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Andrews University
SDA Theological Seminary

ADVENTIST CULTURE IN THE USSR

A Thesis
Presented for the Degree
Master of Arts – Religion

by
Dmitrii Fokin

2022

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APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

Eugene V. Zaitsev, Ph.D., Advisor

Cedric Vine, Ph.D.

Vsevolod V. Andrusyak, Th.D.

Date Approved

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ESD	Euro-Asian Division of the Adventist Christian Church Seventh Day
GARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation
KGB	State Security Committee
MVD	Ministry of the Interior
NEP	New Economic Policy
RPC	Russian Orthodox Church
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
UMD	Young Volunteer Missionary
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VSASD	All-Union Council of Seventh-day Adventists
VSECB	All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Justification for Study

Any religion, including Christianity, is not only a system of beliefs and doctrines, but also patterns of behavior that make up a certain culture of its followers. The degree of development of religious culture and involvement in it largely determines the self-identification of members of communities of various denominations. It can be expressed through the following markers: everyday behavior, the presence of specific vocabulary, the formation of oral, musical, visual and written creativity of a particular religious movement. This is true of Seventh-day Adventist culture as well.

Aimee Leikert, a professor at Loma Linda University (USA), notes the lack of works on Adventist culture and asks the question: is there a common Adventist culture? The findings of her research indicate that such a culture exists. It is expressed mainly in a conservative wardrobe, adherence to the rules of a healthy lifestyle and adherence to biblical principles.¹ However, such cultural markers can be applied to many members of religious movements, which indicates some blurring of Adventist

¹ Лейкерт, Эйми. Адвентистская культура. // Альфа и Омега. No. 60 (3/2020). pp. 27-31.

culture in recent times, including in the territory of the Euro-Asian division of the Seventh-day Adventist.

It should be noted that for confessions located in countries within the ESD, the issue of the maturity and originality of religious culture is the most relevant. In modern Russia and the countries of Central Asia, the attitude towards a particular religious group is determined mainly on an ethno-cultural basis. If a person is Russian, then it is expected that he must be Orthodox, if a Tajik or Uzbek, then a Muslim, etc. Therefore, as a rule, the presence of a rich cultural heritage raises the status of a confession in the eyes of society, contributes to its recognition and the desire of its members to identify themselves within their religious tradition.

Meanwhile, the isolation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the USSR from the world brotherhood forced it to create its own numerous unique examples of Christian culture. The underground position of the church inside the country, to a certain extent, contributed to the formation of a system of uncontrolled production and release of printed materials. This allowed the church to publish magazines, books, leaflets, music and poetry collections. Considering that the ROC (the dominant religious movement claiming the status of a culture-forming movement in Russia) published only one magazine during the Soviet period, and Adventists had up to three magazines at different times (without taking into account numerous books and brochures), then we can talk about comparable volumes of published Orthodox and Adventist printed materials, as well as about a relatively developed literary work in general. The number of samples of the written culture of the Seventh-day Adventist in the USSR created and surviving to this day allows Adventists to claim the main contribution to the development of underground Christian culture in the USSR.

Statement of the Problem

However, to date there is no full-fledged study on Adventist culture in the USSR. The lack of a description of the written and oral underground culture of the Seventh-day Adventist does not allow us to reasonably substantiate the deep cultural traditions of the Seventh-day Adventists in Russia, which creates difficulties in raising the status of the church in society, its popularization, prevents the disclosure of the Adventist identity and the rooting of the young generation of Adventists in the Adventist religious tradition.

In addition, the lack of knowledge of Adventist culture in the USSR actually does not allow us to speak of it as a religious and cultural phenomenon. If such a phenomenon is supposed, then it is necessary to define it in the context of humanitarian and social knowledge.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

Purpose is to identify the main features of the Adventist culture in the USSR.

The goal substantiates the main objectives of the study:

- Identify the main features of everyday Adventist culture in the USSR
- Identify the main features of Adventist literature in the USSR
- Identify the main features of Adventist musical creativity in the USSR
- Identify the main features of Adventist poetic creativity in the USSR.

Methodology

Modern culturology has numerous interpretations of the concept of culture. Each of them is based on a scientific theory that prevails in a particular period in the development of scientific knowledge. In this paper, the author proceeds from the most

common concept of "culture", which was laid down by the American scientist Leslie White. He first introduced the concept of "culturology" into circulation and gave his definition of culture as an extrasomatic tradition.² Thus, the ability of a person to abstraction gives him the opportunity to create symbols, which is mainly the content of culture in the broadest sense of the word. L. White for the first time presents culture as a scientific category expressing a special area of reality, inherent only in human life and having its own laws of functioning and development.³ The presence of culture is explained by the presence of consciousness in a person and the interaction "not only with object-material formations, but also with ideal-figurative entities".⁴

In order to define "Adventist culture in the USSR", the undergraduate proceeds from the premise indicated by Max Weber, which is that before defining a historical phenomenon, it is necessary to conduct its research. This methodological approach is applicable to this study. The definition "Adventist culture of the USSR" will be given at the end of the study after the presentation of the results of a comprehensive historical study of this phenomenon in its chronology and contextual functioning. However, some preliminary characteristics of the subject under consideration can be distinguished on the basis of inference.

The author also traditionally relies on general scientific and historical methods: chronological, comparative and historical-cultural methods. The study will be aimed at identifying the features of various aspects of Adventist culture in the USSR, namely: everyday culture, literary, poetic and musical creativity. The aforementioned

² Поправко, Е. А., Дударенок, С. М. *Методы исследования культуры*. Владивосток, 2008. p. 9.

³ Уайт, Л. *Наука о культуре*. М., 2007. p. 3.

⁴ Белик, А. А. *Культурология. Антропологические теории культур*. М., 2006. p. 6.

cultural aspects will serve as sections of the dissertation chapters. The visual arts will not be the subject of a separate study, as it was relatively undeveloped.

Historiography

To date, there are no generalizing works on either Adventist or Protestant culture in the USSR. However, in historiography, works are known that set forth facts indirectly related to Adventist culture in the USSR. These are works devoted to Protestantism in general and its history in Russia.

First of all, it is impossible to understand the Adventist culture of the USSR without studying the theological works of the authors who laid the foundations of Protestantism, such authors as Martin Luther, John Calvin, Ulrich Zwingli and others,⁵ as well as comprehensive studies of secular scientists who identified the main characteristics of Protestant culture: diligence, frugality, a sober lifestyle, asceticism, etc. They are presented in the works of M. Weber, E. Troelch, Gregory, Brad S., Alister Edgar McGrath and other authors.⁶

Currently, there are several approaches to understanding Protestant culture in the USSR. The Soviet period from 1917 to 1991 was marked by the establishment of the communist, official state interpretation of Protestant culture in Russia. It was viewed as an exclusively Western phenomenon, bearing an extremely negative and anti-Soviet character. Those who professed any Protestant faith were branded as

⁵ Лютер, М. *Краткий катехизис*. М.: World Wide Printing, 1998., Лютер, М. *О свободе христианина*. М.: ARC, 2013., и др.; Кальвин, Ж. *Наставления в христианской вере*. М.: РГГУ, 1997, и др.; Цвингли, У. *Богословские труды*. М.: Икар, 2005; etc.

⁶ Вебер, М. *Избранное. Образ общества*. М.: Центр гуманитарных инициатив, 2012., и др.; Трёльч, Э. *Метафизический и религиозный дух немецкой культуры // Культурология. XX век: Антология*. М.: Юрист, 1995. С. 540. – 703; Heussi, Karl. *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 11. Auflage., Tübingen, 1956, McGrath, Alister E. *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2003, Gregory, Brad S. *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society*. Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2015, etc.

traitors to their homeland, mentally ill, or culturally disadvantaged people. Protestant movements that were unregistered and non-traditional for the western territories of the USSR were especially negatively treated.⁷ However, since the second half of the 1960s, Soviet religious scholars A. I. Klibanov, G. S. Lyalina, B. I. Galperin, L. Mitrokhin, et al., began to publish works that had a certain factual value on the topic under study.⁸ Also during this period, several works of Adventist authors appeared – P. A. Matsanov, G. I. Lebsak, and others, who opposed the official point of view.⁹

A large number of works devoted to the study of Protestantism in the USSR were published in Western Europe and America. Among these authors, the works of Michael Bordeaux should be highlighted.¹⁰ In his book *Young Christians in Russia*, Bordeaux describes elements of a specific Christian youth culture (mostly Protestant) in the Soviet Union. The author of the dissertation believes that this was the first work that highlighted the specific elements of the culture of Protestants in the USSR, although the culture itself has not yet become an object of interest, since it was in the shadow of a more important issue of that time: freedom of religion in the USSR.

⁷ Альшанский, Ю. *Ловцы человеческих душ*. Ставрополь, 1962.; Белопольский, Б. В. *Омуте религиозного сектантства*. Ульяновск, 1962; Брудный, В. *Изуверы*. М., 1961.; Рябушкин Н. В. *Кто такие сектанты*. Иваново, 1961; etc.

⁸ Клибанов, А. И. *Классовое лицо современного сектантства*. Л., 1928.; Клибанов, А. И. *Религиозное сектантство в прошлом и настоящем*. М., 1973; и др.; Лялина, Г. С. *Бaptизм: иллюзии и реальность*. М., 1977.; и др.; Гальперин, Б. И. *Бaptизм и его идеология*. Фрунзе, 1962; Гальперин, Б. И. *Религиозный экстремизм: кто есть кто*. Киев, 1989 и др.; Митрохин Л. Н. *Бaptизм*. М., 1974; etc.

⁹ Мацанова, А.Г., Мацанов, П.А. *По тернистому пути*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г., Лебсак Г.И. *Великое адвентистское движение и адвентисты седьмого дня в России*. Киев: "Патмос", Б. г.; etc.

¹⁰ Bourdeaux, Michael *Opium of the People*. London: Faber & Faber, 1965.; Bourdeaux, Michael. *Religious Ferment in Russia: Protestant Opposition to Soviet Religious Policy*. London; New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1968.; Bourdeaux, Michael, Murray, Katharine. *Young Christians in Russia*. London: Lakeland, 1976; Thrower, James. *Marxist-Leninist "Scientific Atheism" and the Study of Religion and Atheism in the USSR*. Berlin: Mouton, 1983; Masters, Peter *Remember the Prisoners*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1986; etc.

In the post-Soviet period, there has been an active publication of works by Adventist authors such as: E. V. Zaitsev, D. O. Yunak, A. A. Oparin and others.¹¹ These works, as a rule, are aimed at studying general issues of the history of Adventism, certain areas of the church's activity, or religious-state relations. These authors point out that Protestantism in Russia was formed thanks to Russian religious schismatic movements, as well as due to the Protestant population of the western territories of the Russian Empire. Zaitsev attempts to comprehend the cultural background of Protestantism in Russia in his article: *The Religious-Cultural Identity of Russian Protestantism*.¹² He concluded that modern Russian Protestant culture is not opposed to Russian culture, but to a certain extent is part of it and complements it.

The number of publications of an Orthodox missionary nature is also actively growing. These works, as a rule, continue to use the ideas of Soviet religious scholars. This direction is represented by the works of A. V. Kuraeva, D. A. Sysoeva, A. L. Dvorkin and others.¹³

At the current era, a significant number of works of secular historians and religious scholars have been published, such as L. N. Mitrokhin, L. M. Alekseeva, M. I. Odintsov, M. I. Danilova, A. Y. Grigorenko, and S. M. Dudarenok.¹⁴ The questions

¹¹ Дымань А. А. *Церковь христиан адвентистов седьмого дня и реформационные движения*. Заокский, 1998; Зайцев, Е. В. *История Церкви АСД*. Заокский, 2008; Юнак, Д. О. *Что слышали, не скроем от детей...* М., 2001; Парасей, А. Ф., Жукалюк, Н. А. *Бедная, бросаемая бурейю*. Киев, 1997.

¹² Zaitsev E. V. *Religious and cultural identity of Russian Protestantism // Religion in the self-consciousness of the people (Religious factor in identification processes) / Responsible ed. M. P. Mchedlov. М. : Institute sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2008. pp. 183-216.*

¹³ Кураев, А. В. *Протестантам о православии*. М., 1999.; Сысоев, Д. А. *Антропология Адвентистов Седьмого дня и свидетелей Иеговы*. М., 2002., Сысоев Д. А. *Прогулка протестанта по православному храму*. М., 2003.; Дворкин, А. Л. *Сектоведение. Тоталитарные секты. Опыт систематического исследования*. Нижний Новгород, 2007; etc.

¹⁴ Митрохин, Л. Н. *Баттизм: история и современность*. СПб., 1997. Митрохин, Л. Н. *Религия и культура (философские очерки)*. М., 2000.; Алексеева Л. М. *История инакомыслия в СССР: Новейший период*. Москва: РИЦ «Зацеп», 2001.; Одинцов, М. И. *Государство и церковь. 1917-1938*. М., 1991.; Данилова, М. И. *Протестантизм как феномен культуры // Протестантизм и*

they consider, although numerous, but do not include the study of Protestant, including Adventist, culture in the USSR as an independent phenomenon. However, most authors point to the special conditions for the existence of Protestants in the Soviet Union, such as persecution and isolation. However, the degree and results of the influence of these factors on the culture of Protestants is not considered.

Thus, in historiography there are several points of view on Protestant culture, including Adventist culture, in the USSR. 1. This phenomenon is completely Western, without the influence of Russian culture (Soviet and Orthodox authors). 2. This phenomenon is part of the culture of the population of the USSR, it matured in Russian religious schismatic movements, as well as among the population of the western territories of the USSR, who traditionally profess the ideas of the Reformation (confessional authors). 3. Protestant culture acquired unique features in the context of persecution and 70 years of isolation in the USSR, which distinguish it from pre-revolutionary and modern Western Protestant culture (cf. works by Michael Bourdo).

To study this topic, it is necessary to analyze the complex and comprehensive Adventist culture of the USSR. A study of the unofficial culture of the USSR without studying its constituent part – religious culture – can hardly be complete. An analysis of Adventist culture in the USSR will expand knowledge about Protestantism in Russia as a whole and determine its historical and cultural place and significance.

