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**THE EVOLUTION OF A CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS ROLE
IN THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL AND CULTURAL RENAISSANCE
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th - THE FIRST THIRD OF THE 20th CENTURY:
THE MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The Ukrainian historiographical narrative of the religious and church place and role in the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance, and in the national liberation movement in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century is analyzed in the issue. The modern historians consider the ecclesiastical and religious factors of the Ukrainian Renaissance according to two levels. The first level reveals the history of religious thought, the representatives of which study the religious reflections of the prominent figures in culture, education, religion and literature, the second level conveys the history of the church life in Ukraine, the analysis of the church institutes' role and place in the Ukrainian modern national and cultural Renaissance (the activity of UGCC, the Unification Council of the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Ukraine, the UAOC, etc.) is presented. A defined historiographical issue complies with the evolutionary levels of a religious and ecclesiastical component in the modern spiritual, cultural, political and civil processes, namely the development of religious thought and institutional orientation of church and parish-based education in the second half of the 19th century contributed to the ecclesiastical and religious integration with the national democratic society and state establishment in the early 20th century. The scope of the church and religious activity on the Ukrainian lands had a moderate character in the second half of the 19th century compared to the first decades of the "long century". The Ukrainian lands were divided politically as well as confessional that strengthened sacral indifference and "religious absenteeism". The positive fact was that the modern historians had left politicization in the sacral and religious issues' consideration which was a mainstream in the Soviet period. The scientists support a common thought that despite an institutional weakness of the church and religious life on the Ukrainian lands in the second half of the 19th century, the religion and faith were preserved as the essential features of the Ukrainian mentality, and as a result plays a crucial role in the Ukrainian cultural and spiritual development, put a base for the further governmental struggle. A final conclusion was drawn that the religious thought development, the prominent thinkers' reflections about the Ukrainian Christianity and national church phenomena prepared the necessary conditions for the regularizing and further building of the Ukrainian church life in the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words: *national and cultural Renaissance; modern historiography; religion; religious thought; church; state; spirituality; culture; national identity; secularization; clerical.*

Introduction

The thesaurus reflections of a modern social and cultural space have proved an exponential growth of quantity usage a row of confessional concepts, for instance "church", "Tomos of autocephaly", "locality", "metropolis", "autocephaly", etc. by the mass media, society, political establishment, representatives of culture, science and analytical sphere. The present state of social discourse is an objective reflection of an increasing interest to the religious and confessional issues integrated into public and national sphere. Spiritual and religious orientation of social dialogue has acquired a status of being a crucial component and essential base for establishing a democratic society. A process of the modern religious and church practices strengthening is prepared by the previous religious reconsideration of historical, cultural and philo-

sophical issues, scientific conceptualization of ecclesiastical and inter-confessional issues. The vast massive of such narrative from the history of religion and ecclesia on the Eastern Slav territory, the problems and perspectives of confessional institutionalization in Ukraine is devoted to the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance during the period of Russian imperialism.

An ecclesiastical and religious factor has always played a prominent role in Ukrainian historical process; however its influential degree and character on public and sociocultural processes have varied according to particular historical conditions. Due to this issue, the following was mentioned in a collective monography: "A religion did not play an equal role in the process of Ukrainian national idea developing and establishing, in Ukrainian ethnos and state building from a historical perspective. It could be

positive, based on Ukrainian national trait of being autochthonous, or it could have negative functions that were observed in the loss of Ukrainian statehood, redistribution of the territory, and russification of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church" (Rybachuk, Utkin, Kyryushko, 1995: 6). The experience of the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century can serve as an argument to support an idea that church and religion had obtained a status of value and consolidation base for Ukrainian national, cultural, spiritual identity enrichment.

Nowadays, scientific consideration of a role and evolution of ecclesiastical and religious factors at the time of modern Ukrainian Renaissance draws attention of the vast majority of scientists, historians, and specialists in cultural and religious studies; consequently it has obtained a status of cross-disciplinary subject in the social and humanities studies. Simultaneously, an offered historical narrative needs conceptual and historiographical consideration that facilitates an expression of the religious and spiritual senses in the modern mainstream of Ukrainian society and state innovational development permits to identify the correlative relations between ecclesiastical theory and secularity in Ukrainian national movement.

