис церковно-релігійного життя, притаманних поселенням Російської імперії, в повіті простежується й певна регіональна специфіка цієї важливої сфери суспільного життя, що підтверджується наведеними у статті переконливими фактами. Запропонована розвідка далеко не вичерпує етносоціологічного потенціалу цієї актуальної й водночас контроверсійної теми.

Ключові слова: церковно-релігійні відносини, православ'я, церква, клір, священник, село, селянин, церковно-парафіальна школа, школа грамоти, монастир.

Problem statement. The problem of church-religious relations has always been at the epicenter of worldview and ideological confrontations. Its relevance is growing immeasurably at the present stage, when Ukraine is defending its independence in the war against Russian aggressors. This area of society is complicated by Ukraine's significant multi-confessionalism and the sharp confrontation among Orthodox believers. The aggressor country has its confessional representative in Ukraine in the person of the UOC (hereinafter Ukrainian Orthodox Church), (Moscow Patriarchate), which is strongly opposing the establishment of a single local Ukrainian church under the auspices of the OCU. Therefore, it is of considerable scientific relevance to study the historical experience and find answers to the peculiarities of modern confessional relations to turn to the analysis of church and religious life in the Ukrainian village of the last and early last centuries. The particular importance is the study of this issue at the regional level, as it allows us to specify general trends and highlight specific features of church life on this ground.

Research analysis. In the context of their research, some domestic scholars have considered this topic on a fragmentary or tangential

level. In particular, M. Verhovska showed the place of the rural parish clergy in the socio-cultural space¹; Y. Prisyazhniuk revealed the historical and important factors in the formation of the religious ideal of the Ukrainian peasantry². N. Popova made an attempt to link the development of the Orthodox Church with the process of Ukrainian nation-building³, I. Rudakova identified the vectors of the ideological crisis of Orthodoxy⁴, and O. Drach and I. Petrenko devoted their research to the analysis of the functioning of parish schools^{5,6}. Some issues of this topic were also covered in their local history publications by the authors of the proposed study⁷. However, the current state of scientific study of the problem still leaves a significant epistemological field, especially in the context of regional history.

Referring to the abovementioned, the **purpose** of this article is to analyze the main features of church-religious relations in the villages of Zolotonosha district of Poltava region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the basis of archival sources and old-times printed materials. The authors take into account the fact that this sphere of rural everyday life is represented by one Orthodox denomination.

1 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини ХVІІІ – поч. ХХ ст. *Історія релігій в Україні*. Ч. 1. Церковна історія. Львів, 2016

2 Присяжнюк Ю. Історико-ментальні чинники формування релігійного ідеалу українського селянства Наддніпрянської України в середині – другій половині ХІХ ст. *Православ'я – наука – суспільство: проблеми взаємодії: матер. Другої Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конф.* Черкаси, 2004.

3 Попова Н. Православна церква та процес українського націотворення в третій чверті ХІХ ст. *Православ'я – наука – суспільство: проблеми взаємодії: матер. Другої Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конф.* Черкаси, 2004.

4 Рудакова І. Ідейна криза православ'я як один із чинників становлення поліконфесійності в українському селі (сер. ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст.). *Український селянин*. Черкаси, 2000. Вип. 1.

5 Драч О. Православна церква і організація шкільної справи в Україні (друга половина ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст.). *Православ'я – наука – суспільство: проблеми взаємодії: матер. Другої Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конф.* Черкаси, 2004. С. 149–151.

6 Петренко І. Церковнопарафіальні школи Лівобережної України в системі освітньої політики уряду Російської імперії (1884 – 1917). *Полтава: В-во ПУСКУ*, 2008.

7 Голиш Г. Подорож Златокараєм. Нарис історії Золотоніщини та її поселень від давнини до сьогодення: 2-ге вид. випр. і доп. Черкаси: Вертикаль, 2018. 80 с.; Голиш Г., Лисиця Л., Воропай Л. Село Деньги в українській історії від давнини до сьогодення: люди і події. – Черкаси: Вертикаль, 2022. 328 с.

