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Religious activity and expression of national identity of Ukrainians during the introduction of the new Soviet ritual: 1960's–1970's

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Abstract

The party ideologues of the Soviet totalitarian state artificially developed and actively introduced into the life of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR a new Soviet ritualism, the main goal of which was to raise from every Ukrainian a Russified citizen of the Soviet type without national identity and religious beliefs, with a Russian consciousness, mentality and language. The article proves that the ancient church and religious traditions and customs of the Ukrainian people continued to be a part of the everyday culture of Ukrainians. The religious activity of representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group was especially observed during the celebration of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and other church holidays. And although the number of adherents of religious rites in the republic was different – from less in the East to more in the West, Christian values, despite atheism, continued to be the basis of the spiritual life of the absolute majority of Ukrainians.

Keywords: Ukrainians, religious customs and traditions, church, national consciousness, totalitarian regime, atheism, Soviet power, new Soviet ritualism, denationalization

Религиозная деятельность и выражение национальной идентичности украинцев в период введения новой советской обрядности: 1960–1970-е гг.

Аннотация

Партийные идеологи советского тоталитарного государства искусственно разрабатывали и активно внедряли в жизнь титульной нации УССР новую советскую обрядность, главной целью которой было воспитать из каждого украинца русифицированного человека советского типа без национальной идентичности и религиозных убеждений, с русским сознанием, менталитетом и языком. В статье доказано, что исконные церковно-религиозные традиции и обычаи украинского народа продолжали оставаться частью повседневной культуры украинцев. Религиозная деятельность представителей украинского этноса особенно наблюдалась во время празднования Рождества, Крещения, Пасхи и других церковных праздников. И хотя количество приверженцев религиозных обрядов в республике было разным – от меньшего на Востоке до большего на Западе, христианские ценности, вопреки атеизации, продолжали оставаться основой духовной жизни абсолютного большинства украинцев.

Ключевые слова: украинцы, религиозные обычаи и традиции, церковь, национальное сознание, тоталитарный режим, атеизм, советская власть, новая советская обрядность, денационализация

Formulation of Scientific Problem and Its Significance

For many centuries, national customs, traditions, and ceremonies occupied a special place in the cultural and spiritual life of Ukrainians. They were the most vivid reflection of the history, moral values, and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, their struggle against national oppression, and their desire for independence. Ukrainian rituals have always had a great social, cognitive, educational and patriotic significance, shaped the national outlook of Ukrainians. However, during the era of Soviet atheism, it suffered a devastating destruction. In this context, it is necessary to focus the attention on the 1960's and 1970's, which were characterized by the development of the violent displacement of ancient religious customs and traditions from the mass consciousness of the Ukrainian ethnic environment. Instead, the

Soviet dogmas of the then political regime, which ignored Ukrainian national issues, were comprehensively planted.

With the independence of Ukraine, democratization of socio-political life, opening access to many archival sources, favorable conditions were created for free, unbiased, methodologically balanced study of the Soviet past of the Ukrainian nation and expanding the field of national memory and historical consciousness of citizens. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the confrontation between the Soviet and Ukrainian national identity during the introduction by the CPSU – CPU of new rituals during the 60's–70's of the twentieth century is extremely relevant and requires a special approach to study.

Research Analysis

The issue of atheism and anti-religious policy of the CPSU – CPU in the USSR during second half of the XX century was highlighted in the works of such authors as: O. Novytska (2003), T. Pashinina (2004), O. Penkova (2006), V. Vovk (2007), O. Mikhalchuk (2008; 2010), Yu. Kaganov (2013) and others. However, in the scientific literature the topic remains understudied. This enables us to continue working in this promising area.

The Aim of the Article

Thus, the focus of this article is the study of the desire of Ukrainians to preserve their own national and spiritual identity in the process of the implementation of the CPSU – CPU of the new Soviet ritualism, the study of the religious activity of representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group during the celebration of various church holidays during the 60's–70's of the twentieth century.