Theoretical and practical significance

The study will provide an opportunity to identify the main characteristics of Adventist culture, to determine its place in the context of unofficial Soviet culture. A

протестанты в России: прошлое, настоящее, будущее. Вып. 2. Заокский, 2004. pp. 97-107.; Григоренко, А. Ю. *Эсхатология, миллениаризм, адвентизм: история и современность*. С-Пб., 2003.; Дударенок, С. М. *Нетрадиционные религии на Дальнем Востоке: история и современность*. Владивосток, 2004; etc.

number of new sources will be introduced into scientific circulation, as well as new samples of documentary and fiction literature, poetic and musical creativity of the Seventh-day Adventist Church will be described. The dissertation materials will be useful to members of the Seventh-day Adventist church, historians, religious scholars, culturologists, art historians, teachers of relevant disciplines in higher educational institutions, as well as to everyone who is interested in the spiritual and material and cultural heritage of the countries of the former USSR. The study also will reveal the deep cultural traditions of the Seventh-day Adventists in Russia, raise the status of the church, popularize it, will contribute to the disclosure of the Adventist identity and the rooting of the young generation of the Seventh-day Adventist in the Adventist confessional field.

CHAPTER 2

MAIN FEATURES OF EVERYDAY ADVENTIST CULTURE IN THE USSR

Adventist Perceptions of Soviet Era Events

The October Revolution is one of the major historical and cultural changes in the life of Adventists in Russia. It led to their almost complete isolation from the international brotherhood. In Tsarist Russia, foreign Adventists were relatively free to enter and reside in the empire. The authorities allowed foreign preachers to conduct missionary work among the non-Orthodox population. This made it possible for Adventists in Russia to legally maintain contact with the world church and develop in the context of world initiatives of the Advent movement. In the USSR, such contacts were kept to a minimum. The main factors influencing the daily life of the communities were predominantly state ideological and confessional policies.

The new situation in the country required Adventists to develop a Bible-based attitude towards the revolutionary transformations of 1917. This was also encouraged by the fact that during the period of power of the Provisional Government, all strata of society were given the opportunity to participate in the political life of the country.¹⁵

¹⁵ Зайцев, Е. В. *История Церкви АСД*. Заокский, 2008. pp. 244 – 258.

Adventists contrasted the political revolution with a revolution of the spirit, which could resolve the contradictions that had developed in society. In the tenth issue of the Good News magazine, the official publication of the Seventh-day Adventist in Russia, which came out after the October events, a text was placed on the cover proclaiming that the freedom of the people "... is not a revolutionary-violent way, but the way of fulfilling the precepts of Christ in one's life and having faith in Him as the Son of God and Savior."¹⁶

On the whole, the October Revolution was received with restraint by Adventists. The Decree on freedom of conscience of January 20, 1918, as well as Article 13 of the Constitution of July 10, 1918, on the separation of church and state, were also wary, partly because the freedoms granted were interspersed with the deprivation of religious organizations of the rights of legal entities.¹⁷

Since the persecution of believers during the years of the NEP had not yet acquired a mass character, the period from 1917 to 1929 was perceived as a "time of grace." Adventists sought to improve relations with the Soviet authorities. It seemed that such a dialogue was possible thanks to the temporary religious freedom established by the Bolsheviks. Adventists actively helped the state during the Civil War and famine: they opened charitable canteens and hospitals, distributed food, created labor cooperatives and artels, which corresponded to Marxist ideas about the management of a communist economy.

However, steps towards the authorities did not help to establish mutually beneficial relations, and in some cases were used by the state against the Adventists themselves. Atheistic propaganda, for example, focused the attention of the population

¹⁶ Цит. по: Зайцев Е. В. *История Церкви АСД*. Заокский, 2008. p. 310.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 296.

on the “hypocrisy” of the “sectarians”, who had “posters with revolutionary slogans in their rooms, and portraits of the leaders of these societies hang with portraits of Lenin and Marx.”¹⁸ The desire of the Protestants to create labor farms of believers and not join the Soviet collective farms (Kolkhoz) gave political agitators a reason to accuse them of populism. “The activities of sectarian organizations – Evangelists, Baptists, Adventists and others – are especially intensifying... often covering their activities with the signboard of Kolkhoz...”¹⁹

The growing pressure on Protestants led to the fact that the Seventh-day Adventists without fail began to carry out military combat service in the Soviet army.²⁰ The decision on this was made at the VI All-Union Congress of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1928 and led to a split in the church.²¹

In 1929, legislative acts were adopted that severely limited the rights of believers. First of all, these are the secret circular "On measures to strengthen anti-religious work" and the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "On Religious Associations".²² These legislative acts served as the basis for the beginning of the persecution and executions of ministers and members of the church. So, in the period from 1920 to the 1940s, “... only about 150 Adventist ministers were repressed, and about 3 thousand church activists.”²³ This number of casualties was quite large for the church, since it is known

¹⁸ Клибанов, А. *Классовое лицо современного сектантства*. Л., 1928. p. 45.

¹⁹ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 7. Л. 1.

²⁰ Архив АСД. Отчеты заседаний правления ВСАСДа. 1920-1930. Л. 115.

²¹ Зайцев Е. В. *История Церкви АСД в России*. Заокский, 2008. p. 374.

²² Ведомости ВС РСФСР. 1975. N 27. Ст. 572.

²³ Юнак Д. О. *Что слышали, не скроем от детей... История Церкви адвентистов седьмого дня в России*. М., 2001. p. 231.

that in 1927 the number of Adventists in the USSR was about 15,000. In the 1930s years, the Seventh-day Adventist Church practically did not grow due to repression.²⁴

Some Protestant believers regarded persecution by the authorities as righteous suffering for their faith, which was an integral part of the life of a Christian. For example, the leader of Evangelical Christians I. S. Prokhanov believed that the misfortunes that befell believers were in many ways similar to the torment of Christians in the first century.²⁵ In his opinion, persecution was allowed by God in order to cleanse believers from vices and as a way out of a spiritual crisis. During this period, eschatological expectations and hope for a speedy deliverance from persecution intensified among Protestants. Given the anticipation of the Second Coming of Christ by Adventists, it is likely that these sentiments were prevalent among Adventists as well. This attitude to some extent allowed Protestants of all denominations to continue their activities in the face of repression.²⁶

In relations with the authorities, Adventists continued to take a moderate position even after the NEP. The regional authorities of the Voronezh region recognized that “Evangelical Christians, Baptists, Spiritual Christians Molokans, Subbotniks, 7th Day Adventists, Mennonites, Evangelical Spiritual Christians or Dry Baptists, Shaker Pentecostals or Evangelical Faith Christians, Modernist Baptists, Reform Adventists ” are “sects of a liberal direction” in relation to the Soviet government.²⁷

²⁴ Зайцев Е. В. *История Церкви АСД в России*. Заокский, 2008. p. 323.

²⁵ Проханов И. С. *В котле России. 1869-1933*. Chicago, 1992. pp. 255, 256-259.

²⁶ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 12.

²⁷ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 1. Д. 32. Л. 35.

Adventists who lived in rural areas began to join collective farms in the 1930s. This was reported in the Memorandum of the All-Union Council of the Seventh-day Adventist in 1932: “In areas of complete collectivization, such as in the Republic of Germans of the Volga region, all members of the Seventh-day Adventist remained in their places, implicitly entered the collectives and work together with all citizens ... The same situation is in Ukraine. In areas of partial collectivization, not all members of the Seventh-day Adventist have yet joined the collectives, but gradually, one after another, and there they, remaining in their places, join the general collective farm movement and continue to live and work under present conditions for the common benefit of society and the state.”²⁸

During World War II, Adventists, along with the entire population of the USSR, experienced a major social upheaval. The problems that people faced threatened their very existence, required the exertion of all spiritual, emotional, and physical forces. Soviet society was, with a few exceptions, united in its negative perception of the war.

With the outbreak of hostilities, the Soviet government tightened control over the activities of religious organizations. In the autumn of 1941, by order of the Council of Ministers, all institutions, including church ones, were subject to evacuation from Moscow, since the authorities did not want to leave an unreliable population in the capital, as they considered believing citizens.²⁹

Officially, after the VI Congress of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, each member of the church had to carry out military service at the front. However, since almost all members of the WSASD were arrested and the church was mostly a

²⁸ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 7об.

²⁹ Опарин А. А. *Псалмы, написанные кровью*. Харьков, 2007. р. 26.

congregational form of organization, in fact each Adventist decided for himself the question of serving in the army. The vast majority of Adventists went to the front.

The contribution of all Protestants to the victory over Nazi Germany was recognized by secular religious scholars. For example, the religious scholar A. I. Klibanov pointed out that “During the Second World War, believers of all religious movements, as a rule, courageously fought against the Nazi invaders”,³⁰ “... in religious organizations - Orthodox, sectarian, Muslim, Jewish - numerous facts of patriotism also found expression ”³¹ “The severe trials of wartime, the disasters as a result of the Nazi occupation, the loss of relatives and friends, the material hardships of the war and the first post-war years had their consequences and the search for religious consolation. The number of believers has increased during these years.... ”³²

After the Second World War, some relaxations in the state-confessional policy followed. From 1959, the persecution of believers intensified again, but their character has changed. The state power sought to destroy Protestant religious movements from within by exercising control over the activities of leaders and ordinary members. Physical reprisals against believers were replaced by long terms of imprisonment, increased atheistic education, anti-religious scientific propaganda and public pressure. For religious beliefs, believers were often subjected to public censure, up to and including being fired from their jobs.³³

Many clergy under pressure entered into cooperation with the secret services and had to report on everything that happened in their communities and the

³⁰ Клибанов А. И. *Религиозное сектантство и современность (социологические и исторические очерки)*. М., 1969. С. 208.

³¹ Ibid. p. 103.

³² Ibid.

³³ Может всегда спасать // Вестник истины. 1976. №2. p. 17.

organization as a whole.³⁴ The political agent network, which operated among religious societies, was expanding. Because of this, an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion developed in the communities, which prevented the attraction of new members.

With the beginning of the era of Perestroika in 1985, a period of liberalization of religious legislation begins. On October 2, 1990, at the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations" was adopted. This normative act allowed the introduction of Christian education, the conduct of liturgical rites in hospitals, in places of deprivation of liberty, in homes for the disabled at the request of citizens in them, etc. Adventists of the Soviet Union positively perceived the changes that had come. One of the leaders of the Adventist movement in Russia, Rostislav Volkoslavsky, commenting on this law, pointing out: "... I dare say that this is the best legal document on freedom of conscience in the entire centuries-old history of our state".³⁵

The believers had the opportunity to establish contact with brothers from other countries. The USSR, as a rule, was visited by clergymen from Western Europe, North America and Australia. Many Adventists underwent a transformation of thinking, the realization that they too, in the past "sectarians", have civil rights, that society can be interested in the church. Among Protestants, there was also an understanding of responsibility to the state for its well-being.³⁶

³⁴ С. Т. Голев // Вестник истины. 1976. №2. С. 27.

³⁵ Волкославский, Р. Н. Размышления о новом законе и свободе совести. // Слово примирения. 1990. № 4. р. 2.

³⁶ Interview elder Mikhail P. Kulakov // Is There Faith to God in Russia? 1987. р. 9.

Social position and Professional Activity of Adventists

The introduction of the NEP, the establishment of private property and elements of a market economy contributed to the development of economic activity in the country, favored the development of entrepreneurship. The work ethic of Protestants, who were "active believers"³⁷ found fertile ground for development in this period. This was facilitated by the fact that a significant proportion of Protestant communities were peasants and owners of individual farms,³⁸ as well as the fact that Protestants, and in particular Adventists, were "opponents of the use of alcoholic beverages, in any quantity, tobacco and other drugs", tried "to instill in their members the so-called evangelical way of life, since the Gospel tells us about the need for teaching, sobriety, a pure life, etc."³⁹

Having adopted the theological ideas of the communal nature of Christianity, as well as some provisions of communism, Protestants, including Adventists, began to create labor communes. They sought to embody the spirit of family, mutual care for each of its members. In general, the period of the NEP was relatively favorable for improving the quality of life of Adventists and raising their social position.

Since 1929, the living conditions of members of Protestant religious movements, including Adventists, deteriorated significantly. Many believers lost their voting rights, without which they could not get a job, live in public housing or provide for their families. Among Protestants, a significant number of families had many children and many of them were starved.

³⁷ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5 Л. 32 об.

³⁸ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 131.

³⁹ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 102.

The position of Protestants worsened even more during the Second World War, when the standard of living of the entire population of the USSR significantly decreased. In the occupied territories, all material wealth went to addressing the needs of the Wehrmacht, and in the unoccupied territories, to the needs of the Red Army.

During the war, many Adventists, a significant part of which were Germans and Latvians, were arrested and taken away for forced labor in camps or drafted into the labor army. Adventist church member Arnold Rebein, who was a prisoner of a camp during these years, recalls that the situation of his Adventist relatives drafted into the labor army was practically no different from the conditions of detention in the camp.⁴⁰ Despite this, for Adventists, being drafted into the labor army was considered a good opportunity to help the Motherland without taking up arms.

Many Adventists met the war already in prison after the repressions of 1934, 1936-1938. During the war period, conditions in prisons and camps deteriorated significantly. Rebein recalls that the size of the ration in the camp where he was kept first decreased from 900 gr. up to 500 gr. bread a day, and then down to 300 gr. By the middle of the war, there were practically no bunk beds left in the barracks, as the camps were empty due to the high death rate of prisoners and everyone slept on separate iron beds.⁴¹

Families of Germans living in the USSR found themselves in a particularly difficult situation. For historical reasons, there were quite a lot of them among Seventh-day Adventists. Almost all men were sent to the most difficult forced labor, where only a few survived.

⁴⁰ Ребеин, А. *По милости Твоей...* Заокский: Источник жизни, 1997. р. 129.

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 142, 151.

As mentioned above, the majority of Adventists went to the front. Pastor of the Seventh-day Adventist Church D. O. Yunak recalls that among Adventists, there were those who served in combat units, some served as sappers, some as one to signalmen, some were sent to the most dangerous sectors of the front, much depended on the commanders, who were either sympathetic to the feelings of believers or alternatively mocked them and sought to break their religious views.