The statement of the basic material. Religiosity and piety became almost the most important feature of the lifestyle and mentality of Ukrainian peasants. When waking up, going to bed, starting a meal, or taking on any work, even a trivial one, peasants would say a prayer or simply ask for God's blessing.

Almost all villagers became parishioners of local churches from birth. On the Left Bank, there was a predominance of Cossack representatives among the parishioners. For example, according to the clerical records of 1836, 1723 parishioners confessed in the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Denhi, 1170 of which were Cossacks (67.9%). The rest of the parishioners were represented by three nobles, six townspeople, 30 military, 11 state executives, and 299 dependent peasants⁸. However, in some villages, where different categories of peasants prevailed in the social composition of the local population, an opposite situation was observed (for example, in the village of Voznesenske, where, according to the 1910 population census, 273 of 283 households were peasant households, in the village of Vilkyh, 144 and 128 respectively)⁹.

The hallmark of every left-bank Ukrainian village was the Orthodox church. There were two or three churches in large ones. In total, there were 110 Orthodox churches in Zolotonosha district at the beginning of the twentieth century (including those attached to the main churches). Local parishes were organized into eight deanery districts¹⁰.

The churches were named after saints or mirrored significant events in Christian history in their names. For example, the following Orthodox churches are recorded in the county's clerical books: Holy Trinity (Helmiyaziv, Kovrai, Drabivtsi, Pishchane), Church of Resurrection (Pishchane), Paraskeviivska (Antypivka), Sretenska (Bohuslavets, Skorodystyk), Uspenska (Bohushkova Slobidka, Veremiivka, Irkliy), Ioano-Bohoslovska (Krupske), Varvarynska (Chornobai), Pokrovska (Bilousivka, Kalenyky, Kovtuny, Chekhivka), Mykolaivska (Bubnivska Slobidka, Helmyaziv, Irkliy), Archistratigos-Mykhailivska (Denhi, Drabiv, Korobivka, Senkivtsi, Mytsalivka), Staro-Uspenska, Novo-Uspenska (Kropyvna), Illinska (Vilkyh, Klishchyntsi, Prokhorivka), Voznesenska (Bo-

hdany, Voznesenske), Preobrezhenska (Bubniv, Veremiivka, Pleshkani), Savvinska (Shabelnyky), Petro-Pavlivska (Bohodukhivka, Boykova Slobidka, Zhornokliovy, Lyholity), Pelahieievka (Velykyi Khutir), etc.¹¹.

The nineteenth century was marked by a rather noticeable pace of church construction. Thus, when in 1825, a fire destroyed the wooden building of the Archangel Michael Church in the village of Denhi, it was decided to build a stone church instead. According to the personal will, the patron of this rather expensive construction was a well-known church leader, Bishop Epiphanius (Kanivetsky) of Voronezh and Cherkasy, a relative of the local priest Ivan Kanivetsky. The new religious building was consecrated on Trinity Day on June 2, 1833, as a one-altar church with a high bell tower, domes, porticoes, and Doric columns¹². The stone building of the Trinity Church in Helmiyaziv was built in 1836-1840 according to a rather original design by the famous architect Vasyl Stasov (churches in St. Petersburg and Omsk were built according to similar designs). The construction was financed by the local parish and a philanthropist, Helmiyaziv Cossack, beekeeper Fedir Savenko-Horbaty. Later on, the Assumption Church (1870) and St. Nicholas Church (1884)¹³ were built in the same village. In 1871, new churches were consecrated in the villages of Bohuslavets and Bohushkova Slobidka, and in 1890, a new church was built in the village of Antypivka¹⁴ on the site of the church that had been burned down by fire. Dozens of new church buildings appeared in other villages of this district.