The Main Material and Justification of Study Results

At the end of 1964, with the aim of popularizing Soviet ritual innovations in most regional centers of the Ukrainian SSR, the communists created special ritual commissions, and on December 24, 1969, in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the

Republican Commission for the Study and introduction of new civil holidays and ceremonies into everyday life began to work under the presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR (Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, 1970, p. 3). Studying archival documents, we see that such commissions also operated in district centers and at the executive committees of village and settlement councils (*The main editorial office for the preparation of the broadcast...*, 1978, s. 83).

New Soviet holidays were officially opposed to religious holidays. Anniversaries of collective farms, labor holidays, anniversaries of the October Revolution, birthdays of V. Lenin and other communist leaders, etc. became popular. Archive documents confirm that in the 1960's and 1970's the holiday of sending off conscripts to the ranks of the Soviet Army was actively promoted, to which entire solemn concerts were dedicated (*The main editorial office for the preparation of the broadcast...*, 1978, s. 80–82). Under the influence of the Soviet ideological policy, a complete complex of calendar, professional, labor and official state holidays and rituals was formed, the content of which reflected the material and worldview values inherent in the mentality of the Soviet person.

During this period, there was a turning point in the religious registration of important events in the personal life of Ukrainians, instead, the legal registration of holidays by Soviet state bodies became mandatory. A new custom of the time when a marriage was concluded was its registration in the «Palace of Culture» or «Palace of Happiness», where representatives of the RAGS, in the presence of relatives and members of the public, solemnly handed the young people a marriage certificate (Kindrachuk, 2016, p. 159). Newlyweds who supported the new rites gained access to scarce goods – wedding dresses, wedding rings, children's clothes, strollers, etc. (Kaganov, 2013, p. 188). Such a privileged approach of the Communist Party leadership to the choice of Soviet rites was intended to reduce the number of couples among Ukrainians who wished to get married at church.

The attitude of the authorities was not favorable to people who followed the Christian principles of family formation, because the rite of marriage at church was considered a «shameful» phenomenon and one that was subject to public condemnation. However, many of those Ukrainians who stepped on the towel got married at church.

A different situation was observed in the East of Ukraine, which was multi-ethnic. The solemn registration of marriage developed and implemented by the Soviet state among the residents of the Eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR was popular to such an extent that it practically supplanted the conduct of the church ritual. Thus, on average throughout Donetsk region, as of 1963, weddings with the participation of a priest accounted for only 0,5 % (Penkova, 2006, p. 98), and in 1964 this indicator decreased to 0,3 % (*Information from Vinnytsia, Volyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zhytomyr, Zakarpattia, Zaporizhzhya, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Crimea, and Mykolaiv regional party councils...*, 1964, s. 40).

The same disappointing situation with church marriage has developed in Luhansk region. According to archival sources, 20,155 couples were solemnly married here in 1970, but only 76 couples were married at church in the same year (*Information, measures of regional committees of the LKSM of Ukraine on the implementation of the resolution...*, 1970, s. 23). The ratio of these data was almost the same in Kharkiv region. As of 1970, 30,878 couples were registered here who became adherents of Soviet rituals, and only 170 couples who got married at church (*Information, reports of LKSMU regional committees on the state of atheist education...*, 1971–1975, s. 4–5). In general, the rate of weddings in the east of Ukraine was significantly lower compared to other regions of the Ukrainian SSR. This is explained primarily by the presence of fewer churches there compared to the west of the republic and the low level of religiosity among the population.

In general, a significant reason for the decrease in the number of supporters of church marriage in the Ukrainian SSR was that during the period of total atheism, participation in church rites caused a certain risk. The facts of the application of religious rituals by Ukrainians never remained unnoticed by the Soviet state authorities. The religious behavior of Ukrainians was constantly discussed and condemned at party, trade union meetings, and meetings of labor groups. However, according to archival documents, at the end of the 70's of the 20th century on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, almost a third of newlyweds performed a church marriage after official registration (*Documents on the introduction of new Soviet rites and traditions into the daily life of the population of the Ukrainian SSR*, 1978, p. 7).

