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**KYIV PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOL
AND SPIRITUAL SELF-DETERMINATION OF ITS FOUNDERS:
AT THE WORLDVIEW INTERSECTION OF ATHEISM AND FAITH**

The article examines the spiritual self-determination of the creators of the Kyiv philosophical school as an innovative humanitarian project of directors of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR P. Kopnin (1962–1968) and V. Shynkaruk (1968–2001). It arose during Khrushchev "thaw" thanks to a generation of Ukrainian philosophers of the sixties and was one of the first academic prototype models of the open society in the Ukrainian SSR in the post-Stalin era. Its well-known founders witnessed significant and very contradictory changes in domestic and world church and religious life, especially the anti-religious campaign in the USSR in the 1950s and 1960s and the revival of the said life in Ukraine before and at the beginning of its independence. Over the past two decades, projects on the oral history of philosophy of T. Chaika and of Student Society of Oral History of Philosophy of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv have been going. Thanks to them, the final autobiographical reconstructions of academicians of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine S. Krymskyi, M. Popovych and V. Horskyi, as well as the ones of a group of their colleagues, the co-founders of the said school, in particular P. Yolon, M. Kashuba and Y. Stratii, were obtained. In combination with no less interesting memoirs of their colleagues at this school, first of all V. Lisovyi, they jointly presented a wide range of hitherto unknown evidence of the spiritual search of these creators of the Kyiv philosophical school as, in fact, the center of institutionalizing of Ukrainian national philosophical tradition in the 1960s – 1980s.

Keywords: the history of philosophy of Ukraine, Kyiv philosophical school, Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, church and religious life, oral history of philosophy, T. Chaika, S. Krymskyi, V. Horskyi, V. Lisovyi, P. Yolon.

A problem statement. Kyiv philosophical school, according to the results of a number of our articles, in particular [16, 17], was the leading ideological and organizational academic-university metropolitan center of the philosophical process in the Ukrainian SSR in the second half of twentieth century. This school played an important role in the scientific study of the history and present of the Ukrainian church and religious life. It was one of the leading and most active participants in the interrupted by Stalinist repressions in the 1930s Soviet stage of institutionalization of the Ukrainian national philosophical tradition, which became the longest, most tragic and interesting one among other periods of this process. Kyiv philosophical school became the ideological and organizational successor of the destroyed by Stalinism "philosophical front" of the Ukrainian SSR of the Shouted Renaissance era, as, among other, a participant in official anti-religious campaigns in Soviet Ukraine and in the USSR in general. This "philosophical front" was represented in the 1920s – first half of the 1930s by a number of different, including academic, institutions of philosophical science, education and culture in Kharkiv and Kyiv as the capitals of the Ukrainian SSR: from Research Departments of Marxism and Marxist Studies to the Institute of Philosophy and Natural Science as a member of the All-Ukrainian Association of Marxist-Leninist Institutions (since 1931), which was established in Kharkiv on the basis of the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism-Leninism (since 1924). It was this "front" that initiated the founding in 1927 of the Ukrainian Scientific and Philosophical Society "Militant Materialist-Dialectician" headed by Professor of Philosophy and Academician of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv V. Yurynets.

The Soviet government encouraged the activities of this and many other anti-religious organizations, including scientific ones, first of all the Anti-Religious Commission (since 1922) and the Union of the Godless of the USSR (since 1925, named since 1929 the Union of the Militant Godless). The plan of the "godless Five-

Year" (1932–1937) of the last one provided for the destruction in the USSR of both church and religious life and religious consciousness in general. This activity found its continuation after the World War II in the so-called Khrushchev anti-religious campaign, which peaked in 1958–1964. As this new wave of Soviet anti-religious terror, preceded by brutal repressions of the Stalinist regime against Christian churches (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Roman Catholic Church etc.) and a number of other churches and religious communities in the Ukrainian SSR, and its partial continuation in the 1970s – 1980s, significantly affected the scientific and educational work of academic institutes of Soviet Ukraine, especially the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR as system-forming for the Kyiv philosophical school. Its most famous creators, first of all academicians of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine S. Krymskyi and V. Horskyi, as well as their colleagues, in particular P. Yolon and V. Lisovyi, for the first time assessed the impact of this official anti-religious struggle on themselves in a completely uncensored way in independent Ukraine. They revealed in their little-studied, only partially published interviews and memoirs an important in its scope and significance set of concealed for many years testimonies about the vicissitudes of their spiritual self-determination in the USSR. The lack of the generalizing researches on this topic complicates the assessment of the contribution of the Kyiv philosophical school to Ukrainian science and culture and its place and role in them.

