

УДК 94 (477.7) «1941/1944»

DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2020.2\(30\).417](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2020.2(30).417)

CULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE RURAL AREAS OF TRANSNISTRIA, 1941-1944

Oleksandr Osypenko

Odessa National Maritime University (Odessa, Ukraine)

e-mail: OsypenkoOleksandr@ukr.net

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1213-0481>

Розглянуто питання культурної політики румунської окупаційної адміністрації у сільській місцевості «Транснїстрії» в 1941-1944 рр.

Встановлено, що одним із важливих заходів румунської адміністрації у напрямку ідеологічного забезпечення своєї присутності та функціонування влади на теренах Південно-Західної України стала політика, спрямована на підтримку Православної церкви, освіти та культури у цілому в окупованих територіях.

Для досягнення поставленої мети було утворено «Румунську православну місію в Транснїстрії». Головним завданням цього релігійного органу була організація та керівництво церковно-релігійним життям на теренах буго-дністровського межиріччя. Румунська православна місія розгорнула діяльність у напрямку поширення християнського віровчення серед населення, його катехизації та наверненні людей до Бога, а також відбудові, реставрації та налагодженні діяльності церковних споруд на теренах «Транснїстрії».

Одним із першочергових завдань для нової влади постало відновлення функціонування початкової та середньої освіти. На території губернаторства «Транснїстрія» впроваджувалася шкільна система Румунського королівства, де початкова освіта була обов'язковою, а вміння читати, рахувати та писати було обов'язковим для всіх дітей і підлітків. У процесі організації навального процесу окупаційна влада впровадила синтез відкорегованих радянських навчальних програм і програм, за якими офіційно навчалися в Румунському королівстві. Значна увага приділялася організації різноманітних гуртків художньої самодіяльності й естетичному вихованню дітей.

Встановлено, що у містах румунська адміністрація з перших днів окупації приступила до налагодження діяльності закладів відпочинку, а вже потім почала турбуватися про відкриття аналогічних установ у повітових центрах, та зрідка намагалася організувати щось подібне для пересічного сільського мешканця. Одним з осередків організації відпочинку місцевого населення стали румунські культурні гуртки, які були відчинені як у повітових центрах, так і в селах «Транснїстрії».

Незважаючи на значні успіхи у налагодженні культурно-просвітницької роботи в сільській місцевості зазначених земель, всі ці заходи використовувалися адміністрацією «Транснїстрії», у першу чергу, на планомірну та примусову румунізацію місцевого, у переважній більшості, сільського населення.

Ключові слова: Транснїстрія, окупація, культура, релігія, освіта, румунізація

Rethinking many of the key problems of national history, including World War II and occupation, remains one of the most acute and debatable topics in Ukrainian society. One of such problems which actualize our study is the flow of cultural processes in the rural areas between the Dniester and Southern Bug in 1941-1944.

An American researcher O. Dallin¹, a Russian historian O. Budnitskyi² presented the cultural policy of the Romanian occupation administration on the pages of their works. This issue was covered solely from the positive point of view on the pages of Romanian and Moldavan researchers: O. Varenko³, C. Kiritsescu⁴, A. Moraru⁵ and R. Solovei⁶. Soviet historiography of this issue is represented by the studies of M. Lebedev⁷, I. Levit⁸, S. Gratinich⁹. Ukrainian historians also studied this aspect. The church and religious aspects of life in the Romanian-occupied southwestern territories of Ukraine were studied in fragments in the writings of O. Lysenko¹⁰, V. Hordiienko¹¹. The works of M. Mykhailutsa are devoted to the Orthodox confessions and religious life in the south of Ukraine in the context of the Soviet and Romanian regimes during 1939-1945, where the scientist details the activities of the Romanian Orthodox Mission (ROM) in Transnistria, the processes of revival of Christianity, catechization of the people, etc¹². The team of researchers headed by Mykola Mykhailutsa presented a general description of the administrative and territorial division, social and economic status and cultural life of Transnistria in the period of 1941-1944¹³. In another study, M. Mykhailutsa, having examined the daily life of the Orthodox clergy, states that the lives of missionaries and local priests differed significantly¹⁴. In the monograph «The Orthodox Life in Odesa: from the Revolution to the Stalinist State-controlled System (1917-1945)»¹⁵, M. Mykhailutsa devoted a whole chapter to the Orthodox life in Odesa during the German-Soviet War. In particular, according to the historian, with the arrival of Romanians in the religious life of Odesa and its residents, the «Orthodox Renaissance» took place, which found considerable support from the local people. Some aspects of the cultural policy

¹ Dallin A. *Odesa, 1941-1944: A Case Study of Soviet Territory Under Foreign Rule*. RAND, RM-875: California, 1957. 466 p.

