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ANTAGONIST TENDENCIES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CLERGY AND THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTS IN THE XIX – BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURY

Summary. *The purpose of the research* is to analyze the causes and consequences of antagonistic sentiment of the Ukrainian peasantry towards the clergy in the XIXth – early XXth century. **The research methodology** covers the main principles of systemic, scientific, historicism, as well as the use of general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparison. **The scientific novelty** of the work is that the author, using previously unused archival, periodical and personal sources, identified the main causes of the growth of tension and conflict in the relations of the Ukrainian peasantry and the clergy on the territory of Ukraine in the XIXth – early XXth century. **Conclusions.** Russian imperial power made the church an instrument of russification, the destruction of the national identity of the Ukrainians. Alienation of peasants from the church was facilitated by the factors of their economic oppression by the priests, a full control of the rural clergy for the interests of the landlords, anti-social behavior of the priests. In addition, the fall of the authority of the church was facilitated by the agrarian reform, the capitalization of social relations, the emergence of religious desidens. The peasantry perceived the representatives of the church hierarchy rather critical and even more hostile. But the peasant folk religion kept its identity against the pressure of state-religious institutions.

Key words: peasantry, religion, church, antagonism, community, national identity, sectarianism.

АНТАГОНІСТИЧНІ ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ У ВІДНОСИНАХ ДУХОВЕНСТВА І УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА У XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX ст.

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати причини і наслідки зростання антагоністичних настроїв українського селянства щодо духовенства у XIX – поч. XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** охоплює головні принципи системності, науковості, історизму, а також використання загальнонаукових методів аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення, порівняння. **Наукова новизна** роботи полягає у тому, що автор, використовуючи раніше неживані архівні, періодичні та

особові джерела, визначив головні причини зростання напруги і конфліктності у відносинах українського селянства та духовенства на теренах України у XIX – поч. XX ст. **Висновки.** Російська імперська влада зробила церкву знаряддям русифікації, знищення національної ідентичності українців. Відчуженню селян від церкви сприяли фактори їх економічного гноблення з боку священиків, повна підконтрольність сільського духовенства інтересам поміщиків, антисоціальна поведінка кліру. Окрім того, падіння авторитету церкви спричинила аграрна реформа, капіталізація соціальних відносин, виникнення релігійного дисидентства. Селянство сприймало представників церковної ієрархії досить критично, а почасти навіть вороже. Але селянська народна релігія попри тиск державно-релігійних установ зберегла свою ідентичність.

Ключові слова: селянство, релігія, церква, антагонізм, громада, національна ідентичність, сектанство.

Problem statement. The relationship between the clergy and the peasantry is of an utmost importance in modern history, especially during the revival of the Ukrainian national church. The religiousness of the Ukrainian people has the ancient roots of the Slavic past. But the relations of the people are precisely with religious institutions, especially in the XIXth – beginning. XXth century have many contradictions. Under conditions of a revolutionary mood, the agrarian reform, the capitalization of the economy and the society, the antagonistic mood of the peasantry for the activities of the clergy is significantly facilitated.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. A significant contribution to the study of relations between the Orthodox Church and peasantry in Ukraine was made by Mesh Boykov O. Yu. and Dodonova G. V., they investigated the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the life of the bourgeoisie and peasantry of southern Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. O. Kryzhanovskaya (Kryzhanovska, 2008) has analyzed the situation of the peasants and the Church of the Right-Bank Ukraine. Dm. Stepovyk has analyzed the relations between the church and Ukrainian society during a certain period (Stepovyk, 2016). Currently, there is no research on historiography aimed at revealing its own antagonisms in the relations between Ukrainian peasants and the clergy in a defined period.

The publication's purpose – to analyze the causes and consequences of the growth of the antagonistic moods of the Ukrainian peasantry concerning the clergy and the church in general on the territory of Ukraine in the XIXth – early XXth century groundly.

The statement of the basic material. The church existed on the state monarchical platform and acted as an instrument of influence on the population. The distrust of the clergy was growing under conditions of a forcible russification on the Russian lands of Ukraine, the destruction of the national identity of folk culture. Soon, the supreme ecclesiastical elite surrendered to the colonialists in order to preserve their materialistic and status positions. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian church elite didn't resist the offensive of the «Moscow region», moreover, they headed that process. Under those conditions only the poor peasantry, the ordinary lay people were the ones who tried to preserve the folk church tradition. The people formed the peculiar immunity against the alien Moscow Orthodoxy. The mental connection was lost gradually in the relationship between the people and the clergy. During the XIXth century, the antagonistic peasant mood spread massively. A dual attitude towards religion was formed: the distrust and the rejection of new «anti-people» religious traditions and the respect for the original Christian rituals.