In the conditions of the construction of an atheistic society, the sacrament of baptism also turned out to be ideologically «harmful». Active anti-religious work of the Soviet structures was carried out even in women's consultations and maternity homes. To demonstrate to the public the «splendor» of Soviet rites, the Communists opened Palaces of Newborns.

However, despite the desire of the Soviet authorities to eradicate religiosity, Ukrainians continued to baptize their children secretly, often at night, sometimes in other districts and even regions (Kindrachuk, 2016, p. 159), the number of which in the early 1960's in Ukraine was about 40 % of all newborns (Vovk, 2007, p. 180). It is worth emphasizing that in the East of the Ukrainian SSR, the implementation of the church baptism ceremony was based on folk tradition, and only then on the awareness of religious ideas.

With the onset of the 1970's, which were characterized by the rise of totalitarian tendencies in society, the level of baptisms among Ukrainians decreased somewhat. Historian O. Mikhalchuk adheres to this opinion, indicating that in 1972 the share of baptized children in the Ukrainian SSR decreased and amounted to only 45 % of the total number of newborns in the republic (Mikhalchuk, 2010, p. 159). A tendency towards a decrease in the number of supporters of church baptism was also observed at the end of the 70's of the 20th century.

In view of the above data, we can see that despite the state's efforts to impose a new Soviet ritual on society, Ukrainians still remained supporters of the church rite of baptism. A large part of the representatives of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR considered this rite as an act of further protection of their children from life's troubles and various kinds of diseases. This conviction in their minds was so strong that even that part of people who declared themselves atheists still considered it necessary to perform the sacrament of baptism.

This fact was recognized by the party leadership of the republic. For example, V. Shcherbytskyi, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, during his speech at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1977, noted: «One cannot ignore the fact that still a considerable part of young people (almost one third) baptize their children, and some even get married at church and observe other religious rites» (Penkova, 2006, p. 112). At the same time, Soviet

ideologues claimed that the commissions for the introduction of new rites under the executive committees «worked on paper», because even the heads of village councils, local communists, secretaries of Komsomol organizations, etc. baptized their children and grandchildren (Mikhalchuk, 2008, p. 142; Kindrachuk, 2015, p. 54).

It should also be noted that funerals according to Soviet rites had to be held without the participation of the clergy, and the scenarios of the civil burial ritual had to oppose religious dogmas. However, among Ukrainians, the percentage of supporters of church burials still remained quite high, especially in rural areas, where Christian traditions have become the norm of life. In general, in the late 60's – early 70's of the 20th century. in the Ukrainian SSR, 69–72 % of people were buried according to church rites (Mikhalchuk, 2010, p. 159).

Stating such figures, Soviet ideologues were forced to admit that in most cases the burial of the dead was carried out by Ukrainians according to church rites (*Reports of departments of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the implementation of resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU...*, 1976, s. 85). This indicator remained consistently high in the west of Ukraine. The fact that at the end of the 1970's there were about two thousand cemeteries in the Ukrainian SSR, while there were only two hundred and nineteen Soviet mourning grounds, also testifies to the large number of followers of the religious rite (Vovk, 2007, p. 183). In order to remain faithful to religion and the church and at the same time to avoid punishment for «disobedience», among Ukrainians, cases were becoming more frequent when a person was buried according to the Soviet burial custom, and then the earth was taken from the grave and carried to the church, where the priest conducted a service over it, as over the deceased.