In most Protestant families, only women, the elderly, and children remained at home. In their letters, the leadership of the VSECB has repeatedly noted the presence of “personal and family difficulties: needs, worries and sorrows” of fellow believers who remained in the rear.⁴² During this difficult period, believers thanked God for every day they lived. Any day in conditions of famine, and in frontline areas - in conditions of death of people - was perceived as a miracle of God.⁴³

Strong persecution was experienced by Adventists in the territory of Moldova occupied by Romania. Meetings of non-Orthodox Christians were banned under threat of being shot. They were accused of aiding the communists. Believers gathered in the fields and forests.⁴⁴

The war required Protestants to mobilize all human and material resources. Adventist pastor O. N. Arefiev recalled that in those conditions, Adventists sought to demonstrate an example of Christian virtue and tried to fulfill the duties assigned to them with the highest quality.⁴⁵

⁴² Обращение ВСЕХИБ о сборе средств на постройку санитарного самолета (1943 г.). Архив РС ЕХБ.

⁴³ Новогоднее приветствие ВСЕХИБ всем общинам евангельских христиан и баптистов в СССР (1942 г.). Архив РС ЕХБ.

⁴⁴ Юнак, Д. О. *И помни весь путь...* Кишинёв - М., 2000. р. 61.

⁴⁵ Беседа Фокина Д. А. с Арефьевым О. Н. от 20 апреля 2015 г. [аудиозапись беседы] / беседу вел Д. А. Фокин // Частное собрание Фокина Д. А.

Thus, by the end of the war, it became obvious that Adventists not only bore all the hardships of the war on an equal footing with others, but also endured additional difficulties associated with distrust of the authorities in them. Among all the Protestants there were victims both at the front and in the rear and in places of detention. Those “who continued to testify about Christ in the camps were subjected to condemnation right up to execution. All this, combined with hard work, debilitating hunger, merciless frosts and other difficult conditions, took the lives of many, many sincere Christians.”⁴⁶

In the post-war period, despite anti-religious propaganda, members of the Protestant movements were in good standing with employers. However, many Protestants, including Adventists, were forced to engage minor manual work, get low-paid unskilled jobs, or work on state farms.⁴⁷ This was largely due to the low level of Adventist education. Atheistic propaganda certainly pointed out that the members of the "sects" were uneducated people, and therefore succumbed to religious intoxication.

Meanwhile, the reasons for the low level of education of Protestants were not covered. They consisted in the fact that members of religious movements were not given the opportunity to enter higher educational institutions. Protestant ministers also could not receive a full-fledged theological education due to the lack of seminaries. There were only underground courses taught by experienced church ministers. Even such education was highly valued. “Everyone understood the importance of

⁴⁶ Плещт, И. П. *Здесь терпение и вера святых. История евангельских христиан-баптистов с 1905 по 1944 г.* 2001. p. 181.

⁴⁷ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: Рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 87.

education...⁴⁸ – recalls one of the veterans of the Protestant movement Novosad V.V.

Thus, the social status and level of education of Protestants in the USSR, including Adventists, was low. Labor activity was mainly associated with low-skilled professions. In addition to everything, Adventists could not get many jobs, but only ones where it was possible to have the Sabbath as a day off.

Intra-Church Activities of Adventists

The first ten years of Bolshevik rule were marked by freedom of missionary activity. Leader of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, G. I. Lebsack, viewed the liberalization of religious legislation as the liberation of God's people, by analogy with the verse recorded in the book of the prophet Isaiah 33:18: “Your heart will only remember the horrors:“ where is the one who did the census? where is the weighing tribute? where is he who sees the towers?”⁴⁹ The leadership of the church was not slow to take advantage of the rights granted to spread their teachings and intensify missionary activity.⁵⁰

However, the preaching pressure was initially held back by the realities of the Civil War. The prohibition of free movement on railroads prevented the clergy from regularly attending religious meetings. The constantly falling exchange rate of the ruble made it impossible to effectively manage church finances. Incessant hostilities limited ties between communities and spiritual centers. Mass migrations of the

⁴⁸ Беседа Кадашева Д. А. с Новосадом В. В. от 15 марта 2015 г. [аудиозапись беседы] / беседу вел Кадашев Д. А. // Частное собрание Кадашева Д. А.

⁴⁹ Лебсак Г. И. *Великое адвентистское движение и адвентисты седьмого дня в России*. Ростов-н/Д., 2006. р. 309.

⁵⁰ Юнак Д. О. *Что слышали, не скроем от детей... История церкви адвентистов седьмого дня в России*. М., 2001. р. 119.

starving population, including believers in search of work, had an acute effect on the spiritual state of religious movements. Despite this, local Adventist congregations continued to function, and in the 1920s, the difficulties of the Civil War were compensated by the growth of the church.⁵¹ During the NEP period, G. I. Lebsack wrote that "... the cause of God has not been harmed in any branch in recent years of persecution. Our churches emerged from this ordeal strengthened and rich in experience."⁵²

During this period, the quality of worship increased. Atheistic propaganda recognized the appeal of Protestant worship.⁵³ The communities often had choirs, services were accompanied by musical arrangements, the performance of psalms and the declaration of poems.⁵⁴

Adventist services consisted, as a rule, of sermons, prayers, declarations of poems, and were accompanied by choral singing. The service included the so-called "Sabbath Conversation". This expression denoted the "Sabbath school" traditional for Adventists. However, after the release of the "Decree on the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church" of January 20, 1918, as well as instructions of August 24, 1918 "On the procedure for implementing the decree "On the separation churches from the state and schools from the church", which prohibited religious organizations from educational activities, Sabbath school changed its name.

⁵¹ Юнак, Д. О. *Что слышали, не скроем от детей... История церкви адвентистов седьмого дня в России*. М., 2001. p. 123.

⁵² Лебсак, Г. И. *Великое адвентистское движение и адвентисты седьмого дня в России*. Ростов-н/Д., 2006. p. 314.

⁵³ Клибанов, А. *Классовое лицо современного сектантства*. Л., 1928. p. 48.

⁵⁴ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5 Л. 34 об.

For the first time, the official term "Sabbath Conversation" is found in the Report of the Fifth All-Union Congress of Seventh-day Adventists, held in 1924. The said document noted "the need ... for weekly Sabbath Conversation and magazines", mentioned "donations of Sabbath Conversation" and reported that Brother A. G. Galladzhev was elected "secretary for the departments: Youth and Missionary and Sabbath Conversation".⁵⁵ In the "SDA Church Manual" (a document of the Adventist World Church), published in the Soviet Union as a result of the work of the General Conference in 1967, an explanation was given to the section translated as "Sabbath school", "or in our conditions, Sabbath Bible Conversation".⁵⁶

The Sabbath Conversation, as a rule, was a discussion, the topic of which was known in advance to the participants, since its content was usually published so that church members could study it on their own. Not infrequently, especially in small congregations, the Sabbath Conversation could be another sermon. "School" elements in the Sabbath conversation could be seen in two points: the presence of special manuals for the parishioners on Sabbath conversations, which believers could study on their own during the week, and the structure of the conversation itself, which consisted of a brief repetition of the previous topic and presentation of new material.⁵⁷

In the USSR, the "Sabbath conversation" was introduced into the structure of the Sabbath service and functioned as its "first part", and not as a separate area of church activity. Each congregation had a Sabbath school chairman who opened and closed the "Sabbath conversation" for the entire congregation, teachers, and a

⁵⁵ Теплоне, В. В. *Из истории Церкви адвентистов седьмого дня в России*. Калининград, 1993. pp. 63, 68, 72.

⁵⁶ Церковное руководство А.С.Д. М., 1967. p. 158.

⁵⁷ Савина, М. М. Религиозная лексика протестантской субкультуры советского периода. // Казанская наука. Казань, № 10. 2015. p. 204.

secretary who noted the number of those present and who had studied the Sabbath lesson.⁵⁸

Adventist churches were located, as a rule, in the outskirts of settlements, among private buildings. Outwardly, the liturgical buildings were inconspicuous, architecturally they did not stand out among residential buildings. Usually, a residential building was adapted for to a church, in which a single space was created for the hall of liturgical meetings. Ancillary premises, which at that time included the servants' room and the dressing room, were only available to some communities. It should also be noted that in some cities, representatives of different Protestant denominations were forced to hold services in the same church: for example, in Moscow, Lipetsk, Vladivostok, Baptists and Adventists gathered in the same buildings.⁵⁹

Voluntary donations were collected to organize religious events, help ministers and for other needs. In Adventist congregations, fundraising usually took place at weekly worship services. One-time annual donations were also established, of which one part went to meet the needs of the Seventh-day Adventist Union, and the other consisted of "... local funds to cover ... the costs of maintaining the preacher and prayer rooms."⁶⁰

Due to the fact that many Protestants were in places of deprivation of liberty, a new direction of activity of the communities appeared - assistance to co-religionists-

⁵⁸ Беседа Фокина Д. А. с пастором церкви АСД Вельгошей И. И. от 18 августа 2014 г. [аудиозапись беседы] / беседу вел Д. А. Фокин // Частное собрание Фокина Д.А.

⁵⁹ Савина, М. М. Религиозная лексика протестантской субкультуры советского периода. // Казанская наука. Казань, №10. 2015. pp. 202-203.

⁶⁰ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 11.

prisoners and their families.⁶¹ For families deprived of breadwinners, mutual aid funds were created, and comprehensive support was provided.

After 1931, due to changes in legislation and the reorganization of the WSASD, a large number of Adventist congregations went underground. Churches were denied registration, their property was confiscated, and houses of worship were taken away. In a memorandum on the state of religious organizations in the USSR in 1936, it was indicated that “the overwhelming majority of sectarian organizations now do not have prayer houses, they gather in apartments, they also do not have official ministers”⁶² “... Dozens of private apartments have turned into prayer houses. The Orthodox began to attend illegal meetings of sectarians (these are also officially dissolved), which take place in the same private manner.”⁶³

Under conditions of repression, great responsibility fell on religious leaders and pastors. They had high prestige and influence among fellow believers. Ministers, as a rule, were most exposed to harassment from public organizations and government agencies. They were often deprived of voting rights in the state, as they were part of the founders of the Adventist community, the so-called "twenty" (list of the founders of the community).⁶⁴ The persecution had a negative impact on the standard of living of spiritual mentors. Their salary, which was not high, was not always paid in full, since the believers could not collect the full amount.⁶⁵ The churches were also

⁶¹ На свободе! // Вестник истины. 1976. №2. pp. 19, 20.

⁶² ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 10. Л. 46., ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 1. Д. 32. Л. 5.

⁶³ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 13. Л. 3.

⁶⁴ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 2, 31.

⁶⁵ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 3.

"difficult to find housing for the preacher and his family, since usually the preacher was 'disenfranchised – that is, he did not have voting rights.⁶⁶

The difficulties associated with preaching had a direct impact on the decrease in the number of clergy. Their shortage was especially acute in Central Asia.⁶⁷ In Adventist communities, this problem was solved in part by the fact that the right to preach was transferred to any members of the church who had authority among fellow believers.⁶⁸ It was also allowed to elect to the "twenty" not just ministers, but ordinary members of the church, while "the true leaders of a religious society often remain on the sidelines, are not included in the "twenty""⁶⁹ This approach made it possible to hide the real leaders of the communities to a certain extent.

During the period of repression, the emphasis in missionary work shifted somewhat. A significant part of it was now aimed at attracting believers from other Christian organizations. Cases of conversion of Baptists to Adventism and Orthodox to Protestantism were noted.⁷⁰ This trend increased disunity between confessions. For example, Adventists were advised "incoming members from other congregations or those living scattered, ... not to accept without a thorough knowledge of their beliefs and Christian behavior."⁷¹

Attracting secular people to Adventism became more and more difficult and dangerous. However, this did not happen infrequently. Those who got acquainted with

⁶⁶ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 6 об.

⁶⁷ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 7.

⁶⁸ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 32об.

⁶⁹ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 1. Д. 32. Л. 6.

⁷⁰ Юнак, Д. О. *И помни весь путь... История церкви АСД в Молдове*. М., 2000. pp. 38, 44.

⁷¹ ГАРФ. Ф. 5263. Оп. 2. Д. 5. Л. 11об.

the teachings of Adventism, attended liturgical meetings, prepared to perform the rite of baptism, were called "confidants". People who had recently accepted a dogmatic teaching and passed through the rite of baptism were considered "new converts."

During the Second World War, Protestants of all denominations had the opportunity "...to demonstrate their loyalty. In return, Stalin granted some new freedoms, though not supported by the protection of the law."⁷² The Soviet government was also interested in cooperation with the Protestants because it was required by foreign policy.⁷³ As a condition for opening a second front, the United States and Great Britain put forward to the communists the demand for the introduction of religious freedom in the USSR.

Changes in post-war state-confessional policy made it possible to re-register Protestant communities, resume meetings and worship in them, and even increase the number of followers. But this was not the case everywhere. Seventh-day Adventist pastor O. N. Arefiev recalled that at the beginning of the war, almost the entire leadership of the Leningrad communities was arrested. None of them returned after their arrest. No one dared to take on the duties of leadership either, so there were no Adventist communities in Leningrad until the end of the war, and later they were not allowed to register.⁷⁴ Officially, the first registered community in Leningrad appeared only in the 1980s.

Adventist communities gradually began to return to existence in peaceful conditions. Choir rehearsals were organized, women's, children's and musical circles,

⁷² Заватски, В. *Евангельское движение в СССР после Второй мировой войны*. М., 1995. р. 50.

⁷³ Плэтт, И. П. *Здесь терпение и вера святых. История евангельских христиан-баптистов с 1905 по 1944 г.* 2001. р. 185.

⁷⁴ Беседа Фокина Д. А. с Арефьевым О. Н. от 20 апреля 2015 г. [аудиозапись беседы] / беседу вел Фокин Д. А. // Частное собрание Фокина Д. А.

as well as circles for the study of the Bible, resumed their work. Orchestras were created in some communities. Members of the communities, as a rule, were disciplined: they regularly attended meetings and prepared for them.⁷⁵

To diversify the services, preachers from nearby communities were often invited. Mutual visits to churches by young people from different settlements were also practiced in order to meet and create families, which was given special attention.

In the period 1947-1960, the activities of the WSASD were restored, pastors and preachers could operate relatively freely. Their authority and influence in the communities grew. There are references to the struggle between the presbyters for influence on the community. "Members of the community sympathized with one or the other, and thus warring factions were created in the community."⁷⁶ Such disputes were usually resolved by the leadership of the church.