² *Одесса: жизнь в оккупации. 1941-1944. История коллаборационизма / сост., отв. ред. и автор вступ. статьи О.В. Будницкий*. Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, 2013. 231 с.

³ Verenca O. *Administratia civila romana in Transnistria 1941-1944*. Bucuresti Editura Vremea, 2000. 435 p.

⁴ Kiritescu C. *Romania in al doilea razboi mondial: in 2 vol. Vol. 1*. Bucuresti: Universsul Enciclopedic, 1995. 360 p.

⁵ Moraru A. *Istoria romanilor. Basarabia si Transnistria in 1812-1993*. Chisinau, 1995. 558 p.

⁶ Solovei R. *Activitatea Guvernamentului Transnistriei on domeniul social-economic si cultural: (19 aug. 1941 – 29 ian. 1944)*. Iasi, 2004. 182 p.

⁷ Лебедев Н.И. *Крах фашизма в Румынии*. Москва: Наука, 1976. 632 с.

⁸ Левит И.Э. *Крах политики агрессии диктатуры Антонеску*. Кишинев : Штиинца, 1983. 376 с.

⁹ Гратинич С.А. *На левом берегу Днестра 1941-1944. Страницы совместной борьбы трудящихся смежных районов Молдавии и Украины против немецко-румынских фашистских захватчиков*. Кишинев: Картя Молдовеняскэ, 1985. 186 с.

¹⁰ Лисенко О.Є. *Церковне життя в Україні, 1943-1946*. Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 1998. 403 с.

¹¹ Гордієнко В.В. *Православні конфесії в Україні періоду Другої світової війни (вересень 1939 – вересень 1945 рр.): автореф. дис... канд. іст. наук: 07.00.01*. Київ, 1999. 17 с.

¹² Михайлуца М.І. *Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни (1939-1945)*. Оdesa: Вид-во «ВМВ», 2008. 329 с.

¹³ *Окупаційний режим в губернаторстві «Транснестрія» / Т. Вінцковський, Г. Кязимова, М. Михайлуца, В. Щетніков // Україна у Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст. Історичні нариси*. Київ: Наукова думка, 2010. Т. 1. С. 413-446.

¹⁴ Михайлуца М.І. *Соціально-економічні аспекти буденного життя православного кліру в Транснестрії // Сторінки воєнної історії України*. Київ, 2006. Вип. 10. Част. 1. С. 413-425.

¹⁵ Михайлуца М.І. *Православне життя в Одесі: від революції до сталінського одержавлення (1917-1945): монографія*. Херсон: Олді-Плюс, 2019. 388 с.

of Romanians in Transnistria were considered by O. Osypenko¹⁶. Educational issues in Transnistria occupied by the Romanians were considered by V. Krykun¹⁷, O. Perekhrest¹⁸, S. Bohan¹⁹, O. Osypenko²⁰ and others in their studies.

The purpose of the study is the cultural situation in rural areas of southwestern Ukraine in 1941-1944.

One of the important steps taken by the Romanian administration towards ideological securing its presence and functioning in the territory of southwestern Ukraine was the policy aimed at supporting the Orthodox Church, education and culture as a whole in the occupied territories.

Initially, the Directorate of Cults dealt with the church and religious issues on the occupied lands, and since August 15, 1941, the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church established the «Romanian Orthodox Mission in Transnistria» (Romanian: Misiunea Ortodoxă Română în Transnistria) (hereinafter – ROC, Mission), which was directly under its spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy. The main task of this religious body was the organization and management of church and religious life in the territory between the Bug River and the Dniester River, i.e., the Transnistria Governorate²¹. To organise the work of the Mission, a Chancellery was created, and in the counties and within the districts, including the rural areas, archpriestries and sub-archpriestries (deanaries) were set up. By the end of 1941, there were already 13 county archpriestries within the Governorate and one in Odesa municipality, and besides that 63 district sub-archpriests had been selected and appointed. However, such an organization of the church administration did not satisfy the leadership of the ROM because of the inability of the immediate resolution of certain church issues. Therefore, in order to strengthen the religious institutions in the centre and especially in the periphery and to facilitate the Mission, a structural and territorial reorganization was carried out in 1943, according to which the Governorate was divided into three vicariates in a church-administrative sense: Odesa, Balta and Tulchyn ones²².

It should be noted that throughout the Romanian stay in the territory of southwestern Ukraine, the Mission's leadership had changed several times. And with the arrival of the new leaders of the Mission, not only the views but also the methods and tools used to carry out «Christianization» in the administered territory changed.