The church remained the leading center of spiritual and social life in the village. In addition to conducting divine services, parish priests were also responsible for maintaining local public records, at least 30 types of so-called "paperwork needs" (metric records, decorations, clerical information, financial reports, metric references, certificates, etc.) The village priest also had notarial powers¹⁵.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the church had the status of a monopolist in protecting moral standards in the countryside. The moral education of peasants was carried out during divine services, as well as during the sacrament of confession. Of course, such violations

8 ДАЧО. Ф. 403. Оп. 45. Спр. 1. Арк. 3.

9 Третья подворно-хоз. перепись. С. 34, 40, 82.

10 Клірова книга, С. 56 – 138.

11 Клірова книжка. Полтавская епархія. Полтава. 1902. С. 86.

12 Голиш Г., Лисиця Л., Воропай Л. Село Деньги в українській історії від давнини до сьогодення: люди і події. – Черкаси: Вертикаль, 2022. С. 62.

13 Ibid. С. 224.

14 Голиш Г. Подорож Златокраєм. Нарис історії Золотоніщини та її поселень від давнини до сьогодення: 2-ге вид. випр.. і доп. Черкаси: Вертикаль, 2018. С. 161, 173, 191.

15 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини XVIII – поч. XX ст. *Історія релігій в Україні*. Ч. 1. Церковна історія. Львів, 2016. С. 403–404.

as drunkenness, various offenses, marital infidelity, etc. were subject to strong condemnation. The relevant decree of the consistory obliged the peasants “not to start fist fights and not to converge anywhere on the land, which not only damages many people’s health, but often exposes their souls to evil in this unreasonable slaughter.” The church also had a negative attitude toward vespers and dawnings, calling them “ungodly festivities, where ... unconfessed outrages and vile iniquities are committed ... such as fornication, virginity, and illegitimate children”¹⁶.

By the way, rural rectors of churches also provided first aid to peasants; for this purpose, a course in primary medicine was introduced in theological seminaries. Peasants more often addressed to village priests for medical help than to professional doctors; the latter were less trusted¹⁷.

The Russian Empire made much to ensure the church remained an obedient tool for the centralizing and Russification policy of the tsarist regime, and therefore any manifestations of Ukrainian identity or any local peculiarities of church life were categorically destroyed. This was manifested, in particular, in the fact that rural priests were required to speak only Russian¹⁸, not “brutal” language. The Ukrainian language was excluded from sermons, which led to a deepening of the communication gap between priests and parishioners.

The entire life of a peasant from birth to death was accompanied by church and religious rituals, and no significant event in his life could take place without the participation of the clergy. The church was responsible for performing Christian ceremonies, weddings, funerals, anointing, confessions, etc. These and other church services were provided to peasants according to established tariffs. In particular, as of 1814, in Zolotonosha district, a memorial service, burial, and consecration of a house cost parishioners 20 kopecks each, a newborn christening 10 kopecks, a wedding 50 kopecks, and an annual forty days’ prayers 3 rubles. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the fee for the wedding ceremony increased significantly and became triple and differentiated. While wealthy people paid the priest 3 rubles and 50 kopecks in silver, the clerk 70 kopecks, and the sexton 35

kopecks, the middle class 1 ruble 75 kopecks, 35 kopecks, and 17.5 kopecks, the poor were charged 87.5 kopecks, 17.5 kopecks, and 10 kopecks¹⁹.

Before the Christmas or Easter holidays, they visited the houses of parishioners and read the appropriate prayers, for which the peasants gave a donation of various products (grain, flour, cereals, lard, eggs). Along with this, there was a tradition when peasants gave various household utensils²⁰ to the wife of a young priest. Another source of income for the Orthodox clergy was an annual collection (in money or food) for the maintenance of the priest or members of the parish.