Analyzing the above, it can be confidently asserted that the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR nevertheless gave preference to religious rites – baptism of children, weddings at church, funerals of the dead with the participation of a priest. The most complete picture of the level of religiosity in the Ukrainian ethnic environment is provided by archival data. So, for example, in the city of Chernivtsi as of 1962, 9,204 people were baptized according to the church rite, 1,443 people were married, and 3,890 people were buried (*Materials on the state of atheistic work and the fight against sectarianism...*, s. 66). In

Kremenets district of the Ternopil region, as of 1965, 66 % of newborns were baptized in the church, 25% of marriages took place at church, 82% of the dead were buried with the participation of the priest (*Materials for protocols No. 59–62, 1–2 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the CP of Ukraine...*, 1966, s. 102). In a significant part of the villages of the Ternopil region, religious observance remained dominant in everyday life of Ukrainians. Thus, in 1965 in the village of Bashuk, Kremenets district, out of 18 newborns, 17 were baptized, in the village of Lydykhiv 50 out of 56 babies were baptized, in the same village, out of 19 couples who got married, 14 were married at church (*Materials for protocols No. 59–62, 1–2 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the CP of Ukraine...*, 1966, s. 102). Over time, the tendency to perform religious rites among the Ukrainian ethnic environment, especially in western region of the Ukrainian SSR, continued to remain stably high. Archival sources indicate that as of 1968, there were 23,378 church baptisms, 577 weddings, and 12,774 church burials in Lviv region (*Correspondence for 1969. January 1 – December 30, 1969*, s. 13).

The Soviet authorities recognized their shortcomings in the organization of conducting scientific and atheistic propaganda and saw the futility of implementing new civic holidays and rituals into the lives of Ukrainians. The outlined state of affairs led the communists to the conclusion that the section of ideological work on the eradication of religious rituals in the Ukrainian ethnic environment was in a neglected state.

Thus, analyzing archival sources, we see that in the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine dated July 11, 1968 «On serious shortcomings in the work of party organizations of Ivano-Frankivsk region on atheistic education of the population», party bodies were required to strengthen the fight against religious relics in the localities (*Information in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about party education, lectures, scientific and atheistic propaganda, press work, universities, cultural...*, 1968–1969, s. 72). At the same time, regional and district newspapers and radio were instructed to speak more widely among the population with materials on the issues of atheism, the introduction of Soviet holidays, and the regional party committee, in turn, undertook to hold regional and district scientific and methodological conferences devoted to criticism of the main religious trends: Uniatism,

sectarianism, Orthodoxy (*Information in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about party education, lectures, scientific and atheistic propaganda, press work, universities, cultural...*, 1968–1969, p. 75).

The Kharkiv Regional Ritual Commission also noted that as of 1971, the regional council of districts did not pay enough attention to the issue of conducting new civil rites. In particular, in her opinion, employees of clubs and libraries, public assets in general, were passively involved in this work. According to these archival documents, it was said that: «many districts that conduct events on new rites poorly cover their work in the local press and radio... Cinema is poorly used to popularize new rites. Little attention is paid to individual work with believers» (*Resolutions and decisions of the Kharkiv regional committee of the CP of Ukraine, regional executive committee, city executive committee...*, 1971, p. 16).

According to archival sources, the most convincing example of a conciliatory attitude towards religion was that religious rites were performed by party activists, Komsomol members and communists themselves. Thus, the Bureau of the Ternopil Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine noted that «in Ternopil region, in the village of Lydykhiv the children of I. Batyukh – foreman of the construction crew, Mamchur – head of the village council, G. Romanyuk – inspector of the Kremenets Central Security Service, agent of state insurance Yarmoschuk, driving school instructor P. Dykun were baptized at church. It is characteristic that public opinion of condemnation has not been created around these people, although they denounce the titles of communists, Komsomol members, and activists» (*Materials for protocols No. 59–62, 1–2 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the CP of Ukraine...*, 1966, p. 104). Archive documents indicate that in 1969 O. Podolsky, the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs in Chernivtsi region, also recognized numerous facts of the communists' performance of religious rites, in particular in Vyzhnytskyi, Kitsmanskyi, Zastavniivskyi, and Hlybotskyi districts of this region (*References and detailed notes on the activities of religious associations of the region and the introduction of new rites into the lives of working people...*, 1969, p. 67).