The document of the Romanian origin – the order of Governor G. Alexianu No. 89 dated

¹⁶ Осипенко О.В. Сільське населення та «Трудові громади» Півдня України в губернаторстві «Транснїстрія» 1941-1944 рр.: соціально-історичний аспект: автореф. дис... к. іст. н.: 07.00.01 – історія України: Миколаїв, 2018. 20 с.

¹⁷ Крикун В.І. Освіта в період румунської окупації в Одесі в 1941-1944 роки // Інтелігенція і влада. Громадсько-політичний науковий збірник. Серія: Історія. Одеса: Астропринт, 2006. Вип. 6. С. 97-102.

¹⁸ Перехрест О.Г. Українське село в 1941-1945 рр.: економічне та соціальне становище. Черкаси: ЧНУ імені Б. Хмельницького, 2011. 668 с.

¹⁹ Боган С.М. Початкова освіта в окупованій румунськими загарбниками Південній Україні у 1941-1944 рр. // Південий захід. Одесика. Історико-краєзнавчий науковий альманах. Одеса: Друкарський дім, 2011. Вип. 12. С. 101-108.

²⁰ Осипенко О.В. Освіта в окупованих румунськими загарбниками селах півдня України // Емінак: науковий щоквартальник. 2016. № 2 (14) (квітень-червень). Т. 1. С. 56-64.

²¹ Жуковський А. Українські землі під румунською окупацією в часи Другої світової війни: Північна Буковина, частина Бессарабії і Транснїстрії // Український історик. 1987. № 1-4. С. 91; Михайлуца М.І. Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни (1939-1945). Одеса: Вид-во «ВМВ», 2008. С. 131.

²² Михайлуца М.І. Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни... С. 131, 136.

September 28, 1942 «On the Regulation of Religious Cults and Religious Life» in the territory of the Governorate significantly, and in particular, rigorously normalized the church and religious life of both church organizations and religious population under occupation. It was published in Romanian, German and Russian by the editorial office of «Odessa Gazeta» on November 1, 1942²³. In view of the thorough analysis of this document by the researcher M. Mykhailutsa²⁴, let us dwell only on the important articles of the said order, which determined its implementation in the rural areas and regulated the religious life of the church communities and the spiritual needs of the people of faith. The first article of the order provided «recognized religions with freedom and patronage» if their activities did not affect public order, morality, security and legal order. Thus, the Romanian authorities guaranteed loyalty for themselves from the local religious population. The second article defined the list of the permitted religions in Transnistria which had been formed in these territories long ago. It included: Orthodox, Catholic-Uniate, Catholic, Evangelical-Lutheran, Armenian-Gregorian and Mohammedan denominations. By this order, any other religious sects were strictly forbidden by the Romanians. The recognition of other religions could only be assumed at the personal disposal of the governor. In order to gain recognition, a statute-report was to be submitted to the Department of Cults, which required the number of believers in the settlements, religious and moral principles, system of organization and leadership.

The leadership of the Governorate through the Department of Cults had the right to exercise the right of oversight and control over religious organizations through mandatory official reports and information. No spiritual chairman of any cult of choice and appointment on the basis of the statute of their organization could be appointed and acted without the permission of the governorship. Other members of the parish were appointed by the Directorate of Culture, with the submission of the respective heads, with the exception of the members of the ROM.

On the one hand, the order guaranteed the right of people to worship and to freely choose religious expression, but on the other hand, it severely restricted the influence of other churches and religions, their clergy, on the performance of services and religious ordinances, regulating the holding of services «only among believers of the relevant cult». Several articles of the order gave the right to teach religion to pupils of their faith in public schools on the basis of current teaching standards, but only of those religions which were allowed by the Romanian authorities. Religious blessing was a prerequisite for committing acts of civil status. Throughout Transnistria, during religious holidays, Orthodox were to adhere «only to the new style of the Romanian Orthodox Church», and «those members of the parish or believers of the Orthodox Church who will hold a church service or propaganda in favour of the old style will be considered dangerous sectarians for public safety»²⁵, the law noted.

The violation of the current order of the Governor of Transnistria was established by the

²³ The State Archive of Odesa region (SAOR). F. R-13. Op. 2. File 138. P. 149.

²⁴ Михайлуца М.І. «Маловідомі джерела із фондів ДАОО: наказ № 89 про регламентацію релігійних культів та релігійного життя і його реалізація в роки окупації півдня України («Транснїстрія» 1941-1944 рр.)» // Архів, Історія, Сучасність. Вип. 2. Матеріали II Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції, присвяченої 95 річниці Державного архіву Одеської області (1920-1915), Одеса, 3-4 вересня 2015 р. / Одеська держадміністрація, Одеська обласні рада, Державний архів Одеської області / Ред. кол.: В.В. Левчук, (голова) та ін.; Наук. ред. І.В. Сапожников, Л.Г. Білоусова; Відп. ред. С.С. Березін. Одеса: Бондаренко М.О., 2016. С. 212-215.