Having made the new church policy a compulsory source of russification of non-Russian peoples, the tsarist with his Orthodox Confessions Office and the Holy Synod did not trust the Catholic Metropolitan of Kiev to the ethnic Ukrainians (Stepovyk, 2016, p. 29). And this caused a huge impact on the existence of the Ukrainian language in general in the church service.

A great amount of attention of the church elite was paid to the elimination of the legitimacy of the use of the Ukrainian language in the church services. All sorts of printed assemblies of the church services, the church periodicals emphasized that «there was no need to spread a colorful dialect only because of the fact that two or three million Russian people, under the influence of neighborhoods or historical events, somewhat separated the Old Slavonic language and formed the regional dialect, which to some extent distorts the language of the majority of the sons of Russia. The speaker who speaks a local dialect during the church service, is comprehended by the listeners as a comedian, not a teacher» (O pryomenii narodnoho yazyka, 1865, p. 126).

«The new artificial church language became a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian (surzhyk, informal language). However, if the highest eparchial elite in Ukraine was formed from the Russians, at the level of a rural priesthood, the tendency remained for the preservation of the Ukrainian spiritual elite, and it firmly adhered to its Ukrainian traditions, ecclesiastical and national, contrary to all policies of the Moscow Synodal Church in Ukraine» (Ohloblin, 1951, p. 51). That's why, it is the peasantry who becomes the main opponent of the denationalization of the Ukrainian national religion. Even in spite of the order of the church elite, the peasants often chose priests by themselves, and those who were sent «from the top» by the church elite were expelled. It was also a widely spread practice of a church dignity inheritance and the parish by priests' children. This contributed to the preservation of liturgical the Ukrainian-language traditions.

«The alienation and the opposition of an ordinary laity to the church clergy was due to the Caesaropapist tendencies in the Russian Orthodox Church and a frankly chauvinistic stuff policy regarding the candidates for priests and especially bishops. The suspicion to all «foreigners» among the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the XIXth century. acquired the painful and combative forms. The Orthodoxy is interpreted as «Russian faith», or in the best case, as «Slavic» (Stepovyk, 2016, p. 59). In the middle of the XIXth century, particularly sharp antagonistic mood between the peasantry and the clergy was acquired under the conditions of an agrarian reform. The rebellious movement among the peasantry, caused by the struggle against serfdom and arbitrariness of the landlords, was also directed against the clergy. Having the status of a peculiar «power tool», the rural priests were the first who felt the peasant dissatisfaction. For instance, on March 23, 1855, P. Lebedintsev the Dean of Bila Tserkva sent the report to Kyiv Metropolitan Filaret on the mass rejection of the peasants in 17 villages to have base service, to pay state taxes and to force priests to become Cossacks. The peasantry of Shkarivka village refused to work for Branicki landlord and tried to force the priest to include them into the list of free Cossacks and to make the oath. The priest was blocked in the church building, the church service was interrupted, his estate was surrounded. According to the peasantry, the distrust for the priests comes from the fact that the priests do not accept their complaints, do not protect their rights and serve the landlords (Baran, 1988, pp. 90–91). And on March 22, 1855 the bailiffs found out that the peasants from Cherkasy, Popravky and Bykova Hreblya villages kept the priest Mykhail Vyshynsky in hostages for a week, demanding to release and to record them as the Cossacks. According to the priest's words, the peasants broke into his bedroom, threw him out of the bed, tore the shirt, pulled him out into the yard, humiliated him, shouting out that they wouldn't serve Count Branicki (Baran, 1988, p. 92). The clergy saw the danger in the process of capitalization of the village. Mostly, the priests were concerned of the land redistribution and the growth of anti-state acts of the peasantry. Trying to preserve its credibility among the peasants, the church par-

ishes sought for the ways to calm down the antagonistic tendencies, directing the efforts to help the peasants in the co-operation development, the creation of large kurkul farms (Mesha, 2008, p. 174).

In addition to it, the efforts of the clergy to solve their materialistic needs at the expense of the peasantry, facilitated the relations between the clergy and the peasants. Supporting the landlord's omnipotence, the rural priests did not retreat by cutting the peasant holdings in their one favour, or even ousting the serfs to the worst fertile land. The land conflicts between the clergy and the peasantry took place in all sub-provinces of the Right Bank Ukraine (Kryzhanovska, 2008, p. 140).