Analysis of publications. Actively study of the history of this school was began by its founders and their colleagues yet in the post-Soviet period in the first Ukrainian-language modern textbooks on the history of philosophy of Ukraine, as well in the comprehensive studies on the history of this school, for example [9], and in a number of the first memoir essays, such as [5, 12]. However, in all of them the topic of this article was overlooked. The factor of its partial actualization in the penultimate decade became their first published books of memoirs, first of all the ones

of A. Horak [3], V. Tabachkovskiy [14] and V. Lisoviy [11], as well as devoted to the memory of creators of the Kyiv philosophical school materials of different international scientific conferences and readings. They jointly contributed to the introduction into scientific circulation of materials that somewhat deformed and broadened the understanding of both the expert community and the readership about the spiritual image of this school and the spiritual search of its creators. In a series of publications by O. Kiselyov, such as articles [7, 8], the very essence of university-academic atheistic propaganda in the Ukrainian SSR is revealed in the context of coverage of history and work of the Department of Scientific Atheism of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR on the basis of its archives. O. Kiselyov used the oral memoirs of several of his colleagues from the mentioned institute, namely P. Yolon, V. Malakhov and A. Yermolenko, collected by him and still unpublished, as well as published by T. Chaika at that time interviews with V. Horskyi [4] and S. Krymskyi [10]. Simultaneously, the memoirs of both these scientists and their above-mentioned colleagues are only gradually becoming the subject of study, in particular in view of the topic of this article.

The aim of article is to consider and clarify the spiritual (atheistic, church-religious or any other) self-determination of the founders of the Kyiv philosophical school in the context of their personal life, scientific and social activities in the Ukrainian SSR on the basis of oral histories of S. Krymskyi, V. Horskyi, P. Yolon and a number of their colleagues, as well as memories of V. Lisoviy, M. Bulatov etc.

Outline of the main issues. The item of studying the history of philosophical science, education and culture of Soviet Ukraine is actively and sharply discussed in independent Ukraine. It was subjected to unconventional thinking in the first – pilot, successful tests of the oral history of philosophy as an innovative historical and philosophical approach/source/genre, which were jointly highly praised in the main Ukrainian professional philosophical periodical "Philosophical Thought" [15]. These are the projects on the oral history of philosophical thought of the Ukrainian SSR, the authors of which are well-known Ukrainian scientists T. Chaika, I. Golubovych and a number of their colleagues, young scientists from universities in Kyiv, Odesa and Lviv, such as members of the said student society. At the centre of their search attention was the personal dimension of the formation of the Odesa and, mainly, the Kyiv philosophical schools, hidden in the USSR for censorship reasons. On the basis of obtained in these projects a number of autobiographical reconstructions of the founders of the Kyiv philosophical school, we investigated in a series of articles, including this one, such little-known aspects of this dimension as: scientific, socio-cultural, socio-political, international and geopolitical. All of them together express in many respects an alternative to the academic one, more diverse and certainly very ambiguous overall image of this school. Inflorescence of voices of memory of its creators and their colleagues-contemporaries from the scientific and public spheres of the Ukrainian SSR and USSR depicts a post-modern "noise" of many unexpected interpretations of themselves, their nears, and the past in the interviews conducted with them, first of all by T. Chaika.

Often very difficult and contradictory spiritual (atheistic, church-religious and other) self-determination, realized by academicians S. Krymskyi, M. Popovych, V. Horskyi and their also well-known colleagues-cofounders of the Kyiv philosophical school, for example, both the dissident philosopher V. Lisoviy and the classical philologists M. Kashuba and Y. Stratii, is another, still poorly studied, but very indicative general aspect of their memoirs. The

founders of the Kyiv philosophical school were natives of different regions of the Ukrainian SSR during the Stalin era and came from quite different ethno-national and socio-cultural backgrounds at the intersection of pre-war, war and post-war times. All together, they witnessed the continuation during the Khrushchev "thaw" of official anti-religious policy and, in fact, the terror of the Soviet government, which began shortly after the October 1917 coup in Petrograd: from mass propaganda to the illegal liquidation of religious communities, the closure and destruction of places of worship and, ultimately, the persecution and repression of the clergy and parishioners. This Khrushchev's anti-religious campaign, launched shortly after the famous XX Congress of the CPSU, was a continuation of such measures of the Stalinism as: the "self-dissolution" of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1930 and the destruction in 1937–1939 of the established on its basis Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the "reunification" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, and, in general, the joint persecution of all these churches, as well as the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine and the Protestant churches in the 1930s – 1950s. This campaign was also preceded by the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans" carried out in the USSR in 1948–1953, which was no less anti-Semitic than the official prohibition of "Vaad Rabaney of the USSR" in 1933 and all subsequent, in particular non-public, struggle of the Soviet power against Zionism in the Soviet Union and in the world.

The founders of the Kyiv philosophical school touched from time to time in memoirs both the above-mentioned and other manifestations of the repressive policy of the USSR authorities towards mainly the three great Abrahamic religions, as well as other cults, churches and, in particular, ethnic groups. Simultaneously, they are more than once sharply mentioned the impact of this policy on the personal life and scientific career of both themselves and their colleagues at the said school. Both M. Popovych and his close friends S. Krymskyi and V. Horskyi, who jointly came from Ukrainian-Jewish families, repeatedly noted in their interviews with T. Chaika a big range of unworthy manifestations of the mentioned anti-Semitic campaign: from the "predominance of "disbanded" feelings" that were "fueled by anti-Semitism", even in the student environment [10, 374–375], to illegal restrictions in obtaining a degree and employment, in particular, to the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR [4, 110]. M. Popovych noted that such "cosmopolitan xenophobia" was not of a purely national character and also had an "intellectual background", because "Jews were hated, first of all, as intellectuals" [10, 375]. In turn, the son of a member of the Orthodox Jewish family, who became a communist, V. Horskyi several times mentioned the role in restricting his rights of the infamous "fifth column" or the definition of nationality in the "Personal Register of Passport Bodies of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs", for example a refusal to enrol in graduate school and dismissal from work in the state reserve "Sophia of Kyiv". S. Krymskyi recalled the sad details of the course of the "killer doctors case" in the USSR, as grounds for the mass resettlement of Soviet citizens of Jewish origin to the Far East [10, 88], in particular the role of famous cultural figures I. Erenburg and M. Donskoy in these events. He illustrated them also with the illustrative example of accused in Zionism at the same time the first director of the mentioned institute M. Omelyanovskiy, who "in protest" demonstratively resigned from this position and moved to Moscow [10, 69].