²⁵ SAOR. F. R-13. Op. 2. File 138. P. 149.

gendarme and police bodies, as well as by the bodies of the Directorate of Culture and the Romanian Orthodox Mission.

Guided by this order in their activities, the local authorities of the Romanian administration and Missionary Christian centres pursued a policy of re-Christianization in several important areas from their point of view. The Romanian Orthodox Mission insisted on the first priority: the spread of the Christian doctrine among the people, their catechization and conversion of people to God, as well as the restoration, reconstruction and activation of church buildings in Transnistria. The summarized information showed that in the Transnistria counties, especially in its rural hinterland, there was an urgent need for the presence of religious buildings. Thus, in Ananyiv county only 25 churches were active, out of which 10 churches were opened in schools and other public places, about 10 churches were being repaired, and 8 parishes did not have any churches at all. There were only 32 churches in Golta county. Only 15 religious buildings were functioning in Yampilsk county²⁶. The worst was the situation in 1942 in Balta, Berezovsky and Ochakiv counties, where only a few churches were active. In general, the situation regarding the presence of church and cult buildings seemed extremely negative and striking: within the Transnistria Governorate, 363 churches were closed or were not used for spiritual purposes, 269 churches were partially destroyed and 258 churches were completely destroyed²⁷.

Therefore, the Orthodox inhabitants, despite the twenty-year atheistic propaganda, feeling the need for their spiritual and Christian cleansing of the communist godless past, initiated the reconstruction and restoration of the cathedrals, rural parish churches and prayer houses.

The Romanians' missionary policy in this sense coincided with the aspirations of the local population of the region towards the revival of the Christian faith. The members of rural communities, as far as they were financially allowed, and the church committees consisting of no more than 3 local residents, monitored the receipt of funds and the reconstruction of local religious buildings, supported the revived Orthodox Church. Father Ioann Kozlovskiy, Superior of the Holy Intercession Cathedral (Bokovo village) said, «I conducted 5 sermons in the church, which made it possible for the youth to attend the temple of God. Not only do the sermons help, but the reading of «the Lives of the Saints» also has some significance. The people with great sincerity donate a share to the reconstruction and improvement of the church»²⁸.

In total, with the joint efforts of parishioners and missionaries, over 500 churches were opened and consecrated in the Transnistria Governorate in the first year of ROM activity²⁹. According to the approximate data of the historian A. Zhukovskiy during the Romanian occupation 300-400 Orthodox parishes were functioning in the territory between the Bug and the Dniester Rivers³⁰.

The process of returning functions to the churches as religious buildings was actively underway in the rural areas of Mohyliv county, where 116 religious buildings were restored and reconstructed, 13 buildings were in a state of reconstruction, 69 churches and

²⁶ Михайлуца М.І. Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни... С. 146.

²⁷ Solovei R. Activitatea Guvernamentului Transnistriei... P. 114.

²⁸ Михайлуца М.І. Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни... С. 149.

²⁹ Solovei R. Activitatea Guvernamentului Transnistriei on domeniul social-economic si cultural: (19 aug. 1941 – 29 ian. 1944)... P. 116.

³⁰ Жуковський А. Українські землі під румунською окупацією в часи Другої світової війни: Північна Буковина, частина Бессарабії і Трансїстрії // Український історик. 1987. № 1-4. С. 93.

20 prayer houses were operating in Yampilsk county. For two years, according to the estimates made by Moldovan researcher R. Solovei, Ukrainian historian M. Mykhailutsa, 632 churches and prayer houses had been restored, rebuilt and reopened as a result of the Mission's work, and another 309 churches were under repair. At the same time, the total data cited by the above-mentioned researchers establish the existence of only 607 parishes in Transnistria, i.e., there were more religious buildings than the church communities, as there were not enough priests³¹.

Former clergymen were thoroughly checked before resuming their pastoral duties. The priests, who under the pressure of the anti-religious, atheistic, hateful policies of the Bolshevik regime, were forced to stop practicing the «word of God» preaching, were able to submit a written application for renewal in the rank of a priest. In addition, former clergymen were required to provide the following information: year and place of birth; educational data; by whom, when, and in which church he was ordained; to which orientation he belonged since 1923; whether he was married; whether he married again; whether he renounced the priesthood; whether he renounced faith in public or through newspapers; finally, the petitioner had to indicate in which church he had served before its closure and where he expressed his desire to receive an appointment (indicate the parish and name of the church). Only after a thorough check confirming all the information provided, the priests could expect to receive a parish. By March 1942, more than one hundred and a half people were willing to return to the churches, although most of the Mission refused. One of the reasons was the reluctance of the Romanian authorities to assist in the restoration of church life in Ukrainian villages. Thus, out of 150 applicants, only 19 priests, 3 deacons and 8 cantors were able to document their right to spiritual activity³².