Some aspects of the issue were a subject of scientific research in the modern Ukrainian works of historiography, namely Ya. Daschkevych (1993), Ya. Kalakura (2015, 2017), A. Kyrydon (2013, 2017), I. Kolesnyk (2016), P. Radko (2011), L. Zashkilniak (2004), etc. and the works related to the religious studies: L. Fylypovych (1993, 1996), A. Kolodny (1993, 1996, 2000), V. Ulianovskiy (1997), etc. Nevertheless, a complete historiographical dimension of religious and ecclesiastical evolutionary factor in the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance has not been offered yet. The fact stresses the urgency, cognitive and heuristic perspective of the presented paper.

The aim of the study is a conceptual analysis of a modern historical narrative devoted to highlighting an evolution of church and religion component in the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century. The dominant attention is focused on the state of Ukrainian religious thought and religious and church history's exploration at the previous period, on the outlining of the issues that have become a subject of historical studies and the separation of perspective directions for scientific purposes.

Methods

The civilizational and historiographical methodology is on the base of the study. An issue rests on the principles of scientific development, objectivity, historicism, cognitivism, systemic integration, contextual interpretation, confessional neutrality, worldview plurality, historiographical tradition and historiographical dialogue. The modern scientific studies of Ukrainian historiography and religious studies, where theoretical and methodological approaches are presented, and conceptual base for the conducting historiographical and religious studies are considered, have a crucial scientific and theoretical meaning for attaining the objectives. A range of historiographical methods is applied, namely a method of historiographical analysis and synthesis, comparative, retrospective and chronological methods, a method of hermeneutic study under historical texts.

Research and results

A review, systematization and analysis of a modern historical narrative in the light of religious and ecclesiastical

role and place in the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance provide an opportunity to allocate two thematic study directions. The first is the history of religious thought, the representatives of which study the religious reflections of the prominent figures in culture, education, religion, and literature, the second concerns the history of ecclesiastical life in Ukraine. An analysis of the ecclesiastical institutes' role and place in the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance (activity of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Unification Council of the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, etc.) are in the core of a study. A defined historiographical issue complies with the evolutionary levels of a religious and ecclesiastical component in the modern spiritual, cultural, political and civil processes, namely the development of religious thought and institutional orientation of church and parish-based education in the second half of the 19th century contributed to the ecclesiastical and religious integration with the national democratic society and state establishment in the early 20th century. The historians, whose scientific works were conditionally united into the first thematic studies' reflections of the well-known figures in culture, education, religion, and literature, such as T. Schevchenko, M. Dragomanov, I. Franko, M. Grushevskiy, V. Lypynskiy, O. Lototskiy, O. Bochkovskiy, V. Vinnychenko, I. Ogienko, M. Schapoval and others. A priority for highlighting the history of religious thought in Ukraine is given to such scientists as A. Kolodny (1993, 1996, 2000), L. Kondratyk (2003-2005, 2017), O. Kondratyk (1999), M. Rybachuk (1995), O. Sarbey (1999), L. Fylypovych (1993, 1996), V. Ulianovskiy (1997), O. Utkin (1995) and others.

Among a significant array of the works devoted to various aspects of the religious thought evolution during the period of the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance, the synthetic studies of L. Kondratyk should be separately identified. He offered a full coherent philosophical and sociological dimension of scientific conceptual views of that time about the essence and functionality of religion, its interaction with such spheres of social being as social life, culture, policy, as well as with the nation-building processes. L. Kondratyk emphasized that the religious heritage of the Ukrainian state and public figures, cultural and religious representatives was an independent phenomenon, exclusive nature of which was in a special definition of social and functional religious nature that primarily influenced on a character of social life and cultural genesis of ethnos, furthermore it was in ecclesiastical component revealing in a plane of correspondence to the social and national development (Kondratyk, 2005: 5, 34). Kondratyk's priority was in a study of the religious thought evolution where he discovered the sense of the conceptual notions' development related to the religious and ecclesiastical phenomenon of the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance' representatives. The scientist highlighted the sense of religious conceptions of M. Schapoval, V. Lypynskiy, M. Grushevskiy, O. Lototskiy and others in detail (Kondratyk, 2003, 2004, 2017); moreover he offered the comprehensive analysis, historical and religious evaluation.