These illegal actions of the top of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) and authorities of the Ukrainian SSR during its "Ukrainization" in the first decades after World

War II, which carried out with the most effective participation of such odious officials as V. Malanchuk, V. Nikitchenko, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU on ideological issues A. Scaba and, in fact, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU P. Shelest, didn't bring M. Popovych, S. Krymskyi and V. Horskyi to the camp of Ukrainofobic conservatives. On the contrary, these founders of the Kyiv philosophical school from the above-mentioned institute, namely its two most non-conforming Departments – of Logic and Methodology of Science and of History of Philosophy in Ukraine, left in their memoirs the most evidence of their long-term friendly scientific and personal relations with the main spokesmen of the Ukrainian human rights movement at this institute, dissident philosophers V. Lisovyi and Y. Pronyuk, and with the ideologists of this movement I. Svitlychnyi, I. Dziuba and L. Plyushch. Moreover, they all became later famous academic philosophers of the Ukrainian SSR, in particular researchers of domestic philosophy and culture, mainly of its Kyivska Rus period, which had a significant impact on their spiritual self-determination. Maintaining respect for their pedigrees, S. Krymskyi and V. Horskyi studied the Slavic, ancient Jewish, Classical and other origins of the socio-cultural and philosophical heritage of Kyivska Rus – Rus-Ukraine. Remarkably, the first of them was baptized at the end of his life, and the second, well known, among other, as the author of the monograph "Saints of Kyivska Rus" (1994), testified in memoirs his own constant instinctive imitation of the life of St. Theodosius of Pechersk as "labor-obedience in the name of love" [4, 168].

The critical situation with the violation of human rights and freedoms in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR as a whole in the second half of the twentieth century was due, however, to the unlawful actions of the Soviet authorities in church and religious life on the eve and during the almost forty-year period of the Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocks led by, respectively, the USSR and the United States. At the same time, an important leverage of the government on the spiritual life in the USSR was the restoration on the initiative of J. Stalin in 1943 of the Moscow Patriarchate as the successor of the self-proclaimed in the XV century Russian Orthodox Church. In fact, it became the unified pro-government Christian church in the USSR, joined the World Council of Churches in 1960 and began active international communication, for example, with the Vatican. This met with effective resistance from the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which were restored in Central and Western Europe, the United States, and the underground in the Ukrainian SSR in the 1940s – 1950s. Their active international activity, embodied in the figures of Patriarch Mstyslav (Skrypnyk) and Major-Archbishop Joseph Slipyi, no less than the position of the world Zionist movement on the violation of Jewish rights in the USSR, provoked significant strengthening of the great-Power-chauvinist and Russification-neocolonial policy just in the Ukrainian SSR during the Khrushchev "thaw" period and, especially, neo-Stalinist "stagnation" era. One of its main components was anti-religious, both anti-Christian and anti-Zionist, agitation and propaganda, and, in general, scientific and educational atheistic work. Active ideological and organizational participation in these official events in the 1950s – 1980s was taken mainly by institutions and subdivisions of leading universities and academic institutes of Soviet Ukraine, in particular by the Department of Scientific Atheism of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

O. Kiselyov described in detail in the articles [7, 8] the preconditions and progress of this work at the said academe-

my during the post-Stalin time with special attention to the contribution of the said department and noted the decisive role in its initiation of two resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee (1954). It was these resolutions that regulated the opening and work of institutions and subdivisions of the scientific-atheistic type, such as the Department of History and Theory of Atheism at Kyiv State University (since 1959), the Departments of Scientific Atheism at the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute (since 1964) and Lviv State University (since 1964), and, finally, the Kyiv branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the CPSU (since 1978). A model example of their work is the scientific contribution of professor V. Tancher as a permanent (from 1959 to 1986) head of the first of these departments and author of more than 370 publications, such as "Fundamentals of Scientific Atheism" (1961) and "Youth on Atheism" (1972). The managers of the Department of Scientific Atheism of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR from A. Avetisyan to the largely tragic figure of Y. Duluman, briefly mentioned in the memoirs of S. Krymskyi, V. Horskyi and their colleagues, left a less noticeable and, in fact, quite contradictory trace in the history of scientific thought of the Ukrainian SSR. In the sight of authors of these memoirs were also the scientific heirs of the said Department, first of all A. Kolodny as the head of the Department of Religious Studies of the same institute, the founder and president of the Ukrainian Association of Religious Studies. So O. Kiselyov drew considerable attention to the transformation of scientific and atheistic work in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR into modern religious studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, time and time again referring to taken by him from colleagues and still unpublished interviews.