In Zolotonosha district in the early twentieth century, 108 priests conducted the Divine Liturgy, only 2 of them had the rank of archpriest (Zolotonosha, Helmiiaziv)²¹. Deacons (in cathedral churches), psalmists, and church elders were also representatives of the church psalmists. They mostly belonged to the Cossack or peasant class, but there were exceptions. For example, nobles served as church elders in Bohushkova Slobidka and Irkliiv, respectively: Tymofii Vovchanivskiy and Kostiantyn Trebivskiy, in Staryi Kovrai - retired Major General Pavlo Lange, in Prokhorivka - merchant of the 2nd Guild Petro Balanovskiy, in Veremiivka - reserve non-commissioned officer Havrylo Proskur, and in Bilousivka - soldier Borys Hergel²².

As for the parish priests, they had different levels of income, which directly depended on how rich or poor the parish they led was. Most of the clergy belonged to the category of wealthy people who possessed a considerable fortune. For example, the rector of the Archangel Michael Church (Denhi village), Pavlo Spasovskiy, owned 50 tithes of land (40 desks of which were arable), 14 heads of cattle, and a horse; he employed 24 peasants. Another priest from Denhi, Stepan Kanivetskiy, owned 67 tithes of land, 11 cattle, and an oil mill. The village deacon Petro Demchenko was also not a poor man, owning 21 tithes of land, 9 heads of draft and productive cattle, and an oil mill²³. Some churchmen of the district kept apiaries, thanks to which they received honey for communion and wax for candles. However, with the spread of sugar

16 Маркевич В. Мери против вечерниц и кулачных боев в Малороссии. Киевская старина. Т. 10. Киев, 1884. С. 177 – 178.

17 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини XVIII – поч. XX ст. *Історія релігій в Україні*. Ч. 1. Церковна історія. Львів, 2016. С.403.

18 Попова Н. Православна церква та процес українського націотворення в третій чверті XIX ст. *Православ'я – наука – суспільство: проблеми взаємодії* : матер. Другої Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конф. Черкаси, 2004. С. 36 – 37.

19 Труды Полтавской ученой комиссии. 1906. Вип. 3. С. 179–184.

20 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини XVIII – поч. XX ст. *Історія релігій в Україні*. Ч. 1. Церковна історія. Львів, 2016. С. 401.

21 ДАЧО, Клірова книга. С. 56 – 138.

22 ДАЧО. Ф. 403. Оп. 45. Спр. 1. Клірова книга 1902, арк. 101, 104, 112, 118, 120.

23 ДАЧО. Ф. 403. Оп. 45. Спр. 5. Арк. 5.

and paraffin, the economic factors of beekeeping somewhat narrowed, therefore this sphere of economic activity of the clergy in the early twentieth century significantly decreased²⁴.

In the nineteenth century, a system of church awards and distinctions was also formed. The lowest and most widespread distinction for parish priests was a cassock (a 4-angled piece of brocade cloth); for more significant merits, they were awarded a pectoral cross or headdresses: a 'scufia' or a 'comilava'. In Zolotonosha district, as of 1902, 24 priests were awarded cassocks, 27 were awarded 'scufias', 17 were awarded 'comilavas', and 4 were awarded pectoral crosses²⁵.

For special merits, priests were awarded orders, of which there were only 6 in the district. In particular, Semen Andrievsky (Holy Dormition Cathedral Church, Zolotonosha)²⁶, Ivan Bilynsky (Archangel Michael's Church, Drabiv)²⁷ received the Order of St. Anne of the 2nd class, and Mykhailo Chubov (Mykolaivska) received the 3rd class. - Mykhailo Chubov (Mykolaivska, Vasyutintsi)²⁸, Ivan Mikhnovskiy (St. Joachim and Anna, Moisintsy)²⁹, Ivan Sukachov (Archangel Michael's, Mala Burimka)³⁰, and Mykhailo Mikhnovskiy (Mykolaivska, Bubnivska Slobidka)³¹. For all their closeness to the people, the parish clergy were nevertheless characterized by a certain degree of social isolation. This is evidenced by the fact that their children, especially sons, usually married only representatives of the clergy. The mental gap between the clergy and the peasants was also significant, and their lifestyles differed. As a rule, the sons of clergymen also became priests, and this was facilitated by the tsarist decrees of 1808 and 1814, which provided for the mandatory sending of these children to study in theological schools from the age of 6 to 8³².

