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EVERYDAY FEARS OF THE ORTHODOX POPULATION ON UKRAINIAN LANDS AS A REFLECTION OF DAILY ROUTINE IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

The article highlights a little-studied problem of role of fears in the everyday life of Orthodox believers in the Ukrainian lands of the second half of the 16th – 17th centuries. It is noted that in the early modern period, the society suffered from an outbreak of violence, and this influenced the formation of the atmosphere of fear among the population. The types of fears from which the society suffered the most are analyzed on an example of most typical cases: fear of war and violence, illness, mutilation, premature death, fear of armed people, foreign invaders and representatives of other denominations. In addition to these objective fears, Orthodox society felt irrational ones, the greatest of which was to sin. To a large extent, everyday life of the Orthodox was characterized by fear of the Last Judgment and Hell, Evil Spirits. Fears inherent in a modern man, manifested in everyday life of an orthodox man of the 16th – 17th centuries much stronger due to much more dangerous living conditions. Fear was a characteristic feature of everyday life in the early modern Orthodox society.

Key words: *everyday life, fear, Orthodox believers, violence, death, disease, hell, Last Judgment, sin.*

Introduction

The current direction of modern historical science is the history of everyday life. Despite the fact that at first glance everyday life seems to be a complex of habitual and recurring events and phenomena, a person living in it feels various fears that this everyday reality may change for the worse. Feeling of fear is studied by modern psychological and sociological science, but the study of this phenomenon is little represented in domestic historical works. However, conscious and unconscious fears significantly determine people's behavior, both personal and social. Speaking of fear, it should be noted that there are different typologies of fear proposed by researchers. In the studied by V. Stasiuk typologies of fear the most acceptable, in our opinion, is proposed by Polish Professor A. Kempinski (Kępiński). The scientist identifies the following types of fear: biological (fear of death, fear of disease), social (for example, fear of changing their social status), moral (assimilation of socially imposed behaviors) and disintegration (fear of variability, transformation of structures) (Stasiuk, 2013: 313-314). Modern people, according to sociological research, are most afraid of disease and loss of loved ones, armed conflicts, terrorism, economic difficulties (Naboka, 2005, 06 September). Historians are only trying to answer whether the fears of the people of the past differed from those of the present. The book of the French historian J. Delumeau "Fear in the West in the 14-18th centuries" became a significant work in this direction, in which he reveals the types of fears of the medieval and early modern era in Western European society. The scientist identifies and explores the types of fears that were characteristic for that time, such as fear of death and disease, especially plague, fear of the Last Judgment, Satan, witches and

sorcerers, fear of women, fear of violence due to the spread of cruelty in society in early modern times and many others (Delumeau, 1994). Studies of such well-known scientists as F. Ariès (1992) and A. Gurevich (1989; 1990) were devoted to the problem of fear in Western European society.

Methodology

The purpose of the research is to study the fears in the everyday life of Orthodox believers in Ukrainian lands, analyze and typologize of these fears, comparing them with similar phenomena in the West and in modern life. "The Orthodox population" here refers to the religious community, which includes various strata and age groups, parishioners of the churches of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv (including the period of non-hierarchical existence of the Orthodox ecclesia in 1596-1620) on ethnic Ukrainian lands. Not individual, but collective fears of the Orthodox population are considered.

In this research, both general scientific methods – analysis and synthesis, analogies, generalizations – and general historical methods – historical-genetic, historical-systemic, historical-comparative and historical-typological – were used. Historical-genetic method allowed to evaluate the human fears transformation in between the first half of the 16th – 17th centuries and until the present time, and to determine causes of fears appearance. Historical-systemic method gave ability to look into regularly repeated events of the same kind in ordinary typical social practices of that time. System of fears of the Orthodox of the early modern period was examined in relation with the outer social environment. Historical-comparative method was used to analyze similarities and differences in fears of the Orthodox and of the Western European

Catholics of that time. Historical-typological method was used to construct an imaginary system of most common fears inherent to the people of that time, the model of the phenomenon being studied. Special methods which were used are socio-psychological and the method of historical anthropology. Due to the fact that the sources do not have direct descriptions of fears, signs of human fears had to be searched for in descriptions of social practices of the early modern period. "Getting into" the everyday life of the Orthodox of that time is an effective method. It allows us to see the world in the eyes of those people and reconstruct the world of fears of a common person. The study was conducted using the "case studies" method. In other words, some individual cases or incidents of the everyday life, which were quite common for that time, were examined. The given examples demonstrate widespread everyday practices which can often be found in the sources.