Among the state and cultural figures of the Ukrainian national Renaissance, the religious studies' reflections of the state and political leader M. Grushevskiy, that were closely connected with the conceptual historical and philosophical consideration of the Ukrainian historical process, had special significance. The crucial contribution to the revelation of the evolution of Grushevskiy's religious views was made by O. Kondratyk (1999). She outlined the

views of a scientist on the essence, structure and specific nature, social bases and functions of religion, proved that Grushevskiy's religious theory is inextricably connected with a religious conception of Ukrainian nation. Furthermore, O. Kondratyuk studied the conceptual bases of Grushevskiy's theory about the time specifications, conditions, substantive issues and peculiarities of Ukrainian Christianity. She proved that any religion considered in the light of a scientific conception as a product of mentality and culture of a particular ethnos or society, and simultaneously it was their carrier. The processes of ethnos religious interaction with the world of religion are resulted in the new cultural and religious forms created. The levels of cultural development of a nation, one of the bases of which is a new religion, are determined by the circumstances that facilitate or prevent the assimilation and development of the new positive features of a new culture (Kondratyuk, 1999: 17-18). In our previous publications (Semerhey, 2017) we mentioned that the modern scientists had performed a scientific cross-section, presented systematization and offered an evaluation of the religious heritage of the Ukrainian thinkers in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century. The encyclopedic-based and generalized level of the scientific conceptions is presented by the works of V. Ivanyshyn (1990), Ya. Kalakura (2015, 2017), M. Popovych (1998), P. Radko (2011), O. Rafalsky (2015, 2017), M. Rubachuk (1995), V. Sarbey (1999), M. Yuriy (2015, 2017) and others. The scientists provide views' analysis of the representatives of Ukrainian national movement on a religion, define their understanding of religious role and impact on national life, state and nation establishment.

The second direction of an evolutionary role of ecclesiastical and religious factors in the Ukrainian national Renaissance can be traced via the history of church life in Ukraine, where the central item of study is an activity analysis and a meaning of the church institutes' consideration in the modern national and cultural Renaissance (the initiatives of UGCC, the Unification Council of the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Ukraine, the UAOC, etc.). The essence of the research fields united in this direction concerns the history of Christian Church that is presented by the works of B. Andrusyschyn (1997), O. Ignatuscha (1990), A. Kyrndon (2013, 2017), V. Ulianovskyi (1997) and others.

The historians declared that the church and religious life of the Ukrainians in the second half of the 19th century was rather monotonous, additionally, it was indicated by indifferent feelings and motivations. Specifically, it was connected with the profound Russian influence on the religious institutes in a historiographical tradition. Any kind of interest from the intellectuals to the national religious life and church reforms was met by the total impossibility of that idea existing under the circumstances of the Imperial Russian state model. The stemming results were obvious. The historiographical tradition of that time did not contain a lot due to the religious "absenteeism" and church "weakness", namely there were not any complete description, actions' analyses of the church and religious life on the central Ukrainian lands in the second half of the 19th century (Semerhey, 2017: 112). Besides, we can agree with a conclusion of the collective monography "National Renaissance and religion" (1995) which is the following:

"... the religious and national Renaissance is not only a renew of the ethos spiritual processes that are reflected into religion, culture, language, everyday life, rites, it is not only a recreation of the forgotten religious and ethical norms. There are positive and negative tendencies in the past

traditions according to the historical experience, accepted knowledge, social, geographical and material life conditions. Due to historical plan a religion played unequal role in the developing and establishing of the Ukrainian national idea, in the process of the Ukrainian ethnos and state creation. A church was on the side of Ukrainian state and defended the sovereignty in some historical periods, however when Ukraine had lost its statehood, a church performed negative functions" (Rybachuk, M. F., Utkin, O. I., Kyryushko, 1995: 3-4).

The works of V. Ulianovskyi (1997a; 1997b) and B. Andrusyschyn (1997) "Church in the Ukrainian State in 1917-1920-s" provide the significant factual and analytical potential in evolution highlighting "the Ukrainian religious issue" and a phenomenon of "the national church" in the beginning of the 20th century. The first scientist considered the religious and church sphere development during the time of the Central Council of Ukraine and Getmanat of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the second centered on the same issue during the period of the Directory of Ukrainian National Republic. The valuable facts for the church developmental processes understanding are revealed in the chapters of the monography concerned the existence of the Ministry of confessions, the issues considered on the Unification Council of the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Ukraine and the Unification Council of Churches, the systems of actions applied to the international recognition of the proclaimed Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by the Directory of Ukrainian National Republic.

Moreover, the scientific interest has the studies of V. Ulianovskyi and B. Andrusyschyn about the Central Council of Ukraine (CCU), Getmanat of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, and the Directory in their relation to the church which can be a factor of national governmental rebuilding, in the light of their religious policy consideration as well as the reasons of failure in the process of solving the Ukrainian religious issue in the beginning of the 20th century. The scholars mentioned that the CCU did not pay due attention to determination of the church law status and its institutional organization, that was due to the fatal misunderstanding by the council administration of a real church and religious role for the social consolidation. Nevertheless Getmanat and the Directory of UNR centered on the organizational and institutional installation of a religious sphere. They were oriented on the achievement of a certain determination in a status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and put the efforts for the support of its activity (1997a; 1997b); Andrusyschyn, 1997).