In the 1950s, the Interior Ministry and the KGB sought to increase their influence over the Adventist Church through cooperation with the leadership and/or recruitment of ordinary members of the church. Gradually, cooperation in one form or another between church administrators and state bodies became widespread. This was reflected in the daily life of the communities. At meetings, the pastor could, along with studying the Bible, turn to newspaper editorials, read news about the achievements of the Soviet state, agitate for the implementation of Soviet legislation, often contrary to the interests of the church, etc. Such phenomena contributed to the emergence of suspicion and mistrust within communities.

An atmosphere of mutual hostility and even hatred appeared in many Adventist churches after the removal of the chairman of the WSASD, P.A. Matsanov

⁷⁵ Гуменюк, И. А., Юнак, Д. О. Неоконченная повесть...: Рукопись. Бельцы, 2011. p. 113.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 81.

in 1954, which occurred in violation of the church position. In 1960, the WSASD was closed and two illegal centers independent of each other appeared under the control of pastors P. A. Matzanov and S. P. Kulyzhsky. The church managed to overcome the split only in 1981.

Adventist Family Relationships

Adventist families, as a rule, were created by fellow believers. Marrying a person who was not an Adventist resulted in exclusion from church membership. Entire families often took part in the meetings, despite the fact that involving children in religious rites resulted in parents being threatened with criminal prosecution (according to the law, spiritual education could not be carried out outside special religious educational institutions).⁷⁷

One of the veterans of the Adventist movement in the USSR, Pastor D. O. Yunak recalls his childhood years spent in the church: “I don’t remember much how the services were held and who preached, perhaps because the children were gathered in another house located on Uncle Pavel’s plot. There, his eldest daughter, Maria, who was already married by that time, gathered the kids for a children’s Sabbath school. The children were taught children’s songs. We sang, waving our hands, “God loves small sparrows”, “Little children, pay attention”, “Little drops” and other psalms ... Sometimes the children were bored of sitting for 2 hours while the service was going on, no one was engaged with them, and they went out into the courtyard to play.”⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Шафаревич, И. Р. Законодательство о религии в СССР (Доклад комитету прав человека). [Электронный ресурс] // Портал «Родон». URL: // <http://www.rodon.org/shir/zorvs.htm#a12> (дата обращения: 17.09.2014).

⁷⁸ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 69.

If the spouses in the family were both Adventists, then usually the whole family prayed together before eating. In the morning, as a rule, the day began with prayer, reading the Bible and the “Morning Watchman.”

The "Morning Watchman" is a kind of spiritual calendar that was developed by the General Conference of the Adventist Church (the highest governing body of the worldwide Adventist Church) and contained biblical texts, comments on it or instructive stories (usually instructions for the spiritual and practical life of an Adventist Christian) recommended for reading every morning. The very name "Morning Watchman" appeared as a result of a literal translation of the title from the English language. The appearance of the term was caused by one of the meanings of the word "Watchman" in English, which is sometimes defined as "spiritually awake".⁷⁹

In Adventist families, “From Fridays were carefully prepared for the Sabbath, as the Bible and the Spirit of Prophecy say.”⁸⁰ The Spirit of Prophecy refers to the works of Ellen White. “On Saturday they cooked food from Friday (on Saturday they only warmed it up), they even boiled water for tea from Friday. On Friday they also prepared fodder for the cattle for the Sabbath. That is, everything that could be done in advance was done on Friday: pick fruits in the garden, vegetables in the garden, wash them so that they are ready to eat for Saturday.”⁸¹

Despite the strict attitude to the observance of the Sabbath, since about the 1950s, according to D. O. Unak, children from Adventist families started to attend

⁷⁹ Савина, М. М. Религиозная лексика протестантской субкультуры советского периода. // Казанская наука. Казань, № 10. 2015. С. 204-205.

⁸⁰ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: Рукопись. Тула, 2014. С. 78.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 79.

classes in schools on Saturdays. Of course, this was a concession to the authorities and a violation of the religious foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist church, however, such measures were largely forced, as the children went to them because of the pressure of state institutions and the threat against parents of losing custody of their children.⁸²

Adventist youth usually met once a week for youth meetings, which were led by a pastor or a responsible member of the congregation. The topics of the meetings were different: "... about friendship, about friendship that ended in marriage, about reasonable relationships, about acceptable relationships during friendship between a man and a woman, about correspondence, how to behave at a party, about hygiene, about clothes, what you need to know before getting married, how to behave in society, how to behave with the opposite sex, etc. "Because most of the young people regularly read the Bible, the meeting with the pastor asked him to answer some Bible verses that were difficult to understand." "Together they sang, reasoned, asked each other, and answered each other."⁸³ Sometimes Bible quizzes were arranged, competitions were held for knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

Thanks to such meetings, young men and women often found their future spouses, so the youth at these meetings strove to prove themselves as best as possible. The girls welcomed modesty, silence, accuracy, cleanliness. Women and girls usually wore modest and simple clothes, sometimes they wore headscarves. On holidays, girls wore long light dresses, decorated braids with ribbons or bows.⁸⁴

⁸² Юнак, Д. О. *И помни весь путь... История церкви АСД в Молдове*. М., 2000. pp. 188-191.

⁸³ Гуменюк, И. А., Юнак, Д. О. *Неоконченная повесть...*: Рукопись. Бельцы, 2011. p. 113.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 109.

After marriage, the wife usually did not decide important issues without her husband. It was considered normal behavior to turn away the face of a married woman from an outsider on the street. In Moldova, women tried not to cross the path of men and washed their husbands' feet before going to bed,⁸⁵ and in some communities in Moldova and Western Ukraine, men and women sat on opposite sides of the meeting room during worship.

In the most conservative communities of Western Ukraine and Moldova, women were given a secondary place in the family, they had to completely obey their husband. This behavior came from an understanding of the role of women in Christianity. However, already in the 1950s and 1960s, under the influence of a secular way of life, the biblical understanding of a woman's place in the family and society began to change. The equal status of men and women became more and more justified.⁸⁶

Not much is known about Adventist forms of recreation. In the published memoirs of Yunak mentions evenings that were held among the Seventh-day Adventists in Moldova:

"On fine clear moonlit evenings, 10-12 people gathered in turn to clean corn. Basically, the work was done to the loud singing of psalms ... When frosts set in, and throughout the winter, evening gatherings were held in houses. Sometimes they would meet during the day. Someone came with a hand spinning wheel - a tow (sheep wool or hemp fibers were wound on a planed meter-long stick) and, of course, with one or two spindles. Girls and women were seated on benches under the walls of the room. Some of the owners of the

⁸⁵ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П.И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: Рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 82.

⁸⁶ Гуменюк, И. А., Юнак, Д. О. Неоконченная повесть...: Рукопись. Бельцы, 2011. p. 111.

house read the Bible or another Christian book, then everyone sang a well-known psalm. Women spun yarn, knitted mittens, woolen socks, even jackets and sweaters, or were engaged in embroidery. The men were clean the corn."⁸⁷

Conclusion

Thus, due to the isolation of the Adventist Church in the USSR, their daily life acquired a number of individual features. The domestic policy of the Soviet government was an important factor influencing the daily life of Adventists. Conspiracy played a crucial role in the daily communal life of Adventists. Adventists had a low social status and level of education and, as a rule, were employed in low-skilled jobs. The “closedness” of Adventism was expressed in the strengthening of the traditional way of the family and the highly conservative nature of the life of church members.

The restoration of ties with world religious movements gradually leveled the individual features of Adventism in the USSR. Western standards of Christian behavior, customs, literature, theological ideas began to be perceived as role models. Over time, the features of the everyday Adventist culture of the Soviet period began to disappear.

⁸⁷ Юнак Д. О., Либеранский П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: Рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 65.

CHAPTER 3

MAIN FEATURES OF ADVENTIST LITERATURE IN THE USSR

Publication of Adventist Literature

Literary creativity has historically played a significant role for Protestants. The typographical printing of Martin Luther's treatises, as well as the German translation of the Bible, were important factors in the spread of the Reformation. The printing of religious literature greatly influenced the need to create an education system in Protestant countries. Many people learned to read and write in order to have access to religious books.

Adventism in Russia appeared largely thanks to Adventist literature. Adventist treatises distributed in Russia until the beginning of the 20th century were printed abroad. After the issuance of the Decree “On Strengthening the Principles of Religious Tolerance” dated April 17, 1905, and until the end of the NEP, the printing of Adventist literature in the Russian Empire assumed a mass character. During this period, the largest number of publications were published, which were in circulation throughout the entire period of the existence of the USSR and were actively republished in the 1950s-1970s.

In the USSR, translated Adventist treatises were most often published. The fruits of the activity of authors in the USSR, as a rule, included periodicals,

information sheets, newspapers, and magazines. They published information about the life of communities, the results of the work of missionaries, decisions made at meetings of leaders, spiritual reflections, and much more.

After 1929, due to stricter legislation, the publication and distribution of religious literature was prohibited. Adventist literature was actively seized and destroyed, which during the years of the NEP was preserved by members of the church in large quantities. In 1936 in the Crimea, during a search of Adventists who took place as witnesses in the case of M. L. Khodchenkov, who was sentenced to 10 years, 345 books were seized from only five co-religionists.⁸⁸

After the Second World War, due to the increase in the number of Adventist communities, the need for religious literature grew. This need was met by self-publishing. The advent of Adventist samizdat⁸⁹ in the late 1940s to early 1950s coincided with the appearance of samizdat in the USSR as a whole. The first publications, as a rule, consisted of several stitched typewritten or handwritten pages with appeals to members of the church, summaries of sermons, excerpts from religious books, open letters of religious leaders, etc.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, mostly reprinted literature of the pre-revolutionary period and the NEP period was published. In the 1960s, translated literature modern for that time began to be published, and works by Russian-speaking authors who lived in the USSR began to appear. Excerpts from the Bible, writings of Protestant theologians, sermons, articles from old magazines, Christian poems and

⁸⁸ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 62.

⁸⁹ Samizdat was a form of dissident activity across the Eastern Bloc in which individuals reproduced censored and underground makeshift publications, often by hand, and passed the documents from reader to reader. This was a grassroots practice used to evade official Soviet censorship.

songs, publications of Soviet publications related to religion were copied by hand, typed, reproduced by photographic method, as well as on a hectograph.⁹⁰

In the 1960s and 1980s, the publication of Adventist samizdat acquired an organized character. Printing centers began to form. This was largely due to divisions in the Adventist Church. The two warring Adventist centers that appeared after 1954 completely switched to an illegal position in 1960 and began to compete with each other in terms of the number of printed publications and the degree of influence on the church fraternity.

Adventist samizdat flourished in the 1970s. Three-fourths of it was translated literature, and also consisted of reprints of literature from the 1920s. The remaining literature was the work of religious figures in the Soviet Union who were forced to engage in literary work and/or realize themselves in creativity in the absence of a sufficient amount of literature capable of satisfying the community. These works were diverse and unique, as they were created in conditions of relative isolation, the absence of any sources of information on religious issues, except for atheistic literature.

The vast majority of literature included no dating, was published without indicating authorship and place of printing. So it was more difficult to identify publishers and distributors by the police and the KGB.

Initially, Adventists printed literature mainly by church members assigned to this work. Such activities were carried out in almost all regions of the USSR. The entire publishing business was directed and controlled by the management. At the councils of various levels, decisions were made on the printing of the necessary

⁹⁰ Чернышев, А. Сильнее динамита // Примиритель. М., 2012. № 70. р. 2.

publications and their circulations. However, enthusiasts were also engaged in publishing books.

On the territory of the USSR, there were several main samizdat centers of the Seventh-day Adventist, which printed literature both in Russian and in national languages. Depending on the volume of printed matter produced and the area of its distribution, these centers can be conditionally divided as follows: Siberian, North Caucasian, Ukrainian, Moldavian, Latvian, and Central Asian.

The Siberian Samizdat Center was founded at the very beginning of the 1960s by pastors P. A. Matsanov and M. S. Zozulin. It published both periodical literature and individual publications. The following magazines belonged to periodical literature: "Thrown by a storm", "Sower", "Your work is your blessing", "Wife is a friend, helper", "Christ and family". Also, magazines were published for various departments of the church: family, youth, and music.

The circulation of magazines typed on a typewriter ranged from 1 to 100 copies, and the volume fluctuated on average - from 10 to 100 pages of A4 format. For each issue, separate freehand drawings or photo collages were made, photographs were selected. Magazines were printed mainly on thick white paper, and in order to achieve a high quality of readable text, almost each copy was typed separately on a typewriter. Thus, each copy with its text and drawings was very richly and talentedly illustrated, was a great manual work. Samizdat magazines of the Siberian Samizdat Center were published from 1968 to 1975. Presumably they were delivered to the territory of Ukraine, where they were reprinted and distributed.

Among the non-periodical publications of the Adventist Church, issued by the Siberian Center, it is worth highlighting the "Biblical Commentary of the SDA" on the books of the Old and New Testaments, from which were translated: the entire

commentary on the New Testament, and from the Old Testament - commentary on the book of Genesis, Isaiah, Daniel and the books of the minor prophets; as well as a 10-volume "Biblical narratives". Reports from the congresses of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were regularly translated, which allowed communities in the USSR to be aware of world church events. In the Far East, which belonged to the Siberian center, in 1959-1960, edited by Pastor V. I. Kucheryavenko published a handwritten samizdat magazine "Ray of Orion". The Center also published educational materials and dozens of translated books by various authors.

The North Caucasus Samizdat Center was founded in the late 1950s on the initiative of Pastor P. A. Mazanov, and then coordinated by Pastor I. F. Paraschuk. The publishing center existed until 1981. Mostly non-periodical literature was produced: commentaries on individual books of the Bible, works by E. G. White. Also, the North Caucasus Center published collections of lessons of the Sabbath school for Bible study. P. A. Mazanov, together with his wife, wrote a book about the persecution of ministers "Along the Thorny Path", which was distributed in the 1980s by typewritten copy.

Ukrainian Samizdat Center: In Ukraine, the main centers of samizdat were the city of Lviv, where Pastor N. A. Zhukalyuk performed leadership functions, and the city of Kiev, where literature was produced under the guidance of Pastor A. F. Parasei. However, in each regional center of Ukraine there were small centers of samizdat, which were engaged in the replication of literature that came from these centers.