O. Kiselyov occasionally highlighted small fragments of his conversations in the past decade, in particular in 2016, with known former and current employees of the said institute P. Yolon, A. Yermolenko, V. Malakhov and T. Chaika, taking into account which he noted "the weak integration of specialists in scientific atheism into the philosophical community, in particular in the Institute of Philosophy" [7, 50]. Fruitfully using together with the archive of the Department of Scientific Atheism of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR his still unpublished interviews with P. Yolon and O. Onyshchenko, he acknowledged for the purpose of his next article [8] to clarify both the specifics of the functioning of scientific atheism in the structure of the mentioned academy and extent to which this academic study of religion was influenced by the ideology of the CPSU. O. Kiselyov pointed out that scientific atheism in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was then represented by the Departments of Scientific Atheism of the said institute in Kyiv and Ivano-Frankivsk and the Department of History and Theory of Atheism of the Institute of Social Sciences (Lviv). He stressed that the ideological component of the planned themes of the first two of them prevailed over the academic one. It is noteworthy that the interviews conducted by O. Kiselyov, in our opinion, are a lesser-known ongoing of T. Chaika's project "The Philosopher's Oral Histories", the most famous achievements of which, namely the published memoirs of S. Krymskyi [10] and V. Horskyi [4], were well known to him and used in his articles. Recalling their oral memories in view of their critical evaluation of a number of departments of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, in particular the Department of Scientific Atheism, he considered in more detail the evaluation of this department by A. Yermolenko, V. Malakhov and P. Yolon.

This department, which for a time became a sector, was only occasionally involved in the activities of the Kyiv philosophical school, received in mentioned memoirs a neutral-critical assessment: "quite an organic part of the institute staff" (P. Yolon), whose employees still "kept separate" and "had their problems" (V. Malakhov), because, according to A. Yermolenko, "in Soviet times on scientific atheism, as well as on scientific communism, followed mainly by "pragmatic students" who "aimed to make a quick career in science or the party" [7, 50]. V. Horskyi noted that "the department did not play a significant role" and "was somewhere there, on the periphery", while S. Krymskyi, like V. Horskyi, however, in more detail, noted A. Kolodny's contribution to the transformation of scientific atheism into modern religious studies. And remarkably, both S. Krymskyi and Y. Stratii left interesting memories of one of the last heads of this department Y. Duluman, who was a pupil both of the Odesa Theological Seminary and the Moscow Theological Academy, excommunicated from the Russian Orthodox Church and anathemated by its Holy Synod. According to their recollections, there was a "bunch of funny jokes" about him from the very beginning of his work at the institute, and he himself felt that no one in this team took him seriously either as a scientist or as a person [10, 181]. Interestingly, that founder of the Kyiv philosophical school, ethnic Russian and Marxist P. Kopnin, unlike Y. Duluman, repeatedly stressed the need "to start an intensive study of the philosophical heritage of the figures of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, which bore the brand of "national priesthood" [14, 16] in an interview with then still a student of Kyiv State University V. Tabachkovskyi and in private conversations with M. Kashuba.

Our attention attract both P. Kopnin's persistent desire to publish this legacy, and, importantly, in Ukrainian, and the effective involvement in the translation of this array of Latin manuscripts of former priests of the already liquidated Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. These circumstances, in our opinion, very clearly testified to the worldview opposition of the project of P. Kopnin and V. Nychyk to study the scientific achievements of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy professors of the seventeenth – eighteenth centuries to the activities of the said Department of Scientific Atheism and, in fact, the entire network of such institutions in the Ukrainian SSR. A very important component of this project, which was repeatedly criticized by Y. Duluman for its "scholasticism", was V. Nychyk's in-depth study in the late twentieth – twenty first centuries of the little-known then relationships between Ukrainian and Jewish ethno-religious traditions from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. This project, in addition to the repeated threat of its forcible abolition, such as during the repression of the Ukrainian authorities in 1972 on national-oriented dissent in the Department of History of Philosophy in Ukraine of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, also suffered very annoying, grotesque and absurd obstacles from academic publishers in Kyiv and Moscow. If P. Kopnin predicted, that "Ukraine will be able to be proud of the whole world" this "huge continent", namely the legacy of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy [14, 17], then the editors of the collections of works by T. Prokopovych and H. Skovoroda, according to interview of M. Kashuba, resorted to their undisguised Homeric censorship. The Kyiv editor of the first of these editions removed all pages with the word "God" from its long-unpublished second volume, while the editors of Moscow publishing house "Mysl" "threw out" from the collection of H. Skovoroda's works all the places, where they mentioned the word "Israel".