The leadership of the Orthodox Mission was well aware that neither a group of missionaries that came to the Governorate from Romania, nor the right to hold church liturgies for former clergy, nor the effective establishment of their own typographic religious products, which, although played a significant role in rooting Christianity among the local population, could completely replace the lack of the required amount of clergy, especially in the rural areas. While in towns and county centres this staffing gap could still be resolved, a catastrophic shortage of clergy was observed in rural parishes of the Governorate, especially at the beginning of the Mission's operation. Thus, according to the estimates of M. Mykhailutsa, in January 1942 there were only 8 priests in the whole Golta county, 7 priests – in Ovidiopol county, 6 priests – in Ochakiv county, and only 4 priests – in Berezovska county. The situation in Veselynivska volost of Berezovska county, where one priest served 50 villages, was complex³³. In view of this situation, one of the main tasks of the ROM was to establish theological education which would play a decisive role in spreading the Christian doctrine by training the required number of priests for rural parishes.

In order to promote and spread the Christian doctrine among the Governorate population, the Mission provided free distribution of religious literature to the peasants, representing it as a charity and concern for their parishioners. For example, 5,000 Romanian-language religious brochures, 3,000 small crosses and 2,000 small icons were distributed

³¹ Solovei R. *Activitatea Guvernamentului Transnistriei...* P. 117, 123; Михайлуца М.І. Реституція православних культових споруд у Губернаторстві «Транснїстрія» (1941-1944 рр.) // *Сторінки воєнної історії України*. 2008. Вип. 11. С. 137.

³² Михайлуца М.І. *Православна церква на Півдні України в роки Другої світової війни...* С. 165.

³³ *Ibid.* С. 168.

only in the villages of Golta county³⁴. Incidentally, the result of this action was not enough, since the local population did not know Romanian, and therefore did not understand the need and were not too concerned with such Christianization in the Romanian way.

The innovations of the Romanian administration sometimes complicated the lives of ordinary people who lived in the parochial rural outskirts of the Governorate. A number of inquiries from the priest were a necessary attribute of daily life, which made it difficult to move at least within the Governorate. The introduction of inquiries, which had to confirm that a certain person was married in the church and his children were baptized, aroused the passive discontent of the average resident of Transnistria. The misunderstanding and perplexity, for example, caused the need for village teachers, who were to go to the county town to attend the conference, to have a mandatory marriage certificate and a priest's certificate of the wedding. Separately, it was necessary to take care of obtaining children's baptismal certificates from the Administration³⁵.

Thus, the Romanian invaders, having received the territory between the Dnister and Southern Bug from the hands of Nazi Germany, restored the Christian traditions according to their own, Romanian model. The Romanian Orthodox Mission, as a representative of the Romanian Patriarchate in the Transnistria Governorate, pursued a church and religious policy based on a legislative framework which was formed during the war and occupation administration.

One of the primary tasks for the new authorities was to restore the functioning of primary and secondary education, which declined in the summer and autumn of 1941. In particular, in the «Instruction for the Administrative Management of the Transnistria Governorate» Governor General I. Antonescu demanded the following steps from his subordinates: «1) in the field of education – to open all schools with teachers from the local staff since October, 1st. The language of instruction may be chosen by the inhabitants: German, Romanian or Russian; 2) out of secondary schools – open only primary, handicraft and commercial schools; as for the others, we will see later»³⁶. However, despite the demands of the Romanian leader, that set restrictions on language of education at schools, Ukrainian-language educational institutions were also actively opened. Obviously, the Governorate officials took into account the fact that the vast majority of the population on the annexed lands were ethnic Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians.

According to archival documents, in the 1941/1942 school year, the studies began in 2,055 schools on the territory of the Governorate, 1,322 schools were four-year schools, 613 schools were seven-year schools, 126 schools were ten-year schools, as well as four lyceums were functioning³⁷.

On December 20, 1942 a propaganda article entitled «Cultural and educational work in Transnistria» was published in the newspaper «Molva», in which considerable attention was paid to success of the occupiers in the educational field. Thus, according to the author Andrei Nastase, during the occupation, 2,055 schools were opened, in which the teaching staff had to carry out extensive educational work to combat the remnants of the destructive Bolshevik influence. The author noted, «Undisciplined dirty students with a low level of

³⁴ Ibid. C. 186.