In the Kiev Samizdat Center in the late 1960s to early 1970s, Pastor Parasei published the magazine "Lamp" in a small circulation of up to 10-15 copies. The volume of a separate issue of this journal averaged 140 pages. A.F. Parasei wrote a

voluminous study of the book Revelation "Apocalypse". Pastor Parasei paid great attention to the translation of E. G. White's books into Russian, with about 20 books being translated.

Pastor A. A. Dayman was engaged in active Samizdat activity on the territory of Ukraine. He established the supply of originals of spiritual literature in English and German from the Baltic republics. The literature received in foreign languages was translated into Russian and Ukrainian.

The Moldavian Samizdat Center was established in the 1950s. The main role in its organization and activity was played by I. A. Gumenyuk, N. A. Yaruta, F. V. Melnik, D. O. Yunak, G. V. Korchmar, V. S. Pirozhok (translator into Moldovan), and others. The Moldovan Center published literature in both Russian and Moldovan. In 1976 to 1985, the magazines "Adventist Youth" and "The Minister of the first part of the Divine Service" were published.

D. O. Yunak in the 1960s wrote a voluminous work on apologetics "Myth or Reality" (660 typewritten pages), translated into Moldovan. Until the beginning of 1990, the book was distributed without specifying the author. In 1979-1982, he also compiled a four-volume textbook "The History of the Old and New Testaments", which was used at underground courses for the training of ministers of the Adventist Church. Yunak, in collaboration with his wife, began translating in the 1970s the biblical text into verse form (2 volumes of typewritten text).

The Latvian Samizdat Center was established in the 1950s. Pastors E. Chernevskis, Y. Oltynsh, and E. Clotins played the main role in his activity. Most of the literature was printed in Latvian.

Central Asian Samizdat Center. It started his activity in the late 1960s - early 1970s. Pastor N. N. Libenko played a big role in its development. On his initiative, the

publication of the magazine "Aspiration" was launched. Eight issues were published with a circulation of 20 copies. Also from the publications issued by the Central Asian Center, it is worth highlighting the almanac "Biblical Prophecies" written by Pastor R. N. Volkoslavsky in Alma-Ata in the late 1970s to early 1980s.

Genres and Types of Adventist Literature

In terms of genres and target orientation, Adventist literature was very diverse. A large volume of published samizdat was theological literature. Materials of spiritual content were copied by hand and for quite a long time were quite rare. One of the pastors of that time, Pavelko Vitaly Ivanovich, mentions that for the first time when he held a printed publication of samizdat in his hands in 1955 to 1956.⁹¹ One of the publishers of Adventist literature in the USSR, Pavel Ivanovich Mikityuk, recalls that "he grew up on three books." He further points out that: "In those years, we heard that commentaries appeared somewhere, such rare books appeared. Such a name will flash by, and you think where, how, when to see, read. For a long time I dreamed of reference literature ...".⁹² This situation continued until the early 1970s.

Gradually, theological treatises began to appear, such as: "Old Testament History",⁹³ "The Cross and Its Shadow",⁹⁴ "Biblical Prophecies",⁹⁵ "Language,

⁹¹ Кадашев, Д. А. Особенности адвентистского богословия в СССР. // Человек и общество в системе религиозного и социально-гуманитарного знания: сборник научных статей / Гл. ред. А. А. Петрищев. – Заокский, 2015. р. 61.

⁹² Цит. по: Кадашев, Д. А. Особенности адвентистского богословия в СССР. // Человек и общество в системе религиозного и социально-гуманитарного знания: сборник научных статей / Гл. ред. А. А. Петрищев. Заокский, 2015. р. 61.

⁹³ *Ветхозаветная история: советы учителям и уроки.* Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 315 с.

⁹⁴ *Крест и его тень:* пер. с англ. / С. Н. Хаскелл. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 364 с.

⁹⁵ *Библейские пророчества.* Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 127 с.

Manuscripts and Canon of the New Testament",⁹⁶ "Inferior and Higher Biblical Criticism",⁹⁷ "Christology: Questions about Christ",⁹⁸ textbooks on homiletics,⁹⁹ etc.

In the 1970s, theological literature was already fairly widespread. Its creation was largely due to the underground institute for the training of ministers that operated during this period. A kind of catechism was also published - the book "Bible Readings on Real Truth" (tentatively the second half of the 1970s), which is a list of the most common questions and answers on religion, united on various topics (the Coming of Christ, the Sanctuary, the angels of God, immortality in Christ, etc.). Various translated commentaries on theological topics have been published: The Seventh-day Adventist Commentary,¹⁰⁰ W. Smith's *Thoughts on Revelation*,¹⁰¹ C. Bulli's *The Book of Daniel*, etc.

In addition to theological literature, preachers in the USSR independently prepared teaching and mentoring literature, lessons and textbooks, as well as various manuals for self-study of the Bible. For example, it is known that P. A. Matsanov compiled Sabbath School Lessons for the last quarter of 1974, "Discourses on the Gospel According to Luke", "Themes for Prayer Saturdays for 1976". Pastor V. S. Zaitsev prepared a manual "Spiritual Geography". Some of the manuals were compilations from the works of Ellen White, for example, "I would like to ask you,

⁹⁶ *Язык, рукописи и канон Нового Завета*: пер. с англ. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 71 с.

⁹⁷ *Низший и высший библейский критицизм*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г.

⁹⁸ *Христология: вопросы о Христе*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 55 с.

⁹⁹ *Божественное искусство проповеди*: пер. с англ. / К. Б. Хейнс. Б. м.: Ревью энд Геральд, 1939. - 370 с., *Краткие очерки по гомилетике: проповедник и его проповедь*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 316 с. и др.

¹⁰⁰ *Комментарий АСД на послание ап. Павла к Галатам*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 194 с.

¹⁰¹ *Мысли об Откровении*: сборник. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 621 с.

Sister White ...”, “Advice to Sabbath School Teachers by E. White”, “Creative Education in the Family”, etc.

To this day, a large amount of literature of a scientific and near-scientific orientation has been preserved. Most often, these publications were the responses of Adventist ministers to the theses of atheistic propaganda distributed in the USSR. For example, “Statements about God by scientists and philosophers” is a painstaking work with quotations from the works of famous writers and philosophers not banned in the USSR, such as A. S. Pushkin, V. A. Zhukovsky, M. Yu. Lermontov, etc. The quotations were accompanied by extensive author's references, which told about the religious life of the mentioned figures of art and science. "Is there a God?" – Evidence for the existence of God. Links to the works and statements of Soviet scientists. Judging by the literature used, the book was written in the late 1970s. *The Evidence of God in Nature* is a book similar in genre and character. “Can a Tree or a Stone Speak” and “About Noah's Ark” - brochures containing quotes from Soviet newspapers and magazines containing information about archaeological finds related to the Bible. “Jesus Christ lives in history and science. Collection of Spiritual Articles” is a collection of scientific facts proving the existence of God from Soviet newspapers, magazines and books, scientific articles framed in reflections on the greatness of God. Books and brochures by V. S. Zaitseva: “Not by bread alone”,¹⁰² “Is it true that we are mistaken when we believe in God?”¹⁰³ These publications are excerpts and quotations from Soviet newspapers, magazines, articles, accompanied by an analysis of current events to the author. Historical works devoted to issues of biblical history, archeology, ethnography, and geography were also published.

¹⁰² Не хлебом единым: статья / В. С. Зайцев. Горький: Самиздат, 1969. - 22 с.

¹⁰³ Правда ли, что мы заблуждаемся, когда верим в Бога? Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 178 с.

Of particular interest is the fiction of Soviet authors, such as: "Count Lucio" - about the actions of Satan in the lives of believers and how to resist temptations. "Joseph in the country of the Pharaoh. A Tale from Ancient Egyptian Life" - the book is full of colorful artistic images. It is very curious in content: it tells about a journey in a dream of a contemporary seeking the truth in the times of the Old and New Testaments. "Alien. Story" is a story about a Ukrainian girl, her difficult fate and faith in God. The authors of these books are unknown.

Much attention of the publishers was paid to the topics of health, family relations, parenting, premarital relations. Literature is represented by translated editions: "Worthy Christian Behavior" by R. Pearson, "Matrimonial Happiness" by G. Shriok. "Your true happiness. Advice for young girls" M. Kokolsky. "What is in your wardrobe", "How to develop character in a child" by N. Vanpelt, "Stop smoking", etc.

Valuable sources on the history of the Adventist movement in the territory of the former USSR are memoirs. In Soviet times, the book "On the thorny path" by A.G. and P.A. Matsanov. This collection of memoirs was compiled over 30 years. The historical work of G.I. Lebsak, "The Great Adventist Movement and Seventh-day Adventists in Russia", which also included memoirs.

Information and publicist literature was published. For example, "History of Pitcairn Island and its inhabitants",¹⁰⁴ about an island where the vast majority of the population are Seventh-day Adventists. The book contains articles and stories published in the USSR.

There were a number of publications aimed at supporting believers in the face of persecution. An example is the brochure: "The Miraculous Deliverance of Those

¹⁰⁴ *История острова Питкерн и его обитателей.* М.: Самиздат, 1975.

Who Trust in the Lord», a list of miracles of deliverance in the Bible with calls to serve God, regardless of the circumstances.

Literature of an organizational and informational nature was published (heralds of conventions, newsletters, memos, instructions for ministers, church manuals, etc.). Books aimed at overcoming the schism in the church ("Precious Warnings"¹⁰⁵ - advice on resolving differences, aimed at the inner life of the communities). Some authors (A. M. Demidov, N. N. Libenko) published their reflections on the life and work of the Adventist Church in the USSR.

Publications of a missionary nature were infrequent due to the fact that such activities were not developed in the Soviet Union. Basically, such publications were short stories and texts from the Bible, often with evangelistic appeals.

Collections of sermons, which were published to help young ministers, were very popular among preachers. For the same purpose, programs of solemn divine services were published, which already contained poems, songs and, not infrequently, scripts for short performances.

A large share of samizdat was made up of such publications as "Morning Watchman", "Bible Readings", "Evening Watchman", "Prayer Readings". These publications were of particular importance, since they were common to all Adventists in the USSR and contributed to intra-confessional unification.

Much attention was paid to the publication of children's literature, despite the fact that the propaganda of religion among minors was strictly prohibited. This type of activity was especially dangerous for members of the church. For example, in the verdict dated June 10, 1974 on the charge of Ya. V. Patsukevich and V. K. Borichevsky - the leaders of the Church of the Adventist Church in Pinsk, it was

¹⁰⁵ *Драгоценные предостережения: выдержки из трудов Е. Уайт*; Пер. с англ. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 27 с.

indicated that literature with calls to dedicate children to God was confiscated from the apartments of the accused, which "negatively affects the children's worldview." On this basis, both church members were sentenced to prison terms.

Children's literature was mainly non-periodical publications (books, collections of stories) with Bible lessons or stories. It was not uncommon for children's ministries departments in the congregations to manually take notes of children's lessons, then destroy them to avoid criminal prosecution. This explains their relatively small number, which has survived to this day.

The collections of translated children's stories that have survived to this day, such as *The Little Housebuilders*, are best known. The translations were carefully adapted to Soviet reality. Foreign names of heroes were replaced. The description of everyday life is replete with descriptions of the realities of the USSR. In general, the translations were performed at a high professional level.

According to the form of publications available for research, children's literature can be classified as follows:

Collections of Children's Stories.¹⁰⁶ For example, "Towards the day, by author V. Kuzmenkov, a collection of children's stories published in Russian in Germany in 1989. The stories are aimed at motivating children to study the Bible and keep the commandments. A collection of children's stories, *Lucky Path*, by Lawrence Maxwell, published in 1975. Lawrence Maxwell, son of Adventist writer Arthur McWale, was

¹⁰⁶ *Вечерние рассказы в 10 томах*: пер. с англ. / Артур С. Максвелл. Б. м.: Самиздат. Б. г. - 79 с., *Сборник детских рассказов для дошкольного чтения*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 158 с., *Сборник детских рассказов*. Т. 1. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 569 с., *Чудесная книга*: сборник историй. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 125 с., В. Кузьменков «*Навстречу дню*» изд. Свет на востоке. 1989 г., *Исполнительный мальчик и другие христианские рассказы*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 201 с., *Счастливая тропа*: пер. с англ. / Л. Максвелл. Б. м.: Ревью энд Геральд, 1975. - 132 с., *Маленькие домостроители*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 34 с., *Рассказы из Священной истории для детей*. Б. м.: Самиздат. - Часть 3: Новый завет: Деяния святых апостолов. Откровение., *Рассказы о библейских животных*: сборник. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 72 с., etc.

an Adventist minister, then editor of Pathfinder magazine. The book "Happy Path"¹⁰⁷ gives a detailed explanation of what the "Promise and Law of UMD" is and how, by fulfilling this law, one can become happy. As examples, the author cites various stories from real life.

Children's Biographical Stories.¹⁰⁸ An example of a biographical story is the book *Tales of My Grandmother* by Ella Robinson. E. White's granddaughter has published stories from her grandmother's life and ministry, drawing on Ellen White's personal correspondence, diaries and stories, stories from relatives, and memories from thirty years of living with her. Among publications with one story, the book "Alien girl"¹⁰⁹ can be distinguished. An exciting story about the difficult life of an orphan girl Vera, who had to run away from families where she was not loved, beaten; about how, as an adult, during the war she had to hide from the fighting with two young children, after her husband left her; and how she became a Christian.

Children's magazines.¹¹⁰ The magazine *Christ and the Family* contains, for example, marriage advice, Ellen White's advice for young girls, Christian stories, poems, and pages for children. The edition has illustrations.

Children's Bible Lessons.¹¹¹ Children's Bible lessons include: "Children's friend. 52 Bible Readings", compiled by G.Kh. Bel, translated by K.A. Reifschneider. The stories in this book make up a story that begins with the creation of the world and tells about biblical heroes in an accessible form. *Children's Bible Lessons, Books 1-4.*

¹⁰⁷ *Счастливая тропа*: пер. с англ. / Л. Максвелл. Б. м.: Ревью энд Геральд, 1975. - 132 с.

¹⁰⁸ *Рассказы о моей бабушке*: пер. с англ. / Э. Робинзон. - Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 239 с.