Two significant anniversaries, namely both the 150th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko (1964) and

the 250th anniversary of the birth of Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1972), became vivid examples of public expression in the Ukrainian SSR during the Khrushchev "thaw" as, in fact, contradictory, official Soviet and unofficial, clearly national-patriotic Sixtiers', positions on the religious dimension of the creative legacy of the greatest classics of the artistic and philosophical words of Ukraine, as well as itself as a whole. These two dates outline two major waves of arrests of members of the Ukrainian human rights and national-cultural movement in the first decade of the neo-Stalinist "stagnation". They both demonstratively testified to the attempts of ideological Sovietization-nationalization by the authorities of these majestic figures of the two most famous Ukrainian dissidents of Enlightenment and Romanticism. It is noteworthy that it was during this chronological period that the first significant scientific achievements of the Kyiv philosophical school and, in fact, the definition of its founders and figures of their worldview, including their spiritual self-determination, took place. Honored with the titles of laureates of the National Prize of Ukraine named after T. Shevchenko at the suggestion of their comrade and colleague I. Dzyuba only later, already in independent Ukraine, M. Popovych and S. Krymskyi became in those distant times, together with I. Drach, co-authors of the iconic for Skovoroda studies "Hryhoriy Skovoroda: a biographical story" (1984). This volume, with its distinctly dissident destiny, censored and long delayed for publication, became a peculiar, very revealing embodiment of the "censored fate" of both its authors and the Kyiv philosophical school and the philosophical thought of the Ukrainian SSR as a whole.

Noteworthy is the neo/post-Marxist rethinking of the church-religious aspects of the life and work of Kobzar and M. Gogol by the members of this school, in particular in the poem "Shevchenko" written in exile by V. Lisovyi and in the book "Mykola Gogol" (1989) by M. Popovych. This post-Stalin study of their spirituality is inseparable from that attested in the memoirs, mainly by S. Krymskyi and Y. Stratii, critical and, at the same time, inspired assimilation by the Kyiv philosophical school of spiritual, in particular mystical-theological, experience of H. Skovoroda, the whole "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" galaxy and their heirs. One of the most iconic for them, as well as for the chosen circle of Ukrainian intellectuals-Sixtiers, was the figure of the Russian dissident-exile F. Dostoevsky. The solemn celebration in the USSR in 1971 of the 150th anniversary of his birth found its remarkable response in the two provocatively controversial papers published in the "Philosophical Thought": "F. M. Dostoevsky against Bourgeois Individualism" (1971) by V. Skurativsky and "F. M. Dostoevsky in His Depiction of Modern Bourgeois Philosophy" (1971) by V. Tabachkovskyi. These publications differed sharply from the official "health resorts" richly published in the same magazine at the time of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. Lenin (1970) and the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR (1971). In contrast to the "pomp" of the latter, these two articles, for example, drew attention to the works of F. Dostoevsky, which were banned by the Soviet authorities in the 1930s – 1950s, in particular to the hated by V. Lenin as "disgusting" novel "Demons". Interestingly, V. Skurativsky directly recognized the creative heritage of its author as one of the most important and subtle nerves of modern culture with its "unprecedented philosophical tension".

The founders of the Kyiv philosophical school were direct participants in the educational process of the second half of the 1940s and 1950s in the leading universities of Kyiv and, at the same time, Lviv and Moscow, and more than once highlighted in their memoirs the secularization-atheistic nature of education and upbringing in these institutions. Described by themselves their ways of life jointly

testified to the intellectual opposition of most of them to the "image of the world" with its metaphysical universalization of the "material", imposed by official Soviet science and propaganda. This opposition is noticeable, first of all, in interviews of S. Krymskyi, M. Popovych, V. Lisovyi and V. Horskyi, as well as less expressive in the memoirs of many of their colleagues, in particular P. Yolon, M. Bulatov and V. Ivanov. In these memoirs, in general, their own existence in the constant intellectual and spiritual formation is revealed as counteraction both to the "university "Marxist absurdity" [10, 49] and the "destructive pressure of chaos and absurdity" on modern humanity [11, 160]. S. Krymskyi was recognized by his friend and colleague V. Malakhov for a "rare example of life today in the *spirit*" with the experience of "thinking from the Absolute", namely a visionary Platonist with a characteristic of Platonism passion for images and stories [10, 363–365]. His no less old comrade V. Silvestrov assessed S. Krymskyi as a "true philosopher" such as Plato or Socrates, that is, as a "philosopher by vocation" [10, 408], and M. Popovych described S. Krymskyi as a "God's bird" with a strong ear for culture, that his "early youthful fascination" with Hegel was on a par with his youthful fascination with astronomy, music, physics and mathematics.

In an interview with T. Chaika, S. Krymskyi briefly outlined the stages of his spiritual evolution as movement of "abandonment" of Hegel's philosophy and, in particular, logic in favor of "Christian values" as a "call from above" that "needs individual decipherment" [10, 361]. No less detailed and interesting than V. Lisovyi in his "Memoirs" [11], he described in the said interview, mainly in his final part "Conversation, which turned out to be the last", the development of his destiny as "a miracle of resurrection" in the context of deep cultural philosophical assessments of human history and life stories of leading creators of its culture, such as Dante Alighieri, W. Shakespeare, M. Cervantes, H. Skovoroda, N. Gogol, and O. Pushkin. S. Krymskyi put "spiritual issues" at the centre of modern philosophical reflection and comprehended it in view of the "world of suffering and deprivation of the XX century" he experienced: the "inhuman world" of concentration camps and prisons by V. Shalamov and O. Solzhenitsyn, the Shouted Renaissance, Holodomor, world wars and, at the same time, unprecedented revolutions in the history of mankind, especially nuclear, space, computer and biotechnology ones. He recognized as a "terrible thing" a society in which religion and morality have been destroyed [10, 343]. Consistent with these reflections, richly imbued with references to the New Testament and the works of world literature classics, are reflections on the past and future of Ukraine and the world of V. Horskyi, who recognized himself as a non-religious man who grew up in a far from religious context of culture and education [18, 264].