Historiography

As for Ukrainian historiography, first of all, we should mention K. Dysa's monograph "History with Witches", in which the author reveals the problem of society's attitude to magic (Dysa, 2008). O. Levitsky (1902) and N. Yakovenko (1997) touch upon the problems of fear of witches in the everyday life of early modern times. The works of N. Starchenko (1998) and N. Yakovenko (1992) are devoted to certain aspects of everyday practices. Everyday events that contributed to the growth of fears in society are revealed in the works of V. Domanytsky (1905) and P. Mykhailyna (1971). I. Krypyakevych mentions the fears of the Ukrainian population before astronomical phenomena (2016). His follower is I. Paslavsky, who studies the astronomical ideas of the time and the fears of the population of celestial phenomena (Paslavsky, 2016). M. Vysotsky (1879) and S. Andrieieva (1999) touch upon the problems of fear of diseases and epidemics. The article by I. Goncharenko (2019) examines the fears of Orthodox believers against diseases and evil spirits. M. Kostomarov (1994) made a significant scientific contribution to the study of the fears of the Orthodox population against evil spirits. V. Hnatyuk (1991) emphasizes that the Orthodox Church has proved to be powerless against the prejudices of its flock regarding the belief in the existence of various evil spirits that inhabit the entire human world. In N. Yakovenko's book "In Search of a New Heaven" (Yakovenko, 2017), the author touches on the aspect of instilling in believers the behavior which corresponds to Christian doctrine which was carried out through fear of sin and punishment for it. Particular importance for studying the origin of everyday fears is the study of I. Goncharenko (2001) on the causes of increasing cruelty in Ukrainian society of early modern times, which led to creation of a terrible psychological atmosphere. A more comprehensive study of public fears was conducted on the events of the recent years in Eastern Ukraine. The work "War and the Transformation of Everyday Life: A Woman's View" is interesting from the point of view of studying everyday fears. It examines the fears of women affected by hostilities and the destruction of habitual structures. Among the greatest dangers of life, they note the threats of war: fear of death and injury, shelling, destruction. Fear for loved ones, fear of unemployment and lack of money are very strong. A significant problem for them is the situation of insecurity and instabi-

lity and fear for the children they have to raise in the conditions of destroyed structures of everyday life (Potarska, Dutchak 2015: 28-30). This work is important from a methodological point of view as an example of studying the phenomenon of fear in Ukrainian historiography, because there are no special works that would not partially address this issue, but would make fear the subject of research in relation to the early modern period. But for all the significance of the above works, the problem of fears of the Orthodox population on the Ukrainian lands as a reaction to the practice of everyday life in early modern times has not yet been the subject of a special study.

A significant part of the sources on which the study is based are complaints filed with various local courts, "Interrogation stories" by voivodes of border Russian cities, chronicles and memoirs (by S.V. Velychko, G. de Beauplan, E. Celebi), religious literature (*Teaching gospels*, D. Tuptal's "Irrigated Fleece", etc.) are used.

Results and discussion

In the Philosophical Dictionary, fear is interpreted as an emotion that arises as a reaction to a real or imagined danger that threatens the life of a being, a person or its values (Shynkaruk (ed.), 2002: 610). This emotion is basic, it is inherent in many living beings, can be traced in all human cultures. According to the dictionary of I.T. Frolov, "fear is a deep human condition, generated by the ability of man to realize the imperfections of the world, its collisions and the threat to human existence" (Frolov (ed.), 2001: 541). Everyday life is characterized by a clash of opposing views, aspirations, interests of individuals, states, peoples. The imperfection of human relations, insecurity from social upheavals and natural phenomena is acutely felt in human everyday life. In European history, the period of 16th -17th centuries is characterized as a time of significant changes, breaking the traditional way of life, economic and political transformations, which were quite painful for the humanity of that time. The Early Modern period is considered to be a transitional period, marked by the destruction of habitual structures and the terrible variability of life.

J. Delumeau states that in early modern Europe there was an atmosphere of overt or covert fear, which was largely generated by social instability of the age of change (Delumeau, 1994). These changes were accompanied by an outbreak of incredible cruelty, which did not spare the Ukrainian lands (Goncharenko, 2001: 54-57). Ukrainian society at that time suffered from numerous wars, the obvious manifestations of power in the form of attacks by nobles, the consequences of pauperism and the formation of a marginal stratum. Cases of violence became typical in the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as evidenced by numerous sources. N. Starchenko sees in the raids of the nobles on the estates of their neighbors, which became quite common, only manifestations of "symbolic demonstration" (Starchenko, 1998: 77). However, in our opinion, these "symbolic demonstrations" were not quite safe. Complaints, interrogations and other sources quite emotionally reflect the atmosphere of fear that prevailed in the society of that time.

Indeed, inter-feudal conflicts which manifested themselves primarily in the so-called "domestic wars", which affected not only the peasants and their crops, but also the inhabitants of cities, were raging in the Ukrainian

lands of the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*Mykhailyna, 1971: 6*). Demonstrating their power and superiority, the nobility often mocked the people of their opponents. For example, in 1596, the ataman of Korostyatyn Zents complained about Prince Peter Voronitsky and Mr. Alexander Gulevich that they had plundered the village of Korostyatyn and cut off the ears of eleven men (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 93-94*). Another example of brutal massacres in the "domestic wars" is the conflict between Mr. Stefan Nemyrych and Mr. Hryhoriy Pashkevych. Between these lords in 1610 – 1611 there was a real internecine war. The case began with the fact that in the summer of 1610, according to the source, Pashkevych gathered several thousand "outlaws" and robbed the estate of Nemyrych and his neighbors. At the same time, his people insulted subjects of Nemyrych, raped women, and destroyed crops (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 154-162*). It is necessary to dwell on such a phenomenon as "outlaws". In the public consciousness of that time, this stratum of society was understood as people of "evil will" in contrast to virtuous and law-abiding Christians. These people gathered in armed groups, often led a marginal lifestyle, terrorized the civilian population. Their deviant behavior was contrary to God's providence, within which the life of a virtuous Christian took place; they embodied their "evil" will, different from God's. In early 1611, Pashkevych assembled a new detachment and resumed looting Nemyrych's estate, this time killing several Nemyrych's subjects. The case ended with Nemyrych attacking Pashkevych on the road, seizing large booty, and killing Pashkevych and some of his men (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 168-174*).