¹⁰⁹ *Чужая*: рассказ. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 108 с.

¹¹⁰ «Для семейного кружка», «Христос и семья».

¹¹¹ *Детские библейские уроки*, кн. 1-4., *Детский друг*. 52 библейских чтения: пер. с англ. К. А. Рейфшнейдера. Вып. 1 / сост. Г. Х. Бель. - Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. м. - 68 с.

The course was developed by the youth department of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference. At the end of each topic there is a section "Think, Guess" with questions, rebuses, puzzles, crossword puzzles. In some publications, at the end of the topic, advice was given to parents on what should be given special attention to in the lesson.

Editions for various activities for children.¹¹² For example, the "New Year's Program" created by youth to evangelize and attract children and young people to the Christian church.

Adventist samizdat was quite diverse in form, volume, and material structure. In addition to numerous books, Seventh-day Adventists published pamphlets. For example, "Earth is the arena of the Universe", which describes the events before the Second Coming of Christ and the Coming itself, as the author imagines them in the context of the current situation for him. "A Christian in Society and the State" is mentoring literature on the relationship between church and state. The pamphlet contains a demand from a Christian to a respectful attitude towards the state. "Questions for testing candidates for baptism" - a collection of questions on Christian doctrine.

Published calendars.¹¹³ For example, the calendar of the Seventh-day Adventist Christian Church. Black and white photo calendars with wishes and quotes from the Bible in Russian.

A large number of periodicals were printed:

¹¹² Чудесное избавление уповающих на Господа: программа богослужения. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - 46 с.

¹¹³ Календарь Церкви христиан адвентистов седьмого дня. С комментариями на ежедневные Библейские стихи. М., 1985.

- Magazines: Storm-Thrown, The Sower, Ray of Orion, Our Work Is Your Blessing, Aspiration, The Sower, Adventist Youth, etc.;

- Reports on the congresses of the General Conference of the Church of Christians of the Seventh-day Adventist church and councils of various levels;

- Sabbath school lessons, published once a quarter;

- Prayer readings (usually at least twice a year);

- Morning Watchman. Published every quarter.

The publications of the so-called Shelkovites – followers of V. A. Shelkov, the leader of the religious movement of Faithful and free Adventists, which took its origin from the Adventist Reformists who separated from the official Adventist organization in the 1920s,¹¹⁴ were considered prohibited samizdat within the Adventist church. The publications of the Shelkovites had a political connotation, since the faithful and free Adventists set one of their goals a bloodless struggle for the defense of civil liberties.¹¹⁵ The Shelkovites had their own publishing house, The Faithful Witness, and were not afraid to date their pamphlets and pamphlets,¹¹⁶ although the movement of faithful and free Adventists was itself conspiratorial.

There was also literature defending the Soviet system. For example, the book "Fake Awakening and the decree on Sunday". Its author, presumably A. M. Demidov, proves that the conditions prevailing in the USSR are favorable for the development

¹¹⁴ Юнак, Д. О. *История церкви адвентистов седьмого дня в России*. М., 2001. p. 183.

¹¹⁵ *Взаимоотношения религии и государственности, Законодательство о культах, Основы истинно свободной совести и равных прав*; серия брошюр: *Борьба за свободу совести, Правовая борьба с диктатурой госатеизма за свободу совести*, etc.

¹¹⁶ *Ответ жрецу религии диктатуры госатеизма: рецидив челоноконенавистничества. Ответ на газетные статьи журналиста Сулацкова*. Б. м.: Верный Свидетель, 1977. - 58, [2] с.; *Ответ министру госрелигий в СССР: по поводу статьи В. Куроедова в "Известиях"*. Б. м.: Верный свидетель, 1978. - 64 с.

of religious movements, but the "people of God" are in a "warm" state. The publication calls everyone to active missionary work.

Samizdat was a tool for the self-expression of believers. Poems were replicated, magazines were illustrated by artists, theological reflections were printed, collections of sermons and short stories were compiled. Together, the printed materials that were published were the exponents of Adventist culture and contributed to its further dissemination.¹¹⁷ The literature produced made it possible to share experience in organizing religious events, gave an impetus to their expansion and development of diversity. For example, cooking courses began to appear among Seventh-day Adventists largely due to the spread of healthy food recipes in the periodic Samizdat literature.¹¹⁸ In the magazines one could find recommendations for reading the Bible, notes on personal spiritual experiences, reminders of the need for morning prayers, etc.¹¹⁹

The spread of samizdat took place through pastors and missionaries, most often at secret congresses and meetings. Literature was distributed mostly for free. Not infrequently, the exchange of literature took place between members of communities living in various regions of the USSR. By the end of the 1970s, according to the memoirs of Pastor N. N. Libenko, who was engaged in publishing, the activity of publishing samizdat reached a scale that fully met the needs of believers.

¹¹⁷ Фокин, Д. А. Религиозный самиздат: к вопросу о формировании протестантской культуры в СССР (на примере публикаций Церкви адвентистов седьмого дня). // Протестантизм в современной России. Вклад в развитие общества, религии, истории и культуры. Материалы Всероссийской научно-практической конференции, посвященной 495-летию Реформации. 16 ноября 2012 г. Пермь, 2013. pp. 226-227.

¹¹⁸ Юнак, Д. О., Либеранский, П. И. Самиздат. Культурно-нравственное наследие Церкви АСД времён тоталитарного атеизма: Рукопись. Тула, 2014. p. 84.

¹¹⁹ См., например: Мой личный опыт. // Придите... и научитесь... Б.м. Б.г. pp. 5, 6, 8, 9; Тихий час. По материалам журнала «Баптист». 1927 г. // Вестник истины. 1976. № 1. p. 9.

The samizdat of the perestroika period was somewhat different from the publications of the 1970s. The publications had an author and were dated, were printed on high-quality paper and had a good, most often hardcover. The quality grew, which was only slightly inferior to the literature published in state printing houses. Diaries for ministers, postcards, baptismal certificates, posters, etc, began to be published. Authors who have gained fame appeared: R. N. Volkoslavsky, N. N. Libenko, D. O. Yunak, etc. In the 1980s, the way of distributing Samizdat texts and their assortment changed somewhat. As a rule, printed products were sold or exchanged. The samizdat of the 1980s was already a well-established mechanism for the creation and distribution of literature.

Conclusion

Thus, the features of Adventist literature in the USSR should include the following statements. Writing and publishing fiction, which was quite rare in the religious literature of those years. A wide variety of literature by genre, purpose and form of publication, which was a reflection of Adventist culture in the USSR. Believers not only wrote poems, songs, theological treatises, designed magazines, drew calendars, but also analyzed the Soviet media, refuted the arguments of atheists in their publications. The volume of Adventist periodical literature was comparable to the volume of periodicals produced by larger religious movements (such as the ROC or the ECB), which indicates a developed journalistic activity. The underground position of the church contributed to the development of publishing in the USSR.

In this way, Adventist literary creativity had become an expression of a unique religious culture formed in the conditions of the underground. Adventists were constantly under pressure from the atheistic official culture, the state and society,

which treated members of religious organizations as marginal elements and therefore oppressed and persecuted members of religious movements in every possible way.¹²⁰

Thus, Adventist literature represents the development of public religious thought in the USSR under conditions of totalitarianism and restriction of freedoms.

¹²⁰ Бычков, А. М. *Мой жизненный путь*. М., 2009. p. 92.

CHAPTER 4

MAIN FEATURES OF ADVENTIST MUSICAL CREATIVITY IN THE USSR

The Origins of Adventist Musical Arts

Traditionally, music has been an important art form in the life of Protestant churches. Russian Protestants have a 150-year history of musical culture, which has formed its own traditions. It should be noted that the Protestant musical culture, despite internal interdenominational differences, forms a fairly common space. The basis of this culture was the Protestant chorales¹²¹ of the 16th century.

German Protestant chorales in the second half of the 19th century began to penetrate more and more into Russia, translated into Russian and performed in the communities of the first Protestants.¹²² Possessing a rich melodic potential, German Protestant chorales began to influence the evolution of Russian music. For example, the director of the court singing chapel A.F. Lvov in 1848 prepared and published the

¹²¹ Chorale is the name of several related musical forms originating in the music genre of the Lutheran chorale. The Protestant chorale is a four-voice monorhythmic chorale written in a simple form or bar form (typical for Lutheran chorale) and intended to be performed unaccompanied or accompanied by an organ.

¹²² See more: Митрохин, Л. Н. *Баттизм: история и современность*. С-Пб., 1997. p. 223-236.

"Usual Church Singing", in which the ancient Orthodox tunes were arranged according to the model of the harmonization of the German Protestant chorale.¹²³

Protestant chorales, traditional for Mennonites and Lutherans, began to spread among the Stundists, Molokans and Baptists and gradually intertwined with Russian and Ukrainian folk song traditions. Often psalms borrowed from Western collections of hymns were sung to another selected or newly composed melody, similar in nature to folk song. In some communities, Orthodox and folk spiritual chants were used.

Over time, the first musical samples of Russian Protestant creativity began to appear. Thus, at the end of the XIX century, a new musical genre was born – the Russian Protestant spiritual song. This genre, together with the relatively rapid pace of the spread of Protestantism in the second half of the XIX century among the population, was quite openly accepted by the Russian people.

The first collections of spiritual hymns began to be published in the 60s of the XIX century. They were usually published without musical notes.¹²⁴ Their music was transmitted "by ear" during divine services or prayer meetings, when it was performed on a musical instrument (organ, harmonium, piano).

In subsequent periods, Protestant hymn-making developed along with the development of evangelical churches, helping to streamline public worship. A large number of spiritual songs were American hymns translated into Russian. They were distinguished by their majorness and the dominance of harmony over melody,¹²⁵ which somewhat "disconnected" with the Russian musical mentality, which is

¹²³ Гарднер, И. А. *Богослужебное пение Русской Православной Церкви*. Т. 2. Сергиев Посад, 1998. pp. 390–391.

¹²⁴ This tradition has been preserved to the present day.

¹²⁵ For example, in the collection "Spiritual song" (Spiritual song, hymns and tunes for those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, Steam press, Battle Creek, 1876.), out of 142 hymns published with sheet music, only one was in minor, the rest of the hymns are in major.

essentially melos and minor (sad). The mutual influence of the singing repertoire of Russian, Ukrainian and fraternal German, Latvian, Estonian and Finnish communities of various Protestant denominations, which were located on the territory of the Russian state at that time, also played a huge role in this process.

Initially, all the hymns sung by Adventists in Russia were in German. With the spread of Adventism among Russians, Russian-language psalms of Protestants of other faiths began to penetrate more and more into their communities. Russian Adventist churches appeared, first of all, in the south of Russia, in Western Ukraine and Transcaucasia, where there were already communities of Stundists and Molokans, leveling the cultural gap between Orthodoxy and Protestantism. And in St. Petersburg, where the Russian Adventist Church was organized in 1901, numerous communities of evangelical Christians and Baptists that already existed at that time were an example to follow.

Thus, the adoption of the Adventist doctrine by the Russian-speaking population was facilitated by the available examples of the musical culture of the Stundists, Molokans, subbotniks, Doukhobors, Baptists and evangelical Christians adapted to the Russian mentality. The rite of worship of the latter was closest to the Adventists, as it was accompanied by communal singing of psalms. Thanks to them, most of the most famous Protestant hymns have already been translated into Russian. The Adventists performed songs taken from the collections of the Stundist's *Hymns for Christians of the Evangelical Lutheran Faith* and *Voices of Faith*, as well as the Pashkovs's *Favorite Songs* and *Joyful Songs of Zion*, published in 1882.

The leader of the movement of evangelical Christians, Ivan Stepanovich Prokhanov, in 1902 managed to publish the collection "Gusli".¹²⁶ After that, Russian

¹²⁶ The name "Gusli" echoes the name of the biblical Book of Psalms. The very word "psalter" means a stringed musical instrument, to the accompaniment of which the biblical psalms were sung.

Adventists, who actively used this publication, almost completely for several decades began to move in the wake of the musical culture of evangelical Christians. In this collection, Prokhanov included hymns already performed by domestic Protestants, as well as widely known foreign hymns translated. The popularity of these psalms among Adventists was based on the appearance in it of new spiritual chants, created in the "Russian style", the melodies of which and the entire system of music were oriented to Russian folk songwriting and romance folklore of that time.

The collection *Gusli* mainly contained hymns of the American Protestant tradition, translated into Russian. Despite the fact that it contained many major, light hymns, there are also spiritual chants in it, similar in music to the Russian drawl song. For example, "Lord! Stay With Us" No. 264 or "Knocking at Your Door I Stand" No. 68, etc. These chants have no information about the authors, but their musical language indicates that they were born on Russian soil, and reflect the peculiarities of Russian musical culture.

I. S. Prokhanov, as the leader of the evangelical movement, understood the importance of musical services in the church. He was the leader and creative inspirer in the process of preparing and publishing more than 1300 Christian hymns and hymns in the first quarter of the XX century. In an article *The Evangelical Movement and Spiritual Music* published in 1922 in the newspaper *Morning Star*, Prokhanov wrote: "The leaders of the Evangelical movement in Russia from the very beginning attached an extremely important importance to spiritual singing. ... The evangelical movement should embark on the path of independent creativity in the field of textual

The Russian version of the translation of this word sounds like "psalter". For example, Psalm 150, in which the psalmist calls to glorify God on various musical instruments, has this verse: "Praise Him with the sound of a trumpet, praise Him on the psalter and harp" (Psalm 150:3). By 1914, the collection "Gusli" had withstood 5 editions, including *Gusli*, a collection of spiritual songs with notes. Compiled by I. S. Prokhanov. S.-Pb., 1909.

and purely musical. ... An evangelical direction in the field of sacred music and singing should be created, which should express, on the one hand, evangelical joy, and on the other, Russian folk sadness. But at the same time, different from folk music and from the existing singing of the historical church".¹²⁷

Subsequent collections that complemented the *Psaltery: Songs of a Christian, Timpani, Cymbals, Dawn of Life*, which made up the so-called "Prokhanov Pentateuch", were also used by Adventists in liturgical practice. However, borrowing was not blind. The texts of many hymns were reworked in such a way that they could correspond to Adventist doctrines. Sometimes the musical arrangement also changed.