³⁵ The State Archive of Mykolaiv region (SAMR). F. R-1718. Op. 1. File 312. P. 53.

³⁶ Окупаційний режим в губернаторстві «Транснїстрія» / Т. Вінцовський, Г. Кязимова, М. Михайлуца, В. Щетніков // Україна у Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст. Історичні нариси. Київ: Наукова думка, 2010. Т. 1. С. 424.

³⁷ SAOR. F. R-2249. Op. 1. File 63. P. 19.

consciousness, who do not have any ideals of goodness and beauty, accustomed to unbridled freedom – this is the legacy of the Soviet school. We had to start all over again, but the invaluable hard work yielded results».

«Thus, in the first year of the Romanian school 246,963 schoolboys and schoolgirls recognized the light of the Christian truth and became acquainted with the Romanian culture»³⁸. It is pertinent that the author does not pay attention to the fact that the main corps of teaching staff in these schools consisted of teachers who were brought up by Soviet ideology and who were actively used by the occupation Romanian apparatus to achieve their own goal.

The Transnistria Governorate implemented the school system of the Kingdom of Romania where primary education was compulsory, reading, counting and writing skills being compulsory for all children and adolescents. The argument of this statement is the order of the Mayor's Office of Stanislavchyn district, according to which each head of the family was obliged to send children to school up to the seventh class inclusive. The child was allowed not to attend school only in case of illness. Parents who did not send their children to school without good reason could face a fine of 50 karbovanets. If the parents were unable to pay, the fine was deducted from their workday payment³⁹.

In the process of organizing educational process, the occupation authorities retained the Soviet curricula, but everything concerned with Marxist-Leninist ideology was completely removed. The principles of Natural Science were treated differently; the amount of hours spent on studying National History was reduced, while the World History and the History of Romania were taught instead. Specifically for Romanization of the local population, a «Short History of the Origin of the Romanian People» was published, which was to confirm the historic rights of the occupiers in Transnistria. A compulsory study of Romanian and German was introduced into the school course, at the same time the study of the Ukrainian Language and Reading continued⁴⁰. For propaganda reasons, the Romanian authorities introduced a special subject called «Conversations about Heroes»⁴¹.

All subjects were divided into several blocks. The first block included mental or theoretical sciences: Geography, Natural Science, Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. The practical cycle involved the agricultural block, namely Manual Labour and Agronomic Practice. The «literary» block consisted of lessons in History, Romanian, German and Ukrainian (the latter was taught in Ukrainian-language schools).

Aesthetic and moral education was assigned to subjects such as Rhetoric, Singing, Drawing and Reading. The religious (spiritual) upbringing of children, taking into account the atheistic upbringing of the communist past, was of particular importance. In addition to Religion, moral education included behavior and school attendance⁴².

According to the Romanian state ideology, the Law of God was taught in all schools by the clergy.

Thus, introducing a compulsory study of the «Law of God» into the school curriculum, the Governorate Administration pursued the goal of «killing two birds with one stone»; firstly, to return the younger generation to the bosom of the Orthodox Church (Romanian

³⁸ Молва. 1942. 20 декабря.

³⁹ Гальчак С.Д. «Східні робітники» з Поділля у Третьюму рейху : депортація, нацистська каторга, опір поневолювачам. Вінниця: «Книга-Вега» ВАТ «Віноблдрукарня», 2003. С. 113-114.

⁴⁰ SAOR. F. R-2380. Оп. 1. File 139. Pp. 98-99.

⁴¹ Ibid. P. 31.

⁴² SAMR. F. R-1736. Оп. 1. File 5. P. 2.

Patriarchate); secondly, according to the plan of the leadership, the study of prayers in Romanian was to become one of the decisive factors for the Romanianization of young people, most of whom lived in rural areas.

A compulsory attribute of all schools in Transnistria was a dedicated space for portraits of the young King and Queen Mother, who were under the omophor of the icon of Jesus Christ. The propaganda material was posted in the corridors of rural schools. Each Sunday, teachers were obliged to hold talks and various educational activities with pupils, which included learning Romanian songs, dance and poetry.

The defeat at the front of the German-Romanian troops and the transition of the military initiative to the Red Army led to the emergence of a large number of retreating Romanian and German military units in southwestern Ukraine. This situation, in turn, led to profound changes in the internal policy of the leadership of the Governorship, including the educational field. Recognizing the impasse of the situation on November 19 and 20, 1943, the leadership of the Directorate of Culture issued a series of service messages which stopped the activities of all elementary and secondary schools in Transnistria. All school premises were transferred to the command of German-Romanian troops. For the population, the official explanation was the lack of the necessary fuel to heat the school premises⁴³.