A notable religious center of the left bank of Ukraine was the Holy Protection Krasnohirsk Preobrazhensk Monastery located near the village of Bakayivka, which until 1790 was a male monastery and later acquired the status of a female monastery. The central religious building of this holy monastery is Preobrazhensk Church, designed by the prominent Ukrainian architect

Ivan Hryhorovych-Barskyi. It is one of the architectural cult masterpieces of Ukraine, made in the Ukrainian Baroque style, and the stone building of the church is three-confessional and three level height. In October 1860, the new building of Preobrazhensk monastery's Church was consecrated (it was built in the seventeenth century). Along with this, new cells, service and utility rooms were also built. Donations from benefactors were collected for the construction, and one of the most active was Hryhorii Yunakov, a merchant of the 2nd guild of Zolotonosha.

According to the decision of the Holy Synod, the Krasnohirsk Monastery was classified as a second-class monastery. By the 1890s, the monastery's staff consisted of 34 "regular" nuns and 120 novices. The monastery was assigned 64 tithes of land, and its monetary and property assets amounted to 9,500 rubles. A water mill brought the monastery an annual profit of up to 200 rubles. In addition to the nuns and novices who were dependent on the monastery, the so-called "self-supporting women" (about 100 women who were self-supporting and engaged in needlework) also lived there³³.

The peak of the development of the Krasnohirsk Monastery was during the time when its abbess was an extremely active abbess Nonna (1900-1918). At that time, the monastery churches were overhauled, up to 400 tithes of land were purchased, the Trinity-St. Nicholas Church was built in one of the monastery hamlets, and a manor with outbuildings, fields, a berry garden, an orchard, and an apiary with 200 hives was founded there. During the WWI, the monastery trained dozens of nurses for military hospitals.

There were many famous people among the pilgrims of the Krasnohirsk Monastery: Hryhorii Skovoroda, Ivan Kotliarevskiy, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Mykola Hulak, Oleksandr Navrotskyi, Mykola Lysenko, Mykhailo Starytskyi, Oleksii Bakh, Valentyn Voyno-Yasenetskyi (later St. Luke), and others. A professor at Kharkiv University, a well-known mineralogist, Nikifor Borysiak, who donated his fortune to the monastery, decided to live out his life in this monas-

24 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини XVIII – поч. XX ст. *Історія релігій в Україні* : наук. зб. Ч. 1. *Церковна історія*. Львів, 2016. С. 401.

25 Полтавская епархія. Полтава. 1902.

26 Клировая книжка. Полтавская епархія. Полтава. 1902. С. 86.

27 Ibid. С. 118.

28 Ibid. С. 105.

29 Ibid. С. 106.

30 Ibid. С. 131.

31 Ibid. С. 115.

32 Верговська М. Сільське парафіяльне духовенство в соціокультурному просторі українського села Середньої Наддніпрянщини XVIII – поч. XX ст. *Історія релігій в Україні*. Ч. 1. *Церковна історія*. Львів, 2016. С. 402.

33 Авраменко И. Исторический очерк Золотоношского Красногорского Богословского женского монастыря Полтавской епархии. Полтава : Тип. Г. И. Маркевича, 1914. С. 145, 140.

tery. He died in March 1882 and was buried near the walls of Preobrazhensk Church³⁴.

Prior to the elected local authorities ('zemstvo'), the church played a monopolistic role in organizing public education in rural areas. Following the clerk's schools, parochial schools were organized on a large scale, as provided for by the relevant orders of the Holy Synod. Lower in status were the literacy schools (where only reading and writing were taught), which were also supervised by the church.