There are many evidences of acts of violence of nobles in the sources. So, in July 1640 in the government of the city of Zhytomyr nobleman Stanislav Tyshkevych complained that his estate was raided, the house was destroyed and devastated, and the servants were caught, beaten, shot, eighteen owners with women and children were taken out of the house (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 17-18*). Children also suffered during such acts of violence: in 1640, during a raid on the village Moshchany in the Bratslav region, in addition to the fact that peasants were robbed and their houses were burnt, a recently born child was killed in a fire. The mother of the child, weak after childbirth, could not escape quickly, was beaten by the attackers, and the source describes her condition as critical (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 28-29*). Thus, these forms of representation of social status, which were supposed to be purely symbolic, in fact often ended in bloody victims and further revenge. Social conflicts and riots, which became an element of everyday life at the time, created insecurity, tension and fear of becoming a victim. Acts of violence of the nobility formed fear among common people, strengthened their power over the people.

Interestingly, the Orthodox clergy often took part in such "showdowns". This trend was especially evident after the Brest Union. One of the evidences of aggressive behavior of the highest church hierarchs is the complaint of Yarosh Terletsy about the robbery of his estate by Semerin Nalyvayko and Florian Gedrot, in which Damian Nalyvayko, "priest of Ostroh", also took part (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 83*). The Uniate hierarchs resorted to such violent means. In January 1601, Andriy and Oleksandr Zagorovsky appealed to the Volodymyr Court with a complaint

against the Uniate Metropolitan Hypatius Potius about the attack on the Orthodox Volodymyr Church of St. Basil and the damage to the priest of this church, Martin: this act combined abuse with a symbolic ritual of unfrock which was a great insult not only to the spiritual man, but to anyone in general (*Akty..., 1865: 11*). Violence and robbery did not stop even after the Ukrainian church came under the rule of the Russian state. In June 1661, the archimandrite of the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery, Innocent Gisel, complained on Russian military people, and on that many estates and hamlets of the Blessed Virgin had been ruined by them, churches destroyed, and thrones overthrown. The sacraments were scattered from the vessels, priests and monks were beaten, hacked, and some were killed, and the subjects of the monastery were ravaged, some were tortured and burned, and others had their hands and feet cut off, some were killed (*Akty..., 1867: 335*).

Even the daily work of the peasants was threatened. For example, in 1645 the abbot of the Kyiv Mykola-Pustynsky monastery Isaiah Trokhimovich, at the head of an armed detachment, attacked Khodosiv peasants plowing a field. Peasants were beaten, their plows were damaged, and oxen tendons were cut (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 65*). Grain and cattle were often confiscated during raids (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 68-78*).

Fear of quartered soldiers became characteristic of Western Europe after the Thirty Years' War (*Delyumo, 1994*). The same trends were observed in Ukraine. When the Polish garrisons were stationed in Nizhyn in 1631, according to the Putivl voivodes, the Cossacks and other people were beware of Poles day and night incessantly. Cossacks and burghers dispersed to other cities due to the fear of the arrival of Poles (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 108*). In 1643, the inhabitants of Januszpol in the Zhytomyr region complained about Polish soldiers who, coming to the city, beat many burghers with swords, so that "the brain is visible", and one burgher was killed (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 44-47*). The descriptions of the damage show the horror of witnesses to the crimes they experienced during the examination of corpses and wounds, when they realized the sudden death of their compatriots, and when calculating the material losses. In 1646, the townspeople of Vilsk in the Zhytomyr Region complained that Polish soldiers had robbed their property, confiscated cattle and poultry, various products and grain, carts, tools, skins, cloth, threads, men's and women's clothing, and so on. The burghers themselves were wounded and maimed, one woman was thrown into the fire, which caused her severe burns, and the lives of many were endangered due to injuries (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 71-76*). During the Khmelnytsky war and Ruin, fear of the military became commonplace. In Lokhvytsia and its environs, in March 1664, the "military men" of Prince Romodanovsky set fire to the houses of many locals (*Velychko, 1991b: 44*). In 1662, his men inadvertently burned Zinkiv (*Velychko, 1991b: 21*).

In addition to soldiers, beggars and vagrants, who sometimes joined gangs, were feared of in Western European countries. In the 16-17th centuries Ukrainian lands, like Western Europe, were influenced by pauperism. The flow of vagrants and beggars increased, which created an acute social problem (*Yakovenko, 1992: 58*).