Regarding the organization of the educational process, it should be noted that in a short period of time the leadership of the Governorship was able to establish an effective system of education, which was based on the synthesis of the adjusted Soviet curriculum and programs, which were officially used for studies in the Kingdom of Romania. However, the introduction of a compulsory study of the Romanian Language and the Law of God contributed to the acceleration of Romanization of the youth of the Governorate.

It should be noted that in the towns, from the first days of the occupation, the Romanian administration started setting up recreation facilities, and only after that they began to worry about opening similar establishments in the county centres, and occasionally tried to organize something similar for the average rural dweller. The greatest success was achieved by Romanians in Odesa, where in December 1941 the Odesa Opera House was opened. In March 1942 the Odesa Conservatory began its activity and the Odesa Art College continued to function⁴⁴. At that time, on the outskirts, in county centres, the Romanians also paid attention to the renewal of clubs and cinemas. For example, in Ananyiv the activity of a local cinema was resumed, with four films of Romanian and German production being shown every month⁴⁵. It cost 2 marks to watch one film. Due to such an exorbitant price, as well as poverty and misery, not everyone could afford such a luxury.

One of the centres of organization of rest for local population became the Romanian cultural circles which were opened both in county centres, and in the villages of Transnistria, in the Romanian periodical press they were also called centres of culture and propaganda. These establishments became centres for popularization of the Romanian culture, history and language, and, besides that, the military activities were actively covered in these institutions, photographs and military maps were displayed as well. For example, there were 22 such centres functioning in the territory of Ananyiv county, 12 – in Tiraspol county, 27 – in Rybnitsa county, 3 – in Berezovka county and 8 – in Golta county⁴⁶.

⁴³ Одесская область в Великой Отечественной войне 1941-1945 гг.: Док. и матер. / отв. ред. Н.И. Зотов и др. Одесса: Маяк, 1970. С. 68.

⁴⁴ Окупаційний режим в губернаторстві «Транснїстрія»... С. 428.

⁴⁵ SAOR. F. R-2830. Op. 1. File 164. P. 9.

⁴⁶ Молва. 1943. 9 февраля.

On all Orthodox holidays, as well as the Romanian state holidays, all schoolchildren were forced to attend churches under penalty of punishment. Thus, by the order of the Governor No. 140 dated January 15, 1943, in connection with the holiday of the accession of the Governorate of Bukovyna, Transnistria and Bessarabia to the Kingdom of Romania, in the morning all teachers and pupils were obliged to come to the church on January 24, and after the completion of the church services, teachers held conferences where they told the pupils about the significance of this holiday. At the end of the event there was a concert, which was prepared in advance by the schoolchildren. The Romanian national songs, poetry and poems had to be sounded, and the national Romanian dances had to be performed⁴⁷.

The school authorities in the Transnistria rural counties paid attention to the creation and functioning of various amateur groups and aesthetic education of children. For example, in Adamovsk elementary school of Alexanderfeld district, due to the efforts of the teaching staff a circle was created, which existed until November 1943. The solemn meetings of the circle began with the collective performance of the Royal Anthem (Romanian: «Imnul Reǵal»). The schoolchildren, who were the circle members, recited the Romanian poems: «La pluq», «I'a olus cucul». Despite the Romanian nature of the action, the Ukrainian songs sounded in the repertoire: «A Cossack rode across the Danube», «Oh, I'll go to the garden for a walk»; poems «Swallow», «Vesnianka», «A House in the Fur-tree» and others⁴⁸. At school in Zavodivka village, Berezovka county, a school choir, a dance club and a string orchestra were organized by director V. Boltyan, where pupils and teachers were actively involved⁴⁹. In fact, the amateur circles were used as one of the instruments for Romanianization of rural youth by the Administration, which was carried out through the spread of Romanian poetry and music among them. The members of these circles sometimes did not realize that they were becoming the object of the policy of Romanization.

The occupation authorities zealously demanded celebration of the so-called «Day of Heroes», which was held on June 3 in Romania. On this day, all schools of the Governorate pledged to celebrate and express their gratitude to the Romanian heroes who «fell on the battlefield for their homeland, race and Christianity»⁵⁰. By introducing various holidays which were unique to the Romanian calendar on the occupied Ukrainian lands, the authorities pursued the goal of instilling the idea among people in Transnistria that they were already an integral part of the Kingdom of Romania with a common history and holidays.