The first literacy schools in the county appeared in the villages of Kropyvna (1842) and Helmyaziv (1846). A peculiar surge in these processes in the district occurred in the reform years of 1860-1870. In particular, such schools began their activities in the villages of Pleshkani (1860), Bohushkova Slobidka (1861), Doman-tyv and Drabivtsi (1862), Pishchane (1865), Krupske (1871), and Kryvonosivka (1872)³⁵.

A new surge in the creation of such educational institutions in rural areas occurred in the 1880s and 1890s. Thus, in Poltava region, the network of centralized schools grew tenfold between 1884 and 1893. The fact that five relevant laws were passed in the 1880s convincingly demonstrates the great attention paid to the activities of such institutions.

At the initial stage of their activity, parochial schools were taught by local clergy. Later, secular teachers were also involved in teaching, but the priests remained responsible for teaching the Law of God and for general supervision of the activities of these educational centers. They could not evade teaching in schools under any pretext, as evidenced, in particular, by the resolution of the Poltava Spiritual Consistory of January 1868. Moreover, in 1892, in view of the massive cases of such evasion, the Holy Synod even issued an order to deduct one-third of the income of evading priests³⁶.

The church also started teaching young ladies. They were admitted in limited numbers to the parish schools, and later there were institutions where only girls studied. Sometimes they were created by local church fraternities. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of the St. Michael's Brotherhood, a local girls' school was opened in the village of Denhi, Kropyvnia parish, and as of 1899, 50 little Denhi girls were enrolled in it³⁷.

The local dioceses were obliged by the Synod to submit monthly reports on the functioning

of parochial and literacy schools. Most churches had small libraries, which could be used by literate parishioners.

In some places, vocational schools were established. For example, in 1871, the Krasnohirsk Monastery in the village of Dacha launched an elementary school taught by educated nuns. Three years later, this institution was reorganized into a diocesan theological school, and in 1879 its new building with the St. John the Divine Church attached to it was put into operation. By the way, the impoverished students of this educational institution were supported by the monastery. Graduates of the diocesan school usually taught in the schools of the county³⁸.

Conclusions. After analyzing the empirical material, the authors came to the following conclusions. The church and religious life of the Zolotonosha district in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries permeated virtually all areas of rural life and, in turn, was marked by considerable versatility. This period saw both an increase in the number of church parishes and significant church construction. The church in the countryside remained the leading center of social, spiritual, and civic life. Accompanying almost all significant events in the life of a peasant, the church also took care of their moral upbringing and education. At that time, a powerful network of parochial schools and literacy schools was established, which played a prominent role in public education. The central figure of the church clergy remained the clergy, who had different levels of wealth and merit before the church and were characterized by social isolation. Despite the prevalence of common features of church and religious life, the county also has some regional specifics of this important sphere of public life.

The limited format of this study made it impossible to study this topical issue exhaustively enough, which requires further diversification through the use of additional sources. It seems advisable to study at the regional level and church relations within other religious denominations.

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34 Голиш Г. М., Лисиця Л. Г. Подорож Златоокрасм. Нарис історії Золотоніщини та її поселень від давнини до сьогодення : 2-ге вид. випр. і доп. Черкаси: Вертикаль, 2018. С. 509.

35 Ibid. С. 224, 347, 173, 269, 277, 340, 355, 421, 431.

36 Драч О. О. Православна церква і організація шкільної справи в Україні (друга половина XIX – поч. XX ст. *Православ'я – наука – суспільство: проблеми взаємодії: матер. Другої Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конф.* Черкаси, 2004. С. 150.

37 Голиш Г. Село Деньги в українській історії від давнини до сьогодення. Черкаси : Вертикаль, 2022. С. 74.

38 Сагарда И. Город Золотоноша и его храмы. *Полтавская епархиальная ведомости.* 1897. 20 ноября. №33. С. 1318.

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