Such a disappointing situation for the Soviet leadership sowed anxiety among Communist Party ideologues. The Republican Commission for Studying and Introducing New Civil Holidays and Ceremonies into

Everyday Life was actively improving scenarios for non-religious baptism of newborns, civil weddings, and civil burials (*References and detailed notes on the activities of religious associations of the region...*, 1969; Commission for the study and implementation of new public holidays and rites of the Ukrainian SSR, 1976; Commission for the study and implementation of new public holidays and rites of the Ukrainian SSR, 1975). The Soviet mass media did everything possible to expose the «reactionary essence» of religion and sectarianism. For example, Lviv regional radio systematically conducted broadcasts, the main task of which was to promote new Soviet holidays and traditions (*Materials of regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, ministries, departments and TV studios on radio and television issues...*, 1960, p. 213).

The republic launched large-scale atheistic work with young people, among which the communists actively distributed brochures and books containing practical materials and recommendations for conducting state rituals, and they were published mainly in the Russian language. A negative phenomenon was that during Soviet holidays, the Ukrainian language was very rarely heard, and the celebrations themselves in the Ukrainian SSR were of the same type and consisted of the installation of the state flag and solemn oaths of loyalty to communist ideas and the cause of the Communist Party.

It should be emphasized that the party bodies closely monitored that «religious superstitions» did not occur in the Ukrainian ethnic environment. To prevent this, in October 1960, the country's leadership made changes to the Criminal Code of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR, the articles of which provided for administrative and criminal liability for violations of Soviet legislation on cults.

Archival documents show that, based on the decree of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR dated March 26, 1966 «On administrative responsibility for violations of the legislation on religious cults», as a result of organizational and practical measures carried out by police officers of Chernivtsi region with KGB employees in 1969 in the region a number of illegal religious gatherings were discovered, the participants of which were immediately brought to administrative and judicial responsibility (*References and detailed notes on the activities of religious associations of the region...*, 1969, p. 75).

Another similar example of oppression of Ukrainian believers is the struggle at the end of the 60s of the 20th century of police officers with persons who were selling on Chernivtsi markets of products of prohibited trade, which belonged to the ritual paraphernalia of the religious life of Ukrainians. Thus, according to archival documents, as a result of raids on the goods market of the city of Chernivtsi, it was established that in the villages of Chahor, Voloka, Molodiy and Koroviya of Hlybotsky district, Tysovets – Storozhenesky district, such a type of industry as the manufacture of church candles, prohibited by the Soviet authorities, was widespread as well as candles for wedding and funeral rites (*References and detailed notes on the activities of religious associations of the region...*, 1969, p. 75). As the researcher T. Pashinina points out, the punishments for the specified violations could be different and ranged from a fine of 100 rubles. to restriction of freedom for up to three years (Pashinina, 2004, p. 139).

There were times when Ukrainians at home, away from public scrutiny, made icons for their family comfort, which became the decoration of their homes. The testimony of eyewitnesses will be relevant here, in particular K. Kmyty, a resident of Velyki Mosty, Sokal district, Lviv region, who recalled the following: «In the 1960's, people did not have holy images, so sometimes they embroidered icons on cloth, stretched them on cardboard and framed them. They also embroidered religious motifs on canvas and carried them with them or took them on the road, because they were useful...» (Novytska, 2003, p. 52). This and a number of similar cases show that Ukrainians, despite the intimidation and prohibition of the church, secretly tried to preserve the ancient religious traditions and customs of their people.

In addition to oppression and intimidation, Soviet ideologues continued to use lecture-based atheistic propaganda on the way to opposing and eradicating Christian rites during the 1960's and 1970's. Every year, on the eve of religious holidays, a plan for lectures on atheistic topics and a schedule for the departure of communist activists to read them in the field were approved. However, with such fruitful and systematic anti-religious work of the communists, the level of religiosity among Ukrainians remained quite high. Ukrainians still dared to actively visit churches throughout the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, even where they were closed and deregistered. The activity of Ukrainians was especially observed during the celebration of one