The study of the emerging marginal stratum in society, the so-called "outlaws", deserves special attention. These "bunches of outlaws" (groups of armed people), the Cossacks, homeless nobles, burghers and people of "plebeian conditionis", in the words of Stefan Batory, gathered in battalions, called themselves Cossacks and terrorized the population of Ukraine by raids and robberies (*Domanytskyi, 1905: 5*). For instance, Mr. Vasyl Hulevych complained about his nephew Mikhail Hulevych, who, taking advantage of troubled times, asked Hetman Kosynsky for a hundred Cossacks and attacked his uncle's estate in order to seize it (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 57-62*). Women suffered greatly during the noble invasions. In the conflict of 1611 between the same Pashkevych and Nemyrych, among other damage, the daughters of Nemyrych's subjects were raped (*Arhiv ..., 1863: 163-165*). In December 1644, the "unsettled" Krechkovsky nobles attacked the village of Zherdenivka in the Vinnytsia region and raped women. In addition, some peasants with women, children and the entire household were taken away in an unknown direction, others were robbed of barns and their cattle were confiscated (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 55-58*).

The Orthodox population also suffered from Tatar raids. One of them took place in 1640 at the Bila Tserkva. Bila Tserkva burghers complained that in February of that year Solkhyr-Sultan with the Tatar army broke into the Starostwo of Bila Tserkva and captured men, women and children, stole herds, burned houses, grain, hay in some cities and hamlets (*Ukraina pered vyzvolnoiu viinoiu, 1946: 15*). Velychko says that in 1662 the Tatars took slaves in Lubensky and other regiments, as well as invaded the Desna in Chernihiv region and plundered the villages there (*Velychko, 1991b: 21*). Evliia Celebi, an Ottoman traveler, wrote in 1665 that "infidels" (Orthodox Ukrainians) were afraid of the Tatars like the plague, because they could never be calm "neither in the mountains, nor in the woods when cutting firewood, nor in the fields when sowing, nor when they are simply in their villages." (*Ehvlia Celebi*).

Fear of revenge played a significant role in everyday fears. Nobles raids always led to attempts by the offended party to take revenge. The desire for revenge gained enormous strength during hostilities. After the Cossack uprisings, the Polish authorities oppressed the Cossacks and their families. According to the source, Poles beat Cossacks in every possible way, torture women and children, and take away cattle (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 194*). Fear of revenge forced the Cossacks to flee their inhabited places with their families, property, and sometimes abandoning everything they had to the mercy of fate (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 185-206*). Not only Cossacks were persecuted by the Poles, there are reports that the Orthodox clergy fled for fear of the nobility and Catholics. Thus, in 1638 the monks of the Gustinsky and nuns of the Pokrovsky Ladynsky monasteries fled to Putivl together with their peasants, and on the way their property was looted (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 227-228*).

Fear increased significantly during the War of Khmelnytsky. According to eyewitnesses, Hetman B. Khmelnytsky warned in the summer of 1648 that all county "Lithuanian" people should beware of the Tatars and flee from the counties to the cities with their wives and children (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953b: 37*). The desire for revenge grew on all sides of the conflict, fears

were expressed among the Orthodox Cossacks that although they would reconcile with the Poles, but in the future the Poles would begin to punish Orthodox Christians and take revenge (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953b: 278*). In addition, the threat of famine increased during the war. According to Colonel of Chyhyryn F. Korobka in the autumn of 1949, it was impossible to fish due to rising water in the rivers, bread was not born, and nothing else was sown because of the war. There was no time to stock up for themselves and for horses because everyone was at war (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953b: 265*).

The population also suffered from interfaith conflicts. In 1634, the Lutsk Orthodox Fraternal Monastery suffered from a double armed attack by Jesuits, students and ministers of the Lutsk Jesuit College. The monastery church, school, hospital, and cemetery were looted and destroyed. The clergy of the Roman church, up to a hundred men, attacked the cemetery and the hospital with swords, rifles, sticks and stones. As a result of this attack, many people were beaten by stones, bricks, swords and clubs, including the abbot of the monastery Isaac, other monks, students and residents of the hospital (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 126*). The everyday life of Orthodox believers was destroyed as a result of the introduction of Uniatism. In 1641, the Orthodox bishop of Lutsk, Puzyna, and the burghers of Sokal complained about the Uniate bishop Terletsky, who sealed and looted the Sokal Orthodox churches and the hospital. All utensils were confiscated from the churches, and property (hospitals, church houses, crops, fields, gardens, 60,000 pieces of church bricks) was alienated. All the poor were expelled from the hospital. The townspeople of Sokal, parishioners of the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Prechista and St. Michael the Archangel, protested against the fact that the mentioned churches were sealed for more than a year, worship services were not held in them, so the dead were buried without memorial services and rites, and children died unbaptized (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej, 1953a: 335*). Of course, the Orthodox feared that non-observance of rites would adversely affect their earthly and otherworldly lives.