In an interview with Y. Zavhorodnyi, V. Horskyi stressed that the problem of religiosity is very intimate and in this sense he can not even dare to call himself a religious person in the proper sense of the word [18, 264]. At the same time he highly appreciated just Christianity as one of the important factors in the development of Ukrainian and world cultures: "My attitude to religion is due to the fact that I grew up, was brought up and consider myself involved in European culture, as well as in our native culture. And this is a culture that is based on the principles of Christianity. I quite consciously see the sources of the culture to which I belong organically, namely in Christianity, in the Christian religion. I have an extremely high and deep respect for this faith and for people who profess it" [18, 264]. Like S. Krymskyi, V. Horskyi combined in his memoirs consideration of issues related to the specific historical conditions

of Christian and Jewish religious cult practices and all their ecclesiastical and religious manifestations and influences in the USSR, with the story of his life. Thus, he gratefully mentioned in an interview with T. Chaika how P. Kopnin personally managed during his visit at the Central Committee of the CPU to get him to work at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, contrary to A. Skaba's openly anti-Semitic position. V. Horskyi repeatedly recalled the annoyances caused to him as the son of a native of a "very religious Jewish family" in Soviet times, and simultaneously paid much more attention to his scientific and personal approach to the experience of Orthodoxy in Ukraine during his many years of academic research on the history of philosophical culture of Kyivska Rus.

V. Horskyi's spiritual search as a path to Christianity is commensurate with the spiritual self-determination of his department colleague and friend V. Lisovyi, who more than ten years (1972 – 1983) was a "prisoner of conscience" in the Perm and Mordovian camps and in exile in Buryatia. A leading spokesman for nationally oriented dissent at the said institute and the Kyiv philosophical school, a consistent post/anti-Marxist, he carefully covered in memoirs his own ideological evolution from Marxism to logical positivism and linguistic philosophy. In his attitude to religion and, above all, to Christianity, V. Lisovyi proceeded from the idea that "moral and cultural-national aspects of the individual are interrelated" [11, 150]. He convicted the "nationalization of Christianity in Russian Orthodoxy and the Russian consciousness" and, as a consequence, their "intolerance of Ukrainian cultural identity", and, ultimately, their anti-Christian "orientation to the people-Godness". V. Lisovyi repeatedly criticized the implementation of all these principles in V. Osipov's doctrine of Russia as a "theocratic Orthodox monarchy". Appreciating both "religious and philosophical research in Russian literary and philosophical thought", as in the works of L. Tolstoy and F. Dostoevsky, and, at the same time, the "moral and religious philosophy" of Y. Sverstyuk, he noted the latter's emphasis on the identity of the Ukrainian cultural tradition and on Christianity as an important component of this identity without signs of religious or national fundamentalism [11, 211]. V. Lisovyi emphasized that his spiritual position, namely his own "version of Stoicism", sometimes acquired in prison obvious "signs of Christian humility", and, indicatively, publicly glorified Christianity as opposed to paganism, namely, such a variety of it as communist ideology [11, 412].

Interviews with employees of the Department of History of Philosophy in Ukraine of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, namely V. Horskyi, V. Lisovyi, M. Kashuba and Y. Stratii, and a number of their colleagues, such as a former deputy director of this institute P. Yolon, clearly testify to their common scientific and, to a large extent, personal, albeit different, attraction to the Ukrainian historical experience of Orthodoxy from its medieval tradition to its postmodern present. V. Horskyi, M. Kashuba and Y. Stratii focused their professional attention on the pre-modern and early modern stages of its history, mainly on church writing and theological heritage, while V. Lisovyi and P. Yolon placed in their memoirs a more emotional emphasis on the Ukrainian ethno-cultural specifics of the Christian church tradition in Ukraine. All of them have, albeit to varying degrees, a critical attitude to the unfortunate practice of destroying the historical specifics of church and religious life in Ukraine by the great-Power tradition in the Russian Empire and the USSR. Born in rural "Orthodox family" in Volyn and raised "in the faith", P. Yolon later became, like his colleague at the institute, a native of Donetsk region M. Bulatov, an unbeliever, however, like his friends V. Horskyi and

V. Lisovyi, maintained a friendly attitude to faith in God: "I simply couldn't believe in the existence of God because of the acquired knowledge. So I became an unbeliever in the religious sense of the word. But I did not become an atheist in the Marxist sense. I never did that in those Soviet times, and even more so in the present" [2, 102].