A vivid example of the land conflict between the peasants and the priests are the events in Mykov village, Liskyi Povit. In June 1860, the peasants, headed by D. Kuryk, drove away 30 heads of the cattle that belong to the priest thrice and three shepherds of his from the meadows. The community demanded that the priest should graze his cattle on his meadows, but not on the peasants ones. The Liskyi Povit Court preserved the right of the pope to graze his cattle on the lands of the peasants and made them pay the court fees. The peasants refused to pay and mowed down the priest's meadow, considering the meadow to be their property. According to M. M. Kravets from 1850 till 1900 years in Eastern Halychyna and Northern Bukovyna there were 871 peasant riots to protect their forests and pastures, including the riots against the clergy (Kravets, 1964, p. 94).

In the north of Bukovyna and Eastern Halychyna the Greek-Catholic peasantry paid 1254.4 thousand golden ryns in cash for the benefits of the priests and the clerks annually, without taking into account the expences on small current services (Kravets, 1964, p. 94–95). According to the newspaper *Chervona Rus*, such peasant tributes as *skopshchyna*, *proskurne* were recorded as the priest's belongings. The priests had the right to punish the peasants who refused to pay such taxes («*Chervona Rus*», 1888). From the time immemorial, Halychyna peasants gave the deac 10 sheaves of bread from each farm. The priest received 15 sheaves from each yard as a *skopshchyna*. The Community of Sholomyia village, Bibra Povit, had to bring the timber as the fuel for the priest. And in the village Bratyshev, Tovmatskyi Povit, the fee for getting married was 20 golden ryn., 10 hens and 8 days of base service. The situation in Northern Bukovyna was the same. Each peasant had to work for two days as a base service for the priest. And very often the priests threatened the peasants (Kravets, 1964, p. 95).

The clergy, having taken the pro-government position regarding the peasantry, finally lost the trust of the laity and turned into a powerful trigger and the object of a national anger. The peasant – begger was made to provide for the priest at his own expense, paying the unreasonable taxes of the church tithing, the payment for the needs and etc. In the minds of the peasants, the «pope» was associated with the «extortionist», «fleecer», «moneylender». The humiliating term «pope» bewildered the parish clergy. Even in the periodicals on the theological themes: the «*Guide of the Rural Shepherds*», much attention was paid to this issue. Only a disloyal parishioner calls a priest a «pope» when he wants to tell something offensive to him ... the one who does not have any respect for the church and its servants. A decent person does not dare to call the priest this word straightforwardly, only in absentia or in anger» (Nazvanyia: *pastyr, sviashchenyk, pop*, 1860, pp. 170–171).

In the public life of the Ukrainian village in the XIXth – beg. XXth centuries, despite the development of capitalism, many elements of patriarchal relations were preserved. The original means of self-organization of the village was the community called the «*hromada*». It appeared to be the main legal, cultural, religious, household, economic means of existence of

the peasant community. Illustrative becomes the separation of the priest from the community as a stranger, and sometimes a hostile element of the society. The agrarian reform of 1906 had a significant impact on the development of the self-organization of the peasants, instigating the peasants to make independent, well-considered decisions. «During the implementation of the new agricultural course the increase the authority of the institutions of peasant self-government was an important segment of the innovation activity of the authorities in the management of the village. The course for the free regulation of the small communities inhabitants status was outlined for each community that used the arable land separately (including traditional land-based communities), the right to become an independent subject-object of a peasant self-government – a separate rural community (Verkhovtseva, 2018, p. 20). Therefore, the more a peasant becomes independent in the economic and political life, the more a peasant alienates from the priest's custody and the church in general.