Furthermore the evolutionary analysis of the church and religious policy is offered by the modern scientist V. Ganzulenko. After comparative study of the CCU, Getmanat and the Directory activities she stated: "The Directory provided the aim-oriented policy about a church issue in comparison with the Central Council and Skoropadskyi's Getmanat. The Directory's aim of the Ukrainian total independence promoted to the utmost the development of the church national movement in Ukraine. The introduction of such church strategy was under the facilitation of the prominent figures of the Directory such as Simon Petliura (a graduate of Theological seminary, Ivan Ohienko (headed a Ministry of confessions) and others. The juridical and legislative confirmation of a church status in a state was via acceptance of special laws as well as via some clauses in the constitutional acts. The presented norms were characterized by the aspiration of harmonizing the relationships between the secular power and a church. Having traditionally special relations with the Orthodox Church, a state always declared religious

freedom and tried avoid oppression and rights violation of other religions" (*Hanzulenko, 2007: 167*).

The vast massive of the studies about a church evolutionary status during the national democratic revolutions in 1917-1921-s is devoted to the analysis of the state and church relationships. Particularly, A. Kyrydon's conception about their consideration at the three levels: legal, institutional, moral and value can be reasonable (*Kyrydon: 2017, 2013*). The legal level gives an opportunity to study regulation of a religious and church life, to determine a church status in the legal acts of the Central Council of Ukraine, Getmanat and the Directory of UNR. The institutional level facilitated in identification of the authorities' system that regulated the stages of the religion issues' solution (Department of confessions, Ministry of confessions, Ministry of religion). The moral and value level provides an opportunity to highlight the personal attitude to faith and religion from the side of the chief executives (*Kyrydon, 2013: 253*).

The studies from the history of inter-confessional relations are essential for the coverage of issues relating to the church institutes' evolution during the period of national and cultural Renaissance. "It is well-known, - and it is underlined in the above-mentioned work "National Renaissance and Religion", - that one of the general humanistic principles is in unmitigated good of pluralism and diversity of minds in a society. Nevertheless the life is much more complicated. The multi-confessions play ambiguous even controversial role in the Ukrainian culture. It was attributed to the historical complicated existence of different confessions in Ukraine which was far from peaceful co-existence. It was a constant struggle between them where lives, cathedrals, ideas, schools, art were lost. The reasons of the conflicts were not religious. The confessions frequently reflected the political, economic, ideological and cultural interests of various social groups and the neighboring nations that struggled for their dominance over Ukraine" (*Rybachuk, Utkin, Kyryushko, 1995: 68*).

The history of the inter-confessional relations is naturally considered in the close connection with an issue of "national church", a solution of which gives an opportunity to signify religion in the national and state processes, includes this factor into the process of national construction. According to the modern study "Religious Factor in the National and State Processes: the Experience of Modern Ukraine", the presence of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the modern connotations due to the category "national church" is highlighted (*Relihiyny chynnyk, 2012: 52*). According to the historiographical data such distribution of power was created during the time of the Ukrainian Renaissance at the beginning of the 20th century, when a desire to govern a status of the Orthodox Church led to the church division in the Ukrainian Orthodox environment.

The scope of the church and religious activity on the Ukrainian lands had a moderate character in the second half of the 19th century compared to the first decades of the "long" century. The Ukrainian lands were divided politically as well as confessional that strengthened sacral indifference and "religious absenteeism". Consequently, the historiographical review of church and religion has a general outlined character. Among the historiographical issues posed by the Ukrainian historians were cultural, educational and pedagogical activities of the Greek Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, ecclesiastical

and defending events of the Orthodox fraternities, the evaluation of the Greek Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church influence, church and religious life politicization, etc. The main attention is drawn to the religious schools and the meaning of the pedagogical activity. The prominent place in the historiographical studies occupies the religious heritage of the state and cultural figures. The essential positive is in the fact that the modern historians leave politicization in the sacral and religious consideration which is more obvious in the Soviet studies. The scientists support a common thought that despite an institutional weakness of the church and religious life on the Ukrainian lands in the second half of the 19th century, the religion and faith were preserved as the essential features of the Ukrainian mentality, and as a result plays a crucial role in the Ukrainian cultural and spiritual development, put a base for the further governmental struggle (*Semerhey, 2017: 115*).