At the end of the Middle Ages, the fear of death began to give a special psychological color to the emotional sphere. Some researchers believe that at this time radically changed the attitude of man to death. Thus, F. Aries states that the people of the early Middle Ages had no fear of death, because the dead did not expect trial and punishment for life (*Ar'es, 1992: 62*). At the end of the Middle Ages, in contrast with a large number of descriptions of hell and torment that await dead sinners, images of paradise are very rare and vague, says A. Gurevich in relation to Western Europe (*Gurevich, 1989: 128*). The same trend is observed in Ukrainian Orthodoxy. Religious literature of the 16th – 17th centuries full of scenes of the Last Judgment and the punishment of sinners. In his sermons, Ioanniki Galyatovsky depicts hell during the Last Judgment: "The earth under sinful people will separate itself ... and all sinners will fall into hell, then the earth will come to its place again and cover them" (*Ogienko, 1913: 23*). No less terrifying to contemporaries was the picture of the Last Judgment, depicted in many teaching Gospels, in particular, in the "Teaching Gospel" by Meletius Smotrytsky. The day of the second coming of Christ is depicted as terrible: when the throne is installed, the

books will be opened and the un hypocritical judge will sit, surrounded by many servants and choirs of angels, then all the alive hot ones will melt, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth. Then the basement on which the earth is founded will shake, and all the dead will rise from the graves. All mankind will stand naked before the un hypocritical judge, and the angels which are so terrible and strong in their fiery postures that they burn with the fire of eternal torment, breathe with fire and speak with fiery words will also stand around his terrible throne with fear and awe. And everything created on heaven and earth will stand before him (*The Jevanhelije ucytelnoje of Meletij Smotric'kyj, 1987: 47*). Another "Teaching Gospel", translated from Greek and published in 1637 with the blessing of P. Mohyla, declares that at the Last Judgment all our actions will be judged for all to see. There all the secret deeds of men will be revealed, and there everyone will see sins of others as their own, which will be written to the smallest sin in the books of conscience (*Yevanhelije uchytelnoe, 1637: MA (41)*).

They also intimidated believers with scenes of hellish torment. Very indicative in this regard is the popular apocrypha "Walking of the Virgin in torment." The hellish torments of sinful souls look very naturalistic in it: people hang upside down, shout a lot, and unknown beasts eat them; many iron chains hang on the trees, by which many people are taken for tongues; people hang by their arms and legs, and blood flows from them, flames come out of their mouths so that they cannot breathe (*Khozhdeniie bohorodytsi po mukam, 1988: 38-39*). Such powerful ecclesiastical propaganda led to the formation of a steady tendency to worry about the salvation of the soul and to avoid the torments of hell in the minds of the general public. This created a rather tense socio-psychological atmosphere, when everyone was not sure of their "other-worldly tomorrow". Caring for the soul becomes an integral part of the testaments, which, incidentally, were widespread in the Ukrainian lands in the 16th century. From the will of Ivan Yatskovich Letynsky (1571), which is typical of his time, we can see that the problem of death and the afterlife and their expectations occupied a significant place in the minds of individuals: at the beginning of the testament there is a fairly typical formula that no Christian person knows the time and hour of death, but death cannot be escaped by anyone. Therefore, every Christian who has property must make a will while waiting for the time of death. Then the testator entrusts his soul "to the Lord my God, who created the heavens and the earth" and the body to his relatives (*Volynski hramoty XVI st., 1995: 121*). In the same way, in 1602 Mr. Mykola Senyuta Radogosky entrusting his soul to God in his will.¹ An additional horror in relation to death was provided by the interpretation of Orthodoxy of unknown date when it happens. The problem of death appears in the literature of that time. So, Damian Nalyvayko writes in his poem: I do not dare to postpone time, / Because I am not sure where and when to die (*Nalyvaiko, 1997*).

The uncertainty of the hour of death required from person daily innocence due to the fear of the unexpected, sudden death, when it will be impossible to repent. "Dioptra", a book of religious and instructive nature, teaches to

live chastely, because we can die at any time (*Dioptra, 1612: PH (108)*).

In his sermons, M. Smotrytsky brings the demand of innocence to unattainable heights, calling us to bear our death every day, because the Lord wants everyone to bear his cross, in other words we always must have a sober mind and stand on the height of virtues (*The Jevanhelije ucytelnoje of Meletij Smotric'kyj, 1987: 91*). Given that the sermon was a mandatory attribute of Sunday or holiday service, one cannot ignore its influence on the formation of consciousness of the masses. The Christian path of man had to pass by all vices and sins for the salvation of the eternal soul. Life in the earthly world was proclaimed temporary: "Living in this body, we wander" (*Dioptra, 1651: MA (41)*). Christianity declared a war to the human body, desires and emotions: crush your passions and give up the desires of the vanity of this world (*Dioptra, 1651: E (5)*). The high demands of strict asceticism, if a person tried to follow them, had to push the psyche into a subconscious confrontation, to require a richer and more colorful emotional life. The human soul needs experiences and impressions, and excessive rejection of the joys of "worldly vanity" can lead to nervousness and increased excitability. On the other hand, excessive prohibitions often provoke protest, so the temptation to fall into sin is always great. I. Galyatovsky declares as sins all kinds of crimes, pride, eating dainty, gluttony, envy, lust, arrogance, revenge, the sin of Sodom, drunkenness, delay in wages to servants and workers, wrong measure and weight, etc. (*Ogienko, 1913: 24*). The sources of that epoch paint a picture of life, very far from Christian ideals, where there was a place for revenge, drunkenness, fraud, and many other sins. N. Yakovenko questions that the monasticism of that time followed the propagated ideals. She refers to the fact that according to the recent research, the life of Orthodox hierarchs in the 18th century is very different from the ideal of poverty. And Galyatovsky himself, for example, when he went to Moscow, took his cook with him (*Yakovenko, 2017: 185*). It was difficult for a man weak in nature to resist the temptations of the world, but the curse of the afterlife judgement always hung over them. Protesting with his deviant behavior against an excessively strict framework, a person has always felt fear and uncertainty about the future. The fear of death and afterlife, the need to constantly avoid the temptations of the earthly world, or the fear of atonement for sins, in combination with disturbing economic and social changes, created an unstable emotional atmosphere.