The Ukrainian peasantry in the XIXth – beg. XXth century in the absolute majority was ill-educated and therefore little interested in the professional training of the rural priests. The question of the content of sermons, canonical liturgies interested them in the last turn. The church in a peasant's everyday life served as a mandatory institution of «atoning by prayer sins». Traditionally, it was visited for the sake of the unconscientiousness of their reputation. On average, there were about 50 churches in the povit in the Russian territory. For instance, there were more than 60 of them in Zolotonoskyi povit (Holysh, Lysytsia, 2018, p. 30). But the laity were worried about the social behavior of the priests. The peasants were outraged that the clergy, urging them to live according to the Law of God, were the first who broke those rules, while flattering and making advances to the landlords for their own enrichment. The moral and ethical state of the rural priests behaviour deserved the particular peasants' attention. Drinking alcohol, playing cards, participating in fights, non-compliance with Lents, and even sodomy did not contribute to the priests authority strengthening and the church as a whole. Such kind of the clergyman behavior was typical of all denominations of the priests. For instance, a social portrait of Bishop Julian from Przemyśl was vividly depicted in the Miron Podolinsky priest's memoirs about the events of 1891 in the Przemyśl Convent of the Greek Catholic Church. «For several days, he does not let anyone come in, says he has the flu (cold), and his servants say he is drunk. On December 2, they were sent three times for lunch at the restaurant. And they say in the city that he makes sodomy with men ... what a disgrace. Unfortunate we are with such a bishop» (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv – CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 941, p. 4). Myron Podolinsky, the Priest understands the danger of such a bishop's behavior, especially under conditions of progressive Latinization and the spread of the Russian Orthodoxy. He complains: «We are blamed for the fact that we do not care about people's goodness. Many Russians (ie, in Ukrainian – Authors) from the Russian borderlands went abroad and changed the Catholic faith to the Orthodox (30,000), saying «God is One!» (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 941, p. 10).

But in contrast to the Russian territories of Ukraine, in the western lands under the Austrian government control, the situation with the relationship between the church and the peasantry was somewhat different. The Ukrainian nation in the middle of the XIXth century. was based on two platforms of its identity – the Ukrainian language and the Eastern rite. The government tried to support officially these categories in order to distinguish the Poles from the Ukrainians. Especially under the threat of Romanization of the Greek Catholic Church. The Ukrainian church was institutionalized, had its own archdiocese and Metropolitan. But the language issue was also quite painful: its official use was limited to primary schools

and seminaries. The peasantry had all the opportunities to receive education in their native language (Zaiarniuk, 2007, pp. 80–81). The Austrian government aimed at creating all the conditions for the introduction of the peoples' ideas of the citizenship to the Austrian crown, but at a lower level, the relations between the church and the peasantry remained rather confidential, due to the fact that the main link in this interaction were local deacons from the most educated peasants. The middle and lower sections of the priests stood firm in protecting the national religious identity. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic elite was the main factor in the national liberation movement in the XIXth – early XXth century.

Comparing the status positions of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches in the territory of Ukraine, we will define a more unifying and pro-nationalist role of the Greek Catholics in the western lands and chauvinistic, regressive Moscow Orthodoxy. On the Left Bank as well as on the Right Bank in the first half of the XIXth century, there was a noticeable withdrawal from the official Orthodox Church. According to Ivan Ortinsky, if, on the one hand, the Ukrainian people lost their feelings for the Ukrainian identity («I») because of the Moscow church and the eternal grandfather's separation, on the other hand, he moved away from the church and religion. The peasants began to seek for the solutions to their religious needs in the sects. It is rather illustrative that by the middle of the XVIIIth century there were practically no sects in Ukraine (Khytrovska, 2013, p. 26). The sectarianism in the XIXth – beg. XXth century gained a quite threatening scale as a manifestation of disobedience to the state-religious policy of the empire. Partially the occurrence of sects was associated with the schism of the Old Believers. But the main reason may be considered a merger of the state and the church functionality. The rejection of the people from the church was manifested in two forms: the withdrawal of the official church in the asceticism or the emergence of non-church movements. Most religious sects in Ukraine arose in the middle of the XIXth century. The religious skepticism manifested itself in the emergence and spread of movements of whips, skopts, Molokans, dukobortsiv and other iconoclastic currents.

For instance, according to a researcher V. P. Pototsky (Pototskyi, 2004, p. 8), a slobozhansk-religious dissident in the middle of the XIXth century can be considered a fairly widespread phenomenon. The important factors of this phenomenon were as purely religious, as well as political, socio-economic issues. The reforms of 1861 provided the peasants with hope for the social liberties. This is what prompted them to reform their religious consciousness. The leaders of the religious anti-church movements became the group of the Old Believers, khlystov and skopts.

Conclusions. Consequently, the chauvinistic policy of the state, the Russification of the Orthodox Church, the merging of the state and the church social guidelines led to the mass alienation of peasants from the official religion, the growth of antagonistic feelings and movements of the Ukrainian peasantry. But this did not determine the peasant's irreligiosity or the withdrawal from the traditional positions of a religious world perception. On the contrary, the vast majority of the Ukrainian peasantry tried to preserve the original national religious values and confront the new «artificial» church.

The perspective direction for the scientist is the source-study aspect of studying the influence of religion and church on the social life of the Ukrainian peasantry in the XIXth – early XXth century.

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