In addition to psalms sung by the community and choral hymns, Adventists also performed children's songs from the repertoire of evangelical Christians. More than one generation grew up on children's songs, the text translation of which was carried out by I. S. Prokhanov: "God is Love", "Father loves Me so Much", "God Loves Little Sparrows", "I'm Looking for Jesus Early", etc.

Development of Adventist Musical Creativity

The accumulation of musical material led in 1917 the Adventist church in Russia for the first time to publish its own small collection of psalms without notes called *Psalms of Zion*. A few months later, in 1918, this collection was already published with sheet music. This event was a landmark for the church, as Adventists had used psalms of other Protestants in their services for almost 40 years.¹²⁸ The publication also includes revised psalms from Prokhanov's collections and Adventist hymns directly. Such borrowing and reworking of hymns had not gone unnoticed

¹²⁷ Гончаренко, Е. С. Издание сборников духовных песен в контексте развития духовной музыки евангельских христиан-баптистов России. [Electronic resource].

http://rosbaptist.ru/index.php?Itemid=221&id=140&option=com_content&task=view

¹²⁸ Зайцев, Е. В. *История Церкви адвентистов седьмого дня*. Заокский, 2008. p. 361.

among evangelical Christians. Reprinted by them in Leningrad in 1927 and 1928, the collection *Spiritual Songs* had an indication of copyright, according to which the use of works was provided only under an agreement with the author, which was consistent with the law "On the basics of Copyright" of 1925.

Almost immediately after the release of the *Psalms of Zion*, work began on their new edition. After the devastating years of revolution and civil war, at the V All-Union Congress of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1924, a committee was established to select hymns for a new expanded collection of hymns *Psalms of Zion*.

In 1927, the Adventist publishing house "Patmos" published a collection of spiritual hymns with musical notes *Psalms of Zion*, containing 525 hymns. The new edition includes both psalms sung earlier, which have become traditional for the church, and new ones written by Adventist authors. In addition, the "Psalms" included about 100 hymns from Prokhanov's collections. However, many of the borrowed hymns were performed in a different textual or melodic-harmonic version. These hymns were widely known to Adventists and were truly loved. Most of them are still sung.

The new edition includes both psalms sung earlier, which have become traditional for the church, and new ones written by Adventist composers. It should be noted that during this period the first Russian Protestant professional composers appeared. Among them, we can single out the Seventh-day Adventist N. Y. Nikolaev. This author wrote not only spiritual hymns for communal performance, but also created a significant number of choral compositions. The musical creativity of N. Y. Nikolaev (41 compositions) is especially fully represented in the collection *Psalms of Zion*.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Apparently, the title of the collection is an exact translation of the German collection of Protestant hymns *Zions Lieder*, published in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, many other authors of the psalms have not yet been identified. References to them are often given in the form of an abbreviation (for example, G.G., T.Y.V., I.Y.N., E.S., etc.). Such abbreviations were used, as a rule, because of fear of the beginning of repression of believers. The life of many authors of the hymns of the collection "Psalms of Zion" ended tragically.¹³⁰ For the first time, the author of the book *Psalms Written in Blood* A. A. Oparin undertook the deciphering of initials, as well as the description of the fates of composers and poets.¹³¹

A review of the collection *Psalms of Zion* revealed that among the repertoire presented in it, a significant part consists of hymns for general performance – 477 and only 48 – for choir. According to the theme, the liturgical hymns were combined into 34 sections corresponding to various spheres of the spiritual life of believers.

A feature of the texts of the psalms of the Adventist poets was the appeal to eschatological themes, since the expectation of the Second Coming of Christ, God's judgment and the New Earth are the defining doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The greatest number of hymns in the collection is devoted to this topic – 115, which is twenty-two percent of the total number.¹³²

In the beginning of the 1930s, the Soviet state announced a "cultural revolution" in the country. During this period, an attempt was made to completely eradicate religion, which was expressed in the intensification of anti-religious propaganda, accompanied by repression against believers. Most copies of published

¹³⁰ See more: Опарин, А. А. *Псалмы, написанные кровью*. Харьков, 2007.

¹³¹ Опарин, А. А. *Псалмы, написанные кровью*. Харьков, 2007.

¹³² Лебедева, Т. В., Фокин, Д. А., Савина, М. М. Проблематика и специфические особенности поэтического творчества протестантов советской эпохи. // Духовные и социально-экономические проблемы развития общества в XXI веке: Сборник научных трудов / Гл. ред Петрищев А. А. Заокский, 2014. р. 124.

musical collections were destroyed, and many authors of hymns and Christian songs became victims of prisons and concentration camp.

In the post-war period there was some easing of repression against believers. In 1940-1985, there were distinct changes in the content of the hymns. Many texts had the same poetic metric. This allowed them to be sung to various melodies.¹³³ A large number of chants written in a minor key appear. In musical language, such chants resembled Russian folk lyrical songs. These hymns were written during the years of repression of believers, when Protestants were experiencing particularly difficult experiences. All this is reflected in the deeply melancholic examples of Protestant hymn-making. (For example, the chant "Let's Ascend to Golgotha, My Brother" music by an unnamed composer to the words of I. S. Prokhanov, or the chant "Exhausted by a Harsh Life" to the words of the famous Russian poet I. Nikitin with music by O. Zhidulov).

In the Khrushchev-Brezhnev era, all religious publications were subjected to strict control and revision, and the publishing activities of churches were also very limited. During this time, Adventists manually created and transcribed hymnbooks. The typewriters that were commonly used for publishing samizdat could not be used for printing sheet music.

In 1978, the Seventh-day Adventist Christian Church was allowed to issue a new censored edition of the *Psalms of Zion*. About 50 hymns were withdrawn from the collection before its publication, which seemed suspicious and anti-Soviet to Soviet censors. In this abbreviated form, the collection was reprinted twice, in 1984 it was published under the title *Collection of Spiritual Hymns*.

¹³³ This practice – singing different texts to several melodies – was also used in ancient times. This is indicated by the inscriptions of many biblical psalms.

A characteristic feature of the *Collection of Spiritual Hymns* is the presence of several musical versions for the same poetic text. This feature is inherent in Seven-Day Adventist hymn-making in Russia and makes it possible to characterize it as folk, collective creativity.

During 1985 to 1990, the provisions of the Stalinist legislation of 1929 on religious cults were abolished and new legislation was adopted, which opened up freedom of conscience and religion. This period is characterized by the expansion of the musical repertoire for professional choral performance. The number of professional composers increased. The period of Perestroika contributed to the strengthening of the influence of modern Western Protestant music, which led to the partial loss of specifically Russian Protestant songs. At this time, the *Collection of Spiritual Hymns* of the Seventh-day Adventist Christian Church was republished.¹³⁴

Conclusion

Thus, the following characteristics of Adventist musical culture in the USSR can be distinguished. Adventist musical culture in Russia has been significantly influenced by the musical traditions of evangelical Christians. Adventist hymn-making in Russia can be characterized as the mutual influence of Western Protestant and Russian musical traditions. During the period of Soviet power in isolation, the influence of Russian traditions increases, and during the period of Perestroika they weaken.

A significant role was played by "folk", collective creativity, as indicated by the existence of several musical versions of Adventist hymns to the same text. Some musical versions are quite close to each other and are perceived as variants of the

¹³⁴ *Сборник духовных песнопений*. 4-е издание. М., 1984. – 368 с.

same musical theme, others vary greatly. This fact suggests that such chants were passed from mouth to mouth and recorded at some stage with notes. The main themes of hymns from the Soviet period were: the expectation of the second coming of Christ, the persecution of the church, the coming trials, steadfastness at the faith and the importance of keeping the Sabbath.

It should be emphasized that the hymn-making of Seventh-day Adventists in the USSR is an original, original phenomenon of the underground culture of the Soviet era. The simple musical language of the songs composed by Adventists may seem insignificant for musicological analysis, but this does not detract from the cultural value of the musical culture created in the conditions of a strict anti-religious policy.

CHAPTER 5

MAIN FEATURES OF ADVENTIST POETRY IN THE USSR

Characteristics of Adventist Poetry

The poetic creativity of Adventists in the USSR is certainly an original phenomenon, but it is difficult to study due to the limited source base and, as a consequence, the fragmentary nature of research on this topic. The existence of Adventist communities in Soviet times in a semi-underground position did not allow them to freely publish the literature of their authors. Most of the surviving poems found their readers through the publication of samizdat, which has been preserved in a limited number of copies, mainly in personal archives, inaccessible to researchers. In addition, the names of the authors in the publications of samizdat were most often not mentioned.

The work of the Adventist amateur poets of the Soviet period can be attributed to the space called by art historians "the third culture", which combines the values of two cultures. The phenomenon of the "third culture", included in the broader sphere of various aspects of marginalism, is currently being deeply comprehended in philosophy and cultural studies.¹³⁵ Adventist poetry was formed under the influence of religious

¹³⁵ Деменкова, Л. В. Лирика Т. М. Белозерова: между классикой и художественным примитивом. Автореферат диссертации. Омск, 2003.

culture on the one hand, and the foundations of Soviet society on the other. Thus, to characterize the poetry of Russian Adventism, an important role is played by identifying the problems and specific features of this non-professional creativity. At the moment, the most accessible sources of Protestant poetry are samizdat publications of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,¹³⁶ letters and memoirs of participants in religious movements, as well as collections of poems published in the post-Soviet era, written by authors during the Soviet era.¹³⁷

The quality of the texts studied allows us to conclude that the authors of the poems, as a rule, had a poor command of the Russian language and did not use its rich palette of lexical and grammatical possibilities. It can be assumed that they were unaware of the codified norms of the literary language existing within the framework of written culture. The published works were poorly correlated with the literary attitudes and canons in force at that historical moment.

Amateur Adventist authors were guided in their work by certain patterns in accordance with their social status, life circumstances, without being guided by aesthetic intentions. The naive pictorial language and the straightforward imagery of most of the poems indicate that the authors, as neophytes of culture, were inexperienced people. Their anonymous writings, handwritten or typewritten, were clearly not distinguished by professionalism. They were not written for public circulation, that is, not "for sale", but "for consumption". These works are focused on narrow use in the circle of family, friends, and the church community. In this regard,

¹³⁶ See for example: *Брат мой верный*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 23 с., *Когда душа страдает и болит*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 23 с., *Пою Тебе славу, мой Вечный Творец...* Киров: Самиздат, Б. г. 22 с., *Букет Христу*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 268 с., *Сборник стихотворений (Струн души рука Твоя касается и др.)*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 96 с., Юнак, Д. О., Юнак, Л. В. *Библия в стихах*. Б. м.: Самиздат, 1979. 96 с., *Сборник стихотворений*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 56 с., *Авраам при смерти был...*: *сборник христианских стихов*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 10 с., *Стихи: Рукопись*. Б. м.: Самиздат, 1965. 96 с. и т.д.

¹³⁷ See for example: Гриц, З. *Труд сердца*. Сборник стихов. Заокский, 2009.

they can be attributed to the layer of "written folklore" - songbooks, albums that exist in subcultural and family traditions.

Among the members of Adventist communities, the disposition to the poetic word, characteristic of Soviet society as a whole since the "Khrushchev thaw", served as the ground for the development of this type of creativity. More and more often, in addition to sermons and hymns, poems by classical poets, as well as works by local non-professional authors, were read out during festive services. Simple and direct poems evoked a lively response in the hearts of inexperienced listeners. Believers sought to use all their creative gifts at their meetings: singing, music, preaching, poetry and theatrical productions, for the edification of the church. In the years of total atheism, the need of the soul was the freedom to turn to canonical biblical texts, their transformation into laconic simple statements of poetic stanzas.

The rootedness of Protestants in the Bible was determined by the fact that many poems were created based on biblical motifs, which is partly an imitation of the traditions of great poets. Starting with M. classical poets V. Lomonosov, G. R. Derzhavin and A. S. Pushkin, Russian poets subjected biblical themes to artistic processing, shifted individual books, for example psalms, to a poetic way. In this regard, an attempt by Adventist pastor D. O. Yunak to poetically retell entire books of the Bible in the 1970s is noteworthy, which even venerable classics did not dare to do. So, there is a handwritten verse version of the books of Nehemiah and Ezra, as well as all four Gospels.¹³⁸ The poetic reflections of anonymous Christian poets were also often based on the texts of biblical psalms.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ *Библия в стихах*: Рукопись. Б.м.: Самиздат, 1979. 48 с.

¹³⁹ *Сборник стихотворений*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. pp. 7, 11, 24.

The life of Christ, His sufferings, death and resurrection described in the New Testament, of course, inspired Protestant poets to poetic creativity, but the level of their achievements remained low. Unfortunately, very often the imperfection of the form, the lack of poetic depth did not allow those sides to manifest themselves that could give this poetry artistic integrity, vitality and strength. In such poems as "The Nativity of Christ",¹⁴⁰ "Christ Alone",¹⁴¹ "Rejoice, Earth",¹⁴² "Gethsemane"¹⁴³ there is a lot of lyricism, touching sentimentality, but the content of the works is somewhat monotonous and blurred. Recognizable poetic clichés wander from one poem to another.

There is no doubt that the desire to present God in all His greatness as the fundamental principle of the universe, to make high religious truths accessible to the common man, guided the poets who described, say, the creation of the Earth and life on it. Unfortunately, there is a noticeable lack of high culture, serious literary training and poetic gift in the poems, which makes them focused mainly on everyday consciousness. Direct and hidden quotations, verbal formulas, allusions, motifs, images, intonation-rhythmic models fall into texts from various literary and biblical sources:

When at the beginning of all things,

Beyond observation and gaze,

The darkness of the nights was gathered into oneless

¹⁴⁰ *Пою Тебе славу, мой Вечный Творец...* Киров: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 6.

¹⁴¹ Братский вестник. 1992. №3. р. 51.

¹⁴² Красненкова. Г. Ликуй, Земля // Братский вестник. 1989. № 6. р. 68.

¹⁴³ *Сборник стихотворений*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 30.

The whole vast expanse.

And the darkness has covered all the abysses,

Hiding the secrets of endless distances,

And the darkness swirled in chaos,

Weaving powerful spirals.

And the whirlwind is rushing after the formation,

But not a single star twinkle

From the black abyss of the world

Did not illuminate the universe.