of the biggest Christian holidays – Easter. The regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine regularly submitted information about the celebration of this holiday in the Ukrainian ethnic environment to the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Thus, according to M. Prykhodka, head of the department of propaganda and agitation of the Ternopil Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, 316,000 people (about 140,000 families) visited church on Easter in 1976, and a large number of Ukrainians, according to him, did not show up for work at Easter (*References, information of the town committee, district committees of the party on the implementation of the resolutions of the bureau...*, 1977, s. 13). The head of the propaganda and agitation department of the Chernivtsi regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine V. Lopatyuk also claimed that in 1975 in the city of Chernivtsi, a rather large number of the city's population, including children of school and preschool age, participated in the celebration of religious holidays (*Information in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, detailed notes on ideological issues...*, 1975, p. 18).

Seeing the devotion of Ukrainians to religion and church, the Soviet authorities, enlisting the support of police officers, closely monitored those who visited churches during holiday services. Communists who were influenced by religion were especially under the «watchful eye» of party structures. For example, a historian O. Penkova claims that during a raid by representatives of the Kremlin district party organization of the Luhansk region on the Easter holiday in 1972, 86 Komsomol members and 38 communists were found in the church, who intended to consecrate Easter eggs and Easter bread (Penkova, 2006, p. 63). A similar situation was observed in the mining village of Trudivske, Donetsk region, where in 1976, during a church service on Palm Sunday, a raid by representatives of the Ukrainian Communist Party took place, who also recorded Komsomol members present at church (Penkova, 2006, p. 63).

It is worth emphasizing that eastern Ukrainians, in addition to Easter, also celebrated Christmas. Thus, a convincing example of the observance of Christmas holidays by residents of the east was the story of a resident of Sviatohirsk, in Donetsk region, about her celebration of the Epiphany: «We consecrated water in the morning. Here, with us, right on Donka... Many

people came... They came even from Donetsk, from Kharkiv. «Batyushka» (the priest) did everything right on the river...» (Penkova, 2006, p. 138).

The activity of Ukrainians during the celebration of Christmas was also observed in other regions of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, studying archival documents, we see that S. Ganzhenko, the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, having reported to the secretary of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Comrade O. Chernov and the head of the executive committee of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Council of Workers' Deputies Comrade P. Kaikan about the religious situation in the region during Christmas in 1973, noted that in some villages of the region due to the disorganization and irresponsibility of the leadership of village councils and school directors, local youth participated in religious rites of caroling and often attended church services (*Detailed note, references, information of the Ivano-Frankivsk city committee, party district committees, regional organizations on work on clarifying materials for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR...*, 1973, p. 18, 19).

The conclusions

Thus, during the 60's and 70's of the 20th century, the party ideologues of the Soviet totalitarian state artificially developed and actively introduced into the life of the Ukrainian ethnic environment a new Soviet ritual, which was supposed to raise a true atheist from every Ukrainian, a Russified citizen of the Soviet type without a national identity. New Soviet holidays were officially opposed to religious holidays. In the studied period, anniversaries of collective farms, state farms, labor and harvest holidays, conscripts to the ranks of the Soviet Army, the anniversary of the October Revolution, etc. became popular. Soviet ideologues were constantly improving scenarios for the non-religious baptism of newborns, a civil wedding, and a funeral.

The religious behavior of Ukrainians was constantly discussed and condemned at party, trade union meetings, and meetings of labor groups. The ideologues of communism spread the new ritualism to the masses with the help of radio, television, printed publications, and various lectures. In order to prevent religiosity, the leadership of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR

in October 1960 amended the Criminal Code, the articles of which provided for administrative and criminal liability for violations of Soviet legislation on cults. The new rites became another «brick» laid by the communists in the stronghold of denationalization and sovietization of the Ukrainian ethnic group.

However, the well-organized anti-religious campaign «failed». Ancient church and religious traditions and customs of the Ukrainian people continued to be a part of their everyday culture. The percentage of supporters of church rites of weddings, baptisms and burials among the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR remained quite high. The religious activity of the Ukrainian ethnic group was especially observed during the celebration of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and other church holidays.

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