The Romanian officials developed special «Rules of Conduct and Communication Culture» between older and younger, a subordinate and a manager, between an average resident and Romanian officials, regardless of their position, which was a clear innovation in the occupied lands. So, when meeting the younger with the older, the former had to take off his hat and bow his head; if a person did not have a headdress, he had to welcome by raising his right hand with his palm forward at the level of the head (the so-called Romanian salute). The greetings had to sound clear and distinct. While in the administrative premises, everyone in attendance pledged to take off hats and bow to greet the older. At the entrance to the authorities' room, everybody had to stand up. Parents and teachers were obliged to bring up children from the very beginning. According to these rules, the entire Transnistria population had to be pleased to welcome senior authorities, officials of the Mayor's Office,

⁴⁷ SAMR. F. R-1763. Op. 1. File 2. P. 13.

⁴⁸ SAMR. F. R-1762. Op. 1. File 1. P. 34.

⁴⁹ Вишинський В. Босоніж – по війні. Харків: Курсор, 2006. С. 95.

⁵⁰ SAMR. F. R-1718. Op. 1. File 552. P. 31.

priests, teachers, agronomists, village heads, heads of agricultural communities and foremen. The local people were obliged to greet the representatives of the Romanian authorities exclusively in Romanian: «bună dimineața» – «good morning»; «Bună ziua» – «good afternoon» and «bună seara» – «good evening». Local officials monitored the order. The residents who refused to greet in Romanian had to be punished⁵¹. A resident of Balaychuk village, Berezovka county M. Shvets was beaten by local gendarmes only for not removing his hat and not bowing to the village commandant when he met him on the street⁵².

Thus, by occupying the lands between the Dnister and Southern Bug, the Romanian occupation authorities made considerable progress in establishing cultural and educational work in the rural areas of these lands. A clear confirmation of this was the activity of the Romanian Orthodox Mission in Transnistria, the establishment of primary and secondary education, opening and operation of various school circles. Due to the active material and political support from the local administration, Mission leaders managed to conduct active missionary work to bring back the Christian faith to the daily life and life of the provincial population through the restoration of old churches and opening of the new ones. In the short term, the administrative authorities of the Governorate implemented a fairly effective system of the educational process, which was almost impossible to avoid. Nevertheless, its full functioning, especially in rural areas, was possible only in peacetime. Considerable efforts were made to organize the activities of various cultural groups, and to celebrate various religious and national Romanian holidays. However, all these cultural and educational activities were used by the Transnistria administration primarily for systematic and forced Romanianization of the local, overwhelmingly rural population.

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⁵¹ SAMR. F. R-2512. Op. 1. File 1. P. 36-37.

⁵² Одесса в Великой Отечественной войне Советского Союза: Сб. док. и матер. в 3-х т. / отв. ред. И.В. Бортников. Т. 2: 17.10.1941 – 9.4.1944. Одесса: Одесское областное издательство, 1949. С. 177.

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Oleksandr Osypenko

(Odessa National Maritime University, Odessa, Ukraine)

e-mail: OsypenkoOleksandr@ukr.net

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1213-0481>

Cultural Processes in the Rural Areas of Transnistria, 1941-1944

The issue of cultural policy of the Romanian occupation administration in the Transnistrian countryside in 1941-1944.

It is established that one of the important steps of the Romanian administration towards ideological support of its presence and functioning of the authorities in the territory of South-western Ukraine was a policy aimed at supporting the Orthodox Church, education and culture as a whole in the occupied territories.

To achieve this goal, the Romanian Orthodox Mission in Transnistria was established. The main task of this religious group was the organization and management of church-religious life in the territory of the Bug-Dniester rivers. The Romanian Orthodox mission has launched activities to spread the Christian doctrine among the population, its catechesis and conversion of people to God, as well as the restoration, restoration and commissioning of church buildings in Transnistria.

One of the primary tasks for the new government was to restore the functioning of primary and secondary education. Transnistria governorate implemented a Romanian school system where primary education was compulsory and reading, reading and writing skills were compulsory for all children and teens. In the process of organization the invasive process, the occupying power introduced a synthesis of the adjusted Soviet training programs and programs, which were officially studied in the Romanian kingdom. Much attention was paid to the organization of various groups of amateur art and aesthetic education of children.

It has been established that in the cities of Romanian administration, from the first days of the occupation, started to set activities of recreation establishments, and only then began to worry about opening similar foundations in county centers, and occasionally tried to organize something like the average rural resident. One of the centers organizations of recreation for the local population became the Romanian cultural circles which were opened both in county centers and in villages of «Transnistria».

Despite considerable progress in setting cultural and educational work in rural areas of these lands. However, all these measures were used by the Transnistria administration in the first place for the systematic and forced Romanianization for the local, overwhelmingly rural population.

Keywords: Transnistria, occupation, culture, religion, education, Romanianization