And suddenly in the midst of being mute,

Splitting the darkness of the night,

The thunder of God 's verbs rang out:

"Let there be light" - and it became so.¹⁴⁴

Since evangelical preaching is part of the Christian life of Adventists, many poems were aimed at encouraging the brethren to carry out missionary work: "There are Many Harvests, There Are Few Workers",¹⁴⁵ "Go to Work", etc. In these poems, as a rule, the motive of responsibility for this important, saving deed sounds, but the poetic realization of the idea is sometimes dull and pragmatic:

¹⁴⁴ *Начало мира: Сборник стихотворений.* Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Васенина, Л. Жатвы много, делателей мало // Братский вестник. 1990. № 3. р. 52.

*See how vast the fields are,
How much effort and labor is needed,
Beware of being the lazy slave
On the day of the trial.*¹⁴⁶

A feature of the poems of Adventist authors is the appeal to eschatological themes, since the expectation of the Second Coming of Christ, God's judgment and the New Earth are the defining doctrines of Seventh-day Adventists. The majestic phenomena of the "last days" are one of the most difficult subjects of the Book of Revelation, which the authors boldly undertake. But they do not always manage to recreate a beautiful and strong apocalyptic or eschatological picture from individual elements and fragmentary images.¹⁴⁷ Adventist poets also touch on other topics related to specific church doctrines: "The Three Angels' Message", "The Peculiarities of the Sabbath Day",¹⁴⁸ "Today is Saturday".¹⁴⁹

In their works, the authors devote a significant place to religious themes and touching descriptions of nature, which sometimes sounds very simple-minded:

*Spring is coming:
The sun is shining gently.
The rain pours and pours,*

¹⁴⁶ Сборник стихотворений. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 27.

¹⁴⁷ «Зов к вечности», «Грозный день», «Патмос» // Сборник стихотворений. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. рр. 23, 41, 43.; Гриц, З. *Труд сердца*. Сборник стихов. Заокский, 2009.

¹⁴⁸ Славным именем Господа-Бога // Когда душа страдает и болит. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Стихи: Рукопись. Б. м.: Самиздат, 1965. 96 с.

Everything grows and blooms.
Fish glorify God,
Birds glorify God,
Animals glorify God
*And they don 't know any worries at all.*¹⁵⁰

In Soviet times, believers were often subjected to harassment, persecution, and persecution. This could not but affect their work devoted to the description of the suffering and difficulties encountered on the path of a Christian. Children of believers also found themselves in very harsh conditions, feeling pressure from teachers and classmates for faith and observance of the commandments. This is fundamentally and naively stated in the poem of the Adventist author "To our children":

Here's the school year again,
What will he bring us with him?
We will have to fight again
*And stand up for God's word.*¹⁵¹

A large group of poems consists of instructions for adult members of the church about treating people kindly, showing mercy to others, condemning slander, malice, and pride.¹⁵² Such poems do not require special reader training, the authors honestly and directly "hit the sore spots", in a straightforward, one might say, frontal way, expressing

¹⁵⁰ Весна наступает // Букет Христу. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. - р. 62.

¹⁵¹ Сборник стихотворений. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 35.

¹⁵² Ibid. pp. 2, 4, 6, 8, 14.

their thoughts, trying to help their brethren get rid of various vices, calling for a return to the purity of faith:

*Oh, sinner, repent,
Come back to Christ.
Always you try
Be faithful to Him.*¹⁵³

For special festive divine services: in case of marriage, baptism, ordination, anniversaries, Christmas, New Year¹⁵⁴ - poetic instructions were composed, often very sentimental and declarative. They are distinguished by forced, exaggerated techniques with light content:

*Let us rejoice now,
That the Lord has not forgotten us –
He led us in the earthly desert
In the year that went, He was with us...

... We recognize the power of God,
His grace over himself,
So that both here and there, in the hall*

¹⁵³ *Букет Христу*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 77.

¹⁵⁴ Сборник стихотворений. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. рр. 22, 51; Голощанова, Т. Г. Родился нам Спаситель // Братский вестник. 1992. № 6. р. 70., Гриц, З. *Труд сердца*. Сборник стихов. Заокский, 2009.

*Praise him with all my soul!*¹⁵⁵

The genre of poetic recitation, popular in Soviet times, was also used in Adventist churches. The reading of poems on biblical themes was accompanied by solo and choral singing, which was supposed to contribute to the edification of members of Christian communities. A similar genre includes children's poetry, which makes up a fairly large group of poems written for recitation by children during holidays, as well as for instruction for every day. The life lessons of biblical heroes, the beatitudes, the basics of the profession of faith are painted in such works very simplistically with the expectation of an immediate educational effect.

Using the example of the Samizdat collection of anonymous Adventist poets,¹⁵⁶ we can give a small indicative numerical analysis of the subject matter of the poems. Most of the poems are devoted to edifying themes for adults and children (27%), eschatological themes (22%), glorification of God - 12%, poetic variations on the biblical plot - 12%, apologetics of the Christian faith – 12%, the importance of the Bible and the study of the Word of God – 7%, a call to preach, a call to unbelievers to believe, about difficulties, about the church – 2% each.

The analysis of the poetic creativity of the Adventists of the Soviet era indicates the absence of political and anti-Soviet texts, which does not allow us to classify this poetry as a counterculture. On the other hand, its character was specific, which prevented such poetry from spreading beyond Protestant communities and indicates the rather local nature of this type of creativity.

¹⁵⁵ *Букет Христу*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. р. 174.

¹⁵⁶ *Сборник стихотворений*. Б. м.: Самиздат, Б. г. 56 с.

A brief analysis of the poetry of Adventist poets of the Soviet period gives an initial idea of the themes and features of poetry related to the specified culture of the Soviet period. The simplicity, sincerity and rudimentary competence of the authors are justified by the peculiarities of the almost catacomb existence of believers in the Soviet period, when members of Adventist communities were oppressed and most of them were deprived of the opportunity to receive higher education. They had a worker-peasant origin, low social status and therefore could not but demonstrate a certain marginalism in their works.

The peculiarity of the work of the Adventist poets is its life-affirming orientation, unconditional purity of motives, unconditional trust, openness to the world, expressed by the New Testament formula "be like children" (Matt 18:3). There was a certain childlikeness in these naive verses, but there is also a wise invulnerability to evil, the many-sided manifestations of which lie in wait for the believer every day. This is the spiritual attitude of this poetic creativity.¹⁵⁷ Thoughtful readers can catch the soul-saving music of this poetry, its relevance for that time, its responsiveness to the spiritual needs of man. There is reason to assume that the genuine faith of Protestant poets, one way or another, could reach the hearts of unbelieving people, affect even a skeptic.

It should be noted that Adventist poetry of the Soviet period requires closer study by literary and cultural critics. It is necessary to find the correct angle of view on this amateur creativity, to determine the specifics of the methodology of its research, to identify the place of this original phenomenon in the literary process of the XX century and to comprehend Protestant creativity holistically, to capture its

¹⁵⁷ Плеханова, И. И. Жизнетворческий потенциал примитивизма (наивное, трагическое и наивно-трагическое чувство жизни) // Вестник Томского государственного университета. Филология. 2013. № 2. pp. 76-91.

central "nerve", allowing to understand the artistic world created by it in the context of the phenomena of Soviet culture.

Conclusion

Thus, the following features of the poetic creativity of Seventh-day Adventists in the USSR can be distinguished. The amateurish nature of the Seventh-day Adventist poetic art. The focus of the poems on the inner-church audience. The thematic content of the poems reflected the main issues that worried Adventists: repression and persecution, the expectation of the Second Coming of Christ, retelling of biblical stories. Poetic creativity, manifested in the publication of collections of poems, recitations at divine services, publications in Samizdat magazines, as well as in the programs of solemn divine services, was sufficiently developed to cover the needs of Adventist communities. In general, in the conditions of total destruction of religious literature and art, Seventh-day Adventist poetry is a unique phenomenon of Soviet unofficial culture.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The identification of the distinctive features of Adventist culture in the USSR, as well as its characteristics, allow us to speak, firstly, about its actual existence, and secondly, about the filling of the semantic meaning of Adventist culture in the USSR.

The main characteristic of Adventist culture in the USSR was that it absorbed the traditions of Russian Protestant movements, Soviet culture, as well as ethnic and religious Ukrainian-Russian customs. The overlap of these components led to the formation of its uniqueness. Nevertheless, Adventist culture remained predominantly Protestant. The fate of Protestant denominations in the USSR was in many ways similar to each other and most of them went through similar cultural diffusions, consisting in the interpenetration of Western and Russian cultures. Therefore, we can talk about the formation of a fairly unified Protestant culture in the USSR, of which Adventism was a part.

Adventist culture in the USSR was quite developed in comparison with other religious movements. This was expressed in the quantity and quality of the samizdat produced, the availability of magazines, their own composers and poets, collections of psalms, etc. The number of Adventures in different years reached several tens of thousands of people and Adventists could compete with large state organizations in terms of dispersed distribution. The development of Adventist culture was facilitated

by the unofficial nature of its activities and the presence of two competing centers – "Matsanovsky" and "Kulyzhsky".

However, Adventist culture did not have any significant impact on Soviet society. First of all, this was due to the fact that Adventists were a rather closed stratum of society. The isolation of the Seventh-day Adventist church in the USSR did not come from Adventists themselves or the nature of the teaching. It was explained by the purposeful policy of the state authorities to discredit Adventists, the fight against religious movements, persecution by the authorities, and the physical destruction of Protestants. During the period of the existence of the Soviet Union, Protestant culture was systematically destroyed by the authorities: internal documents, typewritten and handwritten publications were seized, missionaries were physically destroyed. The subculture of Russian Protestants aimed at survival and self-preservation."¹⁵⁸ This led to the fact that in the system of church values "... everything that contributed to isolation from the world was good, and everything that could lead to merging with it, and therefore to death, was bad", "... and the rules concerning appearance and life were sometimes introduced into the rank of fundamental doctrines."¹⁵⁹

The Bolshevik Cultural Revolution and the subsequent changes in socio-cultural life significantly slowed down the development of Adventist culture. This was achieved mainly by state-administrative methods, as well as anti-religious state propaganda, repression against believers and their intimidation. In addition, Adventists had a rather specific doctrinal teaching and a small number of members

¹⁵⁸ Никольская, Т. К. *Русский протестантизм и государственная власть в 1905-1991 годах*. Спб., 2009. pp. 164-165.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 165, 168.

(Adventist numbers ranged from about 15,000 in the 1927 to 31,000 in 1985),¹⁶⁰ which reduced the ability of this culture to widely influence society.

The influence of the state on the dynamics of the development of Adventist culture turned out to be significant. The stages of development of everyday culture, literature and musical creativity of Protestants generally coincide with the main changes in the state religious policy, which indicates the impact of political and social prerequisites on the religious worldview, the formation of religious practices and the everyday way of life of believers. Social upheavals and propaganda forced to change beliefs to some extent, adapting them to reality. The main changes this culture has experienced in the areas of transformation of everyday life, existence in conditions of conspiracy, antagonistic relations with the authorities, the development of special features of literary and musical art.

At the same time, the basic tenets of the teaching of the Adventist Church and the norms of morality as a whole were preserved throughout the entire period of the existence of the Soviet Union. Thus, religious beliefs and experiences are the prevailing circumstances that shape the daily life of an Adventist follower today. In general, Adventist culture has formed rooted traditions, values, foundations, specific vocabulary and is firmly rooted in the minds of its bearers. The existence of Adventist communities in conditions that hinder their development proves that Adventism has found substantial support among the population who are willing to endure suffering in the name of professing their faith.

The persecution of members of the Adventist church leaves no doubt about the unofficial nature of Adventist culture. However, the unofficial ideology was diverse in the degree of recognition and the form of its expression. For example, the Amateur

¹⁶⁰ Зайцев, Е. В. *История Церкви АСД*. Заокский, 2008. p. 514.

Song Club, which included many famous Soviet bards, went from partial to full recognition in the USSR in its development and became a significant cultural part of Soviet reality. Adventist values and norms in their entirety were completely rejected by the authorities as religious.

As for the ways of expressing unofficial culture in the USSR, according to the author, it is important to distinguish five main of its forms: counterculture, dissidence, underground, unofficial culture and unofficial subculture. The main characteristics of Adventist culture presented in the dissertation allow us to attribute it to an unofficial subculture. It cannot be considered as an integral culture due to its small number, restricted geographic coverage and low degree of influence on society. Unlike the counterculture and dissidence, it was not aimed at discrediting the official ideology, but existed as if in parallel with it, reflecting the views of a rather homogenous minority, distinguished from the rest of society. The Soviet counterculture, which developed in the 1960s and 1980s, had as its goal a confrontation with the official position of the power structures. Adventists tried not to go to such confrontations and did not oppose themselves to the official culture.

From this point of view, the Adventist subculture is more suitable for the definition of underground, but this is also not true. The underground as an ideology often united very different and broad strata of society – carriers of various cultures and traditions.¹⁶¹ These groups, differing in behavior patterns and ideological content, were united only by the idea of partial or complete rejection of the official ideology and accepted norms of art and did not want to exist in conditions of imposed values. Adventist culture, as a rule, did not go beyond its communities and united exclusively

¹⁶¹ Underground culture. // Art and popular culture [Electronic resource]
http://www.artandpopularculture.com/Underground_culture (Date viewed: 31.07.2022).

carriers of a religious worldview. The Adventist subculture was autonomous and did not pretend to replace or displace the dominant culture.

According to the author, the Adventist subculture, along with other social movements unrecognized in the USSR, except those that threatened the safety of the population,¹⁶² played a positive role in the social development of the country. It contributed to the emergence of an alternative view of the imposed order of things, was an example that pointed to the possibility of resisting state pressure on the individual, and contributed to the formation of civil society in the conditions of totalitarianism, creating the foundation for future democratic transformations in the former Soviet republics.

Unofficial religious culture, of which Adventism is also a part, certainly acted as a catalyst for the cultural and historical process, it contained the possibility of transforming culture, had the potential for its renewal. The victims and crippled destinies of believers did not leave people indifferent, all this prompted them to look for other ways of developing society and culture, an alternative to totalitarianism. It led to an understanding of the need to develop a pluralism of values for the sustainable development of society in which religion would be given its proper significant role.

¹⁶² Prison, criminal subcultures; some radical youth movements (nationalists, etc.).

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