Illness also added fear and uncertainty about the future. The greatest horror was caused by epidemics, especially fear of the plague. It was under the threat of plague that B. Khmelnytsky was forced to lift the siege of Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1652. The following year, the epidemic spread throughout Ukraine and resulted in high mortality. In 1654-1655 the disease raged in the Muscovy. Another case of plague in 1673 was recorded in the Sich. Anti-plague quarantine measures were introduced in the Hetmanate in 1681 and 1690 (*Andrieieva (2005, September, 06), Verkhratskyi, 1991; Vysockij, 1879*).

Church hierarchs explained the causes of illness by God's wrath for human sins. D. Tuptalo claims that the Lord inflicts various punishments on a person only in order to correct him, and the unclean spirit can torture a person only by the will of the Lord (*Tuptalo, 2009: 218*).

¹ Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kiev. Fund 22, description 1, case 13, page 396.

Orthodox demonomania was developing. D. Tuptalo claims that the invisible enemy attacks with all his might, moves all the legions, surrounds with all the intrigues. The life of an Orthodox Christian takes place in an eternal struggle with the unclean. D. Tuptalo depicts the Orthodox mankind surrounded by the "last abyss", intimidates believers with a crowd of devils that surround people (Tuptalo, 2009: 219). In Western Europe, with the onset of the Modern Times, an unprecedented fear of the devil is spreading. If in the early Middle Ages the devil was not only scary, but also funny, then at the end of this era in the West begins the transformation of the image of Satan and demonic forces. They became the embodiment of absolute evil, and Satan received the title of "prince of this world." "Ubique daemon" – proclaimed by the Catholic Church – "The Devil is everywhere". He is always with a person and inspires them with bad thoughts. His numerous temptations are difficult to see for a person. Believers were instilled with the idea of the omnipotence of the unclean force and its constant interference in human life (Gayev et al, 1998: 196). Demonomania began to spread to the population of Western Europe. Servants of the devil were usually recognized in political and religious opponents. In the words of A. Gurevich, "demonomania gave a universal cliché to portray the enemy" (Gurevich, 1990: 360). Conditions were created that subconsciously pushed people to look for the culprits of their material and psychological troubles. A scapegoat was needed to accuse it in their failures and fears. The ideal figure for this was a witch, who was blamed primarily for intercourse with the devil. The witch was subject to public execution for all to see. The practice of auto-da-fe was widespread in the Catholic world, including in Catholic Poland, in the latter lasted until the end of the 18th century. The last public burning of a witch took place there in 1793 (Levitsky, 1902: 265). The persecution of witches reflected another common fear in early Modern Time – the fear of neighbors. J. Delumeau emphasizes that if the modern world is characterized by indifference to neighbors, whom we almost do not know, in the past, relations between neighbors were dominated by mistrust and fear (Delumeau, 1994).

V. Antonovich's research on witch trials on the Right Bank of Ukraine, as well as materials on the study of this problem by O. Levitsky on the Left Bank of Ukraine indicate a slightly different attitude to magic. As a rule, even if a person was accused of witchcraft, she rarely received a severe sentence. If there was a complaint against the "wizard", the court did not prosecute the perpetrator for using magical knowledge and means, but first of all determined in favor or harm it was done. Only in the latter case was the accused tried and sentenced to a fine commensurate with the degree of damage inflicted. O. Levitsky cites many examples from the court cases of the Left Bank, which relate to the clarification of relations with magicians. Quite typical was the case of Motrya Lysovchykha, a resident of Kyshinka. She was accused of bewitching the house of Ivanyshyna Yazlovedzhyshyna in the middle of the night. The woman was unclothed and with a padlock in her hair, and Korniy Yazlovedzhenko caught her near his house. According to the verdict of the regimental court, one horse was taken from Lysovchykha for that transgression, and a pair of oxen were returned to her sons (Levitsky, 1902: 267). K. Dysa states that the courts were often quite skeptical about witch trials be-

cause the accusation was usually based on gossip and was like settling scores between neighbors (Dysa, 2008: 51). The researcher also points out that only 13 people out of 233 accused were executed in Ukrainian lands (primarily from Volyn, Rus' and Podil voivodships), others were severely punished and expelled, and the vast majority paid fines in favor of the church or the court. Courts were generally reluctant to deal with witchcraft cases, given the unproven allegations (Dysa, 2008: 64). However, it cannot be said that there was no persecution of witches in Ukraine at all. In some cases, especially when epidemics broke out and the population panicked, they began to look for the culprit of the disaster. N. Yakovenko cites such a case: in 1624 a plague broke out in Volyn. To stop the plague, witches were set on fire in Myropol, but the effect was the opposite – "it died even worse". Several witches were also found in neighboring Baranivka, but people were afraid to burn them so that it would not get worse (Yakovenko, 1997: 176).