Conclusions

An issue of religious and church evolution of the Ukrainian national and cultural Renaissance in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century draws the growing attention of the historians. It is attributable mainly to the social recognition of the exceptional role and civilizational meaning of a spiritual and religious component participated into social peace and philosophy of the ethnical and mental identities co-existence. The modern historians consider the ecclesiastical and religious factors of the Ukrainian Renaissance according to two levels. The first level reveals the history of religious thought, theories, conceptions and views, an essence, development and meaning of the offered programs by the political, cultural and religious figures. The perspectives on religion in the modern historiography and its place in the cultural development and nation building are analyzed through the views of the social leaders, such as T. Shevchenko, M. Dragomanov, I. Franko, M. Grushevskyi, V. Lypynskyi, O. Lototskyi, O. Bochkovskyi, V. Vinnychenko, I. Ogienko, M. Schapoval and others. All historians stated that the cultural and political establishment of the past considered religion as an integrative part of the Ukrainian mentality development and as a remedy for the imperial ambitions counteraction. The second level conveys the coverage of the church institutes' structure, essence and peculiarities. The main attention among them is devoted to the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian context of the ecclesiastical evolution was mentioned to have a positive dynamic in the second half of the 19th and the first third of the 20th century, hence the Ukrainian revolution in 1917-1920 facilitated to the process of raising an issue about a national church in the light of being a religious representation of the Ukrainian spiritual and cultural identity. The modern historiography mentioned that the evolution of the religious and ecclesiastical factor's role in the national Renaissance was in the preparation of a fertile ground for the developing Ukrainian ecclesiastical life via religious thoughts' promotion, the thinkers' reflections on the Ukrainian Christianity and national church in the beginning of the 20th century. Simultaneously, the perspective issues for the further study are considered to be the issues connected with the historical bases of the unity of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy, the religious considerations about "theodicy" at the time of the national Renaissance, the historical justification of the local Ukrainian Orthodox Church creation, and the analysis of the inter-confessional relations' nature on the Ukrainian lands during the period of the "long 19th century".

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ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РОЛІ РЕЛІГІЇ ТА ЦЕРКВИ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-КУЛЬТУРНОМУ ВІДРОДЖЕННІ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX - ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ XX СТОЛІТТЯ: НОВІТНЯ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЯ

У статті проаналізовано український історіографічний наратив із проблеми еволюції місця й ролі релігії та церкви в українському духовно-культурному відродженні та національно-визвольному русі другої половини XIX - першої третини XX століття. Виокремлено два напрями дослідження сучасними істориками релігійно-церковного виміру українського національно-культурного відродження. Перший - історія релігієзнавчої думки, представники якого вивчають релігієзнавчі рефлексії тогочасних провідних діячів культури, освіти, релігії та літератури, другий - історія церковного життя в Україні, у центрі досліджень якого поставлено аналіз місця та ролі церковних інституцій в українському модерному національно-культурному відродженні (діяльність УГКЦ, Всеукраїнський православний собор, УАПЦ тощо). Відзначено, що виокремлена історіографічна тематика відповідає рівням еволюції релігійно-церковного складника в модерних духовно-культурних і політико-державотворчих процесах: розвиток релігієзнавчої думки та інституціонування церковно-парафіяльної освіти другої половини XIX століття сприяли інтеграції церкви та релігії у хід побудови національно-демократичного суспільства та держави на початку XX століття. Історики зазначають, що за розмахом і масштабом церковно-релігійне життя і релігієзнавча думка на українських землях у другій половині XIX століття були значно помірнішими, аніж у перші десятиліття "довгого століття". Українські землі були розділені як політично, так і конфесійно, що гальмувало національне церковно-релігійне життя, сприяло клерикальній індиферентності та "релігійному абсентеїзму". Зазначено, що позитивним є той факт, що сучасні історики відходять від політизації в розгляді сакрально-релігійної тематики, що було мейнстримом у дослідженнях радянської доби. Вчені спільні в думці, що попри інституційну слабкість церковно-релігійного життя українських земель у другій половині XIX століття, все ж релігія і віра як есенційні риси української ментальності збереглися, а відтак відігравали помітну роль у духовно-культурному розвитку українства, заклали міцну основу подальших державотворчих змагань. Зроблено висновок, що розвиток релігієзнавчої думки, рецепції мислителів щодо феномену українського християнства та національної церкви підготували необхідні умови для заходів щодо упорядкування та розбудови українського церковного життя на початку XX століття.

Ключові слова: національно-культурне відродження; новітня історіографія; релігія; релігієзнавча думка; церква; держава; духовність; культура; національна ідентичність; секулярність; клерикальність.

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