He distinguished between the presence of faith in the soul and the "church", the first of which is a necessary element of the normal human psyche, namely the belief in friendship, love, goodness, the step from which to "religious faith" is "very small". As for the "church" or "church orders", P. Yolon distinguished between the "ritual component", which "has its meaning" due to Ukrainian folk culture, and "the activities of many church ministers" in church as "office", with all their "quarrels" [2, 102–104]. He praised the preservation of the traditions of "Ukrainian Orthodox holidays" and also the folk culture of pre-Christian times in them, but denied the exclusivity of Orthodoxy compared to all other Christian and non-Christian religions and denominations and recognized as the main gist in each of them that each of their confessors is a "believer" [2, 104]. No less peculiar is the view of religion and faith of the researcher of the history of dialectics and German classical philosophy M. Bulatov. According to his own confession, he left the "faith without knowledge" in the "middle school years", and already during his student years and yet later, as a teacher, he came to the conclusion that "there is no god", but noted that "newer was not a "militant atheist" and forever maintained a "friendly attitude to religion" [1, 372]. More than once noting in his memoirs that the "main question" is not whether there is a god or not, but in what role – positive or negative, he plays in people's lives, M. Bulatov revealed in his philosophical diary his own vision of the origins and history of religion, especially Christianity.

In his view, there are four main "grounds for the existence of religion": 1. "ontological", 2. "social", 3. "psychological", 4. "ecclesiastical", and the last two of them embody the "tradition of faith". V. Bulatov emphasized that the current "turning away from God" and "break with religion" would never cause "complete disbelief" due, especially, to the first of these grounds, which are "innate in man" [1, 142]. Repeatedly comprehending the principles of Christianity through the prism of the works of F. Novalis, S. Kierkegaard, F. Dostoevsky and L. Shestov, he noted, that in the modern era instead of the "religious ontology", which is already "dead", "came to the fore moral side of religion", which continues to exist independently [1, 262]. Known until recently, mainly to a small circle of his colleagues, the spiritual evolution of V. Ivanov as, according to S. Krymskyi, the greatest thinker of the Kyiv philosophical school, clearly expressed his image as "a product of the Soviet era", namely "a man who lived a double life spiritually" [10, 164]. Ivanov was a scholar with a "party upbringing and Marxist education" who "insisted very strongly on his allegiance to Marxism and especially demanded it of others", but, according to S. Krymskyi, had "two souls": one that "belonged to the traditional Soviet ideology", and the one, that "gravitated if not to God, then to Christian spirituality" [10, 164–165]. During his student years he enthusiastically had long conversations on spiritual topics with his Kyiv homeowner, an Orthodox priest, and later, as a teacher at the Higher Party School at the Central Committee of the CPU, he came home to T. Chaika and listened for hours to records of "Bach, Handel, especially pre-Mozart music" [10, 172]. Isn't the image of V. Ivanov, this tragically deceased "unusual man", an embodied symbol of all the contradictions and complexities of spiritual self-determination of the founders of the Kyiv philosophical school at the fragile ideological intersection of atheism and faith?

Conclusion. The authors of the mentioned in this article oral recollections and, in general, memoirs represent the generation of philosophers of the sixties, the founders of the Kyiv philosophical school, which emerged in the Ukrainian SSR at the intersection of the Stalin era and the Khrushchev "thaw". All these employees of the leading Departments of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, first of all the one of Logic and Methodology of Science (S. Krymskyi, M. Popovych and P. Yolon), and the one of History of Philosophy in Ukraine (V. Horskyy, V. Lisovyi, M. Kashuba, Y. Stratii), as well as their colleagues from other departments of this institute, namely M. Bulatov and V. Ivanov, were formed as individuals and scientists in the context of anti-religious and atheistic systems of Soviet education and academic science. Together they became the objects of influence of anti-religious campaigns in the USSR, such as Khrushchev's in 1958–1964, and at the same time, witnesses and, in part, participants in the organization and conduct of official scientific and atheistic work in leading universities of Soviet Ukraine and institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, first of all in the Department of Scientific Atheism of the mentioned institute, in the 1950s – 1980s. Noticeably that both they and a number of their colleagues from the same institute showed a common tendency to be critical of this work and, simultaneously, testified in their memoirs to their interest in the history of Christianity and other Abrahamic religions and cults. Almost all of founders of the Kyiv philosophical school did not confess them, but were mainly in a position of tolerance towards them. The director of this institute P. Kopnin and a group of researchers of the national philosophical heritage of the seventeenth – eighteenth centuries from the Department of History of Philosophy in Ukraine, first of all V. Nychyk, as well as a number of their colleagues from Kyiv and Lviv, showed a deep interest in the historical experience of Orthodoxy in Ukraine from the Middle Ages to the XX century. Usually assessing themselves as scientists who either lost the Christian faith but were interested in it, or even approached it in their own Ukrainian studies and personal worldview search, they played a weighty role in reviving in the academic and philosophical community of Soviet Ukraine professional interest in Ukrainian Christian church and religious heritage and, at the same time, in the transition from obscurantism of the Stalin's era to ideological pluralism in independent Ukraine.