Examining the image of infernal beings in the church's artistic heritage, K. Dysa emphasizes that demons and devils in icons and illustrations in the Orthodox of early modern times are depicted not only scary: hairy, horned, with hooves, but also funny (Dysa, 2008: 76-77). It can be assumed that the fear of evil spirits among the Orthodox of Ukraine has not reached such proportions as among the Catholics.

Apart from the Devil, demons, according to the traditional beliefs of Eastern Slavs, the world is full of other creatures that pose a threat to humans, and which should be avoided. These are the so-called "walking dead", people who died of unnatural causes. These are drowned, killed soldiers, victims of accidents, people who died under mysterious circumstances, as well as unbaptized infants. They create a whole world of mythical creatures: nymphs, mermaids, ghouls and others that can come into physical contact with humans. M. Kostomarov gives a successful description of this phenomenon. He claims that the Slavs have a very developed cult of the wandering dead, but the Slavs do not have a fixed location for them. According to popular belief, the dead do not come from hell, but come out of the graves, or appear from nowhere. Many of them harm people, others travel the world without finding refuge. The scientist believes that their location is the entire nature, and the views of the Slavs on the afterlife reflect the lack of earthly notions of heaven and hell after death (Kostomarov, 1994: 233). People believed that the whole world is filled with supernatural beings, and entire nature is alive, that there are people who are endowed with supernatural properties, and they can interfere in the state of nature and human destiny. The Orthodox Church tried to eradicate these notions, but until the beginning of the 18th century these actions were unsuccessful (Hnatyuk, 1991: 384).

Reasons for keeping archaic views were the atmosphere of uncertainty of person existence in the nature: each their action a person tried to protect from a failure. Various phobias and fears have accompanied a person all their life. They feared a crop failure that could be caused by bad weather, drought, hail, locusts, or other pests; diseases, failed pregnancies and childbirth in the absence of medical care; envy and "evil eye" of neighbors and many other dangerous things that could happen at any moment. To avoid these troubles, it was necessary to have certain means of protection. The system of magical

actions, rituals, prayers created the effect of "protection" from misfortune. The leading role in this kind of "insurance" belonged to various sorcerers. Officially, the church clearly did not approve of people's contacts with representatives of witchcraft. In the West, since the tenth century, Christianity has punished healing sorcery with excommunication from the Church, sometimes with execution. Instead, condemning folk magic, the Catholic Church itself tried to perform these functions, offering believers its sacraments and rites of exorcism (Gurevich, 1990: 283). Another approach has taken root in Ukrainian Orthodoxy – healing and other benefits descended on believers, bypassing the person-mediator – through miraculous places and icons (Yakovenko, 2017: 448). It is the miraculous icons that become the hope of believers in the salvation of soul, body and life. Church teachings of Orthodox authors are full of examples of healings thanks to miraculous icons from physical and mental illnesses, salvation from Tatar attacks and other miracles (Yakovenko, 2017: 449-452; Goncharenko, 2019).

Various natural and astronomical phenomena caused fear. They searched for all sorts of hidden connections with events in the world of people. The appearance of locusts was interpreted, according to G. de Beauplan and S. Velychko, exclusively as God's wrath (Beauplan, 1990: 89; Velychko, 1991a: 61). People saw bad signs on the eve of the war of B. Khmelnytsky in the eclipse of the sun on Good Friday, in a comet twelve days later and in the invasion of locusts just before the war (Velychko, 1991a: 62). For a century and a half in the Ukrainian lands there were many solar eclipses. According to Krypyakevych, eclipses occurred on June 20, 1563, April 7, 1567, October 12 (2), 1605, August 21 (11), 1645, April 8 (March 29), 1652, 12 (2) August 1654, 30 (20) March 1661, 2 July (22 June) 1666, 23 (13) September 1699. In the astrological prognostications, it was reported that the eclipse of 1652 foreshadowed devastation, famine, fires, storms and floods and, most importantly, pestilence on the land of Poland. The eclipse of 1654 is mentioned in many sources as "terrible", when the stars were visible in the sky during the day, and the people were very "surprised" (Krypiakevych, 2016: 318-319).