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КИЇВСЬКА ФІЛОСОФСЬКА ШКОЛА І ДУХОВНЕ САМОВИЗНАЧЕННЯ ЇЇ ЗАСНОВНИКІВ: НА СВИТОГЛЯДНОМУ ПЕРЕТИНІ АТЕЇЗМУ ТА ВІРИ

Вивчено досвід духовного самовизначення творців Київської філософської школи як інноваційного гуманітарного проєкту директорів Інституту філософії ім. Г. Сковороди АН УРСР П. Копніна (1962–1968) і В. Шинкарука (1968–2001). Постала це за епохи хрущовської "відлиги" завдяки генерації українських філософів-шістдесятників, вона була однією з найперших академічних мікромоделей-прообразів відкритого суспільства в УРСР постсталінського часу. Її відомі засновники стали свідками значних і доволі суперечливих змін у вітчизняному і світовому церковно-релігійному житті, передусім антирелігійної кампанії в СРСР 50–60-х рр. XX ст. та ренесансу церковно-релігійного життя в Україні в переддень і на початку її незалежності. Завдяки проєктам Т. Чайки та Студентського товариства усної історії філософії Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка з усної історії філософії, впровадж двох минулих десятиріч були отримані підсумкові автобіографічні відтворення академіків НАН України С. Кримського, М. Поповича, В. Горського та групи їх колеґ, – засновників і знаних діячів, як і вони, Київської філософської школи, зокрема П. Йолон, М. Кашуби і Я. Стратій. Доповнені не менш цікавими мемуарами їх колеґ по школі, насамперед В. Лісового, вони спільно унаочнили широкий спектр невідомих свідчень про духовні пошуки цих творців Київської філософської школи як, фактично, центра інституціоналізації української національної філософської традиції в 60–80-х рр. XX ст.

Ключові слова: історія філософії України, Київська філософська школа, Інститут філософії ім. Г. Сковороди АН УРСР, церковно-релігійне життя, усна історія філософії, Т. Чайка, С. Кримський, В. Горський, В. Лісовий, П. Йолон.

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КИЕВСКАЯ ФИЛОСОФСЬКА ШКОЛА И ДУХОВНОЕ САМООПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ ЕЕ ОСНОВАТЕЛЕЙ: НА МИРОВОЗЗРЕНЧЕСКОМ ПЕРЕСЕЧЕНИИ АТЕИЗМА И ВЕРЫ

Изучен опыт духовного самоопределения творцов Киевской философской школы – инновационного гуманитарного проекта директоров Института философии им. Г. Сковороды АН УССР П. Копнина (1962–1968) и В. Шинкарука (1968–2001). Созданная ещё поколением украинских философов-шестидесятников в эпоху хрущёвской "оттепели", она была одной из первых академических микромоделей-прообразов открытого общества в УССР постсталинского времени. Её известные основатели стали свидетелями значительных и весьма противоречивых изменений в отечественной и мировой церковно-религиозной жизни, прежде всего антирелигиозной кампании в СССР 50–60-х гг. XX в. и возрождения церковной жизни Украины кануна и начала её независимости. В проектах по устной истории философии Т. Чайки, как и Студенческого общества устной истории философии Киевского национального университета имени Тараса Шевченко, на протяжении двух минувших десятилетий получены итоговые автобиографические реконструкции академиков НАН Украины С. Крымского, М. Поповича, В. Горского и группы их колеґ, – основателей и известных деятелей, как и они, Киевской философской школы, а именно П. Йолон, М. Кашубы и Я. Стратий. Вместе с не менее интересными и дополняющими их мемуарами их колеґ по этой школе, прежде всего В. Лисовой, они вместе открывают нам широкий спектр ранее неизвестных свидетельств о духовных поисках творцов Киевской философской школы как фактически центра институционализации украинской национальной философской традиции в 60–80-х гг. XX ст.

Ключевые слова: история философии Украины, Киевская философская школа, Институт философии имени Г. Сковороды АН УССР, церковно-религиозная жизнь, устная история философии, Т. Чайка, С. Крымский, В. Горский, В. Лисовой, П. Йолон.

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АНТИЧНА ТА ХРИСТІАНСЬКА АНТРОПОЛОГІЯ: ТРИ ГІПОТЕЗИ ПРО ПОХОДЖЕННЯ ДУШІ

Стосується дослідження трьох головних гіпотез про походження душі, які беруть свій початок з античної філософії та дохристиянських релігійних вірувань. Рецепція цих гіпотез із деякою трансформацією та адаптацією була сприйнята і розвинута у подальшому визначними християнськими мислителями як Сходу, так і Заходу. Тому головний акцент ставиться на розвитку цих гіпотез від патрології та пізніше – у християнській філософії, до сучасних досліджень. Особливо розглядається гіпотеза традиціонізму, яка є найбільш узгодженою із сучасними відкриттями науки. Ця гіпотеза досліджується у зв'язку з досягненнями генетики та цитології, зокрема, враховуючи накопичені людством знання про розвиток плоду від моменту зачаття. Також гіпотеза традиціонізму аналізується відповідно до вимог філософської антропології щодо наявності в людині свободи та відповідальності.

Ключові слова: антична філософія, патрологія, передіснування душі, креаціонізм, традиціонізм, цитологія, антропологія.

Вступ. Поняття свободи є невід'ємним атрибутом людської екзистенції. Воно є базовим критерієм, що уможлиблює існування антропології як такої. Те, під яким кутом зору ми будемо сприймати антропологію взагалі,

залежить існування свободи як такої. Якщо людина є наслідком необхідності – відповідно необхідності буде просякнуте все її буття; якщо ж у самому початку онтологічного існування, як його підвалина, перебуває свобода –