Uncertainty and fear of the future contributed to the spread of astrology. Interpretation of astronomical phenomena has become popular not only in secular scientific circles, but, despite the ban, has spread to Orthodox authors. The desire to avoid future troubles leads to the creation of numerous astrological prognostic estimates. Such views are expressed by the Orthodox fighter against the Union of Brest Atanasy Filipovych in his "Diary" of 1646. The author of this work believes that after the abolition of the Union "good years" will come, because it is indicated by good planets. Filipovich organically combines faith in "good planets" and their positive influence on humanity with faith in a good God (Paslavsky, 2016: 289-290).

All sorts of natural and other unusual phenomena were interpreted as signs that warned of future danger. In 1662, when the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Ilyinsky Chernigov Monastery "wept" for twelve days in April, the residents of Chernigov and the surrounding area were seized with great fear, anticipating the great punishment of God. (Velychko, 1991b: 18). Praemonitus praemunitus – forewarned is forearmed, principle that

allows you to prepare for trouble and not feel defenseless in a constantly changing world.

Conclusions

Thus, in the everyday life of Orthodox believers of the early modern era, a lot of space was occupied by practices that was aimed at preventing and overcoming certain calamities and various fears of an objective and subjective nature. Among the objective reasons for the increased sense of danger, first of all, there were fears for their own life and the lives of loved ones. This was facilitated by the existence of numerous wars and armed conflicts that took place in the Ukrainian lands during the early modern period. The war destroyed the usual way of life, everyday practices, which gave rise to the corresponding fears. Many Orthodox believers had to save their lives by fleeing to new places, fearing of an unpredictable future. Fear of war and armed men was accompanied by fear of losing property and food, of being left homeless on the brink of starvation. Fear had the character of dread of "alien", "another" – people of different social status, religion, other nationality. They feared the nobility, Poles, Muscovites, Tatar attacks, interfaith conflicts with Catholics and Uniates. They tried to quell the fear of the unknown future with various prognostic practices. Everyday life was imbued with the expectation of some misfortune, foreshadowed by various signs and omens, such as comets or myrrh-streaming icons. Rational fears and anxieties were accompanied by irrational ones. The fear of physical death was accompanied by the fear of the afterlife in hell and the Last Judgment. Orthodoxy set a high moral standard of living, which was very difficult to follow, which made the fear of sin becoming a daily phobia. The objective fear of falling ill was accompanied by the irrational because sickness was explained as the Lord's punishment for sins. Fear of evil spirits grew, although in Ukrainian Orthodoxy demonism did not develop as much as in the West. To protect themselves from misfortune, disease, premature death, starvation and other troubles, it was necessary to pray or resort to various rites and magical practices.

We can say that the fears inherent in modern man (biological – to die, get sick; social – to lose their status and property) manifested in the everyday life of Orthodox man of the 16th -17th centuries much stronger due to much more dangerous life conditions. The moral fears of the individual at that time were greater than those of the modern one, primarily because of the high religiosity and requirements for sinlessness and repentance, and they were also irrational fears due to preparation for true eternal life in the afterlife. Disintegrative fears played a significant role, associated with changes in everyday life, transformations in the political, economic and social spheres, which took place both on Ukrainian land and in Europe in general. The fears of the Orthodox were similar to the fears of the Catholics in Western Europe, both because of the similarity of social processes that led to increased cruelty and violence, and because of the similar development of beliefs among Catholics and Protestants, the church's influence on everyday life and religious instruction. In general, in comparison with the present, in the everyday life of the people of the early Modern Times there were much more fears because of the dangers and helplessness in preventing them. In addition, people at that time experienced far more irrational fears because of

their high religiosity and adherence to church principles. Fear was a characteristic feature of the psychological atmosphere of early modern Orthodox society, largely determined personal and social behavior. The protective mechanism in a world full of fears was faith in God and his intercession. This belief in God's protection was an essential attribute of the everyday life of early modern Orthodox society in its struggle with its fears. In today's world, people feel more protected, and do not need such protection from troubles, as in the beginning of the Modern Times.

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ПОВСЯКДЕННІ СТРАХИ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЗЕМЕЛЬ ЯК ВІДОБРАЖЕННЯ БУДЕННОСТІ В РАНЬОМОДЕРНИЙ ЧАС

Стаття висвітлює малодосліджену проблему ролі страхів у повсякденному житті православних віруючих на українських землях другої половини XVI-XVII ст. Відзначається, що в ранній Новий час суспільство потерпало від спалаху насильства, і це вплинуло на формування атмосфери страху серед населення. На прикладі типових окремих випадків аналізуються види страхів, від яких найбільше потерпало суспільство: страх війни та насильства, хвороби, каліцтва, передчасної смерті, страх перед озброєними людьми, перед іноземними загарбниками та представниками інших конфесій. Окрім цих об'єктивних страхів, православне суспільство відчувало й ірраціональні, серед яких найбільшим був согрішити. Значно мірою на повсякденному житті православних позначалася боязнь Страшного суду та пекла, нечистої сили. Страх, притаманні сучасній людині, проявлялися в повсякденні православної людини XVI-XVII ст. значно сильніше через набагато небезпечніші умови життя. Страх був характерною прикметою повсякдення православного суспільства ранньомодерної доби.

Ключові слова: повсякденне життя, страх, православні віруючі, насильство, смерть, хвороба, пекло, Страшний суд, гріх.

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